

Waterfront Regeneration in the Historic Port of Leith: the Challenges of Maintaining Authenticity on an Urban Scale

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Abstract

This paper looks at the regeneration process in the historic Port of Leith in Edinburgh over the past thirty years, with the goal of evaluating how the authenticity of the heritage values of the area have been affected. The evaluation is based on 'before' and 'after' analyses of the waterfront area which document the historical, aesthetic, morphological, economic, and social characteristics of the area, before and after regeneration. The results of the regeneration initiatives are evaluated with respect to area conservation theory and within the context of other relevant examples of waterfront regeneration in historic port cities around the world. It is found that regeneration in Leith has thus far taken a slightly superficial approach in an attempt to attract high-value uses, investors, and visitors. While this has enhanced the aesthetic and environmental value of the area and retained substantial amounts of historic fabric and patterns, it has also led to the inauthentic expression of some historical associations and a significant change in the social and economic character of the area.

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1.0 Introduction

For nearly thirty years, the historic Port of Leith in Edinburgh has been undergoing regeneration. This process began in the late 1970s as a response to acute social, economic, and environmental problems which had resulted from a number of factors, including a decline in shipping and industry and recent slum clearance and relocation schemes (City of Edinburgh District Council [CEDC], 1980: 2-12). In historic areas like Leith, regeneration projects present major challenges for the conservation of historic 'authenticity'. Conservation on an urban scale requires much more flexibility than the traditional practice of conserving individual monuments (Pendlebury, 2009: 30). This is especially true in the case of declining port and post-industrial areas, where it often necessary to virtually reinvent the area to ensure its survival.

Thus far in Leith, regeneration has involved conservation initiatives, new development, and changes to the social and economic structure, and these factors have all affected the heritage values of the area in some way. This paper aims to explore how these values have been affected and to evaluate these results with reference to relevant area conservation theory and other cases of regeneration in historic port cities around the world. Although the regeneration process in Leith has been in progress for many years now, these questions have yet to be addressed in an academic study. Also, this undertaking is especially pertinent in the wake of further major changes which are planned for Leith Docks, as an assessment of the approach thus far may lead to valuable suggestions on how to proceed in the future.

2.0 Regeneration of historic waterfront areas: context and theory

2.1 Waterfront regeneration

The basis for waterfront regeneration began in the years after World War II, when the emergence of the container shipping industry led to the abandonment of historic port areas in favour of more spacious, deeper dock areas further away from the city centre. Another contributing factor was the shift away from traditional industry and manufacturing activities formerly centred in the port areas of developed cities. In many cases around the world, this process resulted in warehouses, industrial buildings, port structures, and waterfront property becoming derelict, as cities turned their backs on their port areas, losing their historical connection with the waterfront (Millsbaugh, 2001: 76).

However, in the 1970s, cities around the world began to realise the potential of regenerating and reconnecting with their waterfronts. There were often opportunities not only for new development, but also for conservation of historic buildings and even port structures, such as docks, piers, and locks. The first 'generation' of waterfront regeneration projects emerged in North American cities, such as Baltimore and Boston. These projects, which involved pioneering conservation efforts to adapt industrial buildings to commercial uses, came up against a number of challenges. With unfamiliar buildings types, such as warehouses, there were a number of questions, such as how to accommodate new uses, cars, and access for modern services. There was also little knowledge about

how to protect unconventional items of heritage, such as large bodies of water and big industrial complexes, and it was often unclear which items constituted 'historic' structures and which ones should be demolished (Shaw, 2001: 161-9).

The second wave of waterfront regeneration projects developed in Europe in the 1980s. The exemplar case of this time was the London Docklands, which involved both conservation and new-building on a large scale. Cities in the 1980s had the advantage of using the first generation's efforts as an example, and their projects were generally led by public bodies, which, like their American predecessors, made extensive efforts to attract private investment. By the 1990s, the idea of heritage-led waterfront regeneration was being applied to countless cities around the world, such as Liverpool, Sydney, and Buenos Aires, and the practice still continues today (Shaw, 2001: 161-9).

2.2 Area conservation: evolution and theory

The earliest waterfront regeneration projects in historic port cities were part of the emerging practice of area conservation. Emphasis on methods of conservation on the urban scale began in the post-war period with the reconstruction of historic cities in Europe. The international conservation principles which had dominated until that time had been concerned primarily with preserving the authenticity of the individual building or monument for the sake of its artistic merit or historical significance (Pendlebury, 2009: 29). In the 1960s, this concept was still at the heart of conservation, with the Venice Charter emphasising the material authenticity of

historic monuments and the need for a scientific approach to restoration (ICOMOS, 1964). However, the conservation of urban areas emerged as a major issue in this decade, largely in response to the consequences of large-scale modernist redevelopment schemes which had involved the destruction of historic patterns and buildings in city centres. As confidence in these approaches to architecture and town planning began to wane, there was a new-found respect for the smaller, more human scale of the historic city, which had served people throughout the ages. In turn, there was a growing sense of the wider environmental, social, and economic benefits that conservation could bring, as well as a more inclusive definition of what constituted heritage worthy of protection (Pendlebury, 2009: 50).

Accordingly, individual countries generated legislation, such as the Civic Amenities Act in the UK (1967), which enabled the designation of conservation areas. International bodies also began to focus their efforts on the issue of area conservation. For example, in 1966, the Council of Europe held a conference in Bath urging that the protection of historic areas be integrated with development planning (Pendlebury, 2009: 29, 50). At the same time, methods of conserving historic areas were being developed and incorporated into town planning. These included Worksett's practice of applying townscape methodologies to conservation, an approach which largely privileged visual composition and understanding the local distinctiveness or character of a place (Worksett, 1969 cited in Pendlebury, 2009: 33). M. R. G. Conzen was also applying the concept of urban morphology to conservation. This approach went beyond visual concerns, taking into account the

historical evolution of a place and advocating the retention of existing street patterns, plot arrangements, and street frontages (Conzen, 1975 cited in Pendlebury, 2009: 34).

In the 1970s and 1980s, a number of key international conservation documents were introduced, including the Declaration of Amsterdam (Council of Europe, 1975), the Nairobi Statement (UNESCO, 1976), and the Washington Charter (ICOMOS, 1987), which all emphasised the importance of conserving a wide range of heritage on an urban scale. The Declaration of Amsterdam called for a new type of integrated conservation, which would embrace 'all buildings of cultural value, from the greatest to the humblest - not forgetting those of our own day together with their surroundings' and 'complement the piecemeal protection of individual and isolated monuments and sites' (Council of Europe, 1975). All of these documents strongly emphasised the environmental and socio-cultural benefits of area conservation. The economic value of reusing buildings was also cited, though in the 1970s, this notion was expressed in the less market-driven terms of 'economising resources and combating waste' (Council of Europe, 1975), whereas in the 1980s, it was assumed that conservation should be an integral part of economic development (ICOMOS, 1987).

These documents also emphasised the need for states to integrate conservation into the town-planning process. They advocated the creation of regulations based on townscape and urban morphological analyses, so that new architecture would not only adapt to the 'general character' of the area, but also harmonise with and

conserve specific features such as spatial organisation and structure, setting, building heights and proportions, colours, materials, facade and roof features, position, and plot size (UNESCO, 1976). The Washington Charter especially stressed the importance of conserving morphological elements, including the urban pattern defined by lots and streets and the relationship between buildings and open or green spaces (ICOMOS, 1987).

Beyond visual and physical factors, it was recognised that the significance of historic or cultural areas derived from less tangible factors, such as uses and associations. It was therefore recommended by the Nairobi Statement to undertake an analysis of economic, social, and cultural activities, so that where possible, existing activities could be maintained, and where necessary, new uses could be introduced which were compatible with the existing context (UNESCO, 1976). This broader definition of heritage values was mostly explicitly set out in the Burra Charter (first adopted in 1979 and revised in 1988 and 1999), which maintained that the cultural significance of a place stemmed not only from its fabric and setting, but also from its uses and people's memories of and associations with it (ICOMOS Australia, 1999).

Finally, it was agreed by both the Declaration of Amsterdam and the Nairobi Statement that area conservation processes should be socially progressive. This included involving the community in decisions regarding their heritage and environment, preventing regeneration from leading to displacement through gentrification, and ensuring social balance and integration (Council of Europe, 1975; UNESCO, 1976). Both the Nairobi statement and the Washington Charter also

explicitly stated that area conservation processes should contribute to the provision of affordable housing (UNESCO, 1976; ICOMOS, 1987).

Thus, since the 1970s, an ever-widening concept of area conservation has evolved, which advocates the need to consider not only the physical and aesthetic values of a place, but also the patterns of use and human activity, and the sense of community spirit and identity which are associated with it. Although this concept has only recently been formalised into planning systems, this is not an entirely new approach. More than 100 years ago, Patrick Geddes was applying his concept of 'Civic Survey' in Edinburgh and other cities around the world. This approach stressed the need to undertake a comprehensive survey of the way that all aspects of a city – its geography, history, and society – have evolved over time, in order to make sound planning decisions today (Geddes, 1911: 537-8). In his seminal work, *Cities and Evolution*, Geddes also espoused the benefits of preserving the best historical traditions of a place, and most importantly, of involving people in the study and betterment of their own environment (Meller, 1915: 190).

2.3 Challenges to Authenticity

In modern area conservation, one of the biggest challenges has proven to be the translation of the concept of authenticity onto the larger urban scale. The Venice Charter of 1964 stressed the importance of preserving the material authenticity of individual monuments (ICOMOS, 1964). However, in the case of dynamic and ever-changing urban areas, the possibility of preserving the material authenticity of all

built heritage is unrealistic. Also, as outlined above, the concept of cultural significance has expanded considerably since the Venice Charter, and according to the Nara Document on Authenticity, our ability to understand cultural heritage now depends on the authenticity of numerous elements beyond material substance (ICOMOS, 1994).

The challenges inherent in this situation are what have led various commentators to recognise the need for a more flexible notion of authenticity that embraces some degree of change. Jokilehto (1999: 304) and Pendlebury (2009: 30) have suggested that conservation becomes the key mechanism for managing change in urban areas, and according to Assi (2000: 65), 'the pieces that make up our physical world can be allowed to change, provided that the overall character is maintained – its morphology, dimension, materials, gardens, fountains, topography and way of life – not forgetting the spirit of the place'.

The need for change is especially apparent in regeneration projects, particularly in post-industrial areas such as ports. These areas often contain large amounts of vacant industrial heritage which requires new uses or which is difficult or impossible to conserve or re-use. It is therefore often necessary to accommodate considerable change to revitalise these areas. However, it is difficult to agree about how much change is justified in these cases, and many waterfront regeneration schemes have been criticised for their negative effects on authenticity.

This criticism is often a result of the failure to sustain industrial or maritime uses, either because de-industrialisation has made it virtually impossible, or because the very attractiveness of restored historic buildings has resulted in higher-value uses colonising the area (Pendlebury, 2009: 119). The destruction of 'inconvenient' historic structures can also affect the authenticity of a place, such as in the case of London's earliest redevelopment schemes, when historic warehouses at St Katharine's Dock and London Docks were demolished, and the London and Surrey Docks were filled in (Breen and Rigby, 1996: 18; Shaw, 2001: 165). Port regeneration schemes in Baltimore and London's Canary Wharf have also been criticised for importing 'alien' or 'anywhere' new-build designs which ignore the physical evolution or historical associations of the local context (Breen and Rigby, 1996: 20-1).

In addition, inaccurate or selective use of imagery or symbolism to market or present the heritage of former port cities has resulted in inauthentic representations of their history. This can result from 'place marketing', whereby positive imagery is accentuated or romanticised. According to Atkinson et al (2002: 25-8), this was the case in Hull, where a rather unglamorous history as a twentieth-century fishing port was elided in favour of a 'sanitised vision of a post-industrial city', drawing on a positive image of individual and corporate pioneers of the past. In addition, aspects of the disappearing fishing and mining industries in Cornwall are being repackaged and objectified by the heritage industry in the form of gift shops and simulations,

resulting in a 'Disneyfied' or semi-fictional experience for tourists (Kennedy and Kingcome, 1998: 45-59).

Finally, the potentially negative social effects of post-industrial regeneration schemes have also been cited. These include instances of gentrification, as well as the fact that higher-value uses can make cultural heritage inaccessible to existing residents, or fail to create new jobs for those formerly employed in industrial or maritime activities (Breen and Rigby, 1996: 12-13; Pendlebury, 2009: 121).

This paper intends to examine the recent regeneration in Leith with reference to the issues mentioned above. Despite being an early example of waterfront regeneration, which started out in the late 1970s and still continues today, the changes that have taken place in Leith have yet to be formally described or assessed with reference to their effects on the area's authenticity. In the following section, a character appraisal of Leith's historic waterfront will be carried out for the pre-regeneration period in the 1970s. In order to ensure a comprehensive appraisal of the area's cultural significance at this time, a range of tangible and intangible characteristics will be described, in a holistic manner inspired by the recommendations of the area conservation charters and the evolutionary approach of Geddes' 'Civic Survey'. The appraisal will therefore include historical development, spatial and functional structure, built form and townscape, historical uses and associations, and local identity and community spirit. These elements will be described using information from secondary sources and a variety of primary sources, including National Grid Maps (1971 and 1973), pre-regeneration photos

from SCRAN and RCAHMS, newspaper cuttings from the Edinburgh Room at the Central Library, and Leith Local Plan documents (1975-1980).

3.0 Character appraisal: Leith's waterfront before regeneration¹

3.1 Location, setting, and context

Leith is an urban port town on the coast of Edinburgh, approximately 1.5 miles northeast of the city centre (Map 1). It is situated at the junction of the Water of Leith and the Firth of Forth. Throughout its history, the general form and development of Leith have been influenced by a number of factors, including the presence of the river, which bisects the town into two halves; its relationship with the sea, which has allowed continued expansion of the docks to the north; the line of its former fortifications; and its unique and changing relationship with Edinburgh.

3.2 Origins and historical development

A concise summary of Leith's historical development is contained in Appendix A. It covers the full course of Leith's history, from its earliest beginnings in the twelfth century, up to its period of major growth and prosperity in the nineteenth century, and the eventual decline of the port in the twentieth century. The summary makes reference to a number of historical maps which are contained in the Maps section at the end of the essay.

¹ Information in this section which is taken from secondary sources will be cited as such. Otherwise, descriptions are based on the author's analyses of historical maps and photographs.

3.3 Introduction to the focus area

The focus area of this study is the historic waterfront of Leith, which is outlined in Map 10. It includes the inner harbour at the Water of Leith, the immediately surrounding inland areas in Old Leith, and the older dock areas of the outer harbour, which so far have been opened up by Forth Ports PLC for private development. This area has been selected on the basis of it being, first, the area retaining the most historic form and fabric, and second, the region where most conservation and new building has been concentrated over the course of regeneration.

3.4 Functional and spatial structure

Connections to the city and surrounding area

As shown on the map in Map 11, the principal connection between Leith and Edinburgh in the 1970s was Leith Walk. Other major connections with the surrounding area included Lindsay Road (west to Granton Harbour), Ferry Road (west to Madiera and other residential areas), Bonnington Road (southwest to the industrial estates), Easter Road (southeast to Calton Hill and Arthur's Seat), Lochend and Restalrig Roads (southeast to residential suburbs), and Seafield Road (east along the coast to Portobello). In Leith, these incoming transportation routes linked up with the subsidiary routes of Great Junction, Constitution, Commercial, and Bernard Streets, which encircled the central area of the town, running roughly along the lines of the old fortifications (Map 4). Although railway tracks remained, there were no passenger lines left running to Leith, but some freight was still being transported by

rail to the dock area from the east (Mowat, 1994: 419). Buses were the only form of public transportation connecting the two centres.

Street pattern and access routes

Map 12² shows the historical development of the street pattern in the area of central Leith. The first streets in the town developed south of the river just below Bernard Street, where the Shore used to terminate. A series of narrow wynds and closes developed which radiated outwards from the river, connecting the harbour with a larger street running roughly parallel to it (Water Street and the former Kirkgate). The winding nature of these intersecting routes resulted in the creation of irregularly shaped blocks of land lined with smaller plots. This pattern continued to develop over time and was reinforced in the sixteenth century by the creation of the fortifications (Map 5), and eventually, by the construction of wider traffic routes on the edges of the town which served to connect more minor routes radiating out from the inner harbour (Map 6). Due to nineteenth and twentieth-century interventions, this pattern was difficult to detect south of Tolbooth Wynd in the 1970s, but it had been more or less preserved in the focus area to the north. A slightly more unique pattern existed north of Bernard Street in the Timber Bush area, which was essentially one large block divided by an irregular pattern of

² Maps 12 - 17, 19, and 21 - 25 were created by the author. They are based on information found in historical maps, historical photographs from RCAHMS and SCRAN, Leith Local Plan Documents (CEDC, 1980; EC, 1975), secondary sources (Gifford et al, 1984; Hume, 1976; Mowat, 1994; and SCRAN, 2009), an interview with a member of the City of Edinburgh Council Planning Department (Dickson, 2009), and the author's direct observations from visits to Leith.

interconnected access routes. This pattern was probably due to the fact that the area first developed outside the line of the town's fortification and solely for storage purposes (Mowat, 1994: 146-7).

On the north bank of the river, by the sixteenth century a smaller network of streets had developed (Map 3), which due to the construction of the large citadel in the seventeenth century (Map 5), did not expand to the extent of South Leith until the early nineteenth century. This was a simple junction of four small streets with numerous narrow wynds connecting present-day Sandport Street to the harbour, as well as one vennel connecting North Leith to South Leith via the old Abbey Bridge. In the 1970s, this junction of streets was still present in the northern part of the focus area, but the only wynd still visible was Sandport Place, which now connected North Leith to South Leith further up the river via an eighteenth-century bridge.

A number of roads led from central Leith to the dock area, including the Shore and Constitution Street from the east side of the river and Dock Place and North Junction Street from the west. In the dock area itself, a number of disused railway lines remained, and although it is not clearly indicated on the map, there was also a system of roadways which ran roughly along the old railway lines.

Plots and building density

The map in Map 13 shows five general plot typologies existing in the focus area prior to regeneration. This map is accompanied by sketches of each plot type in Figure 1. Plot Type 1, found mostly on more major streets, was composed of narrow plots set

against the edge of the pavement. Access to these plots was from the street, and in most cases, the plot was completely occupied by a building (usually residential or commercial). In some cases, limited semi-private space (but not gardens) existed to the rear of the plots, and this was only accessible from the rear of the building. Type 2 (green) consisted of wider plots also facing more major streets. These were generally occupied by grander public or commercial buildings, and access was from the street. Type 3 (purple) was composed of various plot sizes set against the pavement, with a path at ground level leading to a back court, unloading area, or additional buildings. These were generally occupied by residential buildings or warehouses. Type 4 (red) was made up of larger plots of various shapes with at least one side set against the pavement or street. These were occupied fully by a building (usually a warehouse) and only accessible from a street or small access route (either through a door or central hoist). In the dock area, a final plot typology could be found. Labelled Type 5 (blue), these plots followed a large and linear pattern to accommodate railway sheds and warehouses placed parallel to railway lines. There were of course other plots existing in the focus area, but these often contained irregularly shaped buildings which did not follow particular patterns of access or orientation.

In general, it can be said that the focus area was characterised by three different levels of building density prior to regeneration. South Leith was the area of highest density, with continuous, usually fully-occupied plots on very narrow streets and

access routes. North Leith was relatively more dispersed and varied, partly due to the presence of large gap sites, and the dock area was the most dispersed.

Open space

Aside from gap sites and small back courts, there was very little open space in the focus area prior to regeneration. The east end of Bernard Street (Figure 2), however, had a wider, triangular shape and contained a statue of Robert Burns, lending it the atmosphere of a combined street and square (Gifford et al, 1984: 470). The area along the Shore was also relatively open, due to the presence of the river. There were no parks or substantial parking areas, meaning that parking for the most part took place on streets, leading to a high level of congestion, especially on Bernard Street (Edinburgh Corporation [EC], 1975: Appendix D).

3.5 Historic uses and associations

The map in Map 14 represents major uses associated with the focus area between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. Historically, this area was occupied primarily with uses associated with port activity, such as warehousing and industry. During the port's era of prosperity in the early nineteenth century, major industries included shipbuilding, the wine and whisky trade, coopering, whisky storage and blending, flour milling, timber trade and storage, rope and sail making, and glass making (EC, 1975: Appendix E). Throughout history, other uses have also been present, such as residential, and in the areas of Bernard and Constitutions Streets, civic and financial. The Shore has always been occupied by mixed uses, including a

high proportion of public houses, and the docks have hosted exclusively port-related uses and larger industries such as shipbuilding. Before the development of the docks, these uses could be found along the inner harbour, especially in the Sandport area.

By the end of the 1970s, many of the uses associated with port activities had been removed from the town by the development of the outer harbour and by general de-industrialisation. This meant that many sites, including shipbuilding yards, cooperages, factories, mills, and warehouses had been given over to other mixed uses or were simply vacant. Many of the civic and financial uses associated with the port's Victorian prosperity and former independence had also vacated the area. However, residential properties were still occupied and many taverns were still in use (EC, 1975: Appendix D). Also, the last shipbuilding yard in Leith, Henry Robb's, would continue into the early 1980s (Mowat, 1994: 248), and shipping and industry carried on to some extent, but these activities were now focused in the newer docks in the eastern outer harbour.

3.6 Built form and townscape

Buildings and streetscape

Prior to regeneration, most of the focus area, aside from the docks, was contained within the Old Leith Conservation Area, which had been designated in 1977 (CEC, 2002: 3). In terms of architecture, the area contained a number of listed buildings, as well as others of historical or aesthetic interest. The bulk of these were from the nineteenth century, although there were a few older buildings as well. Despite the

deteriorating condition of much of the built heritage at this time, it represented a variety of styles, materials, and functions, lending an overall character of diversity to the area. Map 15 and Map 16 show the types and dates of buildings in the focus area during the pre-regeneration period, and these are described in more detail below.

On Quayside Street, the seventeenth-century stair tower and belfry from the old St Ninian's Church and Manse remained as part of the Quayside Mills complex (Figure 3), marking the location of the original Abbot's bridge between North and South Leith (Gifford et al, 1984: 479). Also in North Leith was the gate of the old Cromwellian Citadel (Figure 4), dating from 1657 (Gifford et al, 1984: 480). In South Leith, the King's Wark (Figure 5), an early eighteenth-century tenement and public house, recently restored by Robert Hurd and Partners, stood at the corner of the Shore and Bernard Street on the historic site of a medieval royal store and arsenal (SCRAN, 2009). Further up the Shore was the castellated late seventeenth-century Signal Tower (Figure 6), originally built as a windmill for making rape-seed oil (Gifford et al, 1984: 472). Finally, in Water's Close, there was Lamb's House (Figure 7), a seventeenth-century merchant's house with crow-stepped gables, also recently restored and converted into an old people's day centre (Gifford et al, 1984: 472; SCRAN, 2009).

The most prevalent building type remaining in the 1970s was warehouses associated with the storage of goods like grain, wine and spirits. The earlier warehouses, dating from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, were for the most part rubble-built and up to six storeys in height (Figure 8 - Figure 11). The Timber Bush

area was filled with these, and they could also be found in the warehousing areas along Commercial, Maritime, and Water Streets (SCRAN, 2009). Although most of them had been mechanised, many retained interesting original features such as central gabled hoists, large hoist doors, and heavy iron grilles at the windows (Dickson, 2009). Many of the later nineteenth-century warehouses found around Maritime and Water Streets (Figure 12 - Figure 14) were built to accommodate offices as well, and these were usually more ornate, often displaying Neo-Classical detail (SCRAN, 2009). There were also more recent warehouses interspersed throughout the area (Figure 15 + Figure 16), which were for the most part brick-built in a variety of styles (EC, 1975: Appendix D).

In addition to warehouses, there was a mixture of older and more recent industrial buildings, including mills, factories, engineering works and ship-repair yards (Figure 17 - Figure 20). For the most part the older industrial buildings were rubble-built and the more recent ones were made of brick and more modern materials.

The remainder of the buildings in the focus area in the 1970s were a combination of tenements, commercial and financial properties, and civic buildings, many of which displayed fine architectural details but were often heavily soiled or in poor condition. A variety of tall Georgian and Victorian tenements could be found interspersed throughout the area, ranging in style from Neo-Classical to Scottish Baronial (Figure 21 + Figure 22). These were normally stone-built with slate roofs. On Bernard and Constitution Streets, there were a number of more prestigious buildings associated with the port's former prosperity and role as an independent parliamentary burgh

(Figure 24 - Figure 28). On the whole these buildings dated from the early nineteenth century and were usually Neo-Classical in style (EC, 1975: Appendix D, E). Another rather grand building associated with Leith's maritime past was the former Sailors' Home on the Shore (Figure 29).

On the east side of the river, existing buildings created a strongly vertical emphasis, with continuous frontages of buildings averaging between four and six storeys in height, set directly against the edge of the pavement. This resulted in a sense of enclosure on the many narrow streets and lanes in the area and especially in the small back courts of the blocks between Tolbooth Wynd and Bernard Street (EC, 1975: Appendix E), with the exception of the large gap site at Tolbooth Wynd (Figure 30). This sense of enclosure would have been somewhat relieved on Constitution Street and the eastern end of Bernard Street, where wider street widths and Neo-Classical buildings created a degree of relative openness and formality. Despite a few gap sites (Figure 31 + Figure 32), the Shore also retained a vertical emphasis, with tall narrow frontages set against the river (Figure 33). This contrasted with the west bank, which was characterised by buildings of mixed heights and the presence of rather large gap sites, which are marked in Map 13.

With the exception of small rows of tenements, streets in the focus area were largely unplanned, lending variety to their frontages. This was especially true at the Shore (Figure 33), where a variety of gables, rooflines and elevations created a unique aesthetic experience against the water (EC, 1975: Appendix D, E). Although unplanned, the Neo-Classical facades of Bernard and Constitution Streets would

have appeared more homogenous. Finally, as the historical images have shown, most streets in the focus area were still paved with granite setts, although these were in need of repair in many areas, and some of the more major streets, such as Bernard Street, Constitution Street, and Commercial Street were paved with tarmac.

Port heritage

Around the inner harbour and the older dock area, a number of obsolete pieces of port infrastructure survived in the 1970s. These items, which are shown on Map 17, included the swing bridge, lock, and lock keeper's lodge at the entrance of the Old East Dock (Figure 34), Victoria Dock, and the Victoria Swing Bridge (Figure 35). There were also a number of capstans, bollards, and winches remaining throughout the dock area. Unfortunately, the Old East and West Docks and a number of dry docks around the area had been filled in with cement around 1970 (Figure 36), but they had not yet been redeveloped (Mowat, 1994: 418). Also of historic interest was the last shipbuilding yard in Leith, Henry Robb's, located just north of the Old West Dock (Figure 37). This yard had been in operation since 1918 and had been responsible for the building of several large naval warships for the Royal Navy, as well as a large number of tugs and dredgers (Mowat, 1994: 403). As it was still operating at the time, it would have contained historic shipbuilding infrastructure such as slipways and dry docks.

In contrast to the adjacent town area, the dock area had a low and horizontal emphasis, with large, rectangular wet docks and lower, longer sheds or warehouses

placed intermittently throughout the area. This would have created a feeling of relative openness and more continuous views than could be had in the town.

3.7 Local identity and community spirit

In addition to its historical and aesthetic value, Leith's built heritage would have held value for the community as an important source of identity. In the years leading up to regeneration, the buildings, docks, and shipyards around the focus area had served as places of employment for residents of Leith (or their parents and grandparents), and therefore would have represented a former way of life which was fast disappearing. Also, numerous public houses were still in business in the focus area in the 1970s, especially at the Shore. These included, for example, the King's Wark (Figure 5) and the Draw Bridge Tavern (Figure 38), which would have provided important points of social interaction for the people of Leith.

In general, despite the demolitions and relocations that occurred in the 1950s and 1970s, it can also be said that the people of Leith, self-declared 'Leithers', still possessed a strong community spirit. Newspaper articles from the 1970s indicate that Leithers were still celebrating the annual Leith Festival with enthusiasm. Founded in 1907, this festival was even older than the Edinburgh festival (The Scotsman, 3/5/06) and its longevity demonstrates Leith's continued sense of community spirit. The Leith History Society has also been campaigning for its own Leith History Museum since the 1970s (The Scotsman, 20/1/00), indicating that a sense of separate community heritage existed at that time. Another popular theme

in newspaper articles from the 1970s was the belief that Leith's amalgamation with Edinburgh was to blame for current housing and socio-economic problems. For example, in 1975, community leader Douglas Mackay, Rector of Leith School, criticised Edinburgh City Council as being 'too opera house and festival minded' for not providing enough housing for displaced Leithers to return to their community (Gibson, 1975).

4.0 Analysis of regeneration initiatives

This section will first provide a brief overview of regeneration initiatives which have affected the focus area over the past thirty years. It will then move on to discuss key initiatives and trends in more detail, with respect to their effects on the essential character of the area, as it has been described above.

4.1 Summary of conservation and regeneration initiatives since the early 1980s

1980s

As outlined in the Historical Appendix, by the late 1970s Leith was suffering from a wide range of social, economic, and environmental problems. These issues were summarised in the Leith Local Plan of 1980³ as depopulation, high unemployment, substandard housing, deficiencies in open space and social facilities, and the deteriorating and neglected condition of the built heritage. In accordance with

³ A draft of the Leith Local Plan had been published in 1975, but this was not adopted and was later re-examined in light of new restrictions on public spending (CEDC, 1980: 1). The 1975 version of the Plan is also referred to in this paper, as it contains appendices on the condition of the built heritage and townscape in the 1970s.

Central Government policy for the regeneration of inner-city areas, the Leith Local Plan set out to bring about the social and economic regeneration of the area by strengthening its economic base and improving its physical fabric and environment. In terms of economic development, the goal was to safeguard existing industry and encourage new smaller-scale industrial developments. However, industrial uses were targeted for the more outlying areas of Leith, as well as in the Timber Bush and dock areas, while office and residential uses were sought for the conservation area and along the Water of Leith (see Proposals Map in Appendix B). In fact, new office developments were being restrained in central Edinburgh so that they could generate new activity in Leith. In addition, both public and private-sector housing were to be encouraged, and substandard houses were to be improved rather than demolished. A number of vacant sites were set aside for new development and others were to be cleared by the Council (see Proposals Map in Appendix B). It was also anticipated that the conversion of vacant buildings like warehouses might provide further additions to the housing stock. Finally, building conservation and the improvement of the environment were also priorities. Listed or distinctive buildings and structures were to be retained and restored, and new developments were required to respect the scale, form, and character of the area, and to conform to the historic street pattern (CEDC, 1980: 1-12).

The first phase of regeneration in Leith began in the early 1980s. It was led by the Leith Project, a three-way partnership between the Scottish Development Agency (SDA), Lothian Regional Council, and Edinburgh District Council. The Project involved

a large number of publicly funded schemes intended to attract private investment to the area. While many of these schemes fit in with the overall policies and objectives of the Local Plan, a number of exceptions, such as demolitions, were made to accommodate private developers or budgetary restrictions (Dickson, 2009). However, conservation was certainly an important part of the Leith Project from the beginning. For example, the Leith Project assisted with a pilot scheme to convert a former warehouse and cooorage on the north bank of the river into a private housing development in 1983 (Dickson, 2009). In addition, building restoration work was carried out in the form of stone cleaning and repair, specifically to properties on Bernard Street and the Shore (Dickson, 2009)⁴ and to prestigious properties such as the Customs House and the Old Leith Town Hall (Edinburgh Evening News [EEN], 22/3/82). Also, gap sites were temporarily landscaped or turned into small parks, and a number of environmental improvements were made around the Water of Leith and the Shore (Dickson, 2009). In terms of new building, workshop and factory units were being built in the more outlying areas by the SDA (Marr, 1984), but new building within the focus area was still limited at this point.

In the middle of the decade, private investment in Leith started to exceed public investment (Rosie + Tighe, 1985). In 1986, as the SDA handed over the reins to the Leith Enterprise Trust (LET) (Paul, 1986), a surge in conversions and refurbishments of historic properties and warehouses was now being led by private developers.

⁴ Other restoration work was done outside the focus area. The largest such scheme involved stone cleaning and repair of properties at the Foot of Leith Walk (Dickson, 2009).

Also, as a spin-off to the work done by the Leith Project, a substantial number of restaurants and wine bars had begun moving into buildings around the waterfront (Pendreigh, 1984; Rosie + Tighe, 1985).

It was also at this time that the idea of marketing Leith as a visitor attraction began to be pursued. With fairly high-value leisure uses, such as restaurants and bars, already beginning to attract residents of Edinburgh, and with historic buildings being restored, it was thought that the ancient port had more to offer visitors in the way of entertainment and historical interest. There were a number of efforts to market the area in this way, including the creation of thirty plaques at historic sites around the port and a brochure for an associated 'heritage trail', both funded by the LET and the SDA. A heritage centre was also proposed, and there was talk of upgrading the existing cruiser facilities (MacGregor, 1990).

1990s

It was probably during the 1990s that the most dramatic changes occurred in the port. In July of 1991, The Ports Act was granted, providing that any Trust port could become a private limited company, and in 1992, the Forth Ports Authority transferred into the private sector as Forth Ports PLC (Forth Ports, 2009). This move essentially started the second wave of regeneration in Leith, freeing up more dockland and kick-starting new development and conservation projects. In 1992, a masterplan was prepared for the regeneration of the older, shallower areas around

Victoria Quay, calling for mixed development including offices, retail, housing, and leisure projects (Forth Ports, 2009).

The most important of these new developments was the massive new headquarters for the Scottish Executive at Victoria Dock in 1996, which contributed to other major developments around the area, such as the restoration and conversion of the Sailors' Home to the Malmaison Hotel, as well as private residential development and a regional office for the Bank of Scotland on 'Rennie's Isle' next to Victoria Dock (Forth Ports, 2009). Developments such as these were aided by the construction of a new bridge and roadway in 1996, which ran through the old dock area. Environmental improvements were also undertaken further out in the harbour, as more walkways were created along the waterfront (EEN, 26/6/96), some port infrastructure was restored, and a number of objects associated with or representing Leith's past started to appear along the waterfront (Dickson, 2009).

In 1995, soon after the decision to move the Scottish Government offices to Victoria Quay, work began on the redevelopment of the Old East and West docks, just opposite the new Scottish Government site. This project, Commercial Quay, involved the refurbishment and conversion of several Category A-listed warehouses into mixed-use establishments (Forsyth, 1995). Meanwhile, smaller-scale conversion projects continued in and around the Shore area, and the building of modern private residential developments on gap sites around the waterfront and old docks became increasingly common, especially towards the end of the 1990s (Houston, 2001).

2000-Today

In 2001, Ocean Terminal, a major shopping centre, leisure development, and cruiser terminal, opened on the site of the old Henry Robb's shipyard west of the Old West Dock. Forth Ports was also successful in its bid to bring the Royal Yacht Britannia to Leith, and it was berthed alongside Ocean Terminal (Forth Ports, 2009). Throughout the decade, private residential developments have continued to boom, but these have generally been modern new-build developments in gap sites and around the opened up dock areas, rather than the conversions that characterised the earlier stages of regeneration.

In 2005, the principle of redeveloping the remainder of the Port of Leith for mixed use development was approved by the Council. This will bring a complete end to port activities in Leith Docks, with the exception of facilities to handle cruise liners, ferries, and naval visits. Planning approval has now been granted for the redevelopment of the area as nine urban villages, and a tram line is currently being installed to link the new development areas in Leith with central Edinburgh and the Edinburgh Airport (Forth Ports, 2009).

4.2 Analysis of the effect of regeneration initiatives on the essential character of the area

This section will now discuss key regeneration initiatives and trends in more detail, with respect to their effects on the essential character of the area, as set out in Section 3.0. Throughout this section, these effects will be evaluated with reference

to recommendations set out by the international conservation charters, as summarised in Section 2.2, and in comparison with other relevant examples of waterfront regeneration. A summary of the evaluation will be given at the end of the section.

4.2.1 Functional and spatial structure

As explained in Section 2.2, both the Amsterdam Declaration (Council of Europe, 1976) and the Washington Charter (ICOMOS, 1987) stress the importance of conserving urban morphology because it takes account of the historical evolution of a place and allows for more continuity of built form. This includes maintaining existing transportation connections, the street pattern, plots, and open spaces, and their relationship to one another.

Connections to the city and surrounding area

A comparison of Map 11 and Map 18 show that the principal road connections between Leith and Edinburgh remain the same today; however, Lindsay Road and Seafield Road now link up with Ocean Drive (Map 19), a new road and bridge network which gives access to new developments on either side of the old dock area. Also, a tram line connecting Leith and Edinburgh (Map 20) is due to open in 2011 (Edinburgh Trams, 2009). Both of these developments are bringing about greater integration between Leith and Edinburgh, and the new tram line illustrates the city's desire to promote Leith as a tourist destination. Also, although it is a slightly different route, the

new tram line is reminiscent of the historic route which connected the two centres via Leith Walk between 1922 and 1956 (Stubbs, 2001).

Street pattern and access routes

Map 19 shows the present-day street, access, and parking pattern in the focus area. This includes existing routes and lost routes; new roads, parking areas, and pedestrian walkways; and remaining railway ties. A comparison of this map with Map 12 shows that the historic street pattern has been retained overall in the focus area. Map 21, which also shows new buildings and open spaces, illustrates more clearly how new development has affected the street pattern, and specific points for discussion have been labelled on this map.

In most instances, new development has occurred along the existing street pattern, and in some cases, special care has been taken to preserve historic routes. For example, the historic Bowie's Close has been conserved by retaining a pedestrian route through a housing development in Shore Place (Figure 39). There have been a few changes, however, including the loss of twentieth-century Tower Street and the destruction of a small portion of access routes in the Timber Bush area with a car park and new housing. In addition, two historic streets have been rendered essentially obsolete, but they still remain in symbolic form. These include Ronaldson's Wharf, which has been built over by a new housing development – but has been shifted

slightly towards the river as a pedestrian route – and Chapel Lane, which now serves as a pavement in between a large renovated warehouse and its car park (Figure 40). Of these exceptions, the biggest losses are probably Chapel Lane, which predates the eighteenth century, and the breakdown in the distinctive pattern in the Timber Bush area. Other more minor changes include the small new access streets for new housing developments in the town area. These are shown in blue and make little difference to the existing pattern.

The biggest change in the dock area is the addition of Ocean Drive. It is often necessary to create new roads in dock regeneration projects in order to open the area up for public access and further development (Breen and Rigby, 1996: 19). In terms of its effects on spatial and functional structure, the most important factors are whether the new road follows or impedes any of the existing or historic transportation patterns and how its scale compares to existing roads and buildings in the vicinity.

As for the first question, the old rail and road network in the dock area was still visible in the 1970s (Map 12). The map shows that the railway system ran east-west from the Tower Street area, across the Victoria Swing Bridge, between the Old Docks and Victoria Dock, and bent up slightly to accommodate what used to be dry docks extending off of the Old West Dock. This line branched off in two key places, one running north-south between the docks and along Henry Robb's shipbuilding yard, and another curving

around the Old West Dock and travelling east-west between the long line of bonded warehouses and the Old Docks. A comparison with Map 19 shows that the demolition and in-filling of existing structures has allowed the road to take a more linear approach, but that the basic structure of the transport network remains. The new road runs from the east at the Tower Street area, just north of the old Victoria Swing Bridge route, and on to give access to parking areas and the Scottish Government at the site of the Old Docks, and to Ocean Terminal at the site of the old shipbuilding yard. A parking area and walkway also exist along the line of old warehouses at the new Commercial Quay, and some of the historic railroad ties have been preserved along this route as vestiges of the historic railway network.

However, the new road has also cut off some important historic access routes from the sea. Its placement along the edge of Victoria Dock has sealed it off from the outer harbour, effectively rendering it inoperative (Figure 41). The body of water is now simply an artefact to be looked at, chiefly by the employees of the Scottish Executive. The concrete bridge crossing the Water of Leith has also sealed the fate of the inner harbour, guaranteeing that no boats or smaller ships can enter it from the outer harbour. Of course this was already the case before the road was built, as the Victoria Swing Bridge has been inoperative for some time, but the hydraulic pumping house which used to power the bridge still exists, and it might have been feasible to restore the bridge to working order. However, this is no longer an option, and today the

commercial boats which are moored at the Shore have been inauthentically transported there by crane (Water of Leith 2000 Ltd, 2006).

Regarding the scale of the new road, it is certainly on a scale larger than most of the historic roads in the town, and is therefore clearly anticipating more large developments like Ocean Terminal and the Scottish Executive. However, the scale of the docks is also larger and more spacious, so this is perhaps appropriate. The new road also eases the pressure of traffic on Bernard Street, Commercial Street, and the Shore, facilitating greater pedestrian use and enjoyment of the historic centre. According to the Nairobi Statement, pedestrian traffic is to be encouraged in historic areas, as it is more in line with the scale of the buildings than motor traffic (UNESCO, 1976). Thus, the addition of pedestrian walkways along the inner harbour and at Commercial Quay can be considered a positive development.

Plots and building density

A comparison of Map 13 and Map 22 shows how the plot structure has been affected by new development. Specific new developments are referred to using labels (A, B, C...), which correspond to their location on Map 22. In general, it can be seen that the narrow Type 1 plots lining the larger streets remain, with the exception of the row to the west of Sandport Place, where a large retail warehouse now stands (A). The larger Type 2 plots have also all been retained. Type 3 plots, which have the characteristic pend access, have

also largely been preserved. In the few cases where these buildings were demolished, the pend access has been incorporated into the design of new buildings (Figure 42).

The plot type which has seen the most change is the larger Type 4 plot and some of the Type 5 plots out near the mouth of the inner harbour. Many of these have been supplanted by new residential developments composed of smaller buildings with some space in between occupied by landscaping and parking areas (B, C, D, E, F, G, H). These have also appeared on gap sites in North Leith (I). This new trend of development constitutes a loss of the former plot structure in these areas, and it has had varying effects on building density throughout the focus area. In South Leith, the new, smaller buildings are generally more dispersed than the original larger ones, and have therefore resulted in a loss of characteristic density, especially in the Timber Bush area. This effect has been intensified by demolitions to make way for parking for existing buildings, such as warehouse conversions (J, K). However, around the mouth of the harbour, where these developments have replaced more dispersed sheds and industrial buildings (F, G, H), or in North Leith, where they have been built on empty gap sites (I), they have resulted in increased building density. This has also been accomplished in North Leith by the creation of a number of new Type 4 plots, mostly in the form of retail warehouses (A, L, M). In terms of building density, these new buildings have

probably returned North Leith to a more authentic state, as, according to Dickson (2009), these gap sites were occupied by buildings prior to the 1970s.

Another major change associated with the new residential developments is their relationship with the street. Originally, these plots were only accessible from the street; however, many of the new developments have their backs to the street, and their main access is from a shared private space of some kind, usually a parking area (C, F, G, H, I). While this new arrangement of buildings reduces the amount of street parking, it is rather inauthentic as it represents the loss of the traditional relationship between buildings and the public street space. According to Samuels and Panerai (2004: 185), this type of trend also results in the absence of the activity and vitality which would have existed with traditional street frontages.

Finally, two new buildings have been constructed in the dock area which echo the original system of large, linear Type E plots along railway lines. These are the Ocean Terminal (N) and Scottish Government (S) buildings, which despite being much larger than former buildings, have retained the characteristic rectangular shape.

Open space

In addition to the general opening up of some areas with demolitions and car parking, a few initiatives have been undertaken to create more open space for public use in the focus area. These include two parks, shown on Map 22

in light green, which were created on gap sites at Sandport Place and Tolbooth Wynd. Although these new parks have altered the pattern of dense building occupation which would have existed before demolitions, they appear to have provided much needed open space and playgrounds for nearby residential areas. Another new open space shown on the map was created in the form of a public square next to the old dock gates in front of the old Sailors' Home, during its conversion to the Malmaison Hotel (Figure 52). The creation of this square has changed the function of the area (this area used to be crossed by railway lines); however, it was appropriate to retain an open space of some kind here near the entrance to the old dock gates. Finally, as shown on Map 19, a system of public walkways has been created along the waterfront, opening up old industrial and dock areas and railway routes for pedestrian use. Although these routes allow public access into once private areas, they are relatively narrow and on a similar scale with the historic built environment, and therefore do not compromise the spatial structure.

4.2.2 Built form and townscape

The changes that have affected the built form and townscape of the focus area are many and varied, and determining the effect of these on the area's authenticity is a complicated matter. It involves looking not only at what has been demolished or conserved, but also at what new buildings have been built, and whether they conflict with or contribute positively to what already

exists in terms of form, scale, materials, and design. These are the questions that will be explored in this section.

Buildings and streetscape

Map 23 shows which buildings in the focus area have been demolished since the 1970s. A comparison with Map 15 shows that most of these are warehouses or industrial buildings. The majority of the demolished warehouses were of the older rubble-built type (e.g. Figure 9 + Figure 10) or the more recent brick type (e.g. Figure 16), while the more ornate late-nineteenth century warehouse and office complexes along Maritime and Water Streets (e.g. Figure 12 - Figure 14) were saved. In addition to warehouses, railway sheds and most of the more recent industrial buildings (e.g. Figure 18 + Figure 19) were also demolished.

Some of these buildings were indeed unsalvageable, as in the case of Timber Bush, where a large number of warehouses were gutted in a fire in the 1980s (Dickson, 2009), or they may have been very difficult to reuse. However, others were simply demolished to make way for new development or to meet the growing demand for parking caused by new residential developments. A significant number of these made a positive contribution to the 'architectural, historic, or townscape character of the conservation area' (CEDC, 1980: 12), and some were even listed (Dickson, 2009). Therefore, according to the Local Plan and the international charters on area

conservation (see Section 2.2), these buildings should theoretically have been retained, and their loss has certainly diminished the cultural significance of the area. Demolitions have meant a significant loss of traditional and more modern building types, materials, and styles throughout the focus area, as well as a loss of continuity, density, and enclosure in areas like Maritime Street, the Shore, Timber Bush, and Tower Street. The illustrative value embodied in the physical fabric of buildings like railway sheds, factories, and ship-repair yards has also been sacrificed.

However, in the context of contemporaneous examples of waterfront regeneration in other historic port cities around the world, the demolitions in Leith are perhaps more understandable. As noted in Section 2.1, Shaw has explained how in the earlier waterfront regeneration projects in 1970s and 1980s, it was still considered risky or expensive to undertake conversions of unfamiliar building types like warehouses (Shaw, 2001: 160-1), and how 'one of the arts of large-scale conservation was to know when to allow demolition and when to fight for preservation' (Shaw, 2001: 162). According to Dickson (2009), this was also the case in Leith in the 1980s, when the majority of these buildings were demolished.

Also, Leith did retain and convert a substantial number of warehouses. This began in 1983, with the conversion of a former warehouse and cooperage on the inner harbour into private flats (Figure 43), which set the example for many more similar conversions in the 1980s and 1990s (Figure 44 - Figure 46)

(Dickson, 2009). In most of these cases, features of historical and architectural interest, such as the central hoist mechanism and doors, have been retained and restored. This means that while world-renowned conversion projects such as the Albert Dock warehouses in Liverpool were being pioneered in the early 1980s (Rodwell, 2008: 90), Leith was trying to conserve some of its waterfront heritage in the same way. In some instances, Leith has even made more sound conservation decisions than other cities. This is illustrated by the decision to keep the row of early nineteenth-century bonded warehouses designed by John Rennie at the Old East and West Docks (Figure 11). A similar set of warehouses by Rennie used to exist at the London Docks, and in the 1970s, these two developments were the oldest surviving regular range of multi-storey harbour warehouses in Britain. However, the warehouses at London Docks were subsequently demolished, while the ones in Leith were listed and later converted into mixed-use developments at Commercial Quay (Figure 47) (Historic Scotland, 1987).

In addition, Map 23 shows that aside from a few tenements, the remaining building types in the area, including commercial, office, residential, and civic, were nearly all retained (see Figure 3 - Figure 7 + Figure 21 - Figure 29). This is important, as these buildings embodied key historical and aesthetic values of the area. Also, in the 1980s, restoration work was carried out in the form of stone cleaning and repair to properties on Bernard Street and the Shore

(Figure 48 + Figure 49), and to prestigious buildings such as the Customs House (Figure 50) and the Old Leith Town Hall (EEN, 22/3/82; Dickson, 2009). Stone cleaning and stone replacement were also undertaken as part of the conversions of warehouses and other buildings, such as St Ninian's Manse and Quayside Mills, which were converted into architects' offices (Figure 51), and the Sailors' Home, which became the Malmaison Hotel (Figure 52) (SCRAN, 2009). Along with other environmental improvements, such as cleaning up the Water of Leith, repairing and replacing granite setts (Thompson, 1983), and installing new historic Leith lamppost casts (Figure 53) (Dickson, 2009), these restoration processes have had the effect of enhancing the aesthetic value and historic character of the area.

Finally, it is important to consider the effect that new building has had on the built form and townscape of the focus area. The need for new development to be sensitive to its context was established by area conservation charters in the 1970s. As noted in Section 2.2, both the Nairobi Statement (UNESCO, 1976) and the Amsterdam Declaration (ICOMOS, 1975) stated that new buildings should respect and harmonise with specific features in the townscape. In the same decade, it was recognised at the ICOMOS Symposium on the Introduction of Contemporary Architecture into Groups of Ancient Buildings, that new development must also make 'deliberate use of present-day techniques and materials' and 'avoid any imitations which would

affect [the] artistic and historic value' of the built environment (ICOMOS, 1972).

In the regeneration of Leith, many new buildings have reintroduced similar heights, massing, and rhythm, helping to recover the continuous frontages and sense of enclosure which were lost in demolitions. This is especially true on the Shore (Figure 54), south of Bernard Street, and along the south side of Tower Street (Figure 55 - Figure 57). Also, in the Timber Bush area, some of the new buildings are similar in mass and scale to warehouses; however, the dense and continuous nature of the buildings has not been fully recovered, as explained in Section 4.2.1 (Figure 58).

In other instances, less sensitive building forms have been introduced. For example, although the Ronaldson's Wharf development in North Leith echoes the continuity of the tenements which used to stand in this area, they lack the verticality and rhythm of the previous flats (Figure 59). In addition, the new retail warehouses in North Leith are much lower than traditional tenements which still exist or have been demolished in that area (Figure 60). Also, residential developments which have replaced railway sheds in the dock area are much taller and therefore block the view towards the outer harbour (Figure 61). Likewise, although the rectangular Scottish Executive office and Ocean Terminal maintain the shape of former plots in the dock area, they are on a much larger scale, and therefore break the visual and physical connection with the water beyond them (Figure 62).

The subject of new building and imitations is also a complicated subject. In the town area and along the inner harbour, there has been more of a tendency for new building to try to 'fit in', and there are quite a few examples of 'pastiche' architecture which could be said to compromise the authenticity of the area. These designs have usually involved referencing the form or materials in the historic surroundings. Take, for example, the crow-stepped-gabled tenement on the Shore (Figure 63), which looks similar to the gabled Ship Inn next door, and recent housing at Shore Place (Figure 64), half of which uses harling and crow-stepped gables to echo the adjacent Lamb's House, while the other half resembles the adjacent warehouse (Dickson, 2009). One design which is practically an outright copy is the Leith House office building on the Shore (Figure 65), which has been built as a 'sister house' to the neighbouring 1912 warehouse (Gregor Shore, 2007: 34). The King's Landing housing development (Figure 66) also attempts to look 'historical' with the use of harling and crow-stepped gables, as does this infill development on the Shore (Figure 67), which displays a turret similar to those found on Scottish Baronial buildings in the area.

However, although the conservation charters dictate avoidance of the pastiche, the question of what constitutes acceptable new architecture is certainly not a straightforward one. For a start, the recommendation to 'respect the context' leaves considerable room for interpretation, and there are certainly people who prefer historical styles and believe, rather, that

more modern interventions actually disrespect the context (e.g. Adam, 2009). This is clearly true for the architects who have designed the buildings in Leith described above, and it is also true for at least some local people in Leith. For example, during the planning stages of Ronaldson's Wharf (Figure 59), there was considerable local opposition to its modern design, and it was referred to in local press as a 'third-rate eye-sore' (Evans, 2004: 40). This debate brings to light a disparity noted by the traditional architect Robert Adam – that the preoccupation with authenticity and truthful architectural expression which underpins modern conservation is not necessarily in tune with the sense of place held by many people (Adam 1998 and 2003, cited in Pendlebury, 2009: 178).

Looking at other recent developments in the focus area, many of them are obviously contemporary. Some of them make a point to use materials and design, which although modern, still have a point of reference in the surrounding context. The Scottish Executive building (Figure 68), for example, is maritime in nature and uses sandstone cladding to echo the opposite line of stone warehouses (Field, 1995: 33). The Tower place and Rennie's Isle developments on either side of the Victoria Swing Bridge also incorporate some stone cladding, as well as blue steel elements which echo the nearby bridge (Figure 69). From a modern conservation point of view, these are probably the types of new development which, in terms of

materials and design, are least threatening to the context and authenticity of the area.

Finally, there are also other contemporary buildings seem to have ignored the existing context. Take for example Ronaldson's Wharf (Figure 70), where the use of cedar wood (Evans, 2004: 41) and a glass wave decoration at the top floor have no reference point in the surrounding materiality. This rather foreign use of wood is also exhibited by other developments in the area. Another development, which like the Scottish Executive (Figure 62), is built to resemble an ocean-liner, seems rather more out of place for its use of materials, which include terra cotta cladding and extensive glazing (Taylor, 1998: 23). In addition, the tall office block next to Ocean Terminal (Figure 71) looks like something which could be found in the business district of any modern city. However, it is also important to note that out in the dock area, where there is less of a defined framework of existing materials and design, there is more scope for more adventurous architecture. What is probably most important is that a more unified approach is taken to the future development of the docks, so that a lack of coherence does not compromise the integrity of the site.

Port heritage

Some of the obsolete port structures which existed before regeneration (Map 17), including Victoria Swing Bridge and the swing bridge, lock and gate

keeper's lodge at the entrance to the East Old Dock, have been retained and restored (Figure 72 + Figure 73). Also, Victoria Dock was incorporated into the Scottish Executive office development (Figure 74). The existence of these features today is certainly positive, as they add to the visual interest and character of the area and also help to illustrate how it used to function as a port.

On a less positive note, the in-filled Old East and West Docks have been redeveloped in a way that is insensitive to the form that used to exist there. While it is true that these areas had already been filled in, it might have been possible to re-excavate them. This was done in London, where large areas of in-filled docks in the Wapping, Surrey, and Greenland Dock areas were re-excavated after the formation of the London Docklands Development Corporation in 1980 (Shaw, 2001: 165-6). If this had been done in Leith, there would have been a scene similar to Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires (Figure 75), where small boats can still call at the old wet docks along a long row of nineteenth-century warehouses, and the visual connection with the historic docks has been retained (Breen and Rigby: 130-131). Instead, this area in Leith was redeveloped in the mid-1990s to cater for the new Scottish Executive offices. The old dock area has been transformed into a massive parking area, and the area along the warehouses, Commercial Quay, has been decorated with a small, symbolic water feature (Figure 75). In addition, the two remaining ship repair and building yards have been completely

redeveloped into Ocean Terminal (Figure 62) and an exclusive residential development called Rennie's Isle (Figure 61), two developments which have no connection to the form or character of the former docks and shipbuilding yards.

The only exception to the treatment of these in-filled area is a landscaping scheme carried out in 1986 to Leith's first (and Scotland's oldest) dry dock on the inner harbour (Mowat, 1994: 238-9). Although this had also been filled in, it was decided to leave this area as an open space and to landscape it in a way that reveals the outline of the former dock (Figure 75). This is probably better than redevelopment, but the site is rather hidden and unmarked, and it would be greatly enhanced by some signs or interpretive materials.

4.2.3 Historic uses and associations

Aside from the historical and aesthetic values expressed by the physical and visual qualities of the historic environment, the cultural significance of an area can also be expressed through less tangible elements like uses and associations (UNESCO, 1976; ICOMOS Australia, 1999). Over the course of regeneration, uses in the focus area have largely broken with the historic ones of maritime and industrial activity. A comparison of Map 14 and Map 24 shows quite a dramatic shift towards residential, office, and mixed use developments. This has been a result of historic buildings and warehouses taking on mainly private residential and office uses, new residential

developments being introduced into the area, and new leisure, mixed-use, and retail developments supplanting shipping and shipbuilding in areas like Commercial Quay and Ocean Terminal. Two areas that have seen some continuity in terms of types of uses are North Leith and the Shore, which are still inhabited by a wide range of uses, including public houses, flats, and offices.

It is difficult to say if the shift away from former uses could have been avoided in any way, as de-industrialisation was happening in port areas around the world at this time. However, it does seem that the recruitment of new industrial and manufacturing activities was intentionally restricted in regeneration plans for the focus area. The creation of new housing in Leith was certainly a priority, but so was the encouragement of small-scale industry (CEDC, 1980: 3). However, as explained in Section 4.1, the decision was taken to locate new workshops and industrial estates in more outlying areas, away from the historic waterfront area (see Proposals map in Appendix B). This approach may have been due to a lack of space in the focus area; however, there were a number of larger gap sites in the area, and a large amount of land opened up for redevelopment when Forth Ports was privatised in 1992, but virtually all of these sites eventually became private new-build housing, office, or retail developments. It is perhaps more likely, and this is indicated in the planning documents (EC, 1975: Appendix E), that

the historic waterfront area was regarded as an attractive zone with potential to attract higher-value residential and office uses.

According to the Burra Charter, historic associations are often linked to the way a place is used (Australia ICOMOS, 1999). Therefore, although it is impossible to fully destroy the associations of remaining buildings, these have been diminished in part by the loss of former uses. Perhaps as a reaction to this, substantial efforts have been made to restore or re-express these associations. For example, many new developments have been given historic or maritime-sounding names, such as Rennie's Isle, Ronaldson's Wharf, King's Landing, and Tower Wharf for residential developments; the Cooperage and Maritime Bond for warehouse conversions; and names like Skippers, Malt and Hops, and the Granary for new or renovated restaurants and pubs (Figure 77). Also, a number of historic and maritime objects have been placed along the new pedestrianised waterside routes. These objects are shown on the photos in Figure 78 and on Map 25. They include an anchor, cannons, a small lighthouse, a harpoon gun, a ship's wheel, small commercial ships on the Shore, and the Royal Yacht Britannia, which is berthed at Ocean Terminal. There are also a number of interpretive materials throughout the area which relate the port's history (Figure 79).

Some of these names and objects do in fact communicate true historical associations of Leith. For example, Ronaldson's Wharf was built on an old wharf by that name, Rennie's Isle was built next to the Old Docks, which were

designed by John Rennie, and the Cooperage was in fact being used as a cooperage in the 1970s. Also, some of the objects placed around the waterfront are indeed authentic historical objects from the area, such as the harpoon gun, which is associated with Leith's former whaling and oil industries, and the cannons, which come from the old Leith Fort (Dickson, 2009). The interpretive materials also relate important aspects of the area's history and built heritage, such as the former use of the Ocean Terminal site as a shipbuilding yard. These efforts are therefore effective in conveying some important associations where uses have been lost.

However, other names and objects are less authentic. While the names of some new developments do in fact express true associations of Leith, they are not true for the specific sites they refer to. For example, the Granary evokes Leith's history of flour-milling, which still continues today in the docks, but this building has never been a flour mill. Also, although there was at least one brewery in Leith (RCAHMS, 2009), the former warehouse that houses the Malt and Hops (formerly the Drawbridge Tavern) was never associated with the brewing industry. In addition, the residential development called King's Landing is actually across the harbour from the real site of King George IV's landing, where it was marked with a plaque in 1822 (Figure 80). Also, the commercial ship docked at the Shore called Mary of Guise certainly had no connection with Mary when she was in Leith in the sixteenth century. Finally, names like Skippers and Tower Wharf are simply

generic maritime names which could be found in any dockside redevelopment scheme.

It is also true that some of the objects placed around the waterfront are in fact not authentic at all, or they have been put in inauthentic places, resulting in a museum-like, semi-fictional or 'Disneyfied' experience. Take, for example, the small model lighthouse squeezed onto the cobbled waterfront, or the harpoon gun, which would never have been used on the inner harbour. Also, the cannons were never used to guard the old dock gates where they now stand. In the case of the Royal Yacht Britannia, the true associations of this site as a historic shipbuilding yard have been obscured, as a large visitors' centre has put the emphasis on the Queen and the Royal Family, and the true history of shipbuilding has been relegated to a small sign outside the shopping mall.

Finally, it can be said that attempts to create a new image for Leith in order to attract investment have clouded some of its true associations by changing the way the area is perceived. For example, although restoration processes such as stone cleaning have enhanced the aesthetic value of the area, they have also destroyed its symbolic patina, which according to the Appleton Charter (ICOMOS Canada, 1983), 'forms part of the historic integrity of a resource'. Pristine buildings and wine bars fail to communicate the darker reality of a true industrial history, but they do attract investors, visitors, and tourists, and there is a sense that Leith's built environment was being

marketed for the more superficial qualities of aesthetic interest and historic character, especially in the 1980s. For example, in 1984, one of the leaders of the regeneration of Leith, Jim MacFarlane, explained how restored buildings in Bernard Street provided 'office accommodation as attractive as Edinburgh New Town', and that Leith was 'taking its share of the Edinburgh tourist market by promoting its industrial heritage' (Bairstow, 1984). Another article from that year describes a recent advertisement for Leith, probably sponsored by the SDA:

A stroll along the cobbled water-front followed by a glass of wine in a cafe. Anyone who's been near the place in the last couple of years will know it's become, dare we say it, just a little bit trendy. Come for the character of an 800-year-old port, Scotland's most ancient. Come now. The oysters are waiting in their shells, the Muscadet is chilling in the ice buckets (advert quoted in Pendreigh, 1984).

This approach is an example of place-marketing, as outlined by Atkinson et al (2002: 27), whereby 'those aspects of the locale deemed attractive to investors, consumers and tourists are identified and mobilised for promotional purposes', and the 'city is marketed as a site of cleanliness, leisure and consumption, but one marked by distinctive historic buildings or quarters'. Although this process has successfully attracted investment and new uses to the area, it has also resulted in a new image which is slightly out of touch with historical reality.

4.2.4 Local identity and community spirit

The final point of consideration in this analysis is the effect of regeneration initiatives on the identity and spirit of the existing community. As mentioned in Section 2.2, conservation charters in the 1970s and 1980s were concerned that the processes of area conservation should be socially progressive. This meant maintaining existing communities, avoiding displacement through gentrification, and ensuring social balance and integration (Council of Europe, 1975; UNESCO, 1976; ICOMOS, 1987). Despite these recommendations, displacement of existing residents did occur in some waterfront regeneration schemes in the 1980s. Take for example, Singapore, where thousands of families and street hawkers were resettled, and many river industries were removed in the clean-up of the Singapore River and the restoration of its historic shop houses (Breen and Rigby, 1996: 123-5).

This is not exactly what has happened in Leith, as building conversions and new building have not resulted in the direct displacement of existing residents. In addition, restoration initiatives of residential and commercial properties in places like Bernard Street have been coordinated with housing repair schemes and funded jointly by the Leith Project and various public bodies (Dickson, 2009). As a result, they have been affordable enough for existing residents and proprietors. Also, although the majority of new-build developments in the focus area have been private, housing associations like

the Port of Leith Housing Association have been successful in securing sites to build some new developments in the focus area (Figure 63 + Figure 64).

However, it is certainly true that an influx of new, higher-value uses has attracted a wealthier group of people to the area, and that this has caused some discontent among existing residents. From the beginning, new private residential developments and conversions have been far outside the price range of the average Leither. In the 1980s, one or two bedroom flats in converted warehouses were quoted as costing £30,000 or more (EEN, 22/3/88), while a typical Leither would have been looking for low-cost public sector housing (CEDC, 1980: 5). Also, since the 1990s, many of the new-build residential developments have housed luxury flats, with one or two-bedroom flats costing at least £100,000 (Houston, 2001; Smith, 2002). It is also true that vacant buildings could have been used to bring back some of the people who had been displaced during the clearances of the 1950s and 1970s, but as one Leither put it, these buildings were instead 'colonised' by 'other immigrants—the occupants of executive room and kitchens, the upwardly mobile couples, wine merchants, artists, and restaurateurs' (Scotland on Sunday, 11/9/88; Smith, 1989).

Also, many of the new uses which have come into the focus area have not been accessible to existing residents or have replaced uses that used to serve them. For example, new office uses that have been attracted to the area are not the type of jobs to mop up losses in traditional heavy industry.

Organisations such as design firms and the Scottish Executive require skilled workers, and many of these are recruited from Edinburgh. This is probably why the unemployment rate for local Leithers was reported as being twice that for the city of Edinburgh in 2001 (Cochrane, 2001). In addition, most Leithers are not able to afford the new restaurants and wine bars along the waterfront, which cater for a wealthier crowd. This would not matter so much if the older, more affordable ones remained. However, most of the public houses in the focus area have been renovated, resulting in a price increase and a shift away from more traditional food (Dunn, 1985). In 1989, one Leither recalled the days when the Shore used to be 'terrific entertainment for a seaman. The Jungle, the Angel, the Tower—rough pubs but great pubs. Now they're snooty wine bars' (Smith, 1989). In the same year, another Leither asked, 'Why does every old boozer have to be turned into a yuppie bar?' (Smith, 1989).

Gauging by the tone of resentment in these statements, it seems probable that the loss of traditional institutions like 'spit-and-sawdust' pubs have eroded the local identity somewhat. In addition, prior to regeneration, sites in the port, such as docks, shipbuilding yards, and warehouses would have been an important source of identity for the existing residents of Leith because they had been the traditional way to make a living for so many years. Therefore, the fact that very few Leithers could afford or be employed

by the new uses which now occupied this heritage can be seen as deterioration in communal value.

Another theme underlying the commentary about the recent regeneration suggests that community spirit is now divided in Leith because there are effectively two communities living there. When asked about the topic of community spirit in 2001, one Leither responded:

There's two sets of classes in Leith...those who can afford the £150,000 flats and us...And there's no real mixing. They go and have lobster down at the restaurants and bistros on The Shore and look at us—our lunch is a coffee and bacon sandwich (Cochrane, 2001).

In a different article, another person declared that 'the yuppies don't come into our pubs and we don't go into theirs, mainly because we cannot afford the prices' (Smith, 1989).

Indeed, there are still many people living in tenements, housing estates, and tower blocks on the fringe of the focus area, just south of Tolbooth Wynd, on Great Junction Street, and at the foot of Leith Walk (Figure 81). When moving from these areas towards the waterfront, it is easy to observe a change in the culture of the pubs. The old, non-regenerated Leith pubs have a much stronger, local feel, and the prices are certainly lower. The same is true for shopping. A stroll from Leith Walk to the waterfront will once again reveal that the local commercial centre of Leith is still at the site of the old Kirkgate at the New Kirkgate shopping centre and along Great Junction

Street. It is here that more affordable shopping can be had at places like Lidl and small independent retailers, whereas a more up-market commercial centre has emerged around the waterfront with developments such as Marks and Spencer Food in Ocean Terminal.

Considering the comments from 'old' Leithers described in this section, it is clear that there is at least a strong perception that regeneration has been more economically than socially or community-led thus far, and that this has had a damaging effect on community spirit. Also, although the new residential developments have not led to the direct displacement of existing Leithers, it is not unlikely that social and economic changes taking place in the focus area will eventually lead to the departure of original residents, as it may be more profitable for them to sell their properties or they may feel socially excluded.

4.3 Evaluation of the Leith case

In summary, Leith's regeneration has seen successes and failures over the course of the past thirty years. When it comes to urban morphology and built form, it is clear from the analysis that the authenticity of Leith's waterfront heritage has been compromised to some extent by demolitions and instances of insensitive redevelopment. However, some of these changes, such as demolitions for car parking, might be seen as necessary adaptations to the modern way of life. In addition, some of the conservation initiatives in Leith are indeed laudable. This is

especially true for warehouse conversions during the 1980s. Although not all buildings were saved, these efforts succeeded in conserving some of Scotland's 'finest collection of bonded and general warehouses' (Hume, 1976: 194), which in other cities, might not have been saved. Also, in conjunction with several instances of sensitive redevelopment, conservation initiatives have managed to retain most of the historic street pattern in the focus area, which one decade earlier, might have been wiped out by large-scale redevelopment. Finally, restoration initiatives have certainly resulted in an enhanced aesthetic experience and a new-found appreciation for the area's built environment.

The aspect of Leith's heritage which has probably been overlooked the most is the local community. New uses which are inaccessible to locals have effectively divorced them from the heritage which has provided a source of identity and a way of life for generations. New uses which ignore the needs of locals have also dampened the community spirit with frustration and resentment. Finally, it seems that the uses associated with the area have been changed beyond necessity, and that some of Leith's true historical associations have been lost or obscured by the inauthentic marketing or presentation of its heritage.

5.0 Conclusion

The result so far in Leith is a good illustration of the fact that the practice of area conservation requires a more flexible approach to maintaining authenticity than traditional building conservation. However, this fact still begs the question: how much

change is acceptable? Has the authenticity of Leith been reduced to a mere 'aura of historicness', as some other regenerated areas have been accused (Pendlebury, 2009: 119)? On the whole, it does seem that the regeneration of Leith has thus far taken a slightly superficial approach by marketing historic character and ambience in the name of attracting high-value uses, investors, and visitors. While this has enhanced the aesthetic and environmental value of the area and retained substantial amounts of historic fabric and patterns, it has also led to a significant change in the social and economic character of the area, and to inauthentic expressions of its historical associations, so that it is now only tenuously linked with the activities and people who used to inhabit it.

What exactly is behind this trend that has befallen Leith and other waterfront cities around the world? With the decline in traditional port activities, the former port setting has been transformed from one associated with labour and industry to one synonymous with leisure, consumption, prestige, and luxury. This effect has been compounded in historic port areas, where industrial buildings and warehouses, once close to demolition, have become distinctive and trendy places to live.

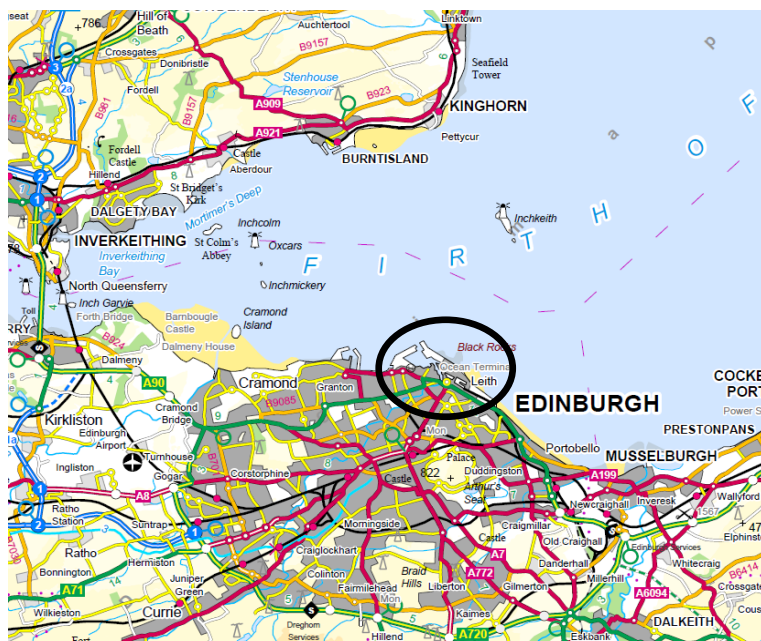
As regeneration continues in Leith, it is important to remember this trend and to strive for a more balanced approach. Most importantly, measures must be taken to ensure that existing residents are not excluded. Sufficient levels of affordable housing, social uses, and amenities must be provided in order to avoid perpetuating the already existing community divide. On a positive note, the Leith Docks Development Framework guarantees that at least twenty-five percent of new housing will be affordable homes

(CEC, 2005: 8). The challenge here will be integrating these homes into the new urban villages, so that there is a well-balanced sense of community. Another aspect of Leith's current regeneration which looks promising for local community interests is the Leith Townscape Heritage Initiative. This was launched a few years ago, with the intention of renovating and giving new uses to buildings in the port's traditional 'heartland', an area of Leith which until now has been neglected. Rather than converting these into exclusive offices and flats, the emphasis is now on providing new community or cultural uses (EEN 13/6/05; EEN 1/11/05).

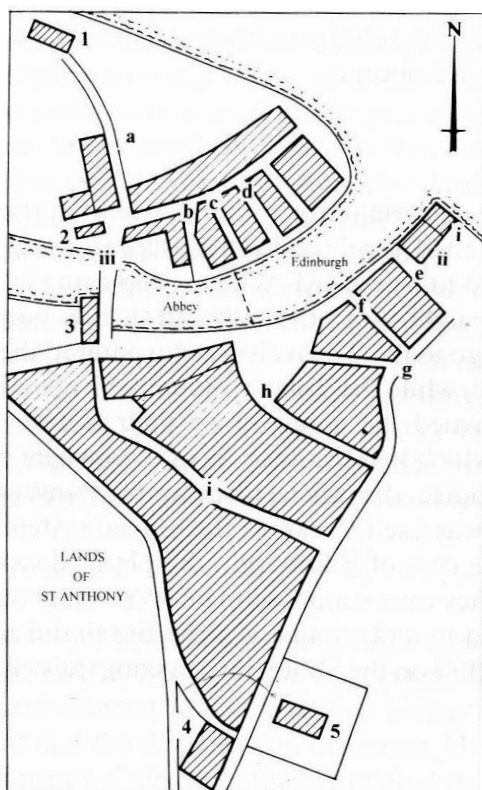
It is also important that new developments in the dock area are sensitive to the existing built and morphological context. The planning application approved for this area is the largest one in Edinburgh's history (Welch and Lumholt, 2008), and there is considerable room for error in such a large project. However, the Leith Docks Development Framework does include very sensitive policies for the treatment of historic port infrastructure. Existing elements of built heritage, such as docks, cranes, and pumping houses, are all to be conserved, and new developments are to be focused around 'heritage hubs' – significant features of natural and built heritage (CEC, 2005).

There are thus a number of aspects of the current regeneration plans which indicate an attempt to compensate for past mistakes with more sensitive policies for today. If future development proceeds cautiously, with an eye to the successes and failures of the past, it is possible that Leith can achieve a more balanced and well-rounded regeneration, which takes all heritage values more equally into account.

Map 1 – Leith’s location on the Firth of Forth, approximately 1.5 miles northeast of central Edinburgh. © Crown Copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.



Map 2 – Plan of Leith at the end of the 15th century, showing the growth of the town (published in Mowat, 1994: 45).

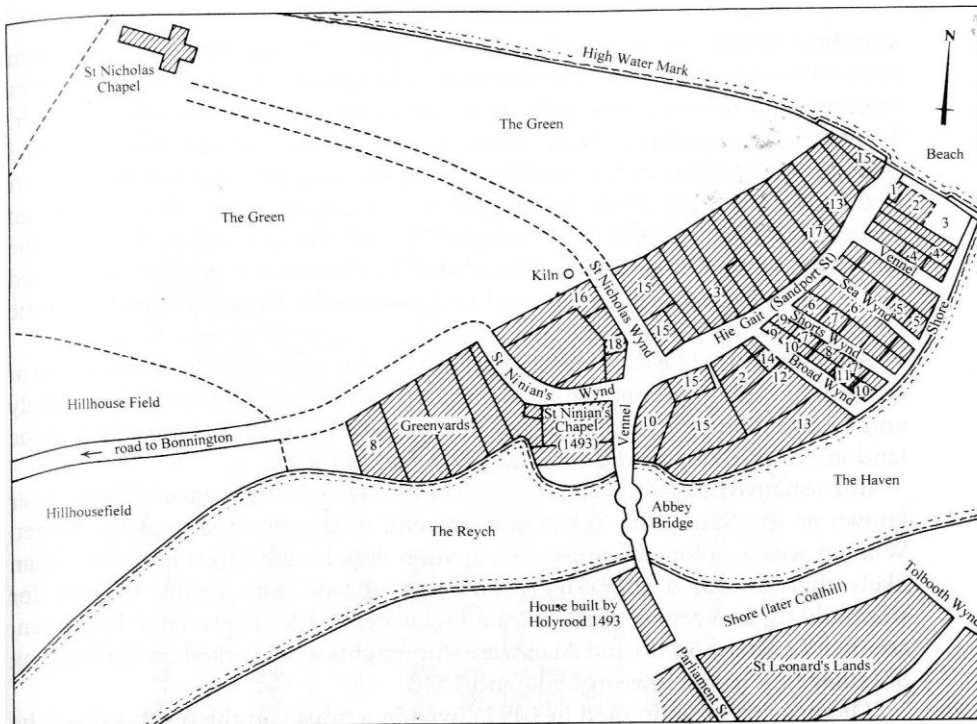


- 1 St Nicholas Chapel
- 2 St Ninian’s Chapel (1493)
- 3 House built by Abbey (1493)
- 4 St Anthony’s Preceptory (1430)
- 5 St Mary’s Church (1483)

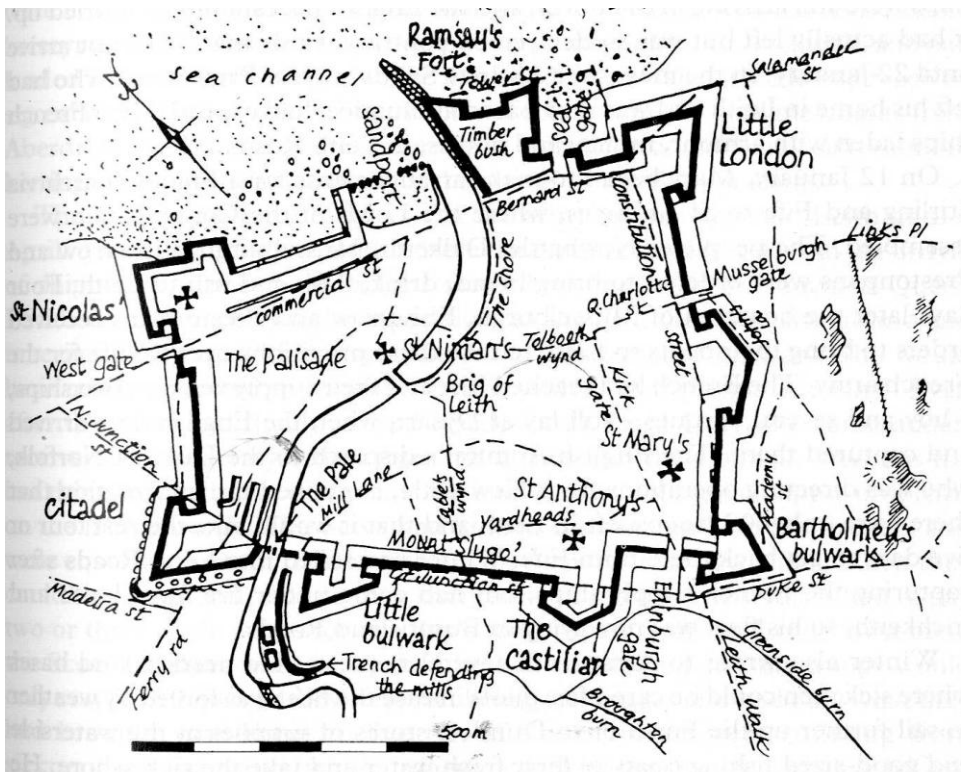
- i First phase of King’s Wark (1428)
- ii Second phase of King’s Wark (1458)
- iii Bridge built by Holyrood Abbey (early C14)

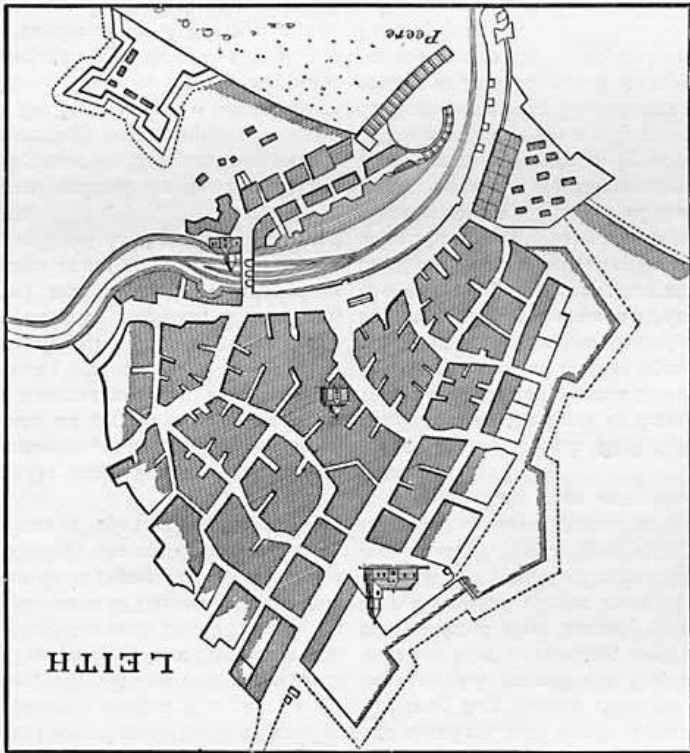
- a St Nicholas Wynd
- b Broad Wynd, North Leith
- c Short’s Wynd
- d Sea Wynd
- e Broad Wynd, South Leith
- f Burgess Close
- g Rotten Row
- h High Street
- i Dub Row

Map 3 – North Leith at the start of the 16th century
(published in Mowat, 1994: 65).



Map 4 – Plan of the French fortifications at the time of the Siege of Leith in 1560 (© Mr Stuart Harris & The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; published in Mowat, 1994: 121).





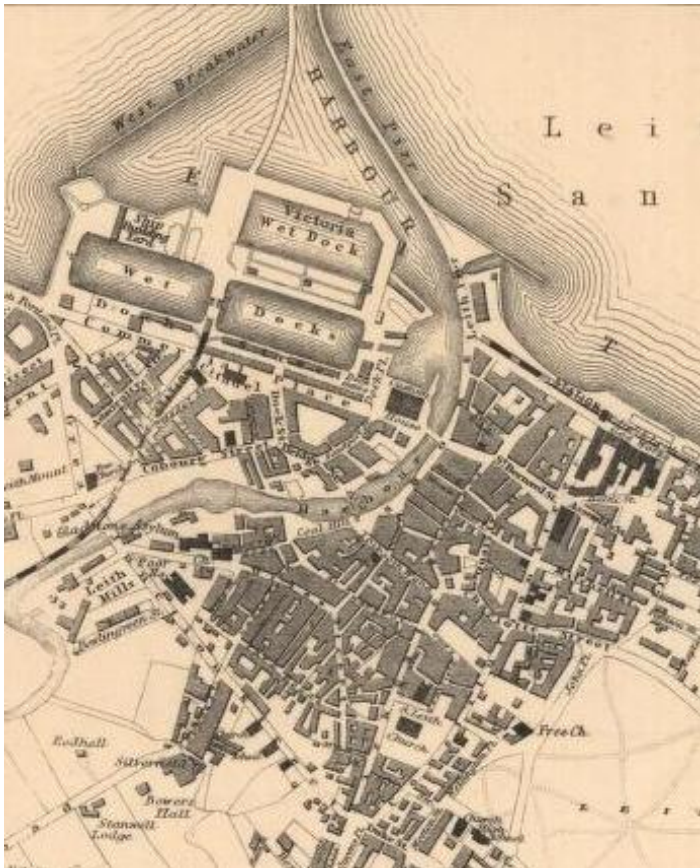
Map 5 - The Port of Leith in 1693, showing the growth of the town towards the line of the former fortifications. The Citadel is to the northwest, and the development of harbour facilities can be seen on the north bank and at the mouth of the river (engraving from Old and New Edinburgh, 1890; © Peter Stubbs).



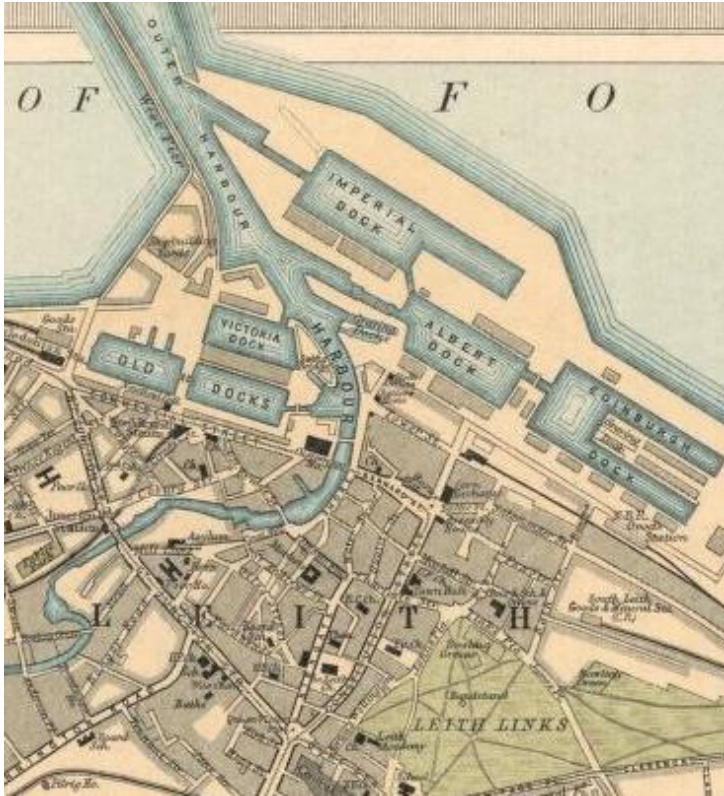
Map 6 – Old and New Town of Edinburgh with proposed docks (1804) (John Ainslie, 1804; © National Library of Scotland [NLS]).



Map 7 – The City of Edinburgh (1837) (Robert Stevenson & Son, 1837; © NLS).



Map 8 - Plan of Edinburgh, Leith and suburbs (1856) (W. & A. K. Johnston, 1856; © NLS).

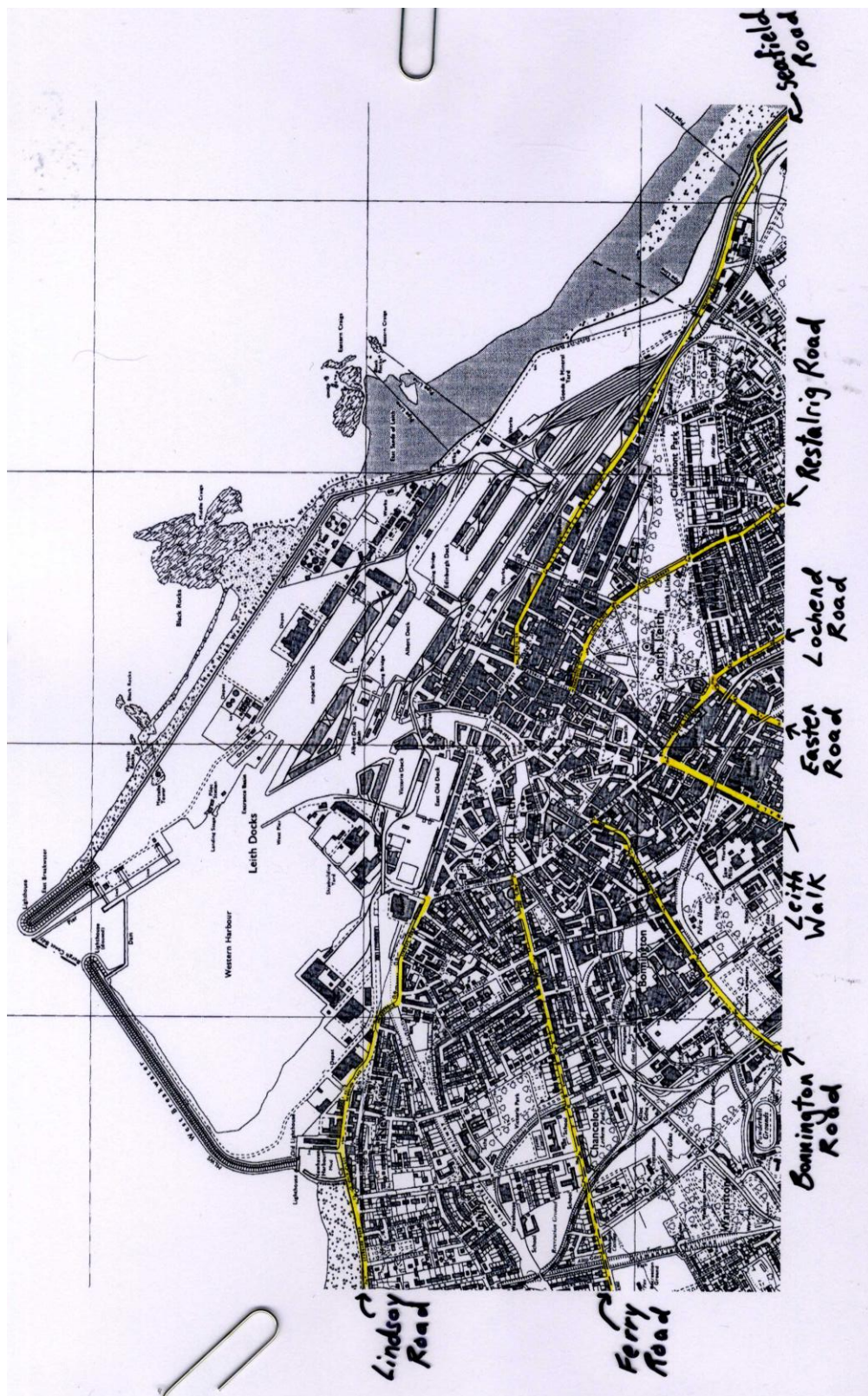


**Map 9 - Plan of
Edinburgh and Leith
(1912) (J. G.
Bartholomew, 1912;
© NLS).**

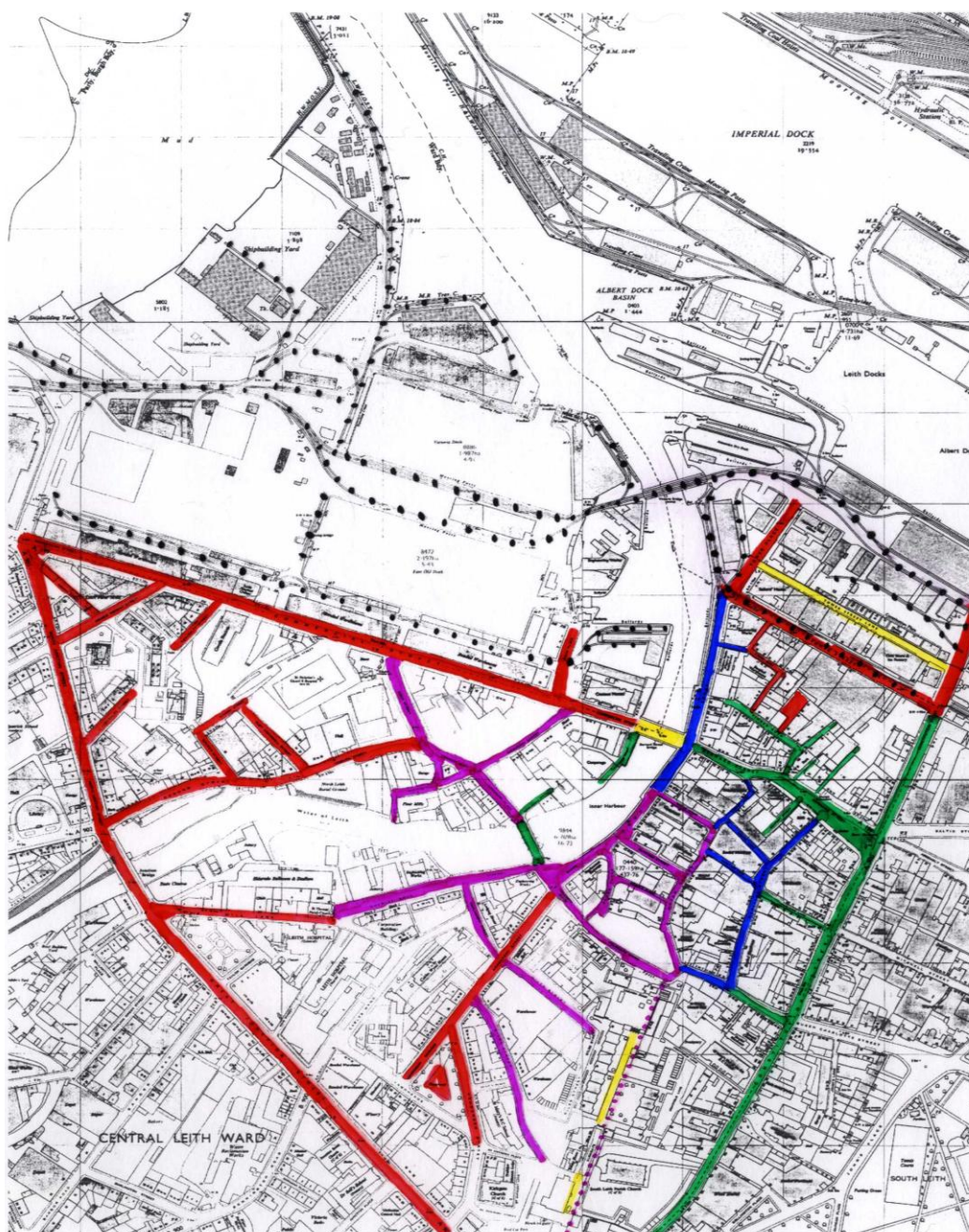
Map 10 - Focus area before regeneration (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).



Map 11 - Principal transportation links with Edinburgh and surrounding area before regeneration
(National Grid 1:10000, 1973 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).

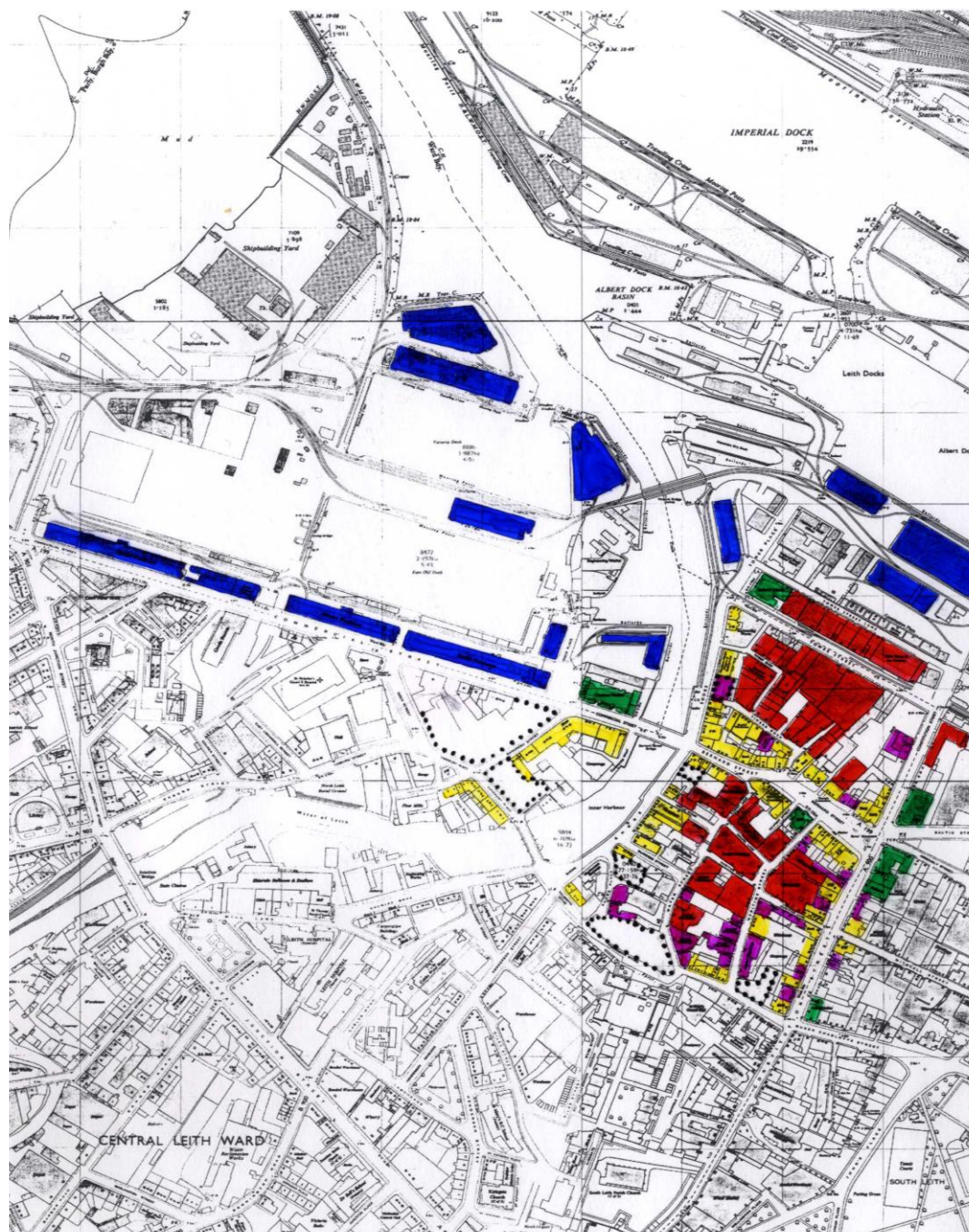


Map 12 - Historical development of street pattern and access routes in the focus area before regeneration (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).



- Pre-16th century
- Pre-18th century
- 18th century
- 19th century
- 20th century
- Remaining (disused) railway tracks






Map 13 – Existing plot typologies and gap sites in the focus area before regeneration (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).



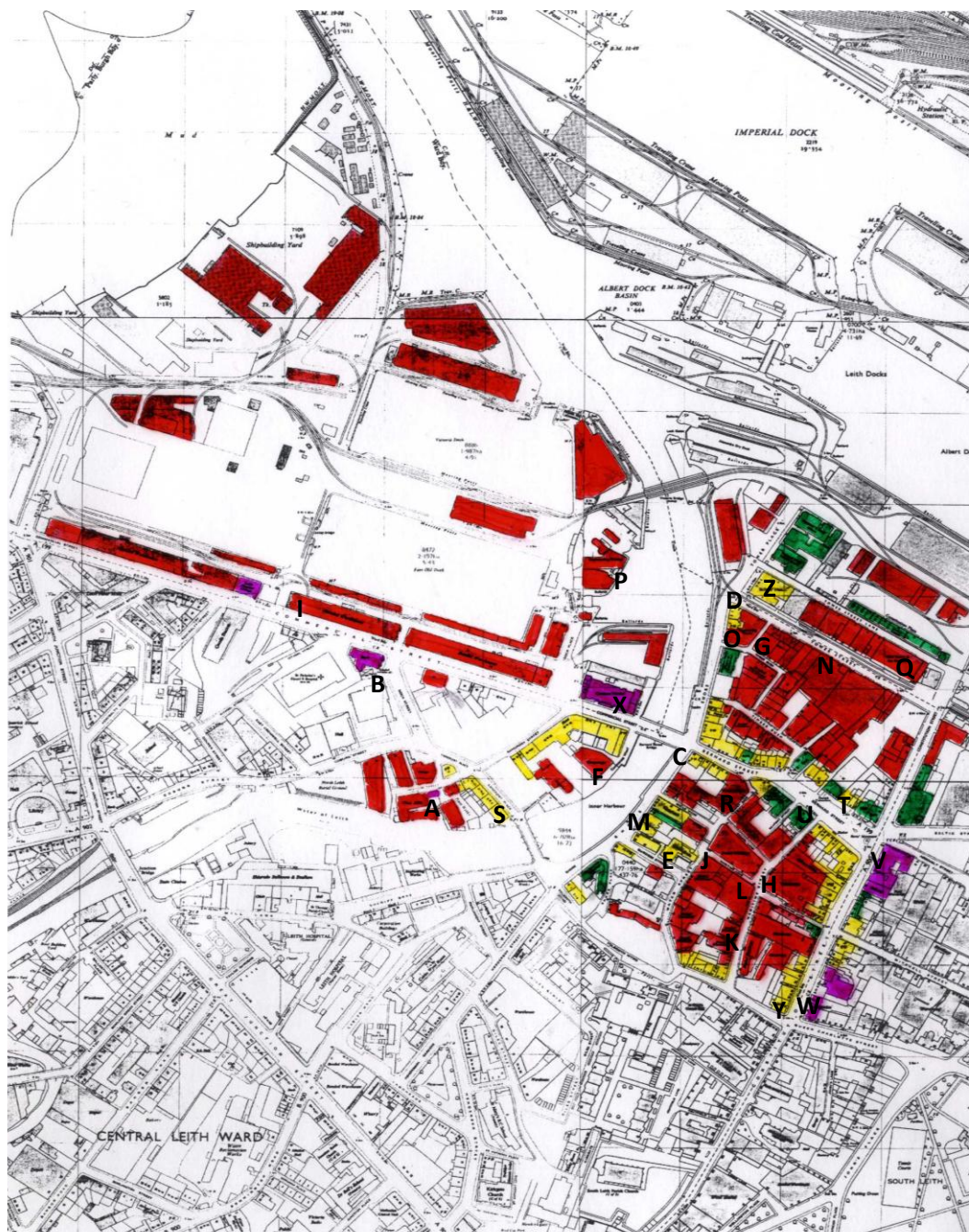
- Type 1
- Type 2
- Type 3
- Type 4
- Type 5
- Gap site

Map 14 - Historic uses associated with the focus area (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).



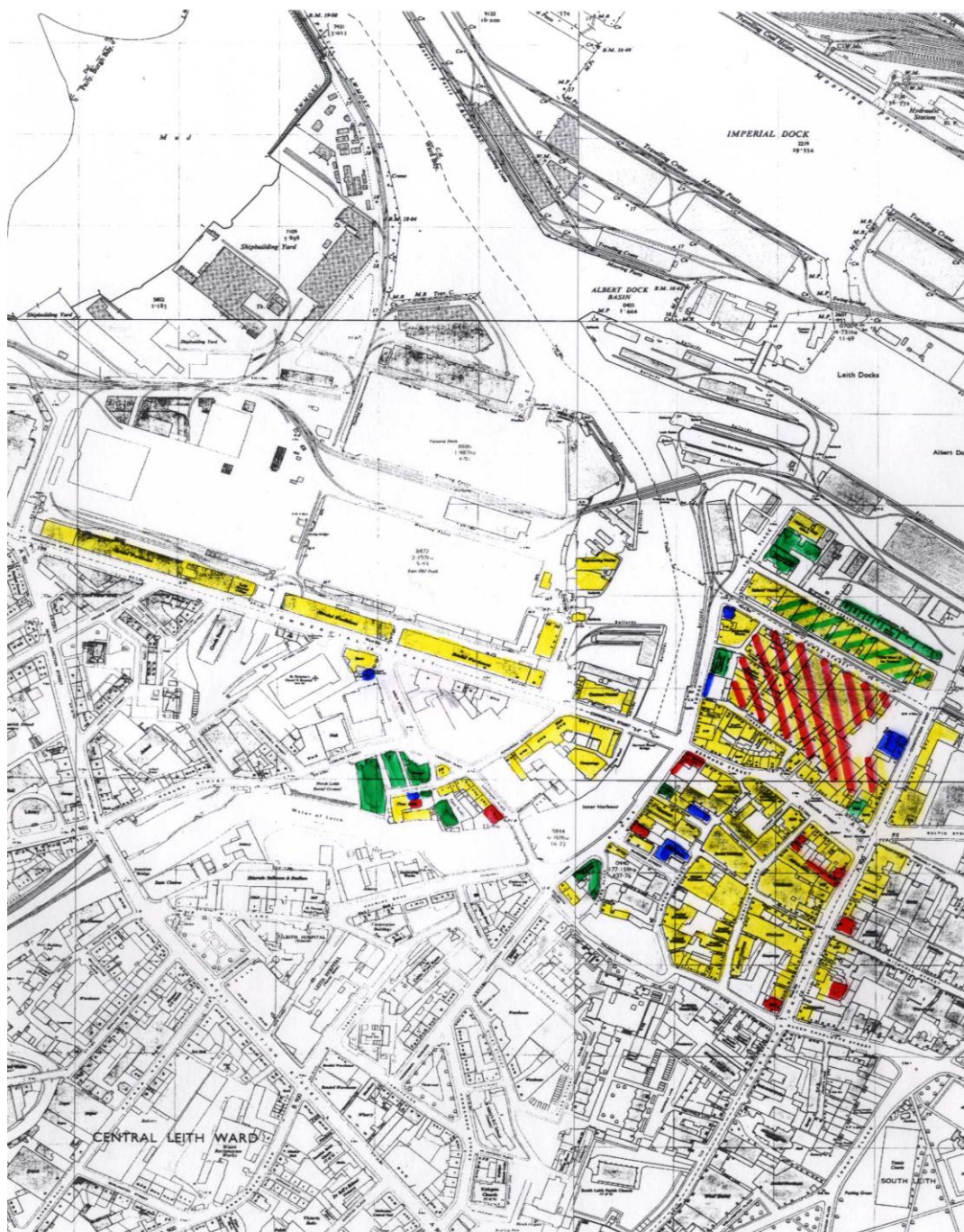
-  Shipping/shipbuilding
-  Warehousing/industry
-  Commercial/financial + civic
-  Residential
-  Mixed uses (public houses, residential, warehousing, industry)

Map 15 – Existing building types in the focus area before regeneration. Images which correspond to the letters (A, B, C...) can be found in the Figures in the following section (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).



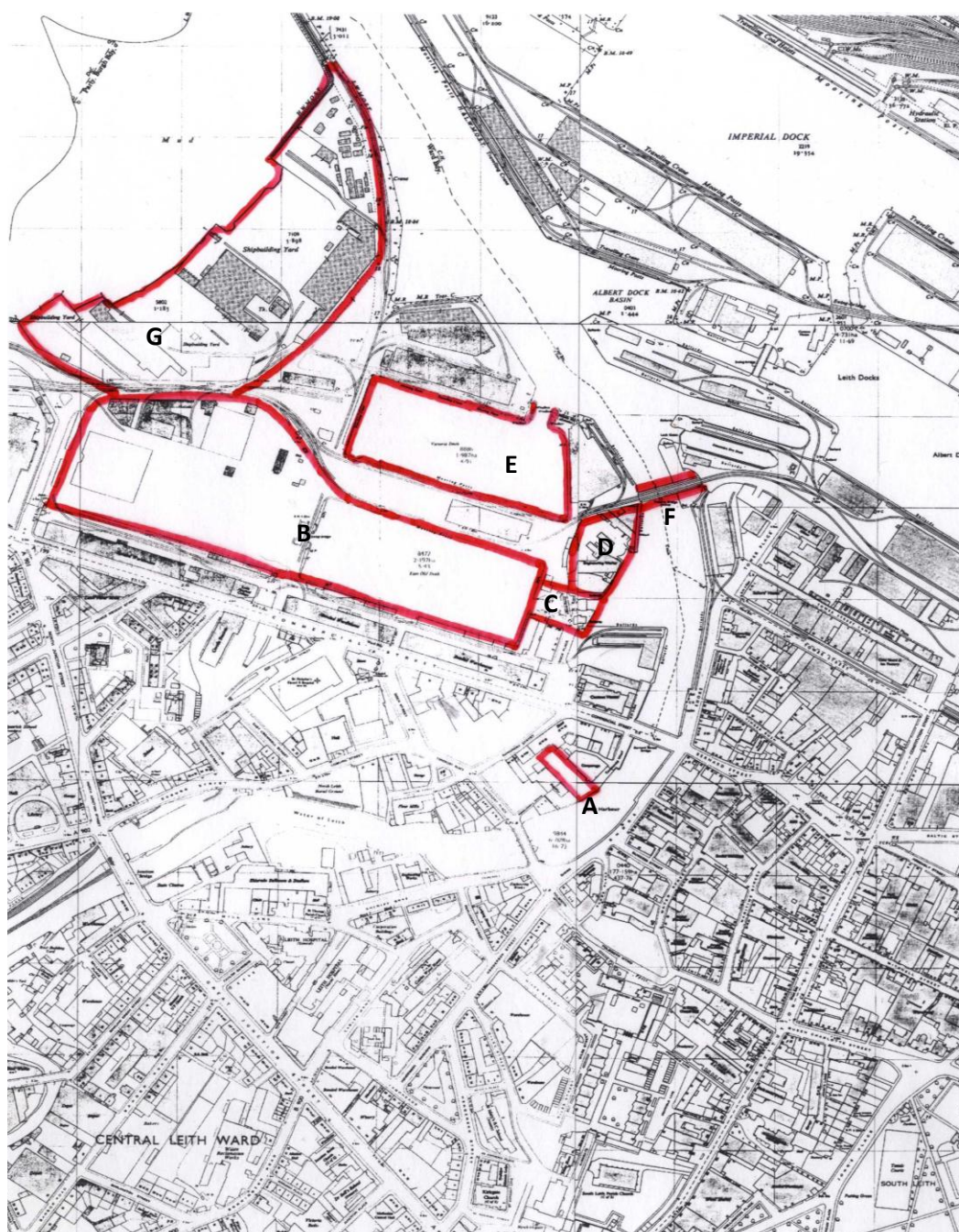
- █ Commercial/office
- █ Tenement (with public house or shop), house, or hotel
- █ Warehouse/industrial
- █ Civic/religious

Map 16 – Dates of buildings in the focus area before regeneration (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).



- 20th century
- 19th century
- 18th century
- 17th century or earlier

Map 17 - Obsolete items of port infrastructure remaining in the focus area before regeneration. Images which correspond to the letters (A, B, C...) can be found in the Figures in the following section (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).

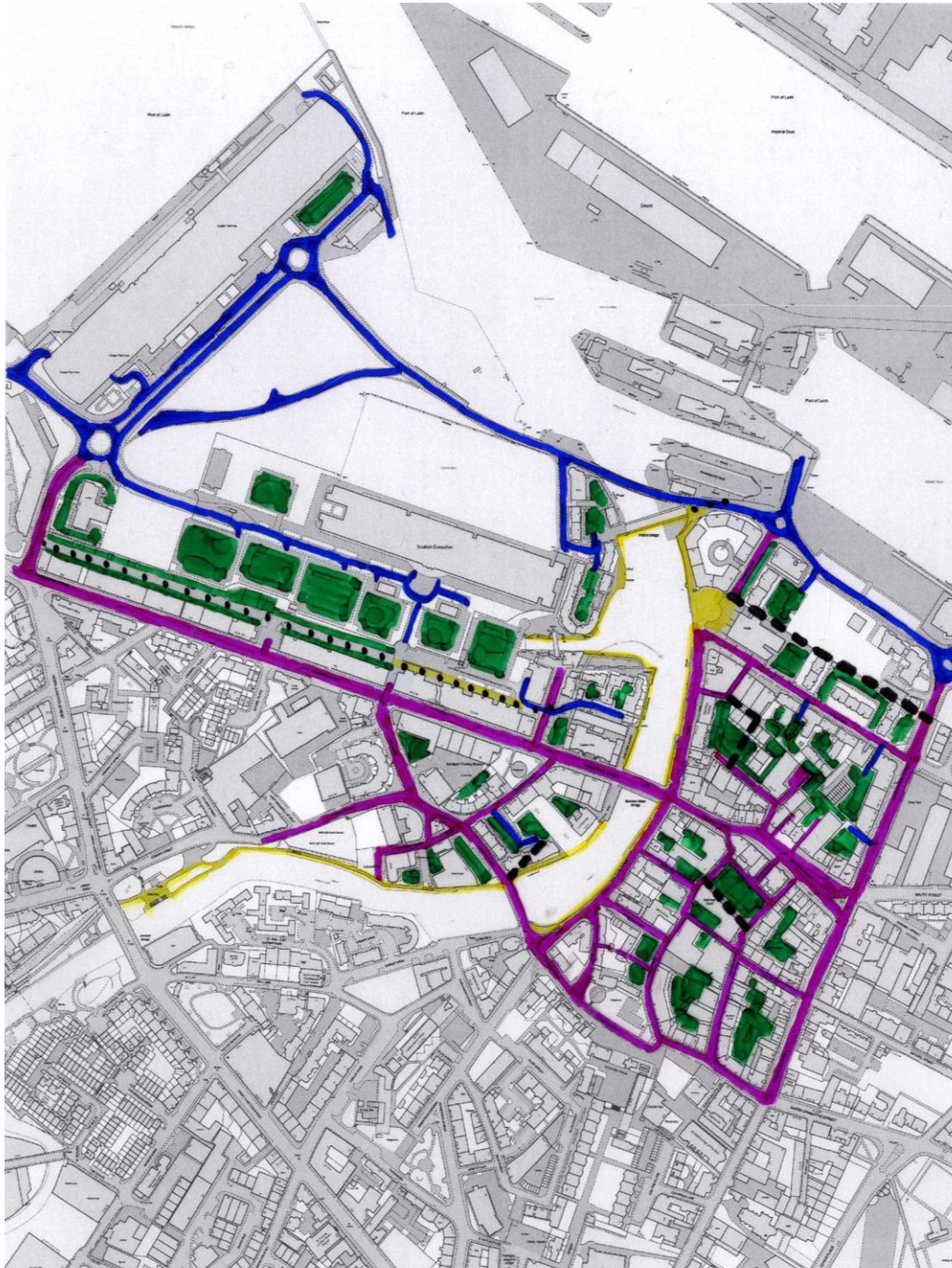


- A:** Site of first dry dock in Leith (1771, filled in c. 1960s-70s)
- B:** Site of East and West Old Docks (1806, 1817; filled in c. 1960s-70s)
- C:** Lock, gates, winches, and lock keeper's lodge associated with Old Docks (early C19)
- D:** Site of Menzies & Co ship repair yard and dry dock (C 19, filled in c. 1960s-70s)
- E:** Victoria Dock (1851)
- F:** Victoria Swing bridge (1874)
- G:** Henry Robb's shipbuilding yard (1918)

Map 18 – Present-day transportation links with Edinburgh and surrounding area (OS 2009 © Crown Copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

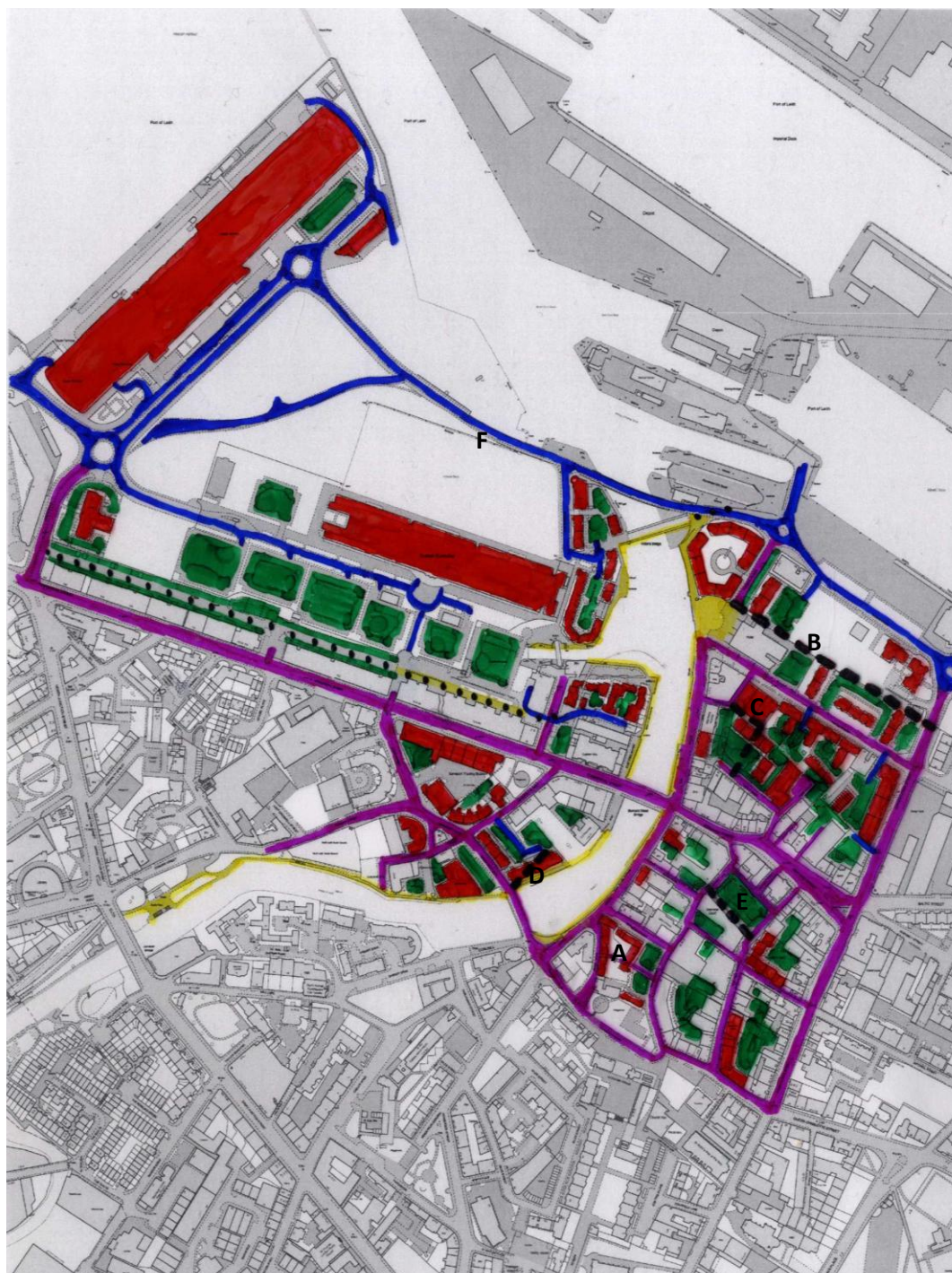









Map 19 - Present-day street, access, and parking pattern in the focus area (OS 2009 © Crown Copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).



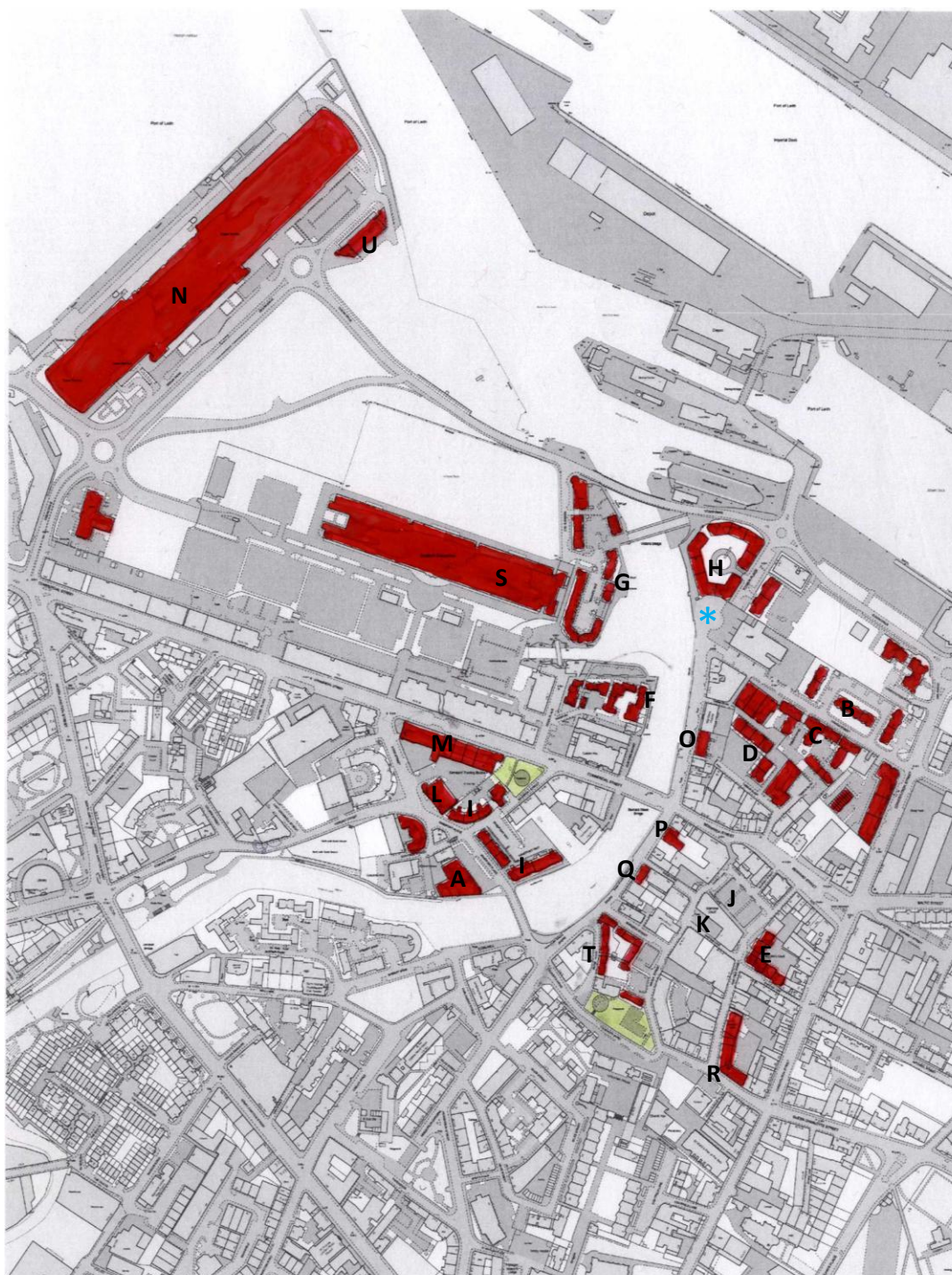
- Pre-existing streets
- New street/road (post-1980)
- Lost street
- New parking area
- New walkway or pedestrianised zone
- Remaining (disused) railway tracks

Map 21 – Effect of new development on present-day street, access, and parking patterns (OS 2009 © Crown Copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).



- | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---|--------------|-----------------------------|
|  | Pre-existing streets |  | New building | A: Bowie's Close |
|  | New street/road (post-1980) | | | B: Tower Street |
|  | Lost street | | | C: Timber Bush |
|  | New parking area | | | D: Ronaldson's Wharf |
|  | New walkway or pedestrianised zone | | | E: Chapel Lane |
|  | Remaining (disused) railway tracks | | | |

Map 22 - New developments in the focus area since the 1970s. Images which correspond to the letters (A, B, C...) can be found in the Figures in the following section (OS 2009 © Crown Copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).



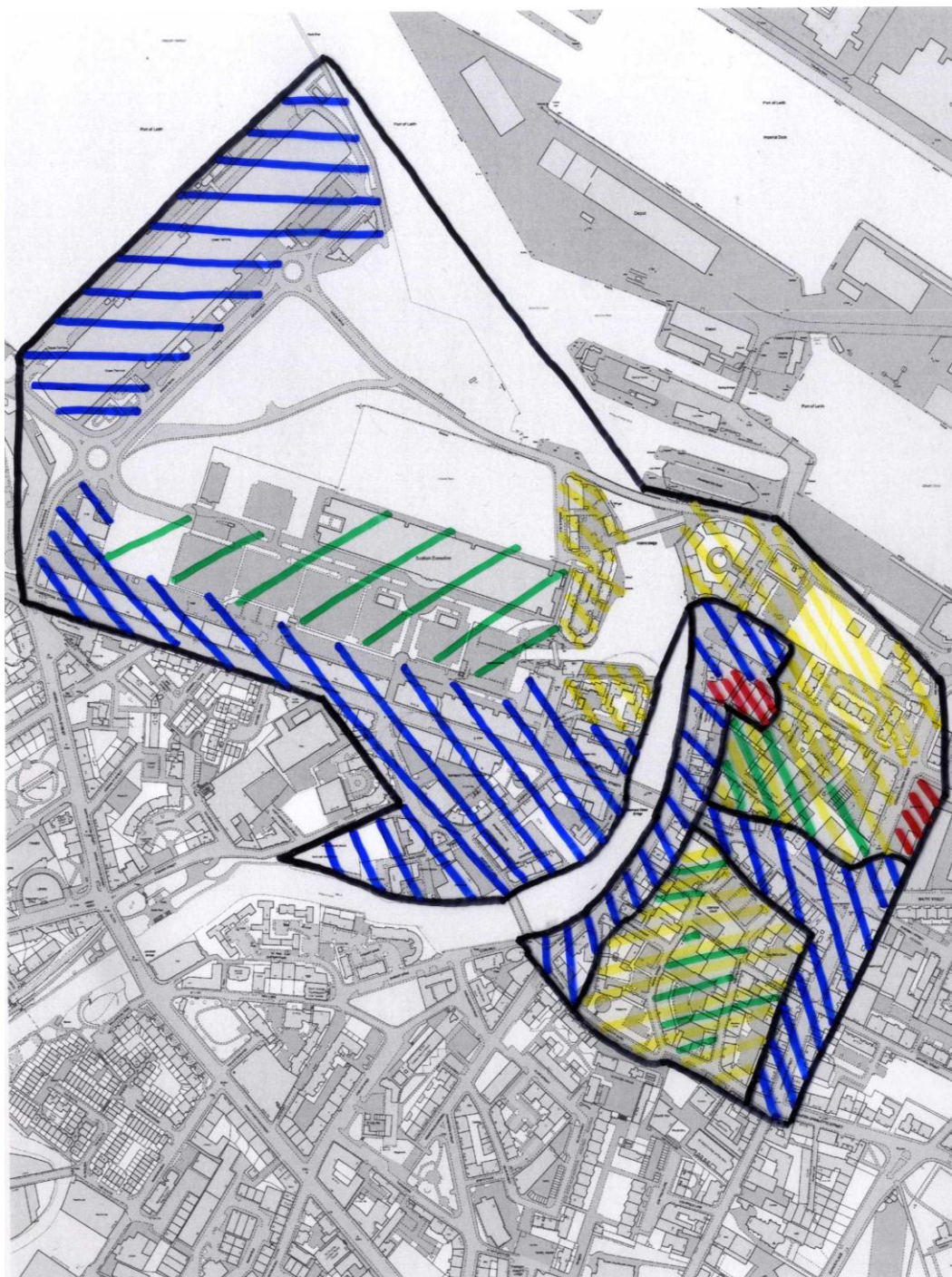
- █ New building
- █ New park
- * New public square





Map 23 - Demolitions of different building types in the focus area since the 1970s (National Grid, 1:2500, 1971 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2009).



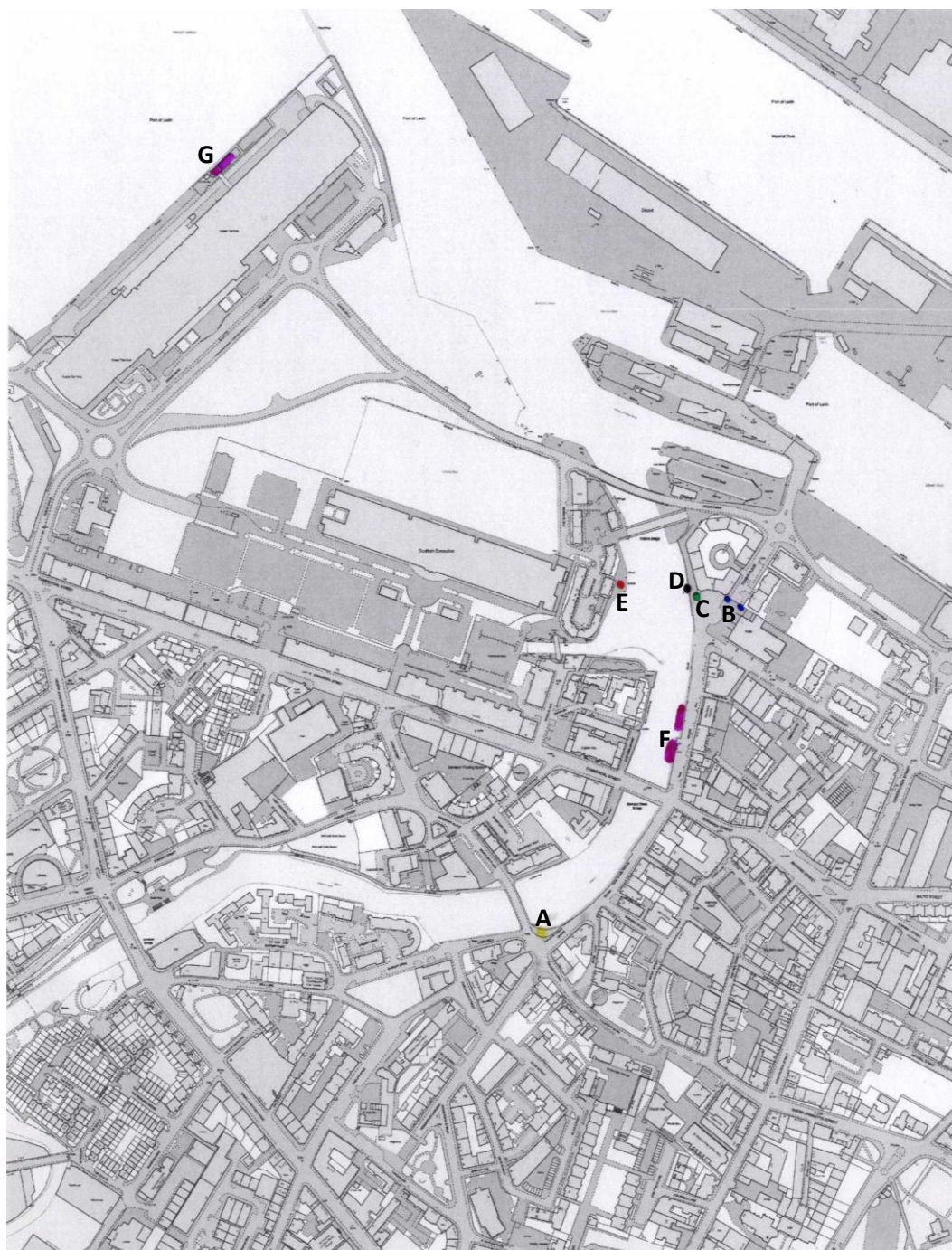
- Commercial/office
- Tenement (with public house or shop), house, or hotel
- Warehouse/industrial
- Civic/religious
- Demolished building

Map 24 - Present-day uses in the focus area (OS 2009 © Crown Copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).



-  Industry
-  Office or financial
-  Residential
-  Mixed uses (residential, public houses, leisure, retail, office, tourism)

Map 25 – Position of objects with historical or maritime associations on the waterfront. Images which correspond to the letters (A, B, C...) can be found in the Figures in the following section (OS 2009 © Crown Copyright/database right 2009. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).



- A: Old anchor
- B: Cannons from Leith Fort
- C: Small lighthouse
- D: Harpoon gun
- E: Ship's wheel
- F: Commercial ship (Mary of Guise)
- G: Royal Yacht Britannia

Figure 1 - Plot typologies in the focus area before regeneration.

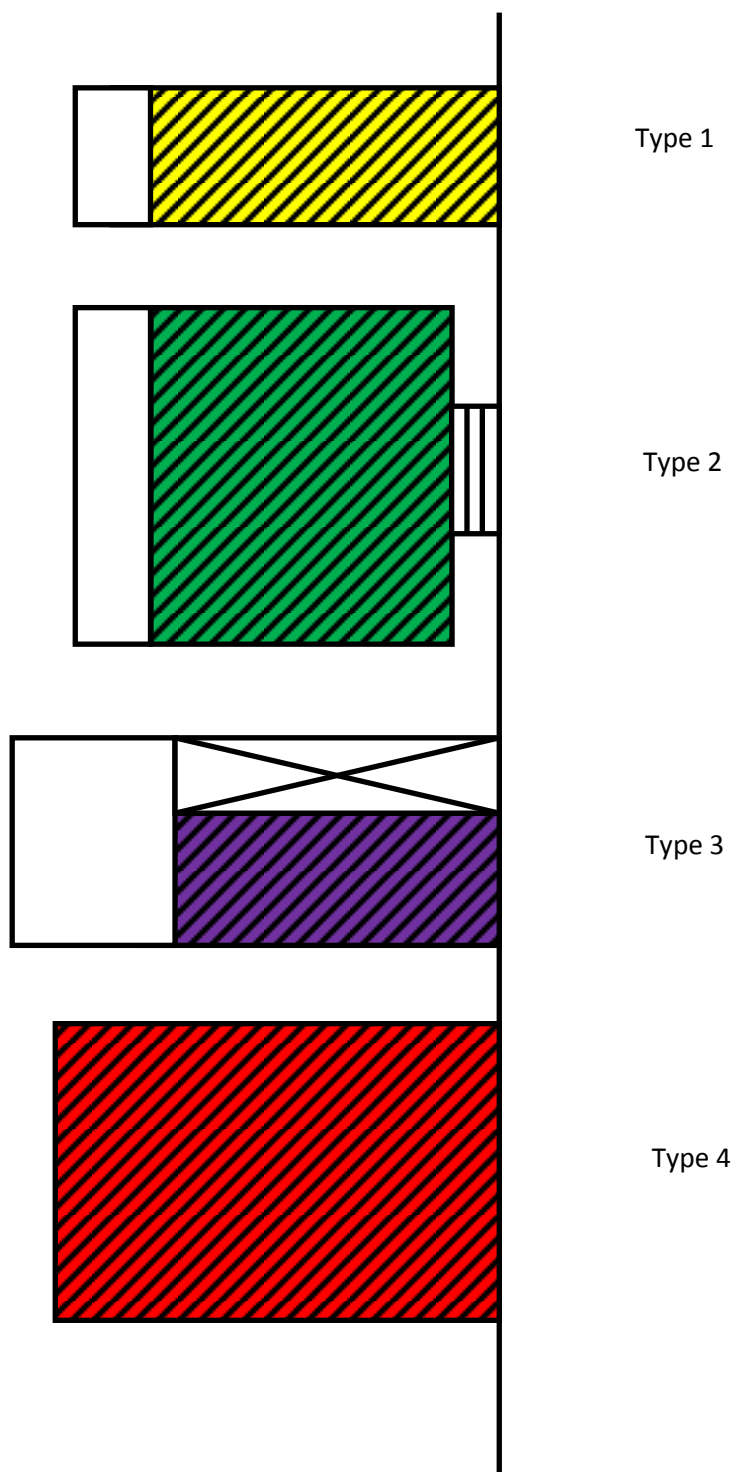




Figure 2 - Statue of Robert Burns in Bernard Street (photo: 1963 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 3 - Quayside Mills and the old stair-tower and belfry of St Ninian's Church and Manse, Quayside Street (A on Map 15). The mill buildings date from the 18th century and later, and the stair tower was constructed in the 17th century (Gifford et al, 1984: 479) (photo: c. 1960-70, ©RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).

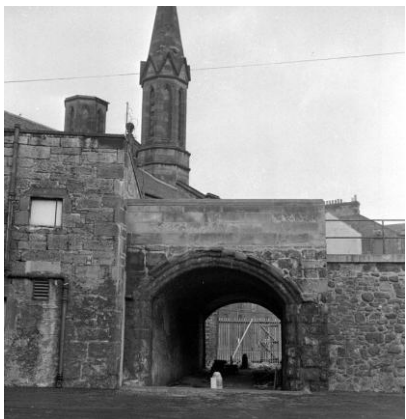


Figure 4 – Remains of the gate of the 17th century Cromwellian Citadel in Dock Street (B on Map 15) (photo: Stan Warburton, 1970 © The Scotsman Publications Ltd, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 5 – King's Wark, the Shore (C on Map 15). This site was originally a food store and arsenal built for King James I in the 15th century. In the 1970s, it was occupied by this early 18th century tenement and public house (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: c. 1970s © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 6 – Signal Tower, the Shore ([D on Map 15](#)). This building on the Shore was constructed as a windmill in 1686 to designs by Robert Mylne. It was later used as a signal tower. In the early 19th century, its domed roof was replaced with battlements and the rooms in the tower were integrated with a tenement next door. It was being used as flats and a public house in the 1970s (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 7 – Lamb's House, Water's Close ([E on Map 15](#)). This merchant's house and warehouse was constructed in the early 17th century. Its harling and crow-stepped gables are typical of late 16th and early 17th century merchants' houses in Scotland. It was restored in the mid 20th century and converted into an old people's day centre (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 8 – Mid 19th century warehouse on Commercial Wharf ([F on Map 15](#)). This building was originally built as a grain store and was later used as a bonded warehouse. By 1970 it was being used as a cooperage, and it was vacant by 1977. Its plain rubble-built facade and central hoist are typical of warehouses of this date in Leith (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 9 – Mid 19th century warehouse in Timber Bush ([G on Map 15](#)). This photo from 1970 shows the densely-built up character of the Timber Bush warehousing area prior to regeneration. In the centre is an unusual double warehouse with twin hoists, dating from the mid 19th century (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 10 – Early to mid 19th century warehouse on Chapel Lane and Maritime Street ([H on Map 15](#)). This very large rubble-built warehouse was constructed as a grain store in the early-to-mid 19th century (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 11 – Early 19th century warehouses on Commercial Street ([I on Map 15](#)). This long row of warehouses was designed by John Rennie to serve the East and West Old Docks. Many of these buildings were occupied until c. 1990 as whisky bonds by the Macdonald and Muir whisky blenders (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 12 – Late 19th century warehouse on Water Street ([J on Map 15](#)). This warehouse was built for the wine and whisky trade in the late nineteenth century. Like others of this date, it exhibits ornate Neo-Classical details, including pilasters and pediments (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 13 - Late 19th century warehouse on Maritime Street ([K on Map 15](#)). This warehouse was also built for the wine and whisky trade, and it is decorated with Neo-Classical details (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 14 – Late 19th century warehouse on Maritime Street and Chapel Lane ([L on Map 15](#)) (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 15 – Early 20th century crow-stepped warehouse on the Shore ([M on Map 15](#)) (photo: John Hume, c. 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 16 – Early 20th century brick warehouses on Tower Street ([N on Map 15](#)) (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 17 - Late 19th century engineering works on the Shore ([O on Map 15](#)) (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 18 - Engineering works and ship-repair yard at the entrance to the Old East Docks (P on Map 15). Owned by Menzies & Co Ltd, this site displayed a range of building types and materials (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 19 – Large cold store and factory on Tower Street (Q on Map 15). This brick building was built in the late 19th or early 20th century by the North British Cold Storage and Ice Co Ltd (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 20 – Large early 19th century stone flour mill on Carpet Lane (R on Map 15). Constructed in 1828, this was probably the largest flour mill in Scotland when it was built. The mill was still being used as a printing works and seed warehouse in 1970, but subsequently fell out of use (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 21 - Late 18th century and early 19th century tenements in Sandport Place (S on Map 15) (photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 22 - Georgian tenement in Bernard Street (T on Map 15). This tenement displays a restrained Neo-Classical facade like others in this area (photo: c. 1970s © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 23 - Leith Banking Company in Bernard Street (U on Map 15). Built in 1804, this was one of many banks set up in Leith during the early-to-mid 19th century. Although only two storeys, this building was the centrepiece of Bernard Street. One of the many soiled tenements in the vicinity is also visible to the right (Gifford et al, 1984: 470) (photo: John Hume, 1979 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 24 - Bank buildings in Bernard Street (T on Map 15). This photo shows a mid-Victorian palazzo-style bank building (left), the Neo-Georgian Clydesdale Bank (1923) (to the right of the tenement), and the Italianate Royal Bank of Scotland (1872) (far right) (Gifford et al, 1984: 471) (photo: c. 1970s © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 25 - Leith Exchange Building in Constitution Street (V on Map 15). This impressive building was constructed in 1810 as a meeting-place for merchants. It also provided an assembly room for large social gatherings and dances, coffee and tea rooms, and a reading room (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: c. 1960-70 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).

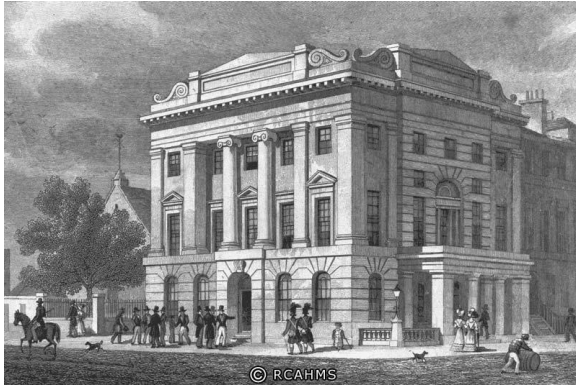


Figure 26 - Leith Town Hall in Constitution Street ([W on Map 15](#)). Leith Town Hall was built in 1829 at the corner of Constitution and Queen Charlotte Streets. When Leith became a parliamentary burgh in 1833, the building was enlarged by joining it with the adjacent three-storey terrace in Queen Charlotte Street. It was disused in the 1970s (SCRAN, 2009) (Thomas Shepherd, 1829 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 27 – Leith Customs House ([X on Map 15](#)). The Customs House was built in 1812 at the Sandport on the north side of the harbour (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: c. 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 28 – Late 18th century merchant's house on Constitution Street ([Y on Map 15](#)). With its rusticated ground floor and giant Corinthian pilasters topped with urns, this was the grandest late 18th-century house in Leith (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: c. 1970s © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 29 – Sailors' Home on the Shore ([Z on Map 15](#)). This grand Scottish Baronial building was built in 1885 to provide accommodation for sailors while they were in the port (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, 1969 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 30 – View of large gap site at the junction of Maritime Street, Tolbooth Wynd and Queen Charlotte Street in 1981 (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: Alan Ledgerwood, 1981 © Scotsman Publications Ltd, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 31 - Two existing gap sites on the Shore in the late 1970s. The one to the left still retained the ground floor of an early 18th century tenement (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: John Hume, c. 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 32 - Gap site to the left of the Old Ship Hotel in 1970. The ground floor and part of a demolished 18th century tenement remained on the site. This had once functioned as the principal entrance from the Shore to the Timber Bush (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: c. 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 33 – View of the Shore in 1975. This view shows a tall continuous frontage displaying a variety of building forms and styles (photo: Stan Warburton, 1975 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 34 – Gate of the entrance lock at the Old East Dock, with the swing bridge beyond and associated winches and capstans in the foreground (C on Map 17). Both gate and bridge were installed in 1842-4 as replacements for John Rennie's originals. The East and West Docks were filled in c. late 1960s – early 1970s, but this lock and bridge survived (SCRAN, 2009) (Photo: John Hume, 1969 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 35 - Victoria Swing Bridge (F on Map 17). Completed in 1874, the Victoria Swing Bridge formed a link across the inner harbour between the Victoria Dock and the Albert Dock. At the time it was the largest swing bridge in the United Kingdom. The iron bowd-truss swing bridge in this photo is a late 19th century replacement for the original bridge (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: c. 1970s © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).

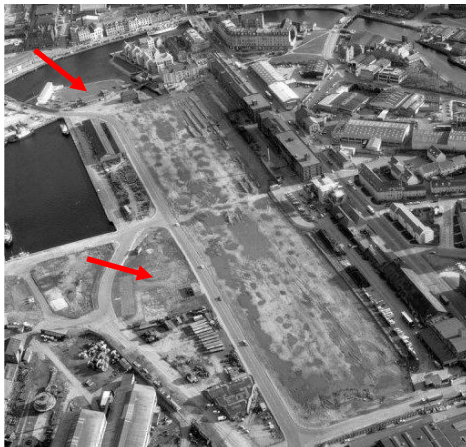


Figure 36 - Oblique aerial view of the in-filled Old East and West Docks in the 1970s (D on Map 17). The triangular area to the left of the docks used to contain two dry docks, and the small in-filled area at the top of the docks on the inner harbour is the site of the former Menzies & Co ship repair yard, which also contained a dry dock (photo: c. 1970s © RCAHMS).



Figure 37 – Henry Robb's shipyard in 1974 (G on Map 17). At this time, the shipyard was still in operation to the northwest of the Old Docks. This site would have also included slipways and dry docks for shipbuilding (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: Jack Crombie, 1974 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 38 – Draw Bridge Tavern on the Shore (**M on Map 15**). Located at ground level of this derelict warehouse, this tavern was still operating prior to regeneration, as were several other public houses in the focus area (photo: Alan MacDonald, c. 1980 © Scotsman Publications Ltd, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 39 – Pend at Port of Leith Housing Association development on the Shore (**T on Map 22**). The construction of this pend has preserved the historic Bowie's Close as a pedestrian route (photo: author).



Figure 40 - Chapel Lane today (**R on Map 22**). This historic route is now a small pavement between this car park and a converted warehouse (photo: author).

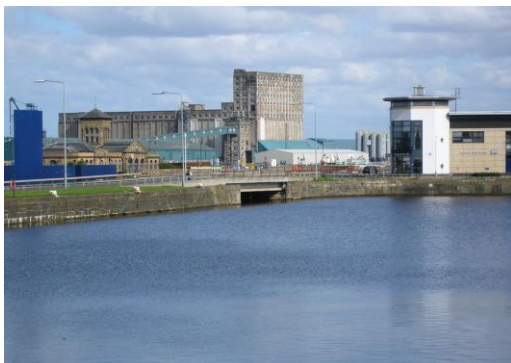


Figure 41 - Concrete road bridge at the entrance to Victoria Dock (**E on Map 17**) (photo: author).

Figure 42 – View of pends which have been incorporated into new developments to retain the historic plot structure: Maritime and Queen Charlotte Streets (left) (R on Map 22), Shore Place (middle) (T on Map 22), and the Shore (O on Map 22) (photos: author).



Figure 43 – View of the Cooperage, a former warehouse and cooperage on the inner harbour, converted into private housing in 1983 (F on Map 15) (photo: author).



Figure 44 – Converted warehouse on Water Street (J on Map 15) (photo: author).



Figure 45 – Converted warehouse on Maritime Street (L on Map 15) (photo: author).



Figure 46 - Row of converted warehouses in Timber Bush (photo: author).

Figure 47 - Warehouses by John Rennie along the Old East and West docks, converted into mixed-use developments in the mid-1990s ([I on Map 15](#)) (photos: author).



Figure 48 - Robert Mylne's Signal Tower on the Shore, before and after restoration ([D on Map 15](#)) (left photo: c. 1970s © RCAHMS; right photo: author).

Figure 49 - Bernard Street during its restoration in the early 1980s ([T on Map 15](#)) (photo: Hamish Campbell, 1984 © The Scotsman Publications Ltd, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 50 - The Customs House (X on Map 15) before and after restoration (left photo: c. 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk; right photo: 1992 © Charles MacKean, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 51 - Quayside Mills and St Ninian's Manse (A on Map 15), restored and converted into architects' offices (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: ©Architecture on Disc, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).

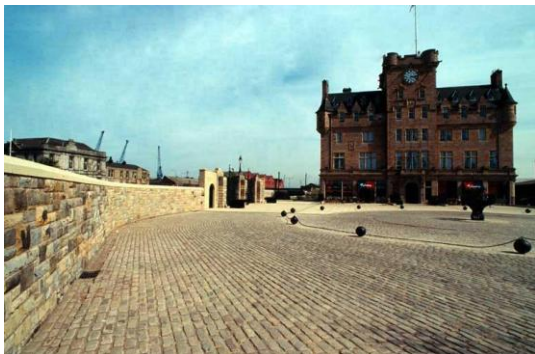


Figure 52 - The Sailors' Home (Z on Map 15), restored and converted into the Malmaison Hotel in the 1990s (SCRAN, 2009). The old dock gates can be seen to the left (photo: ©Saul Gardiner, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).



Figure 53 - Casts of the original Leith lamp-posts displaying Leith's motto, 'persevere', installed on the Shore in the 1980s (Dickson, 2009) (photo: author).

Figure 54 – The Shore, before and after regeneration. The top photos show what the Shore would have looked like before gap sites were created there during the 20th century (photos: © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk). The bottom photo shows the same section of the Shore after regeneration (photo: author).





Figure 55 – Recent residential development at Maritime Street and Maritime Lane (E on Map 22) (photo: author).



Figure 56 – Recent residential development at Maritime Street and Queen Charlotte Street (R on Map 22) (photo: author).



Figure 57 – Recent residential development at Timber Bush/Tower Street (C on Map 22) (photo: author).

Figure 58 – Two sites in Timber Bush, before and after regeneration (left photos: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk; right photos: author).



(K on Map 22)



(C on Map 22)

Figure 59 – These new flats at Ronaldson’s Wharf (I on Map 22) lack the verticality and rhythm of the tenements which used to stand in the Sandport area (S on Map 15) (left photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk; right photo: author).



Figure 60 – The left photo shows tenements at Sandport Place (S on Map 15) which have been replaced with the low-lying retail warehouse in the centre photo (A on Map 22). The right photo shows more retail warehousing in the area which is out of scale with nearby tenements (M on Map 22) (left photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk; right photos: author).



Figure 61 – This view of the outer harbour in 1970 reveals a horizontal vista punctuated by cranes. This view is obscured today by the tall residential developments at Rennie's Isle (bottom left) (G on Map 22) and Tower Place (bottom right) (H on Map 22) (top photo: John Hume, 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk; bottom photos: author).





Figure 62 - Scottish Executive (top) (S on Map 22) and Ocean Terminal (bottom) (N on Map 22). Both of these developments follow the historic rectangular plot structure of the dock area, but on a much larger scale, thus breaking the visual connection with the water (top photo: © Peter Stubbs, 2007; bottom photo: author).



Figure 63 – Housing development on The Shore by Port of Leith Housing Association (O on Map 22) (photo: author).

Figure 64 – Housing development by Port of Leith Housing Association on Shore Place (T on Map 22) (photos: author).





Figure 65 – Recent Leith House development on the Shore (to the left of restored 1912 warehouse) (P on Map 22) (photo: author).



Figure 66 – King's Landing housing development (F on Map 22) (photo: author).

Figure 67 – Recent housing development on the Shore (Q on Map 22). This building incorporates a turret, like many of the Scottish Baronial buildings in the area. It has replaced a demolished brick tenement (left photo: author; right photo: © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).

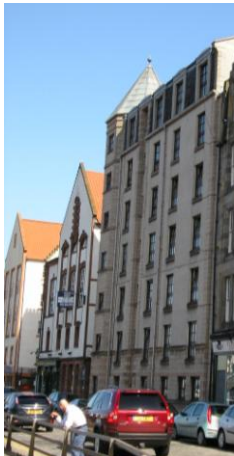


Figure 68 – The sandstone cladding and steel columns on the Scottish Executive building (S on Map 22) echo the materials and design of the adjacent row of warehouses (left photo: author; right photo: © Undiscovered Scotland, 2009).



Figure 69 – Recent housing developments at Tower Place (left) (H on Map 22) and Rennie’s Isle (right) (G on Map 22) incorporate blue steel elements which coordinate with the Victoria Swing Bridge (left photo: © John Furnevel 2009; right photo: author).



Figure 70 – Detailed view of cedar wood and glass wave feature on Ronaldson’s Wharf (I on Map 22) (photo: author).

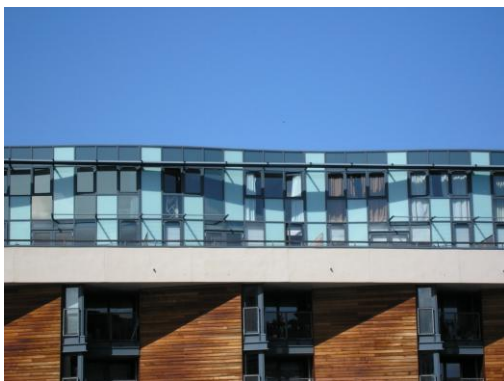




Figure 71 – Ocean Point office development next to Ocean Terminal (U on Map 22) (photo: Adrian Welch, © Edinburgh Architecture).



Figure 72 – Victoria Swing Bridge, restored 2000 (F on Map 17) (photo: author).

Figure 73 – Restored swing-bridge and winches at the entrance to the Old East Dock (C on Map 17) (photos: author).



Figure 74 – Victoria Dock to the rear of the Scottish Executive offices (E on Map 17) (photo: author).

Figure 75 – The top photo of Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires shows what Leith’s Commercial Quay could have been. The large rectangular docks parallel to long rectangular warehouses have been retained, maintaining the historic visual connection with the water. The bottom photos show the parking area that now covers the old dock area and the small water feature at Commercial Quay (top photo: © Waterfront Communities Project, 2007; middle photo: © RCAHMS, 2006; bottom photo: author).



Figure 76 – Leith’s first dry dock (A on [Map 17](#)) is now an open landscaped area, with paving indicating the original outline of the dock structure (photo: author).

Figure 77 – Examples of public houses on the waterfront which have been created or renamed during the regeneration. These three photos show the Malt and Hops (formerly the Draw Bridge Tavern), the Granary, and the sign for Skippers Seafood Bistro (photos: author).



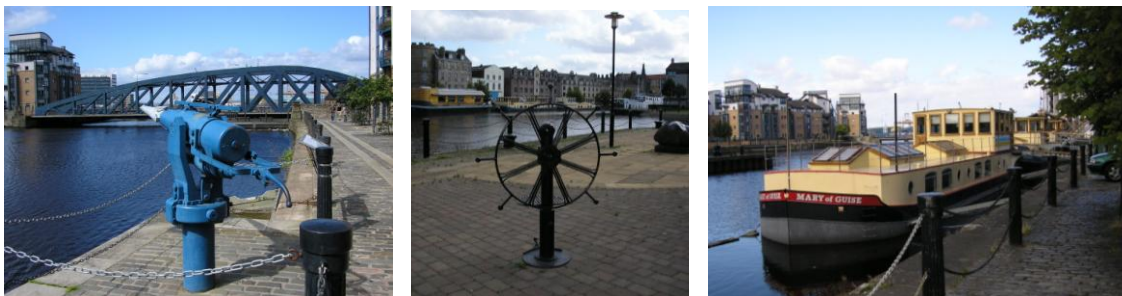
Figure 78 – Objects placed along the waterfront to communicate the area’s historic and maritime associations (photos: author).



(A on Map 25)

(B on Map 25)

(C on Map 25)



(D on Map 25)

(E on Map 25)

(F on Map 25)



(G on Map 25)



Figure 79 - 'Discover Leith' sign at Ocean Terminal – one of many that can be found in Leith today (photo: author).

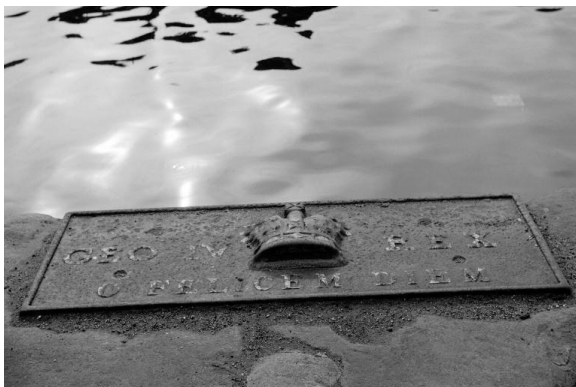


Figure 80 - Plaque commemorating the landing of King George IV in Leith in 1822 on the eastern side of the harbour (SCRAN, 2009) (photo: c. 1970 © RCAHMS, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk).

Figure 81 – Three 1960s multi-storey blocks just outside the focus area (left: Cables Wynd House; middle: Linksvie House; right: Kirkgate House) (photos: author).



Bibliography

EC = Edinburgh Corporation

EEN = Edinburgh Evening News

CEC = City of Edinburgh Council

CEDC = City of Edinburgh District Council

RCAHMS = Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland

SC = The Scotsman

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Appendix A: Historical development of Leith

12th – 16th centuries

Leith was first established as a small village and harbour at the mouth of the Water of Leith. The first historical reference to port was in King David I's Holyrood Charter which granted 'Inverlieth', or 'the mouth of Leith' to the Abbey of Holyrood in 1143 (CEC, 2002: 4). The Water of Leith became Edinburgh's port in 1329 when King Robert I granted control of Leith to the Burgh of Edinburgh (Gifford et al, 1984: 449).

Despite restrictive royal charters in the fifteenth century which prohibited the people of Leith from trading on the land around the river, settlement in the area appears to have grown throughout the century (CEC, 2002: 4) (Map 2). The building of the King's Wark, a royal food store and arsenal, commenced in two phases in 1428 and 1458 on the Shore, and a chapel was built in South Leith around 1490 (Mowat, 1994: 32-3). Development of North Leith began in 1493, when Abbot Robert Bellenden bridged the river and founded St Ninian's Chapel (Gifford et al, 1984: 449). By the start of the sixteenth century, skippers and sailors had begun to live or store their cargoes in North Leith, and St Nicholas' Chapel had been founded at the furthest boundary of the green (Mowat, 1994: 64-5) (Map 3).

During the sixteenth century, Leith featured regularly in the power struggles that took place in Scotland, and these had an important influence on the development of the port. Leith sustained substantial destruction in both 1544 and 1547, when it was attacked during the 'Rough Wooing', King Henry VIII's destructive effort to force a marriage between the young

Mary Queen of Scots and his son Edward (Mowat, 1994: 104-12). In 1548, Mary of Guise moved the seat of government to Leith and fortified the town (Map 4). Built by French troops, the fortifications enclosed what is today the area bounded by Bernard Street, Constitution Street, and Great Junction Street and a small part of the west bank around Sandport Place. A bastion (Ramsay's Fort) was also built just east of the wooden pier, and a small basin for repairing and launching ships was created at the Sandport where the Customs House now stands (Mowat, 1994: 114-5; Gifford et al, 1984: 460).

As opposition to Mary of Guise and her tolerance towards Protestants grew, in 1554 she sought to enlist the backing of the people of Leith by agreeing to buy the superiority of Leith, granting the town its desire to be an independent Royal Burgh (Mowat, 1994: 117-8). However, the Siege of Leith in 1560 soon resulted in the destruction of the ports defensive walls, and Mary died shortly thereafter. Leith's independence continued a few more years, and before surrendering in 1567, Mary Queen of Scots arranged for the burgh to finally have its own Tolbooth and Town Hall (Mowat, 1994: 125-8).

Throughout the remainder of the century, Leith continued to develop as a merchant port. In 1578, as large amounts of timber were being imported from Norway and the Baltic, Ramsay's Bastion became the official storage place for timber, taking the name Timber Bourse or the Timber Bush (Mowat, 1994: 146-7).

17th and 18th centuries

After an outbreak of the plague in 1645, which wiped out two thirds of Leith's population (CEC, 2002: 5), Leith was occupied by Cromwell's troops following the battle of Dunbar in

1650. In 1656-7, General Monck built Leith Citadel, a large pentagonal fort on the site of Nicholas' Chapel in North Leith (Mowat, 1994: 185-9).

By the end of the seventeenth century, Leith had grown from its original settlement around the Shore to fill the area formerly bounded by the 1548 walls (Map 5). Among the few developments outside the area was a short row of tenements and a windmill, now known as the Signal Tower, built by Robert Mylne in 1686 at the north end of the Shore (CEC, 2002: 5). The harbour had also been enlarged as trading links developed with the Colonies during, establishing Leith as Scotland's major port (EC, 1975: Appendix E).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Edinburgh petitioned the Queen to improve the facilities of the harbour, with a special request for wet and dry docks, as carpenters in Leith were busy building ships for the Royal Navy and trading vessels. At the time, this only resulted in the extension of the existing wooden pier c. 1720-30 (Mowat, 1994: 226-7), but as shipping increased during the second half of the century, the inner harbour became overcrowded and a number of improvements were made. As illustrated in Map 6, the first dry docks were built on the west side of the harbour, Custom House Quay was erected in North Leith, the old Abbot's Bridge was demolished and replaced with a drawbridge further up the river at Tolbooth Wynd, and a second drawbridge was constructed further north at the Sandport (Mowat, 1994: 238-242).

Also in the second half of the eighteenth century, regular streets (Bernard Street and Constitution Street) were formed on the edges of the town and Constitution Street was extended south to the foot of Leith Walk. There were also more small developments outside

the line of the former walls. Villas were built nearby as Leith became a fashionable seaside resort, and after Edinburgh's North Bridge was completed in 1772, scattered development began on both sides of Leith Walk (CEC, 2002: 5-6).

19th century

Leith experienced dramatic expansion during the nineteenth century. This was associated with the growth of the docks, railway building, and the Burgh Reform Act of 1833, which designated Leith as a municipality separate from Edinburgh.

In 1799 John Rennie set forth proposals for major improvements to Leith's harbour. As the size and volume of ships was increasing, Leith suffered from a lack of deep water and an encroaching sandbar. Rennie proposed blocking the progress of the bar with a long eastern pier and gaining a deep-water approach through three connected wet docks stretching from the mouth of the Water of Leith to the deep water at Newhaven. Over the next two decades, nearly all of Rennie's proposals were carried out, with the Old East Dock opening in 1806, the West Dock in 1817, and extensions to and further constructions of piers during the 1830s (Map 7) (Gifford et al, 1984: 460).

The rapid expansion in port-related industries during the first few decades of the century resulted in the establishment of many large warehouses near the docks in Maritime Street, Mitchell Street and Timber Bush. At the time, major industries in Leith included shipbuilding, the wine and whisky trade, coopering, flour milling, timber, glass making, and rope and sail making (EC, 1975: Appendix E). At this time, Bernard Street emerged as the town's financial and administrative centre, and a number of prestigious buildings began to

appear there, such as Leith Bank (1806), the Assembly Rooms and Exchange (1810), and the Customs House (1812). Other important civic buildings, such as the new Trinity House (1818), North Leith Parish Church (1816), and the Old Town Hall (1828) were also constructed during this period. At the same time, the large parklands surrounding Leith were being laid out for terraces and villas. However, building was sporadic and these schemes were only completed in the late nineteenth century (Gifford et al, 1984: 452; CEC, 2002: 8).

In 1833, Leith was established as an independent Municipal and Parliamentary Burgh, and pressure for the enlargement of the docks and harbour grew (CEC, 2002: 9). As a result, a major expansion of the outer harbour began with Victoria Dock in 1851 (Figure 8) and the Prince of Wales Graving (dry) Dock in 1862. The next expansion scheme included the Albert Dock (1869), Victoria Swing Bridge (1874), and then the Edinburgh Dock (1881), all on the eastern side of the harbour. Finally, the Alexandra Graving Dock was built in 1896 and then the Imperial Dock in 1904 (Map 9) (Gifford et al, 1984: 461-2).

As the docks expanded, larger warehouses were built, both around the new docks and in the burgh itself. Important buildings, institutions, and services were constructed, including Edinburgh and Leith Gas Works (1835), a Nautical College (1855), the Corn Exchange (1862), the Post Office (1876), hospitals, and various churches. Leith's railway network was also established, primarily serving the docks but also connecting Leith and Edinburgh (EC, 1975: Appendix E). Trams were also introduced in Leith in the nineteenth century. Horse-drawn trams were first in the 1870s, followed by cable cars in 1899, and electric trams in 1905 (CEC, 2002: 6; Stubbs, 2001).

By the latter part of the century, Leith's rapid growth had resulted in a dense area with environmental and social problems, such as air pollution and poor housing. As a result, the Leith Improvement Act was passed in 1880, and many of the slums and most of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century buildings were cleared away and replaced with tall tenements. Henderson Street was also driven through the old pattern of closes and wynds, and large tenement blocks were built over the fields between Leith Walk and Easter Road (CEC, 2002: 9).

20th century

The twentieth century saw the decline of Leith's importance as a port. After the First World War, the number of shipyards was reduced from six to one and trade had decreased significantly (CEC, 2002: 10). At this time, the boundaries of Edinburgh were under revision, and despite Leith's opposition, the burgh was once again amalgamated with Edinburgh in 1920 (Cochrane, 2001).

Throughout the interwar years, Leith saw high unemployment figures, and in the 1950s and 1970s, there were more destructive slum clearance programmes (CEC, 2002: 10). These resulted in the loss of the historic streets and properties and the construction of a large number of public housing schemes, many in the form of tall tower blocks. The most notorious example is the historic Kirkgate (the former high street of Leith), which was demolished and replaced with a modern shopping complex and tower block in the 1960s (Gifford et al, 1984: 480). Most of the properties on Tolbooth Wynd were also demolished and replaced with a variety of housing schemes. Despite new building, demolitions resulted in a

housing shortage, and many younger people were forced to leave the area or relocated to housing estates elsewhere in Edinburgh. This resulted in depopulation of the area and distortion of the community profile, with a bias towards the elderly (CEC, 2002: 10).

Also in the 1960s, the decision was taken to convert Leith to a deep-water port, and the Old East and West Docks were filled in by 1968. Containerisation became popular at this time, reducing the amount of dock labour required, and the extensive rail network serving the Leith Docks had practically vanished (Mowat, 1994: 418-20). By the late 1970s, many of Leith's warehouses, tenements, and civic buildings were disused or deteriorating. The combination of all these social, economic, and environmental factors is what led to the formulation of the Leith Local Plan between 1975 and 1980.