A Jacobite Stronghold of the Church

Being the Story of Old St. Paul's, Edinburgh: its Origin on the Disestablishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, 1689, through Jacobite years onward to the Oxford Movement; and its Relation to the Scottish Consecration in 1784 of the first Bishop of the American Church

BY

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"Mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses, that ye may tell them that come after."

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Frontispiece

PREFACE

Little, it may be thought, considering the wealth of literature upon the subject, remains to be said of Edinburgh's historic past, that perpetually fascinating theme, wherein religion and politics are never far asunder.

Yet there is one aspect of it that has as yet been only glanced at, and that is, the remarkably interesting connection between the Jacobite party and the old Episcopal Church of the land, which chose, at the Revolution of 1689, to be disestablished and disendowed rather than deny its sworn allegiance to the absent King James VII.; and in Edinburgh it is the congregation of St. Paul's in Carrubber's Close, claiming, as it does, unbroken descent from that ejected from St. Giles in 1689, that has preserved through the centuries the memory of that heroic stand. This is why, while deeply impressed with the evolution of the present sanctuary, the home of so much that is beautiful in worship and work, from the despised meeting-house in which the evicted worshippers took refuge so long ago, I, who have ties with both, have chosen to dwell at greater length on the earlier part of its history. Round that

history, now for the first time attempted to be fully told, cluster many brave and gallant memories of the Scottish Nonjurors, among whom were to be found some of the noblest and best of the land.

This "meeting-house" may truly be described as their rendezvous, and from it the network of intrigue spread far and wide. Pathetic and quaint recollections of the risings of 1715 and 1745, and all that came after, are intertwined with its story, while through the years of gloom and oppression that followed, and the gradual lifting of the cloud as nobler counsels prevailed, there are never wanting some features of interest in the famous personalities of those who, in some way or another, were connected with it. Among these the name of Samuel Seabury, the first Bishop of the American Church, holds an honoured place, and many distinguished in literature, science, and medicine, especially the latter, are not wanting, while in the long roll of clergy who have ministered within its walls there are names that will not die.

Very scanty records remain of the early days, and the loss, some years ago, of a collection of papers made for historical purposes by a gentleman now deceased, has made my task more difficult. All available authorities have been consulted, and I have tried to do my best to ensure accuracy. To all who have aided me with information and advice I return my grateful thanks. I should especially wish to

thank the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Rev. A. E. Laurie, Rector of Old St. Paul's, for permitting free access to the books and papers of the Church; the Revs. J. B. Craven and J. W. Harper; Mr. A. Francis Steuart, Advocate, who has assisted me with his notes, and with the correction of my proofs; Mr. James Steuart, W.S., and the Rev. John Anderson, Curator of the Historical Department, H.M. Register House. I have also to thank the Rev. P. M. Herford for his kindness in permitting me to reproduce the engraving of the Rev. William Harper in his possession. Conscious of many shortcomings, I yet hope that this little contribution to our knowledge of bygone days may add one stone to the cairn in memory of those who have gone before.

MARY E. INGRAM.

EDINBURGH, *Martinmas* 1906.

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(OLD ST. PAUL'S, EDINBURGH)

CHAPTER I

1689–1720

Revolution of 1689 — *Disestablishment of the Episcopal Church—Bishop Alexander Rose—His Life and Death*

THE history of this, the oldest Episcopal congregation in Edinburgh, has an interest very much its own, not only because it exhibits the continuity of the ancient Church of Scotland in our midst, but its far-reaching memories are closely intertwined with the last romance of Scotland, the pathetic fortunes of the exiled Stuart race—so closely, indeed, that it is difficult, nay impossible, to disentangle them.

It is quite in keeping with the city's historic past, and its golden store of old associations, that in the old High Street, at the very heart of things, should have been preserved the ancient meeting-place of the loyal Episcopalians, their rallying-ground for many weary years, and still one of the strongest centres of Church life in Scotland. For here, in

"Corribor's Close" on the north side of the High Street a little below St. Giles' Church, stood till 1880 the old building, with a stone tablet above the door bearing the date 1689, into which, it has always been believed, Bishop Alexander Rose of Edinburgh retired with his flock from St. Giles when the Revolution of 1688–89 caused the disestablishment of the Church. Here the congregation continued to worship till old age rendered the building unsafe, and upon the same site was erected the present noble Church of Saint Paul, one of the most beautiful in Scotland, where the congregational life goes on with ever-increasing vigour and earnestness. Many hastily fitted up chapels or meeting-houses sheltered the scattered Episcopalians in the unhappy olden times, but only the memory of these remains; even the very closes that held them have in some cases been swept away in the march of city "improvements," while this, the "most considerable," is the sole survivor.

In order to understand the circumstances of the Scottish Church at the time our story begins, it may be well to recall the historical facts. The weariful course of religious strife and the unhappy policy of King James II. had opened the way for the descent of his Protestant son-in-law, Prince William of Orange, on the English shores—an event regarded on the one hand as a deliverance, and on the other as an invasion. King James' departure to France was taken, by those to whom the wish was father to the thought, as an abdication of the throne, which was speedily offered to and accepted by Prince William

and his wife Princess Mary. But there were many who would not thus transfer their allegiance from their anointed king, and held fast to him, and to his son and grandson after him; and nowhere did the flame of loyalty to the ancient Stuart race burn more brightly than in their native Scotland. "Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it," and dearly loved, spite of all their faults, have the Stuart sovereigns ever been.

The Scottish bishops, who had always professed loyalty to King James, on hearing of the arrival of William of Orange, deputed two of their number, the Bishops of Edinburgh and Orkney, to proceed to London to find out how matters stood. The Bishop of Orkney being ill and unable to go, Bishop Alexander Rose of Edinburgh took the long and weary journey alone, no doubt much perplexed by the rumours he met with by the way. Arriving in London he found the Prince of Orange in possession, King James having retired to France. After many anxious consultations with the English bishops and others—who gave him to understand that, unless the Scottish Church would support the prince in his enterprise, his interest would be given to the Presbyterians—the bishop was afforded a very brief interview with William, who "hoped he would be kind to him, and follow the example of England." Bishop Rose was, as he tells us, "difficulted" to know how to reply, since when he left Scotland no such upheaval was expected as had taken place. His answer, however, was unflinching. "Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, and conscience will

permit." This was enough; the prince turned away without a word, and Episcopacy in Scotland was henceforward deprived of State support. The bishop has been censured by some for his action at this juncture, but there can be no question of his honourable fidelity to his consecration vows, and through poverty and obscurity and anxious trials, bravely and sweetly borne, he maintained the same upright character. His brethren in Scotland adhered to the same policy, notwithstanding all that followed. Presently the Scottish Convention of Estates, declaring Prelacy to be a "great and unsupportable grievance," ordered that all ministers of the gospel should pray for William and Mary, as King and Queen, or be deposed from their charges, and this regulation was strictly carried out. Many of the Episcopal clergy, refusing to conform, were driven ruthlessly from their churches, sometimes under circumstances of considerable hardship. The ejections in Edinburgh were effected quietly, rioting being prevented by the members of the College of Justice, who appeared in arms in defence of the clergy. It is unfortunate that the records of these proceedings were destroyed by fire, so we are unable to record any particulars of what took place. Legislation pressed heavily on the dispossessed Church, but this, it must be distinctly understood, was on political and not on religious grounds. There were far more Episcopalians throughout Scotland at this time than is commonly supposed, and William of Orange had no particular animosity against them, so that had they chosen to acknow-

ledge him as their sovereign the State establishment of Episcopacy would in all probability have been peaceably maintained in Scotland as in England. Yet can we regret the spirit that led them to "endure hardness" in obedience to their rightful king? Surely not! and thereby was achieved, though they knew it not, the spiritual independence of the Church, a blessing which in these latter days we are coming more and more to appreciate. The Church was thrown back to its primitive simplicity as a spiritual kingdom, though much was to come and go ere that lesson could be learned. Bishop Sandford in after years prayed that the Church in England might never be, as her sister in Scotland had been, "reduced to first principles," but may not that have been a blessing in disguise? To return to our story. In 1695 the deposed clergy were forbidden to perform baptisms or marriages under penalty of imprisonment, and that this was no idle threat the following extract from the *Edinburgh Courant* of 19th July 1708 will prove:—

"Upon Saturday, 17th July 1708, five ministers of the Episcopal persuasion were imprisoned by the magistrates for exercising the Ministerial Function within the Liberties of the City when they had not qualified themselves to the Government, neither did they own before the magistrates that they prayed for the Queen. They had been sentenced on 13th March last to find caution against a certain day byegone under the pain of being imprisoned, but none of them could Refuse they had exercised part of the Ministerial Function since they were

sentenced. Wherefore they were committed to Prison."

One of these five was the Rev. Andrew Cant, afterwards one of the clergy of Old St. Paul's. In an old pamphlet we read that the "Meeting-houses were even blocked up, and he made a fair Shift that could keep his own dwelling-house quietly. They of them that had the courage to creep out on the Lord's Day for officiating in Public Worship, were soon provided of a Stone Doublet in the Heart of Lothian, witness Messrs. Cant, Abercrombie, Wingate, &c. The rest saved themselves by scampering, while Sergeants and Soldiers of the Town Guard visited their houses."[1] We are not told whether Bishop Rose was one of the "scamperers," but his name never appears among the prosecuted. Whether this was owing to royal favour, or to his own prudence and sweetness of disposition, or to both, we cannot tell. We read of him frequently celebrating the Holy Communion, and being ready whenever required to administer Confirmations, even oftener than six times in one forenoon.

Queen Anne's accession had brought high hopes to the Jacobite party, as she was well known to have friendly feelings towards her exiled relatives, and to be a staunch Churchwoman. It is one of the prized traditions of Old St. Paul's that she patronised their chapel, and that upon the passing of the Act of Toleration in 1712, devised to afford some relief to

[1] Answer to Queries upon Address of Scottish Episcopal Clergy in Edinburgh. Presented to Her Majesty, 1713. Published by James Watson.

the oppressed Scots clergy, she presented them with an organ. This fact is confidently asserted in a memoir of Dr. Charles Webster, who was incumbent of the chapel in 1774. Possibly the Queen retained some friendly recollection of the city from the days when as Princess Anne, she assisted at the entertainments at Holyrood, during her father's brief Court there while Duke of York, when his wife introduced the novel beverage of tea to the Edinburgh ladies. Sir Robert Sibbald, whose connection with the chapel will be referred to later, was knighted by James at that time, acting as the King's Commissioner. No doubt the chapel in Carrubber's Close shared in the gifts of prayer-books sent down so liberally from England during Queen Anne's reign. The Act of Toleration brought little relief except to the clergy who took the oaths to Government, and the death of Queen Anne and the accession of George I. put an end to many expectations.

Soon followed the obscure rising of 1715, in which so many Episcopalians took part that George I. adopted more stringent measures against them, ordering in 1716 that all the meeting-houses in Edinburgh where he was not prayed for were to be closed. Bishop Rose was at the same time deprived of a pension he had enjoyed from Government out of old Church funds, and it was given to the Rev. George Barclay, a clergyman who had taken the oaths to Government.[1] This deprivation was probably owing to the fact that a son of Bishop Rose, along with the Bishop of Dunblane's son, had

[1] *Scots Courant*, November 16, 1716.

taken part in the rising. Bishop Rose wrote to the Bishop of Carlisle, where his son lay imprisoned, sleeping on straw, as he awaited his trial, soliciting his kind offices on the young man's behalf; but all in vain—the Bishop of Carlisle would not bestir himself even to visit the poor young fellow, much less intercede for him. It was considered an extenuating circumstance if prisoners had been influenced by their parents or followed their masters, so young Rose was left by this unfriendly prelate entirely "to God's mercy and the king's,"[1] as he considered that the two bishops' sons had been "bred up to rebellion, as ever moss-trooper's children were bred up to stealing," and as much led by their fathers "as if the two prelates had gallopped before them into the battle." Happily God's mercy and the king's prevailed, and young Rose was set at liberty. With what heartfelt sympathy must good Bishop Rose have compiled the prayer he issued at this time to his clergy to be used "for the prisoners condemned to die."[2] Notwithstanding these anxious home cares the Scottish bishops were at this time engaged along with the English Nonjurors in discussing the possibilities of union with the great churches of the East —an interesting project, which however, in view of apparently insurmountable difficulties, had to be abandoned,[3] but has in our day again come to the front.

Bishop Alexander Rose belonged to the ancient

[1] MS. Letters, British Museum.

[2] Stephen's *Eccl. Mag.*, vol. v. p. 222. Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask," p. 15.

[3] Stephen's "Hist. Scot. Ch.," vol. ii. pp. 482–84.

family of the Roses of Kilravock in the north of Scotland, and married Euphame Threipland, daughter of Patrick Threipland of Fingask, a family henceforth, as we shall see, closely connected with the fortunes of the chapel in Carrubber's Close. The son just mentioned was one of a large family who are all said to have pre-deceased their father.

The bishop's marriage and the names of his children are all entered upon the fly-leaf of his prayer-book, now in the McIntosh Library at Dunkeld, as follows :—

"I was married with Euphame Threipland, Aprile 27, 1676, at Kilspindie.
Patrick was Born, Decr. 31, 1677, at Perth.
Alexr. was Born, Janr. 2, 1679, at Perth.
Arthur was Born, Septr. 22, 1681, at Perth.
Dd. Aprile 8, 1700.
Euphame was Born, Decr. 4th, 1683, at Glasgow.
Barbara was Born, Febr. 1685, at Glasgow.
John was Born, Apryl 30, 1687, at Glasgow.
Anna was Born, May 9th, 1689, at Edinburgh.
James was Born, Febr. 29th, 1692, at Leith, in the Citiedale.
David was Born, March 2d, 1694, at Edinr., in ye Canongate.
Alexr. was Born, Apryl 19th, 1696, at Edinr., in ye Canongate.
Charles was Born, Octr. 4th, 1698, at Edinr., in ye Canongate."

This book was in the possession of Bishop Forbes of Leith. At his death, in 1775, Bishop Charles Rose,

nephew of Bishop Alexander Rose, purchased it, and at his death, in 1789, it was purchased by the Rev. D. Macintosh, whose library is now preserved at Dunkeld. Bishop Alexander Rose's alliance with the Threipland family, so many generations of which were connected with the chapel in Carrubber's Close, gives strong reason for believing that the commonly accepted story of his having ministered there after his ejection from St. Giles is correct. Such a story could not fail to be handed on by those so closely connected, and so warmly interested in the common cause. If this is so, then three generations of that family have married clergymen of the chapel, carrying down its tradition till well on in the nineteenth century. Chambers, who was quite in touch with the Episcopalians of his time, gives it unhesitatingly.

Certain relics of the bishop were preserved at Fingask—his seal and ring, also a prayer-book presented by him to one of the ladies of the family. Patrick Threipland, the bishop's nephew, who was born the day before the battle of Killiecrankie, was baptized by him. The bishop graduated M.A. at King's College, Aberdeen, and held charge at Perth, becoming Bishop of Edinburgh 1687, and after the death of his uncle, Archbishop Ross of St. Andrews, in 1704, acted as Primus. In the words of Bishop Gillan, who was at St. Paul's some years later, he "Governed the Church in these most Difficult and Dangerous Times with wonderful Prudence and Conduct, and who, for all the other Vertues that can adorn a Gentleman, or a Scholar, a Christian

or a Bishop, is deservedly esteemed and revered by all Persons and all Parties."[1]

His home is believed to have been in the Canongate of Edinburgh, but the house is not known. He died in 1720 at his sister's house in the old White-horse Close, off the Canongate, where the window of his room can be seen above one of the entrances, and was buried, it is supposed, in Lord Balmerino's tomb in the little old churchyard at Restalrig outside the city, where the last religious service might be paid without molestation. No stone marks the spot where the good bishop was laid to his rest, but it is hoped that, in the church so long connected with his name, some memorial of one to whom it and the whole Church in Scotland owe so deep a debt may find a fitting place. His funeral sermon, published anonymously, and preached by we know not who, concludes thus quaintly :—

" Now alas, who can refrain from dropping a tear ? his silver Locks that were graceful are laid in the Dust ; now the beautiful and odoriferous Rose (that adorned the Mitre, and was the greatest Ornament of our Church) is dropt into the grave and mingled with the earth. . . . And now I conclude my Discourse with that excellent prayer in our own Scotch Liturgy for Christ's Church, ' We bless Thy Holy Name, for all these Thy servants who having finished their Course in Faith do rest from their Labours.' "

An Act of Parliament passed in 1719 had prohibited the clergy from officiating in houses where more than nine persons in addition to the

[1] Gillan's " Life of Sage."

family were present, under penalty of imprisonment and closing of the meeting-house. Though this was not always rigorously enforced, the risk must have been great, and accounts for the extreme secrecy observed, and the very slender records that have come down to us. The earliest register of Old St. Paul's that is known to exist does not begin till 1735, and even long after that there are many gaps that can only be partially filled up from outside sources.

Let us now turn to the meeting-place of the dispossessed congregation.

CHAPTER II

1454–1720

Carrubber's Close and its Associations—Property anciently dedicated to Service of God—The Founding of the Chapel—Sir Robert Sibbald—Thomas Kincaid

CARRUBBER'S CLOSE lies on the north side of the High Street, a little below "Christ's Church of the Tron," and was one of the widest of the many alleys opening off that historic thoroughfare, which drew forth so many tributes of admiration from foreign visitors in olden times. A quaint street it must have been ere the handsome old timber-fronted, high-peaked houses were replaced by the barrack-like structures we now deplore. No North Bridge had then broken through the serried ranks of tall dwellings, pierced only by the narrow openings that gave upon the green fields and blue waters. Next above "Corribor's" was Halkerston's Wynd, now swept away, whose name-father is believed to have died, sword in hand, at the end of the close, defending the city from the pitiless onslaughts of the English invaders in 1544; and, in the valley beneath, the turbid waters of the Nor Loch still lapped the steep slopes.

Gray's Close, on the farther side, had a memory of certain foundations disclosed during excavations, of

thick walls running east and west, that may have been a chapel ;[1] but if so, all memory of it has perished, this part of the town having suffered severely during the war referred to. Still, one may cherish the hope that "the place whereon thou standest is holy ground" even from those far-away days.

At the head of Carrubber's Close stood till 1814, when it was burned down, the handsome old mansion-house of Archbishop Spottiswoode, built in 1578, the lintel of which, bearing the favourite inscription, "Blissit · be · God · for · all · His · Giftis . 1578," is said by Wilson to be built into the wall of Gray's Close adjoining. If so, it is now undecipherable. From its handsome brass balcony the archbishop used to bless the crowds that thronged the "Hie and Great Street," and it was he who crowned Charles I. at Holyrood, the last Scots coronation, save when a humbler scion of Carrubber's Close crowned a later Charles with a fading wreath of laurel leaves! A tablet on the wall of Carrubber's Close marks the site of the archbishop's dwelling, and a short close adjoining is the Bishop's Close to this day, and the buildings at the top were entitled the "Bishop's Land."

Although clean it probably was not, still Carrubber's Close was considered a most aristocratic locality, and contained many fine houses. It was famous, among other associations, as the home of the drama in Edinburgh. After the cessation of the theatricals in the Canongate, we find a certain Signora Violante bringing, in 1718, a troupe of performers here, and in 1736 Allan Ramsay, whose picturesque

[1] Wilson's "Memorials of Old Edinburgh."

house hard by was only lately taken down, opened here his ill-starred theatre, so soon suppressed by the "unco guid" among the magistracy of the day.

Concerning the "meeting-house" of St. Paul's, the tradition has been handed down that an old gentleman in ill-health, living in the Close, gave the use of a room in his property opposite, for the purpose of Divine service, which he was able to enjoy hearing through an open door or window. Who this benevolent Churchman can have been it is impossible to decide; the Church books have references to one Thomas Kinkaid "of blessed memory," who is said to have been the founder, and there is no doubt that the property was purchased in 1741 from the trustees of "Thomas Kinkaid, formerly of Auchinreoch," who died in 1729. But the tradition may refer to an earlier Thomas Kinkaid of Auchinreoch, a chirurgeon-apothecary in Edinburgh, who died in 1691, and who, according to his gorgeous Latin epitaph in the Greyfriars Churchyard, was a man of great goodness of character. Before 1700 the property belonged to Sir Robert Sibbald of Kipps, one of the founders of the Royal College of Physicians, first Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, and author of several scientific works, who himself dwelt in the uppermost floor of one of the tenements. This fact, together with Sir Robert's own religious history, leads one to suppose that he may have been the good Samaritan who sheltered the wounded Church. Originally an Episcopalian, he was led by the Duke of Perth's influence, while on a visit to Drummond Castle, to

embrace the Romish faith. He was accused of doing this to secure the favour of James II., who had knighted him at Holyrood in 1682, but he appears to have been perfectly sincere. He was mobbed, however, and his furniture thrown into the garden behind his house, and finding that "spighte" prevailed against him he went in a coach with Claverhouse to Holyrood, and afterwards to London for a time. Becoming convinced of his mistake, he returned to his old communion in 1686, was received back by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and henceforth, as he tells us, "kept his Parish Church."[1] In later years his name appears among the defenders of Bishop Rose against certain accusations made against him in the administration of charitable funds for the deposed clergy. He died in 1722, and is buried in Greyfriars Churchyard. In 1700 he disposed of his property in Carrubber's Close to Thomas Kinkaid (the younger), formerly of Auchinreoch, and from his trustees, as was said before, the congregation purchased their place of worship in 1741. This Thomas Kinkaid is most probably the elegant Latin scholar whose poems are preserved among the archives of the Royal Archers, and in a small collection published by Ruddiman, including poems by Dr. Pitcairn and some kindred worthies. Another tradition has it that the services were first held in a house belonging to one of the evicted bishops, but there is no evidence of this, and it may be a confusion with the "Bishop's Land" previously referred to.

[1] Sibbald's Autobiography.

The title-deeds of the Church property show that it belonged "of old to the Lauders of the Bass," that distinguished family who gave so many of their best to Church and State, and evidently came into their possession through Agnes Faulaw, widow of William de Carabris, after whom the Close is believed to be named.. He was bailie in Edinburgh in 1454–55, after which he must have died, and his widow married Robert Lauder of the Bass. By her certain of the revenues were dedicated to the Church, as appears from the following extract:—

"In 1491 James IV. confirms a mortification by Agnes Faulaw, spouse of Robert Lauder of Bass, of fifteen merks from tenements in Edinburgh and Leith, for masses at the altar of the Virgin Mary in the Parish Church of St. Andrew the Apostle in North Berwick, for the soul of King James III. and her late husband William Carreboris. It is made with her present husband's consent, and sealed with his seal at Le Craig on the 20th October 1491."[1]

This property, the revenues from which would of course be alienated at the Reformation, is evidently the same, "on the north Syde of the King's Hie Street, with the Bishop of Glasgow's house on the east," which has passed, through the various hands mentioned, into the possession of St. Paul's. And it is not only wonderful that as the old Crag of the Bass was the last fortress in Britain to fly the flag of King James, so this other possession of the Lauders

[1] Reg. Gr. Seal, 1424, No. 2068. Quoted in Mrs. Stewart Smith's "Grange of St. Giles," p. 178. Inventory of Pious Donations, Advocates' Library.

should treasure the same allegiance; nor even that the name of an earlier King James should live in the Church's annals along with the old forgotten founder of the Close. Dearer than all these is the strangely solemn thought that what was once set apart for God's service in the Holy Eucharist should, after so many centuries, return, by ways we know not of, to serve once more that sacred purpose, and that a descendant of the pious donors, in the person of Canon Mitchell Innes, whose work in building up the Church in Carrubber's Close can never be forgotten nor expressed, should minister at the altar founded upon this ancient benefaction, now gathered up in a safe abiding place, where day by day the same Holy Offering is made and the hymn arises for all the people of God, "Make them to be numbered with Thy Saints in glory everlasting."

In the same pre-Reformation days there stood, not far away, in the old Leith Wynd, which curved across the valley from the Netherbow Port on the High Street, a little below Carrubber's Close, a "Hospital of Our Lady." It is thought an altarage or chaplaincy was of old attached, dedicated to St. Paul, and a building known as "Paul's Work" continued the name down to living memory. This house was founded by Thomas Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen,[1] in the reign of King James II. of Scotland, for the discipline and training of idle vagabonds,[2] and dedicated to Saint Paul. In 1582 the foundation was adapted to the reformed faith, and the "Bedesmen

[1] Fountainhall's "Decisions," vol. i. p. 9.

[2] Parl. Rec. 478. Wilson's "Memorials of Edinburgh."

were to be na Papistes but of trew religion." The names of the "Hospital of Our Lady" and "Sanct Paullis Warke" continued, however, till the old buildings were demolished to make way for the railway that now spreads itself over the valley. "Paul's Work" became a printing-house where Sir Walter Scott's novels were printed, and there he used to correct the proofs. It was probably in memory of this ancient dedication to St. Paul that the chapel in Carrubber's Close received its name, and the dedication of the new side chapel to Our Lady happily sustains the other old memory. The church of St. Paul's in York Place takes its name from one of three of the old chapels or meeting-houses which united in Blackfriar's Wynd, in the congregation of what was known as Baron Smith's or the Cowgate Chapel, from which the York Place congregation is lineally descended. This was what was known as a "qualified chapel," and was a large and flourishing congregation in the days when St. Paul's, Carrubber's Close, was still adhering to the exiled king. That a connection of some kind existed between them at one time is clear, but of what kind it seems impossible to discover; but a portion at least of the congregation united itself with Carrubber's Close, perhaps in 1822, when the new church was built in York Place. But it is quite clear that the Carrubber's Close Chapel bore its name of St. Paul's before this, though there is a curious reference in a "Stranger's Guide to Edinburgh," published in 1807, to "St. Mary's Chapel, Carrubber's Close." The confusion between the two churches of

St. Paul was cleared up in 1883, when the new church in Carrubber's Close was built, by the adoption of the title of "Old St. Paul's," by which it is so honourably known.

To return to the old meeting-house in the Close. It was a most unchurchlike building in outward appearance, not differing from an ordinary dwelling-house, and at first the congregation worshipped in the upper floor—whether hired or lent we cannot tell. In 1741 it was purchased, on behalf of the congregation, by Mr. Hugh Clerk, a Leith merchant, one of their members, and had evidently been in use for a long time, for it had "lately been repaired with a new roof, gallaries, and windows." This points to some alteration in the original building, since galleries could not be required in a single-floored room, and it was not till 1786 that they were in a position to purchase the under floors. One of these was occupied before 1753 as a "meeting-house" by an Episcopal clergyman, Mr. Alexander Robertson by name, who frequently assisted his neighbours above. Perhaps it was only a division of the congregation in consequence of the prosecutions that prevented too many worshipping together, and a tradition has come down of the meeting-house being partitioned off into separate rooms for this purpose. This under floor was also used for a time as a wareroom by the British Linen Company. Many dangers threatened the poor old building, for fires raged frequently in the neighbourhood, and many a time the services have been interrupted from this danger, but still it seems always to have escaped direct damage. In 1745 one James

THE OLD CHURCH IN CARRUBBER'S CLOSE

Kincaid, possibly a descendant of the pious founder, made a claim to the Town Council for damages done to his property in Carrubber's Close by the erection of a battery there. The firing of the cannons "demolished not only the glasses, but had blown out the whole casements, and shaken the walls, insomuch that several of the stones of the chimneys did fall down, and some tiles on the top of the houses were blown off, causing the tenant and his servants to be afraid of their lives."[1] If, as seems not improbable, this was James Kincaid of Degreen, Falkirk, who is mentioned in Lord Rosebery's "List of the Rebels"[2] as having actively "assisted the rebels by Day and Night," who "Robed the country of horses, drank the Pretender's son as Prince of Wales, wishing damnation to his Majesty," there can be little doubt of his sentiments.

To the old Close came, in after years, the poet Burns, visiting his friend Captain Henderson ; perchance to rub shoulders with some of his friends of the old chapel, "who could so carelessly accost him," not dreaming how after years would treasure the slightest remembrance. But Captain Henderson's house and all the rest were swept away, leaving only one small part on the east at the top of the Close unchanged ; and glad we are to have even that, for there was the dwelling of one of St. Paul's most famous sons, Sir Stuart Threipland of Fingask. No part, perhaps, of the old town is so changed as this ; the building and reconstruction of the North Bridge has worked

[1] Reid's "New Light on Old Edinburgh."
[2] Scottish History Society.

havoc with several old closes, and the railway rides roughshod over many pleasant recollections. The old "Physic Garden" in the hollow, where Sir Robert Sibbald gathered his famous collection of rare plants and herbs, has been transplanted to the present Botanic Gardens in Inverleith Row. Trinity College Church rebuilt upon another site, and the Hospital of Our Lady and the Chapel of St. Paul, live only in the story of the past, and the church which garners up those holy memories. Good Sir Robert Sibbald lies at rest in the old Greyfriars, his faithful, patient work on earth done ; but the profession he adorned, and the College of Physicians he helped to found, has brought to Edinburgh a world-wide fame. The Church he loved and maybe sheltered in her hour of peril has weathered many a storm, and rides safely at anchor now in the old Close. May we not say, in the Prayer-book words he has inscribed on the margin of one of his wonderful MS. lists of God's creation, "O Lord, how manifold are Thy works ! in wisdom has Thou made them all : the earth is full of Thy riches " ?

CHAPTER III

1720–1735

Some Early Clergy of the Church—Bishops Cant and Gillan —The Revs. Patrick Middleton and Wm. Harper

After the death of Bishop Rose in 1720, the Church in Scotland suffered sensibly from the lack of his peaceable guidance, being speedily divided into two parties over certain "Usages," which some considered ancient customs of the Church properly to be observed, while others held the contrary. This dispute, arising in England among the Nonjurors, spread to Scotland, where it was further complicated by the "Usages" party adhering to the system of diocesan Episcopacy, while the other side approved of a "College of Bishops" not consecrated to any particular district. The bishops were mostly nominated by the absent Chevalier, clinging to the old royal prerogative, and acting on the advice of his "Trustees." These were certain gentlemen whom he had appointed as his advisers and representatives in Scotland. The nominations, naturally partaking of a more or less political character, gave rise at times, as might be expected, to great differences of opinion, and in one of these the two clergy now in charge of St. Paul's played a prominent part. The elder of the two, Mr. Andrew Cant, was the nephew

of Andrew Cant, who was Principal of Edinburgh University and incumbent of Trinity College Church, where he himself afterwards ministered, being translated thither from South Leith prior to the Revolution,[1] and deprived of his benefice in 1689. He was one of the five clergymen who were imprisoned, as we have seen, in 1708, and was also among the twenty-five clergymen proceeded against in 1716, when he and his colleague, the Rev. Patrick Middleton, were forbidden to preach, and fined £20 each for not praying for King George.[2]

In 1722 Mr. Andrew Cant, who was most highly spoken of for his learning and integrity, was consecrated bishop, and in 1725, if not before it, he and the Rev. Patrick Middleton were in charge at Carrubber's Close.[3] The latter gentleman had been the parish minister of Leslie in Fife, "Christ's Kirk on the Green," and was deprived in 1689 for the usual offence of praying for King James instead of William and Mary. Again, in 1692, he was proceeded against for the same offence, but nothing daunted, he was again in 1716 prohibited, and fined, along with the Rev. Andrew Cant, for officiating in a meeting-house in Skinner's Close, Edinburgh. While they were at Carrubber's Close difficulties arose concerning the nomination of a Mr. John Gillan to a bishopric. Lockhart of Carnwath tells the story. Mr. Gillan, being strongly of the "College" party, was as stoutly opposed by the "Usages" party, among whom were numbered the two clergy

[1] Scott's "Fasti," vol. i. p. 32.
[2] Chambers' "Dom. Annals," vol. iii. pp. 405–406.
[3] MS. Episcopal Chest.

of Carrubber's Close. The congregation must have been strongly influenced by the "College" party's views, or shall we say, the political aspect, probably swayed by the ardent Cavalier, Lockhart himself, for they deposed both the clergymen over this.[1] Very likely this was owing to the suspicion that Mr. Middleton had betrayed the Jacobite party's correspondence to Government, as he had threatened to do. Lockhart, who has not a good word to say of him, reports that Middleton said, if Gillan were elected, "he would make some heads hop."

Bishop Cant, who was at this time an old man "dosed with age," died in 1730 in the ninety-first year of his age, and the sixty-fourth year of his ministry, and was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard.[2] He published two sermons on the Martyrdom of Charles I. preached in 1703 and 1715.

Patrick Middleton published two works, "Dissertations on the Power of the Church, London, 1733," and "A Short View of the Evidences of the Christian Religion, London, 1734." He appears to have resided in or near Edinburgh for a few years after his deposition from St. Paul's, and died at Bristol in 1736, aged seventy-four. In the old baptismal register of St. James, Leith, there is a little girl christened by his name. The Rev. John Gillan, whose election was so vehemently opposed, *was* consecrated upon the Chevalier's mandate, although owing to the strife the ceremony did not take place till June 11, 1727, and so far as can be gathered he immediately

[1] "Lockhart Papers," vol. ii. p. 34. MS. Episcopal Chest.
[2] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, April 27, 1730.

succeeded Messrs. Cant and Middleton at Carrubber's Close, being certainly there in 1729. He was a man of great learning and of high character, reputed to have been the tutor of Lockhart of Carnwath, possibly the one whom he mentions as having been removed from him by the influence of his grandfather, on account of his Episcopal views. That he had been at one time a bookseller was a reason assigned for the opposition of the clergy to his election to a bishopric. Although at this time about sixty years of age he had not been many years in orders. The diocese of Dunblane was allotted to him, but he does not appear to have ever resided there, remaining in charge at Carrubber's Close till his death in 1735. He published a life of Bishop Sage in 1714, previously quoted from, and was reported to be the author of "Carnwath's Memoirs."[1]

Before Bishop Gillan's death the dispute concerning the "Usages" had been brought to an end in 1732 by a Concordat, subscribed by all the bishops, and ceased in that way to disturb the peace of the Church. Bishop Gillan lived in Fowlis Close, Edinburgh, where his successor also dwelt. Those who had favoured the "Usages," as we may suppose, brought forward the name of that distinguished champion, Bishop Rattray of Craighall, for the vacancy at Carrubber's Close, but he declined, possibly on account of age or ill-health, so the congregation had not the benefit of his scholarly services. They next invited[2] "a discreet young gentleman, Mr. William

[1] Wodrow, "Analecta.

[2] MS. Memoirs, Episcopal Church, Advocates' Library.

Harper in Leith, who accepted, and appeared there March 9, 1735."

From this time forward, the records of the Church place our information on a more certain basis, and become of the deepest interest. The earliest register known to exist, as mentioned before, dates from 1735, kept in the beautiful careful handwriting of the Rev. William Harper for thirty years, and abundantly exhibits the close connection that existed between the Church and the loyal Jacobite party. This period, embracing as it does the stirring times of the "'45," is the most picturesque in the congregation's history, and some will think, its chiefest glory. This valuable old register, some leaves of which have the watermark "C. R." surmounted by the royal crown, was printed in the "Scottish Antiquary" in 1891. In it, as will be seen from the extracts to be quoted, the reverend scribe was careful to give, not only the names of the principal parties concerned, but godparents, guests, &c., thus presenting an interesting picture of Edinburgh society in the eighteenth century. Many distinguished Scottish families, besides those to be noticed, figure in the books of this ancient chapel—chiefly, of course, those whose sympathies were with the exiled Stuarts. Every page of the register is signed by Mr. Harper.

Before proceeding to consider the flock, let us tell a little about their shepherd, who was such a striking figure in those troubled times. An ardent and devoted Churchman he appears to have been, and a true and loving friend to his flock in all their

chequered existence. "Discreet," for we do not hear of him embroiling himself as did some of his brethren, and his pious exultation over victories won was carefully noted in Greek characters in the Church books. Yet he too had his share of struggling, even before he came to Edinburgh, for we read of him incurring the wrath of the Presbyterians in Strathbogie, and being brought before the Justiciary Court at Inverness for performing baptisms, &c.[1] He was born at Boharm in Banffshire, where his father, the Rev. Adam Harper, had been minister at the Revolution. In 1729 we find him instituting the Church in Kirkwall, where it is thought he introduced the Scottish Office.[2] Afterwards he acted as chaplain to the Earl of Huntly and to Viscount Arbuthnott, by whom he was much esteemed, and in 1733 he was acting as assistant to Mr. Crichton in Leith, from whence he came to Carrubber's Close in 1735, as previously stated. Soon after he had as assistant for about six months the Rev. Robert Forbes (afterwards well known as Bishop Forbes, the compiler of the "Lyon in Mourning"), then probably in deacon's orders, of whom he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Falconer, who had recommended him, "He promiseth well, and may reckon upon every service in my power, and not the less that he is recommended by you."[3] Mr. Harper in this communication shows the courteous consideration and kindness that were among his chief characteristics.

[1] Craven's "History of the Church in Kirkwall."
[2] Ibid.
[3] Letter, Episcopal Chest.

Strangers ever found a kindly welcome from him. He married at Edinburgh 5th June 1741, Katherine Threipland, daughter of Sir David Threipland of Fingask, and widow of Mr. John Drummond of Pitcog. Her brother David had been out with his father, in the rising of the "'15," and, after being taken prisoner in a boat on the Firth of Forth, was with his companion imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. Seeing some lady friends walking on the Castle hill, he signalled to them, and in the shadow of night they brought some blankets to the foot of the Castle rock below his windows, which he pulled up by means of a string. By their means he and some of his companions were able to lower themselves down the rock, and escaped to Fife.[1] Another brother, Stuart Threipland, was for a very long time an office-bearer in the Church: he will be referred to later.

Mr. and Mrs. Harper lived in Fowlis Close, Edinburgh, and appear to have kept both a man and woman servant. Mrs. Harper, on her visits to her paternal home at Fingask, travelled in a sedan chair, with three men to carry it, one to relieve the other. A quaint journey it must have been from the old town of Edinburgh to the seaside, thence across the broad Firth to the little old pier at Pettycur near Kinghorn, and through Fife to the Tay—not such an immense journey as the crow flies, but a mighty undertaking in those days. Her father kept a "running footman," who in his uniform of white and blue, carrying a pole much longer than himself, could help his master to mount his horse and, starting off, be at the journey's

[1] Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask."

end before him. Lady Threipland writes to her son-in-law a few months after his marriage as follows:—[1]

"FFINGASK, *Decr.* 14*th*, 1741.

"REVEREND SIR,—Tho I am scarce able to write yet I cannot but acknowledg the recept of your kind complisant letter, and that it gave me much pleasur to know that you and my daughter are in good health and confirms what my Da. Effie tould me of your being both very happie in ane another. May you both lang Injoy that happiness and live to see better days." [After some family news she goes on to say:] "I am verie ill at making spetches and I never could pass complements, nor doe I admire them; I shall onlie add that you have my best wishes and beg you will continow to pray for me who am in a verie languishing condition, and believe me, I ever am, with grate regaird and much esteem,

"Reverend Sir,

"Your affect. Mother to

"love and serve you,

"K. SMYTH.

"*P.S.*—This line hes been such a task to me that I think it will be the last I will, attempt to writ unless it be the good will of heaven to give me more strength. I wiss you may read this. Adeu."

Addressed: "To the Rev. Will Harper at his lodgings in Fowlis Close, Edr." Docketed: "Lady Threipland, R. 17th Decr."

[1] Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask," pp. 35, 37.

Mr. Harper appears to have been very prominent among his clerical brethren, and at a meeting of theirs held in 1739, on the death of Bishop Freebairn, he was chosen to preside.[1] The number of clergy in Edinburgh far exceeded the number of meeting-houses, so two or three of them must have officiated at each, as indeed we know was the case at Carrubber's Close, Mr. Harper being about this time assisted by the Revs. Alexander Mackenzie and Thomas Drummond, "nephew to Logicalmond."

He claimed authority to act as dean during the vacancy in the bishopric, but to this his brethren would not agree. King James afterwards nominated him for the bishopric, his name also having been mentioned for the bishopric of Caithness. The "College of Bishops," however, opposed his election, and he desired that his name should be withdrawn.[2]

In 1739 Mr. Harper, along with Mr. John Addison, acted as collector for the fund for the relief of the poor Episcopal clergy and their widows. Many noble and famous names appear among the contributors, and not of the Episcopal persuasion alone. The City of Edinburgh, the Faculty of Advocates, the "Writters" to the Signet, as well as the Incorporations of Wrights, Weavers, Skinners, Baxters, Shoemakers, and Hammermen of the Canongate, are to be found there, beside sundry sums "from an unknown hand," "from a gentleman who desires to be concealed," &c. &c. Nine copies of Mr. Middleton's "Dissertations," valued at three

[1] Grub's "Eccles. History," vol. iv. p. 11.

[2] "Memorials, Murray of Broughton," Scot. Hist. Soc. pp. 11, 12.

shillings each, were an asset not easily realised. Mr. Thomas Ruddiman and Mr. James Johnston, both members of St. Paul's congregation, were administrators for some years of this sorely needed fund, and the accounts are audited and signed by them.[1]

[1] MS. Account of the Charity for the Relief of the Poor Episcopal Clergy, &c.

CHAPTER IV

1720–1745

Notable Members of the Congregation—Mr. Thomas Ruddiman—The Countess of Eglinton, &c.—Entries from the Old Register

Among the early members of the congregation whose names have come down to us, none worthier can be found than that of the "learned and good" Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, whom St. Paul's may be proud to claim.[1] Born at Boyndie, in Banffshire, in 1674, he was educated, like many another famous Scot, at the parish school. With a guinea in his pocket, he started on foot for Aberdeen University, to compete for a prize in classics. Robbed by gipsies on the way, he still persevered, and winning the prize, remained at the University till he took his degree as Master of Arts. One of his fellow-students was Simon Fraser, afterwards the notorious Lord Lovat, even then exhibiting the evil tendencies that marred his life and brought him to the scaffold.

After graduation Ruddiman acted as tutor and schoolmaster, and it was while he was filling the latter position in the little thatched schoolhouse of Laurencekirk, where in after years Dr. Johnson

[1] Chalmers' "Life of Ruddiman."

thoughtfully remembered him, that he made the acquaintance of the famous Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, then on a visit to the place. By his advice Ruddiman came to Edinburgh in 1700, and by the same generous influence at once obtained employment in the Advocates' Library. We cannot be certain that the witty poet-physician was a member of St. Paul's congregation, but his daughters, the Countess of Kellie and Miss Pitcairn, undoubtedly were, and in later years, at least, Mr. Ruddiman worshipped there. From an entry in his pocket-book, in the possession of his descendants, we learn that in 1703 he paid forty shillings Scots for his seat in "Gray's Close Meeting-house." That there was a chapel in "Gray's Close" we know, but whether in North Gray's Close, which closely adjoins Carrubber's on the east, or South Gray's Close, on the opposite side of the High Street, it seems impossible to determine. There appears to have been an access to the old meeting-house of St. Paul's from Gray's Close on the east, no doubt a convenience in times of persecution. It is quite clear from the books of the Church that Mr. Ruddiman, his wife and family, were seat-holders in St. Paul's for many years before his death, and that he acted as one of the trustees or managers of its affairs. His widow and family retained their connection with the congregation, but reference will be made to this later. The great grammarian's career as chief librarian to the Advocates' Library, as well as his labours as author and publisher, are too well known to require comment here. Dr. Johnson, who found in him a

man after his own heart, delighted to do him honour: we too gratefully remember the scholar, the citizen, and the Churchman.

Looking into the old register before mentioned, two of the first entries of interest that meet the eye are the following weddings in the family of the beautiful Susanna, Countess of Eglinton, who, with her seven lovely daughters, was such a notable figure in Edinburgh society of those days. The first is as follows:—

"1737. *Feb.* 16, f. 4, h. 3, v.—In the Countess of Eglintoun's Lodging, over head of Jo. Jollies, marryed James Murray of Abercairnie and Lady Christian Montgomery, in virtue of the Bp. of Edinrs. mandate to me, proceeding on a Ler. from my Lady Eglinton. The Bride was given by her Broyr., the Earl (then fourteen years old). Pnt., The Countess, Lady Helen Montgomery, Lady Cathcart, Mr. David Græme, Advocate, and Mr. Neil Macvicar, Writer. Lord Justice Clerk should have been there, had it not been for his Ague.

"*N.B.*—I gave the Bps. mandate to Mr. Alexr. Ro'tson, Clk., to be inserted in the Records, on Wednesday the 9th inst."

We shall hear of Lady Christian again in the course of our story. The young earl who "gave the bride" was the much-desired heir of the old Earl of Eglinton, reared by his mother in all courtly ways. It is said that in her old age, when her son, who had gone over to the Hanoverian interest, desired his

still lovely mother to appear at the coronation of George III., the staunch Jacobite lady, loth to refuse her darling his request, excused herself on the ground that she was too old to wear robes. The sad death of the earl by the hands of a supposed poacher is one of the curious stories of Edinburgh life. "Lord Justice Clerk" was the kindly Lord Miltoun, appointed guardian to the large family. Two years later another of the fair band leaves the parent nest.

"1739. *April* 24, *Easter Tuesday*, h. 7, v.—In the Countess of Eglintoun's Lodging, Canongate, I married Sir Alexander Macdonald of Slate, Bart., to Lady Margaret Montgomery, sister of the Earl of Eglintoun, having the Bp.'s Licence. Pnt., Countess of Eglintoun and her unmarreyed daurs., *i.e.* Ladys Bettie, Eleonor, Frances and Grizel, Lord and Lady St. Clair, Miss Stewart, Earl of Hume, Laird of M'Leod, Mr. Jo. Mackenzie, Writer, Mr. Alexander Lockhart, Advocate, and his Lady, and Mr. Renton, who gave the bride. ff. s.—D. g. o."

It is a brother-in-law, Renton of Lamerton, who this time gives away the bride, the boy earl being at Winchester; but as head of the family he amusingly writes to his sister approving of the match. "You have always been my chief favourite; I shall be proud of having such an ally."[1]

Lady Margaret was greatly beloved in her new home in Skye, so much so that when she rode out, the inhabitants ran in haste to remove the stones from her way. Two years later we find the baptism

[1] "Memorials of the Montgomeries," vol. i. p. 332.

of the son and heir recorded, presumably in her mother's house.

"1741. *Decr.* 30, f. 4, h. 5, v.—In the Canongate, baptized a son of Sir Alexr. Macdonald of Slate, and Lady Margt. Montgomerie named James—born 26th. The Countesses of Seaforth, Southesk, and Wigton, Lady Frances Montgomerie, Mrs. Lockhart of Carnwath, Mrs. Al. Lockhart, Mrs. Munro, Mrs. Kennedy, Miss Macdonald, Lords Wigton and St. Clair, Captain Wm. Lockhart and Prof. Munro, pnt. S. Lit."

It is noticeable that the baptisms in those days were performed as they ought to be, soon after birth, and this young Christian began the New Year in right good style. Probably he was named "after the King," like so many in this register; but as Sir Alexander was not so ardent, or at least so open, a Jacobite as his fair lady, it may not have been so. May not the Miss Macdonald mentioned among the guests have been the famous Flora, Sir Alexander's kinswoman, who is thought to have spent a year in the metropolis? When Prince Charles was keeping court a few years later at Holyrood, he is said to have been a daily visitor at the Countess of Eglinton's house, and on his departure left the ladies a Royal Stuart tartan plaid as a keepsake. This was afterwards cut in pieces that each might have a share, and one portion at least was in the possession of their descendants for a very long time.[1] The countess slept always with a portrait of him placed where her eyes could fall upon it whenever

[1] Reid's "New Light on Old Edinburgh."

she awoke in the morning. To the Lady Margaret belongs the honour of succouring the beloved Prince in his wanderings in Skye, after the defeat of Culloden, and by her aid and that of Flora Macdonald, he made perhaps his most narrow escape from his pursuers, when, disguised as Betty Bourke, he, along with his supposed mistress, visited Mugstot, Sir Alexander Macdonald's seat in Skye. Flora Macdonald left her supposed servant-maid sitting in a summer-house at the foot of the garden, and was ushered into the drawing-room, where, besides Mr. Macdonald of Kingsburgh and some other guests, she found Lieutenant Macleod, who was stationed in the neighbourhood in command of a company of militia searching for the royal fugitive; some of the soldiers being actually in the house at the time.

Here was peril indeed, but thanks to the ready wit of the ladies, the officer was kept engaged in conversation till Lady Margaret was able to plan some way of escape for the Prince. The party dined together, and presently Mr. Macdonald of Kingsburgh bade them farewell, and taking with him a bottle of wine, a tumbler and some biscuits, set forth to join the Prince, who by this time had gone a little farther on. The refreshments were spread on the top of a rock, and after the poor wanderer had satisfied his hunger, they went on their journey towards Kingsburgh House, where Mr. Macdonald proposed to shelter him. Meanwhile Flora Macdonald kept up the conversation at Mugstot until sufficient time had elapsed to allow the gentlemen to reach a safe

distance, when she rose to go, pleading her mother's illness as an excuse for her short stay. Lady Margaret gently chided her for hurrying away, and with much apparent reluctance at last let her go. Accompanied by some friends and servants on horseback she soon overtook the wayfarers, passing them without notice in order to deceive the servants, one of whom, however, was sharp enough to call her attention to the "tall, impudent-looking woman walking with Kingsburgh. See what long strides the jade takes; I daresay she is an Irishwoman or a man in woman's clothes." Flora agreed that she probably was an Irishwoman, and soon getting rid of her inquisitive companions, joined Mr. Macdonald and "Betty Bourke," when they all proceeded to Kingsburgh House, where they were hospitably entertained by Mrs. Macdonald, and the Prince was able to throw off his disguise, and proceed upon his weary wanderings. Flora and Kingsburgh were both apprehended for their share in this exploit, but ultimately released. She was brought in a ship to Leith, and was of course quite a heroine. Some ladies of the congregation of St. Paul's visited her, and Bishop Forbes was girded with the apron worn by his royal master, a piece of the string being given to him, which, together with a piece of the "identical gown," was bound up in the cover of the "Lyon in Mourning," his collection of Jacobite papers now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

To return to the old register: there are two more entries of interest connected with the Eglinton family, one being the christening of the coachman's

child "Susannah," no doubt after his mistress. The other is as follows :—

"1743. *Septr.* 26, f. 2, h. 5, v.—In our Chappel in Carrubber's Close, I read vespers pro re nata, and administered Baptism (according to the form for those of riper years) to the Co. of Eglinton's negro servant, having before endeavoured to prepare him for it. He was named Alexander Archibald Cæsar, James Fraser, Clk., Joseph Ro'tson my nephew ; and Kath. Threipland my wife (as proxies for the Earl of Eglinton, Mr. Archibald, and Lady Helen Montgomerys) being his chosen witnesses. Miss Babie Smith, Mrs. Warder's Scholars, Margt. Hunter, the Ladies of March and some oyr young people pnt."

The negro received the names of his two young godfathers. The Joseph Ro'tson mentioned as proxy is probably a Dr. Joseph Robertson afterwards an office-bearer of the church. In this instance the priest evidently used the Prayer-book form of Baptism, which was not always done. The following entry affords an interesting example of the liberty taken in those days :—

"1739. *Jan.* 24, f. 4, h. 6, v.—Baptized a son of Robert Balfour of Balbirnie and Ann Ramsay, named John. Sir John Ramsay of Whitehill, John Lumisden and Lady, Mr. David Drummond, Dor. Lermont, Senr. Mr. James Græme, Writer, and his daur., and Mrs. Balfour, pnt.

"*N.B.*—Yt I had first converse wt Mr. Balfour to know qther it was wt his good liking yt I was

employed, oyrways I would proceed no farther. He told me that it was his own notion, and yt the reason I had not been called to christen his former child was one apprehension yt the Clergy of our Comn. were strictly tyed down to the use of Liturgies, Ceremonies, etc. To this I replyed, that for what was essential to the Sacrat. (e.g. Water, the Invocation of the holy Trinity, to ane authorized administrator) being parts of the Institution, 'twas not in my power to dispense with them, nor would he desire it. But for what was merely Ceremony (e.g., Books, Sign of the Cross, taking the child into the arms of the Priest) however ancient and decent and Symbolical, yet these we had a Discretionary power to omitt, where they were like to offend the weak, etc. etc."

The first wedding recorded in the register is of Mr. Balfour and his wife.

Coming down to 1743 we find an ominous name appearing :—

"1743. *Decr.* 13, f. 3, h. 4, v.—In the World's End Close, at the desire of Mr. Rae (confined by sore eyes) I baptized a son of Mr. John Murray of Broughton, named David. My Lady Murray, Mrs. Ferguson, Mr. Thos. Hay, Wm. M'Dougal and their Ladyes, Mr. Chas. Murray of Stanhope, Capt. Pat Murray, Jo. Douglas, etc., pnt."

The next christening recorded in this family was to be in very different fashion. One more entry may be quoted.

"1744. *Janry.* 29, f. 1, h. 5, v.—In the Canongate, baptized a son (born the 15th h. $7\frac{1}{2}$, v.) of Kenneth, Marquiss of Seaforth and Mary Stewart of Garlies, neice of the E. Marischall of Scotland.—Sin. Lit. Lord Garlies, Spor.; Duke of Perth, Earls of Wigton and Aboyn, Lord St. Clair, Ld. Royston and his son, Baron Clerk, Frazerdale, Mr. Alexr. Lockhart, Mr. Jo. Mackenzie, Dor. Stenison, Mr. Chisholm, etc., and almost as many Ladies. The Countesses of Murray and Wigton, Lady Francis Mackenzie, Ly. St. Clair, Mrs. Kath. Stewart, Ly. Garlies, Mrs. Lockhart, Mrs. Mary Lockhart, Mrs. Jean Mackenzie, Miss Paterson, etc., etc., pnt."

This baby, christened in such a noble company, was the grandson of the fifth Lord Seaforth, attainted for his share in the rising of 1715. He died in 1781, being the last Lord Seaforth.

CHAPTER V

1745–1748

Letters to Prince Charles—John Macnaughton—Imprisonment of the Rev. T. Drummond—Battles of Prestonpans and Culloden—Sir Stuart Threipland

THE entries quoted in the last chapter have carried us down to the fateful year of 1745. All along the Jacobite party had been plotting and intriguing for the restoration of the Stuart line, and now the gallant young Prince Charles Edward resolved to make a bold attempt to regain the crown lost by his grandfather. Naturally, Scotland was chosen for the scene of this, and in the arrangements for his enterprise, the congregation of St. Paul's in Carrubber's Close, who "held all together and kept themselves close," were deeply involved. Letters required to be sent to the Prince in France, and who but one of the clergy, the Rev. Thomas Drummond, was asked by the Duke of Perth to undertake the hazardous commission, probably because his clerical costume would disarm suspicion. Lord Elcho wrote to Captain Ogilvie in Leith, a shipmaster who was deep in their affairs, to delay his voyage for a day for Mr. Drummond's convenience; but after promising to go, the canny priest drew back, pleading holiday arrangements as his excuse. Murray of Broughton, who is

responsible for the story, scornfully says, "His being missed was of no moment, being Mr. Harper's colleague."[1] Having failed with the shepherd, they next appealed to one of the flock, a brother-in-law of Mr. Harper's, Doctor, afterwards Sir, Stuart Threipland, who also declined. At last a messenger was found, one John Macnaughton, variously said to have been a footman of Murray's and a watchmaker in Edinburgh, who travelled under the assumed name of Douglas. His instructions were, to go to Mr. Charles Smith at Boulogne, a wine merchant and banker much mixed up in the obscure doings of the party, and who was, in later years at least, a member of St. Paul's congregation. This gentleman, who in the party's correspondence bore the assumed name of Morris, was to "give him money, and send him to the Prince wherever he was." After ruffling it on the Continent for a time, John Macnaughton returned to Scotland and fought at Prestonpans, where he was credited with giving Colonel Gardiner his death-wound. Finally, he laid down his life at Carlisle in 1746, refusing to accept his freedom and an income for life, offered him on his way to the scaffold, if he would turn evidence.[2] Truly in this case the servant was above his master.

Dr. Drummond was not always so backward, however, for when Prince Charles landed in the West Highlands, he, along with the Rev. Robert Forbes of Leith and some other gentlemen, set off to join him.

[1] "Memorials, Murray of Broughton," p. 125. Scot. Hist. Soc.

[2] "Jacobite Gleanings" by J. M. Forbes, p. 13. "Lyon in Mourning," vol. i. p. 46 *n.*

On reaching St. Ninian's, however, they were all arrested on September 7, 1745, and confined in Stirling Castle for five months, thus missing all the glory and all the danger. In February 1746 they were taken out of the Castle by the Duke of Cumberland's orders, and "kept standing in the streets of Stirling from 9 A.M., till 2 or 3 P.M. a gazing-stock for all." Lord Albemarle asked why those prisoners were not roped. Captain Hamilton replied that they were gentlemen. "Gentlemen!" said Albemarle. "Damn them for rebels." He ordered them to be roped two and two for the march to Edinburgh, which was done, despite the remonstrances of Captain Hamilton, who declared they were only apprehended on suspicion, and that nothing could be laid to their charge. The gentlemen made a joke of the roping, and as soon as they were out of Stirling Captain Hamilton ordered them to "throw away the ropes."[1]

One cannot help having a friendly feeling for this kindly officer, but on reaching Edinburgh the party were imprisoned in the Castle till the 29th of July following. The other gentleman who declined to carry the letters was also one whose loyalty was unimpeachable, being one of the Prince's most devoted and high-minded followers, and a most distinguished member of the congregation of St. Paul's. His father, Sir David Threipland of Fingask, and his elder brother followed the Earl of Mar in the rising of 1715, and in 1716, during their absence, and while Government troops occupied the house, this youngest son was born. A non-

[1] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. ii. p. 133. Scot. Hist. Soc. Baptisma Register, St. James's, Leith.

juring clergyman being hastily summoned [1] to minister to Lady Threipland, who was thought to be dying, after celebrating the Holy Communion proposed to baptize the delicate infant, but under the circumstances a difficulty arose about the name. Lady Threipland, however, was able to whisper, "Stuart, Stuart," and by that loved name he was accordingly baptized, and it may be seen in his bold, clear handwriting many times in the books of St. Paul's. Stuart Threipland studied medicine in Edinburgh, and both he and his elder brother David, of whom a story has already been told, followed Prince Charles. A family tradition has it, that their father died suddenly while pulling on his jack-boots to join the army. David Threipland was killed after the battle of Prestonpans by two soldiers whom he had chased to Musselburgh. Sir Walter Scott, who remembered as a child sitting among the long grass on his grave, describes the incident in his novel of "Waverley."

When the Prince and his army first approached Edinburgh from the west, he sent a letter to the Town Council, which was handed into that assembly by Walter Orrock, Deacon of the Shoemakers, whose name figures very frequently in the records of St. Paul's. He it is who, after the battle of Prestonpans, is described as coming "riding furiouslie up the Canongate, with a white Cockade, crying 'Victory, victory! the Prince has won the day,' and alighting at the Netherbow Port, shut it against the flying soldiers, by which means severalls of them fell into

[1] Chambers' "Hist. Rebellion," p. 524 *n.* Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask."

the hands of the Rebels."[1] A few days later we find a christening in this gentleman's family recorded. From this time he appears to have resided in Leven in Fife, possibly for reasons of prudence.

It seems most probable that the Provost, Archibald Stewart, also was a member of this congregation, as a name, which appears to be his, is occasionally found, as well as that of another Archibald Stewart, Moderator of the High Constables, who was a witness at the provost's trial later. One or other of these was an office-bearer in the Church.

On the day of the battle of Prestonpans the Rev. William Harper was at Linlithgow performing a wedding ceremony in the family of the Mr. Charles Smith previously referred to. It is thus recorded in the chapel register :—

"1745. *Sept.* 21, f. 7, circa merid.—Att Linlithgow marryed Hugh Smith of Boulogne, Esqr. and Mrs. Elizabeth Seton of Touch, pr. Lit. Lady Barrowfield, Miss Paterson, Miss Erskine of Alva, Mr. Chas. Smith and Hugh Græme wt. present. Banns published at St. Ninians.

"*N.B.*—Just before this office Mr. Chas. Smith brought acct. of the compleat victory obtained this morning at Gladsmuir by the prince's army over that commanded by Genl. Cope. Δοξα τῳ θεω ἐν ὑφιστω" ("Glory to God in the highest").

How this joyful news must have added to the happiness of all the wedding party, so strongly interested in the royal cause, we can well imagine. A year

[1] Lord Rosebery's "List of the Rebels." Scot. Hist. Soc.

later we find the baptism of a daughter to the couple chronicled, and in 1747 the following interesting entry relating to their household:—

"1747. *Febry.* 8, f. 1, h. 9, m.—In my house at Mattins, baptized a Negro Servant of Hugh Seton of Touch, named Charles, after having kept him about 8 weeks in my house in order to instruct and prepare him for it. James Fraser and Kath. Threipland my wife, were his chosen witnesses. Ly. Balgowan, Mrs. Leslie, Clem Smith, Mrs. Butler, &c. pnt.; 9. f. f. q. sit. Deij. precor."

Mr. Smith had taken the name of Seton, having married the heiress of Touch. The descendants of the family possess a painting of Hugh Seton along with a negro servant, believed to be this very man.[1] It will be observed that by this time the persecution that followed Culloden caused Matins and the baptismal service to be held in the clergyman's own house.

One cannot help wondering how Mr. Charles Smith obtained his information of the victory at Prestonpans so speedily. Probably it was from young Laurence Oliphant, who in an account of the battle written in later years for Dr. Webster, the then incumbent of St. Paul's, claimed to be the first who brought the good news to Edinburgh.[2] When Prince Charles reached Holyrood the next day, Laurence Oliphant finding a laurel wreath lying upon the table, placed it upon the royal head, "so that the only fugitive had the honour to crown ye

[1] Information supplied by Douglas Seton Steuart, Esq.

[2] Kingston Oliphant's "Jacobite Lairds of Gask."

future king," the only crown, alas! that gallant brow would ever wear, the fading laurel leaves of a fleeting conquest.

The Oliphants of Gask, perhaps the staunchest hearts of all, were, as might have been expected, members of St. Paul's; Ebenezer Oliphant, jeweller in Edinburgh and brother of "the auld Laird," being one of the office-bearers for many years.

While the Prince remained at Holyrood there is no reference to him in the chapel books except the following:—

"1745. *Sept.* 23, f. 2, h. 3, v.—Baptized a son of Roger M'Donell, Sert. to the Earl of Nithsdale, and Ann Gregory, named Charles, after the Prince of Wales, then at Holyrood House."

One can imagine how proudly these last words were written down at this time, when victory seemed within grasp. The Earl and Countess of Nithsdale were at the time in attendance on the Prince who had come to retrieve their "country's wrang." Later, the Prince had in his employment a servant bearing this name, possibly the same person, whom he recommended to his father's care. Several of his servants' names appear in the books; the following tells a sadder tale:—

"1747. *March* 13, f. 6, h. 7, v.—In my closet, baptized Charles, a son of John Neish, now prisoner in Perth, sometime a Sert. to the Pr. C——, and of Margt. Glen. Duncan Neish, Spor."

The poor prisoner had been one of the Prince's grooms, and was afterwards brought roped to Edin-

burgh. He was accused of being an "evidence," and probably soon got his release.[1] Among those who suffered imprisonment for the Prince's sake were Mr. Thomas Ruddiman and his only son Thomas,[2] who had been appointed manager of their newspaper, the *Caledonian Mercury*, when James Grant, their active manager, "rushed into rebellion" in 1745. The newspaper, as the Jacobite organ, was of course viewed with much suspicion, and was prudently published anonymously for some time. Thomas Ruddiman the younger was accused of having accompanied the Prince with his printing press, but this does not appear to have been true, although he probably printed the Prince's declarations in Edinburgh. For printing a paragraph in the *Mercury* copied from an English newspaper he was imprisoned in the Tolbooth for six weeks, and died later from a disease contracted there, so that he may as truly be said to have laid down his life for the cause as if he had died upon the battle-field—a consolation to the worthy father's heart.

During the Prince's stay in Edinburgh a portrait of him was executed by Robert Strange, afterwards Sir Robert Strange, the celebrated engraver, who was a parishioner of Mr. Harper's both in Kirkwall, his native place, and in Edinburgh. He, too, followed Prince Charles, not so much from conviction as by the influence of his lady-love, Miss Isabella Lumsden, one of the liveliest and most ardent of the fair ladies who graced the festivities of Holyrood. Her family

[1] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. ii. p. 235.
[2] Chalmers' "Life of Ruddiman."

were all staunch members of St. Paul's congregation, her father being one of its office-bearers, and they were all, it is perhaps superfluous to add, stedfast adherents to the Stuart cause, for which they had suffered in earlier years. Her grandfather, Mr. Andrew Lumsden, afterwards bishop, was driven from his parish at Duddingston near Edinburgh, at the Revolution, and her father, William Lumsden, was stoned in his cradle at that unhappy time. Andrew Lumsden, her brother, with Robert Strange, his future brother-in-law, accompanied the Prince, Strange printing notes for his use during the campaign. After Culloden they both escaped in amusing disguises, Strange to Edinburgh, where he married his lady, living for a time in concealment, maintaining himself by portrait-painting. On one occasion, when pursued by his enemies, he "dashed into the room where his lady sat singing at her needlework. She raised her hooped petticoat, and concealed him while the angry soldiers searched the house." Afterwards Robert Strange went abroad, and rose to high honour in his profession. The christenings of their children are recorded in the books of St. Paul's, and the first little girl nearly suffered martyrdom, according to her mother, for "having two white roses in her cap." Mrs. Strange probably refers to the search that was made in suspected houses for "ladies and other women" wearing white ribbons and tartan gowns, with a view to their apprehension, by the orders of Lord Justice Clerk and Lord Albemarle—orders so merrily carried out, that only one old maiden lady, Miss Jean Rollo, a member of St. Paul's,

was taken prisoner and brought before the authorities, when she and her tartan gown were soon set at liberty.[1] More than twenty years before this time, a "parcell of boys with more zeal than prudence, gott together having whyte roses in their hatts near the Netherbow in the High Street of Edinburgh," and Lockhart, who reports the matter in a letter to the "King," tells how a file of musketeers from the Canongate guard being fetched, fired and killed a man and woman passing by. Perilous times, truly! and yet almost every Scottish garden to this day, even to the humblest kailyard, has its bush of "Prince Charlie roses." The "King" stood godfather by proxy to a boy of the Strange's born later, and named "James Francis Edward." Many children of St. Paul's were named after the royal house—one family had twin sons named James and Charles; and it is amusing to observe the anxiety in the Gask family later to find out the name of Prince Charles's wife, in order that a little daughter might be christened thereby.

To return to the Lumsdens. Mr. Andrew escaped to Edinburgh after Culloden, in the guise of a groom, mounted on horseback with a lady behind him, his eyebrows corked and a black wig covering his yellow locks. Next he assumed the character of a "poor teacher who did not like to travel his lane," and made his way to London.[2] Sharing some of his sister's daring spirit, he managed, before setting forth to France, to visit his friends imprisoned in Newgate.

[1] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. ii. pp. 110, 112. Scot. Hist. Soc.
[2] Denniston's "Life of Strange."

SIR STUART THREIPLAND BART
In Highland Belted Plaid - From a Portrait by Delacour in Finyask Castle

By the kind permission of Messrs. W. & R. Chambers, Ltd.

In France he became the Prince's secretary, and continued in attendance upon him almost to the very last, returning to end his days in his native Edinburgh.

Sir Stuart Threipland accompanied the Prince's army to Derby, and on to Culloden. After that disaster had "scattered the loyal men" he remained with the "gentle Lochiel," ministering to his wounds. After wandering about for some time on the hills, they joined the Prince in his hiding in the "Cage," a curious place of concealment formed among the holly-trees and grey rocks on the steep side of Ben Alder in Badenoch, and only large enough to hold six or seven persons at a time. Here they all took turns of preparing such food as could be obtained, and Sir Stuart one day tried his hand at a haggis, introducing some chopped apples as an improvement. Alas for the hungry captives! just as he was turning out the dainty, it slipped from his hand, rolled down the hill, and was dashed to pieces on a sharp rock before they could recover it.[1] It must have needed all their patience and good-humour to see their dinner thus scattered to the winds. Sir Stuart was noted then and afterwards for his kindness to his companions in need, less wealthy than himself. By-and-by he made his way to Edinburgh in the guise of a Presbyterian probationer, and thence to London by the aid of William Gordon, a bookseller in Edinburgh and a fellow-member of St. Paul's, who took him disguised as his assistant. Afterwards he escaped to Rouen, where with the Oliphants, Hamiltons of Bangour, and other friends, he remained till the amnesty of

[1] Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask."

1753 enabled him to return home. He settled down to practice in Edinburgh, living in Fountain Close, Kinloch's Close, Chessel's Court, and latterly in the "Bishop's Land" at the head of Carrubber's Close, where a wall of his house is the only old part remaining. Here hung a collection of royal portraits, most of them gifts from the days—

> "When the King came to Fingask
> To see Sir David and his lady,"

as the old ballad has it. Fingask had long been forfeited, but to the great joy of his friends and neighbours he was able to buy back the old estate at an auction in the Parliament Square in 1783.[1] He took a prominent part in the affairs of St. Paul's, and presided at the vestry meetings; the earliest minutes extant are signed by him; and his two marriages and the baptisms of his children are all recorded there. For several years he was President of the Royal College of Physicians, of which, at his death in 1805, he was the senior member. A Scottish gentleman, moving in the best society in the city, and beloved for his courtesy and kindness to all, especially his poorer brethren, his is a name the congregation should not allow to be forgotten amongst them. Constant to the Church and King he loved so well, he helped to keep the light burning in a dark place till better days should come, as come they did.

Another of the office-bearers of the Church who was with the Prince at Culloden was Mr. John Goodwillie, Writer, who had been employed in Secretary Murray's office, and was on the Prince's right hand on the battle-

[1] Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask."

field. After "skulking" for a time he escaped to Edinburgh, living in Queensberry House, Canongate.

In one of Mrs. Strange's racy and amusing letters to her exiled brother, written in 1750, she says, referring to a baptism recorded in Mr. Goodwillie's family, "Remember J. Goodwillie; thank him for your name son, and tell him you hope to put a blue bonnet on his head and a broadsword in his hand." And this right loyal lady further tells how she "has taken a very pretty genteel house at the Cross, where Sandy Stevenson has his shop; 'tis the third story, an easy scaled stair, looks very low from the street;" and, with true Scottish thrift, looked forward to making more than the rent (fourteen pounds and a crown) by letting out the windows at the Restoration.[1]

The gay pageant of a few years before, when another lady of St. Paul's, the beautiful Mrs. Murray of Broughton, had sat on horseback at the Cross, decked with white ribbons, when the Chevalier was proclaimed King, had not faded from memory, nor been obliterated by the ignominious procession of the Prince's standard and those of his brave chiefs, borne by the common hangman and the city sweeps to be burnt at that same Cross, when all was lost. All was lost save honour, though the brave hearts would not see it then; and for one of them, even that was gone. Mrs. Murray, after accompanying her husband to Culloden, was obliged, after the battle, to make the best of her way from the north to Edinburgh, disguised as a soldier's wife. By the way she rested at Abercairney, near Crieff in Perthshire, the marriage of

[1] Denniston's "Life of Strange."

whose Laird to Lady Christian Montgomery has been already referred to. By this lady and her sister, Lady Frances, much kindness was shown to the poor fugitive, though they were a little surprised, on helping their guest to bed, when a store of gold pieces concealed in her bodice rolled forth on the floor.[1] On reaching Edinburgh Mrs. Murray remained in various hiding-places, visited only by a few trusty friends and ministered to by the faithful priest of St. Paul's, Mr. William Harper, who also baptized the little son born shortly after.[2] The christening is thus recorded in the Church register:—

"1746. *Sept.* 25, h. 7, v.—In Upper Baxter's Close, baptized a son of I—— M—— of B——, and Mrs. F—— named John. Charles C. R. and Mrs. E——n pnt."

This poor child, born in such unhappy circumstances, did not survive to bear the name afterwards held in such disgrace. His father ere this had been taken prisoner in Tweeddale, and saved his life and fortune by turning evidence against his master and his master's cause—a proceeding never forgotten nor perhaps forgiven by the party. When Sir John Douglas of Kelhead, whose family connection with St. Paul's will be referred to later, was asked before the Privy Council, "Do you know this witness?" the scathing reply was given, "Not I; I once knew a person who bore the designation of Murray of Broughton,

[1] Ramsay's "Scotland and Scotsmen of the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii. p. 345.

[2] "Memorials, Murray of Broughton." Scottish History Society.

but that was a gentleman, and a man of honour, and one that could hold up his head."[1] Poor Murray never held up his head again among his friends. Dr. Thos. Drummond, who, it will be remembered, was one of the clergy of St. Paul's, in a long poem addressed to him in 1747, thus reproaches the unfortunate secretary—

"O Murray, Murray, once of truth approved,
Your prince's darling, by his party loved,
When all were fond your worth and fame to raise,
And expectation spoke your future praise:
How could you sell that prince, that cause, that fame,
For life enchained to infamy and shame?"

Then referring to John Macnaughton, Murray's servant, whose gallant conduct we have already seen, he goes on to say—

"Behold the menial hand, that broke your bread,
That wiped your shoes, and with your crumbs was fed;
When life and riches, proffered to his view,
Before his eyes the strong temptation threw,
Rather than quit integrity of heart,
Or act, like you, the unmanly traitor's part,
Disdains the purchase of a worthless life
And bares his bosom to the butchering knife;
Each mean compliance gallantly denies,
And in mute honesty is brave and dies.
. . . . . .
If crimes like thine hereafter are forgiven
Judas and Murray both may go to heaven."[2]

Another servant of Murray's figures occasionally in the records of St. Paul's; this is John Beane, who

[1] Lockhart's "Life of Scott."

[2] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. i. p. 245. Scottish History Society.

was very active in the cause, and is said to have held some command in the royal army. He was entrusted by his master on one occasion with the task of robbing the post near Berwick-on-Tweed. His instructions were to "tye the boy, cut the girth of the saddle, and carry off the bridle, to drive the horse a little way along the sands, cross the country through Teviotdale, where he might take a fresh horse, and send the one he rode to Lord Kenmuir and then continue his journey to Lochyell's house in Lochaber where he would find me."[1] We do not know if this precious commission was carried out, but for this or some other reason great search was made for him by the Government after Culloden, and King George especially desired him to be captured: a spy was to be employed, and a troop of soldiers engaged.[2] But "the hearts were true, the hearts were Highland," and after lurking in Badenoch and Lochaber a while he seems to have escaped, his master said, to France. In Edinburgh his wife was applied to, with promise of his life for his evidence, but she, too, was incorruptible. In 1750 he was in Edinburgh again, for we find him standing godfather to a little girl, probably a niece, the christening taking place in the house of the Rev. Wm. Harper, who enters his name in the baptismal register of St. Paul's as "John Beane, the honest servant of —— Murray, a false master": and in 1803 his death is chronicled as having taken place in the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh, at the age of eighty-four.

[1] "Memorials, Murray of Broughton."

[2] "Albemarle Papers," vol. ii. p. 440. New Spalding Club.

This is the last time Murray's name appears in the records, and his family history is henceforth wrapped in well-merited obscurity, though one or two interesting anecdotes concerning him are familiar to those interested in such matters.

One more baptism in a family placed in somewhat similar circumstances may be quoted, though in this case, spite of worldly loss, honour remained, unless we accept Mr. Andrew Lang's theory concerning "Pickle the Spy":—

"1748. *July* 18, f. 2, h. 3, v.—In Lady Miln's house in Blackfryar Wynd baptized a daur. of John McDonell of Glengarie (prisoner in Edinburgh Castle) and —— Gordon, daur. of Glenbucket, named Henrietta Fraser. J. Hope, Miss Barclay and McDonell, Spors. (p. Lit.)."

Old Macdonell, spite his protestations of innocence, had been apprehended; his house at Glengarry had been pillaged and burnt down; while his lady—the daughter of that redoubtable old Jacobite, Gordon of Glenbucket, who led three generations of his clan to the battle—with her large family of young children, was left with only "two small Highland cows, one chest of Drawers, and six pair of Blankets for their maintainance and support, and not so much as a hutt left to cover them."[1] Coming to Edinburgh, they were dependent on the kindly succour of Lord Justice Clerk Milton and other friends till Glengarry was liberated in 1749.

And so in sadness of death, exile, and imprison-

[1] "History of Clan Donald," vol. ii. pp. 793–6.

ment ended the effort so long anticipated, so bravely begun, and so dauntlessly carried on. The "crowded hour of glorious life" was at an end, and the poor gallant Prince, the "Top of perfection and Heaven's Darling," as Miss Threipland enthusiastically styled him, with his little band of outlawed followers, was to weary out his spoiled life far from the land he had hoped to regain.

> "Better lo'ed ye canna be;
> Will ye no come back again?"

sang a daughter of Old St. Paul's in later years, voicing for all time the cry of many faithful Scottish hearts. But it was not to be; his throne was in those hearts alone, and there his memory rests.

And if for the Church the clinging to the Stuarts was a mistake, then ten times over she has paid the bitter price—not alone in the loss of so many of her bravest and best, in which no congregation in Scotland shared so heavily perhaps as this, but in the long years of obscurity and the fiery trials of persecution in which she was well-nigh consumed. It took those long dark years of wandering in the wilderness for her to

> "Learn that the flame of the Everlasting Love
> Doth burn ere it transform."

CHAPTER VI

1745–1786

Closing of the Chapels—Penal Laws—List of Clergy—Bishop Seabury—Dr. N. Spens—Death of Rev. W. Harper

It may justly be said that, in all that has just been written, there is little concerning the Church and its services, but beyond the old register so frequently quoted, there is very little information available as to the course of events. The active part which the Episcopalians took in the rising of 1745 led to stern measures being adopted afterwards in order to exterminate, it would appear, these nests of rebellion, as the chapels were considered. An Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting unqualified clergymen from officiating in Episcopal meeting-houses in Scotland without praying for the royal family by name, under penalty for the first offence, of imprisonment, and, for the second, to be *transplanted for life to the plantations of America.* The meeting-houses were to be closed, not more than five persons being permitted to worship together ; those attending such meeting-houses were liable to fines and imprisonment, besides disabilities imposed upon peers, members of Parliament, magistrates, voters, &c. Worse than all, no clergyman's letters of orders were to be considered valid unless conferred by an

English or Irish bishop, the cause of much misunderstanding regarding the Scottish Church for many a day. These cruel laws continued in force, though not always acted upon, till 1792, when, largely through the exertions of the Earl of Kellie, whose family had a long connection with St. Paul's, they were repealed. It is more than likely that the chapel, in common with others, would be closed for a time, but no record is preserved of this, though a tradition survives of its having been partitioned off into separate rooms, in which the statutory number of persons might hear the service, through open doors. Baptisms and weddings were performed in secrecy: "In my closet," "In my laigh house," and even out of doors, as in "The Back Stairs," the "Herb Mercat," "Near the Cross," &c. &c.

The Lord Chief Justice Clerk, writing to the Duke of Newcastle on December 23, 1746, says:—[1]

"I send your Grace a List of the Nonjurant Episcopall Ministers in the City and County of Edinburgh, but none of them have qualifyed themselves pursuant to the Act of Parliament in the last session, even by taking the Oaths, nor can I yet discover that they have attempted to preach or teach or educate children, but I shall continue to be upon the watch.

"*List of the several Episcopal Ministers within the City and County of Edinburgh.*

"Mr. Alexr. Mackenzie and Mr. James Wingate. Forglen's Back Land, Edinburgh.

[1] "Albemarle Papers," vol. ii. p. 425. New Spalding Club.

Mr. William Harper and Mr. Alexr. Mackenzie. On the East Side of Carrubber's Close, Edinburgh.

Mr. John Mackenzie. In Gray's Close, Edinburgh.

Mr. Jas. Mackenzie. The West Side of Nidry's Wynd, Edinburgh.

Mr. Alexr. Robertson. The foot of Carrubber's Close, Edinburgh.

Mr. Addison. At the head of Chalmers' Close, Edinburgh.

Mr. Blair. The Skinner's Hall, Edinburgh.

Mr. David Rae and Mr. Patrick Gordon. In Old Assembly Close, Edinburgh.

Mr. Thos. Carstairs. At the Head of Nidry's Wynd.

Mr. Wm. Law and Mr. Patrick Forbes. In the Town of South Leith, in the County of Edinburgh.

Mr. Wm. Forbes. Town of Musselburgh, County of Edinburgh."

It will be observed that there are two chapels mentioned in Carrubber's Close, and from the title-deeds it appears that the under-floor of the tenement where St. Paul's congregation met was occupied by Mr. Alexander Robertson as a meeting-house at one time. They were nearly all neighbours, those struggling little chapels: it is pathetic to see how they clustered together, and from this time forward many of them evidently merged themselves into one or two congregations.

A tradition has been handed down in the family of Mr. James Steuart, Writer in Edinburgh, who in

1747 married Alison, only daughter and last surviving child of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, that services used to be held in their house in the Old Town, with the doors and windows left open to allow other members of the congregation to take part. It is said that the children of this family, whose christenings are all recorded in the books of St. Paul's, were never allowed to speak of the reigning sovereigns save as the K. and Q. Alison Ruddiman's Prayer-book, with the obnoxious names carefully blackened out, is in the possession of her descendants, and on the flyleaf of another are written two prayers to be used by the faithful, *for the prisoners condemned to die* after the '45. From these I am permitted to quote the following :—[1]

"O Almighty God and most merciful Father, hear us, we beseech Thee, in behalf of those under sentence of Death. Let the sorrowful sighing of the Prisoners come before Thee, and according to the Greatness of Thy power, preserve Thou those that are appointed to Dye. In the Day of Distress, shine upon them with the light of Thy reconciled Countenance ; give them grace to spend the Residue of their time in bewailing their sins, in humbling themselves before Thee for them, and in following the blessed Example Thou hast set them in praying for their Enemies : grant that in all their Sufferings they may stedfastly look up to heaven and by faith behold the glory that shall be revealed.

"Give unto them, good God, and all their Relatives humble Submission and entire Resignation to Thy Divine will and pleasure. Seeing the Lord gave and the Lord taketh away, Blessed be the Name of the Lord.

[1] By the courtesy of James Steuart, Esq.

. . . Receive them, O blessed Jesu, into Thy Loving arms which were stretched forth for sinners upon the Cross. Receive them, O Merciful Father, into the embraces of Thy infinite charity, and draw their souls to Thee in peace, and crown them with everlasting Glory, for the mercies and merits of Our Almighty Redeemer and Advocate."

We know that one at least of the congregation of St. Paul's was at this time lying under sentence of death at Carlisle.[1] This was James Ged, son of William Ged, goldsmith in Edinburgh, the inventor of stereotype printing, who was one of the trustees of the Church. James assisted his father with his invention, and like so many more, followed the young Chevalier's standard. He was apprehended at Carlisle in December 1745, and condemned to death, with Colonel Townley, but owing to the kind intercession of Mr. Robert Smith, Chancellor of Cambridge University, where the lad's father had been King's Printer, he was liberated in 1748. After this the father and son arranged to leave Edinburgh to pursue their business in London, but after their tools had been shipped at Leith Mr. William Ged took ill and died. His son, not meeting with much success in London, went to Jamaica and died there. As befitted good Churchmen, one of the first works produced by the new process was the printing two copies of the Prayer-book. Sir Stuart Threipland is believed to have encouraged this invention, and some of Mr. Ged's plates were in his possession.

About this time the Rev. Patrick Gordon was in

[1] "Biographical Memoirs, William Ged," published in 1781.

charge of the congregation. Very little is known concerning him, but he may possibly be a descendant of the Rev. Patrick Gordon, Vicar of Shiplake till 1700, who was an excellent scholar and beautiful writer, thought to have been the compiler of a once famous geography.[1] Certainly the Patrick Gordon at St. Paul's was a most beautiful writer, and seems to have been a man of great amiability. He died about 1755, and was succeeded at St. Paul's in 1756 by Mr. William Harper, junior, a cousin of Mr. Harper, senior, who must by this time have been well up in years. Mr. Harper, junior, had previously officiated at Newtown of Bothkennar, in Stirlingshire. In Lord Rosebery's "List of the Rebels"[2] he is described as having been "very active in assisting the rebels, and waited on the Pretender's son at Falkirk." From this time forward till his death in 1785 he had charge of the congregation, but the registers are still kept by the elder Harper, the handwriting becoming feebler and the entries briefer as the old man neared his rest. Frequently about this time we find the name of Peter Ramsay, the famous innkeeper at the Cowgate Port, at whose hostelry Boswell received his Corsican friend, and the Oliphants, elder and younger, put up on their return from exile. Ramsay was the owner of the pigs which roamed the streets of Edinburgh in those days, ridden by the frolicsome little Misses Maxwell of Monreith at their play in the High Street.

A noteworthy figure in the congregation was that fine old Scot, Dr. Nathaniel Spens, President of the

[1] *Scottish Notes and Queries*, vol. vii. p. 21. [2] Scot. Hist. Soc.

Royal College of Physicians from 1794 to 1796, whose portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn is justly famous. He was one of several of the congregation portrayed by that great artist, and it is not improbable that the name of Raeburn among the vestrymen of St. Paul's may be Sir Henry's. Dr. Spens' portrait, in the picturesque costume of the Royal Archers, the King's Bodyguard for Scotland, of which he was for sixty years an enthusiastic member, hangs in their hall in Edinburgh. It is said that he was the first person to carry an umbrella in the city streets.

So many members of St. Paul's have figured in the gallant Company of Archers as to provoke the surmise that a hope was cherished of one day acting as body-guard to "one we daurna name." The poet Kincaid, the priest Dr. Drummond, and many more whose names it were tedious to recapitulate, have taken part in the stately marches down the Canongate to join in merry contests on the Links of Leith, and merrier feastings afterwards—even Mr. Secretary Murray, whose name here, as elsewhere, was blotted out, "upon serious deliberation and weighty considerations."[1]

Among others of the worshippers at this time we find the names of the Aytouns of Inchdairnie, progenitors of the author of "The Lays of the Cavaliers," whose young heart may well have been stirred with the tales that his elders could tell; the Tytlers of Woodhouselee; Sir Robert Douglas, most probably of Glenbervie, the author of the "Douglas Peerage"; Lady Margaret Ogilvy, and many

[1] Sir J. Balfour Paul's "History of the Royal Company of Archers."

more. Here also we find Lady Inches, whose home near Inverness had been fiercely pillaged after Culloden, her husband having died just as the cannons began to sound upon the fatal day.

It is touching to notice how they all drew together in Edinburgh, in the common calamity, and comforted one another, no doubt, in those troubled days. Still the plots and plans went on, and great hopes were entertained that a royal alliance would carry on the wished-for line. A certain Lady Stewart, of the congregation of St. Paul's, is not improbably the person who preserved a fine pearl necklace to adorn the Prince's bride, and then, to Bishop Forbes' fierce indignation, sold it for 130 guineas, just when it was likely to be required.[1] It is much to be regretted that so few particulars have been preserved, and yet it is not surprising that the affairs of the chapel should be shrouded in such obscurity during those many years. It is noted in the books that it had frequently to be closed, and that it was for a time the only place of Episcopal worship within the city walls. Under the trying circumstances described at the beginning of this chapter, the wonder is not that so little survives but that any life at all was left. Yet was the strength given—

> "To go on for ever and fail, and go on again,
> And be mauled to the earth and arise,
> And contend for the shade of a word,
> And a thing not seen with the eyes."

But a bright ray of light was to penetrate this

[1] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. iii.

darkness—one that will shine upon St. Paul's as long as the Church endures, for at this time came to worship with the despised remnant in Carrubber's Close, a quite inconspicuous young medical student, whose name, as yet unknown, was to be held in glad remembrance on both sides of the Atlantic; the young Samuel Seabury, afterwards the first bishop of the great Church in America. It may be explained that at this time the Church in America had no bishops of its own, the congregations being under the charge of the Bishop of London—a most inconvenient arrangement, which made it necessary for candidates for holy orders to repair to England for ordination. Samuel Seabury was born in Groton, Connecticut, on St. Andrew's Day, 1729: his father was in priest's orders, and destined his son for the sacred office. Desiring to obtain a medical degree in addition, he came to Edinburgh in 1752, and inquired of his host, the following Sunday morning, where he could find a place of worship. It is quite likely that he may have resided with one or another of the medical faculty, always strongly represented in this congregation; but be that as it may, he was conducted by unfrequented ways, directed to follow his host without appearing to do so, and at last reached the steep, dingy close, where Seabury was astonished to see his guide suddenly disappear into a dilapidated building. Up the dark stairs he "followed and wondered still," till in the "upper room" of so many memories he was able to unite with the faithful few in the worship they loved. During the rest of his stay in Edinburgh he continued to attend here, and

so learnt to know and love the persecuted remnant of the Church in Scotland, from whom in later years he was to obtain the great gift of Episcopal consecration, and whose ancient Communion Office, with certain modifications, was to be the adopted use of his native land.

His studies finished, the young student was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln and returned to America, being appointed in 1754 to a charge in New Brunswick, and in 1775 promoted to a living at Jamaica, near his old home. He proved himself a zealous and faithful pastor, but when the War of Independence broke out he was persecuted and imprisoned for his loyalty to the British Crown, and obliged for a time to depend upon the medical skill acquired in Edinburgh to maintain himself and his family. When peace was declared in 1783, the Church in America, though much reduced, resolved to obtain Episcopal consecration for one of their clergy, and Dr. Seabury was the candidate chosen. Upon his arrival in England his application to the English bishops was in vain, owing to the impossibility of his taking the usual oaths of allegiance to the king. After waiting for a year he appealed to the Scottish Church, which, though persecuted and oppressed, was yet free. And he did not appeal in vain: the "old historic remnant" came to the rescue, and on November 14, 1784, in another "upper room" at Aberdeen, Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner laid their hands on Samuel Seabury, and sent him forth to shepherd the scattered flocks in the great land of the West. "Poor, yet making

many rich," was the Scottish Church in that historic moment, and now in the beautiful church that has replaced the old tenement where Seabury worshipped, a side chapel has been erected as a memorial to the good Bishop, to which many American Church people have gladly contributed in loving gratitude and remembrance.

The summer of 1761 saw the old chapel used for a most extraordinary purpose: here assembled "three hundred noblemen and gentlemen," to listen to a lecture on the English language from Mr. Thomas Sheridan, the father of the famous Richard Brinsley Sheridan. His lecture aroused great interest in Edinburgh, and led to the formation of a society for speaking and reading correctly—*i.e.* in the English fashion, alas !—of which Sir Stuart Threipland was a member, leading one to fear that he may have had a hand in the building being used for such a purpose.

A few years later the congregation had to mourn the loss of their venerable pastor, the Rev. William Harper, senior, who died on 19th December 1765, much regretted by his many friends there and elsewhere. His thirty years of faithful service had tided them over many dark and difficult times; his loving sympathy had been theirs in joy and sorrow; the memory of his patient heroism must ever be one of the most dearly-prized associations of this venerable congregation. At Kirkwall, in Orkney, where he officiated in his young days, a splendid old folio Bible with gilt edges, which was gifted by him to the congregation, has lately been restored to them by Mrs. Anne Traill Ansdell, Rainhill, Liverpool, a

member of a family having an old connection with the Episcopal congregation of Kirkwall. It was printed at Edinburgh by "James Watson, the King's Printer, 1722," and has "Kirkwall" stamped in gold letters on the cover. It bears the following inscription: "This Bible was gifted by the Reverend Mr. William Harper, sometime minister of the gospel at Kirkwall, for the use and behoof of the meeting-house there, and to be keep'd and used by the Episcopal congregation at that place."[1]

Mr. Harper is known to have been the author of at least two works. One of these, published by William Gordon, bookseller in Edinburgh in 1752, was entitled "A Treatise on Infallibility, showing that the Church of Rome's claim to that High Privilege is without foundation in Scripture, Antiquity, or Reason. By a Presbyter of the suffering Church of Scotland." This was a reply to certain claims made by a Roman missionary.[2] Three years later he published a metrical version of the Song of Solomon. This is probably the work which Bishop Gordon, writing to Bishop Forbes, praised so highly, and expressed a "violent curiosity to know the author, who must be a person of no mean abilities."[3] A portrait of Mr. Harper, in mezzotint engraving after De Nune, was executed in 1745, by his friend Robert Strange, then in hiding in Edinburgh.[4] It possesses a deep interest for us, not only from these

[1] Information supplied by Rev. J. B. Craven, Rector of St. Olaf's, Kirkwall.

[2] Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask."

[3] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. iii. pp. 208, 209, 293. Scot. Hist. Soc.

[4] See Frontispiece.

circumstances, but because it is the only portrait of the early clergy known to exist.

After Mr. Harper's death in 1765 the congregation continued under the charge of his cousin, Mr. William Harper, junior, previously mentioned. He was assisted by the Rev. Dr. James White, formerly of "Cupar of Fyffe."[1] This clergyman was spoken of soon after as a suitable chaplain for Prince Charles, to whom he was well known, but Bishop Gordon for some reason thought Dr. White unsuitable, and preferred Mr. Maitland. This was surely the Rev. John Maitland, "Chirurgeon of the Soule," who had accompanied Lord Ogilvie's regiment to Culloden, and gave the dying Lord Strathallan the Holy Communion on the battlefield, using the only obtainable elements, oatcake and whisky, for the sacred purpose.[2] Mr. Maitland had been obliged to fly to France, but returned to his native land about this time, and resided in Edinburgh. He evidently was not appointed chaplain to the Prince after all, and when Dr. White died on 15th December 1773, Mr. Maitland was at once thought of as his successor at Carrubber's Close, where the names of the Misses Maitland, probably relatives of his, appear upon the congregational lists at this time. There is no record of his having taken the duty there, however, and he died in Edinburgh in 1800. The choice next hovered over a certain Mr. Smith in London, but the non-juring Bishop Gordon strongly objected, since he and Mr. Smith were the only two priests left in London "to minister to the necessities of the poor faithful

[1] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. iii. p. 1. Scot. Hist. Soc.

[2] Rev. J. B. Craven's "Life of Bishop Forbes."

remnant, so much are we minished and brought low." "God pity and help us," he goes on to say, writing to Bishop Forbes in Leith. "A woeful prospect, God knows, which is matter of pain and grief to me." [1]

Diplomacy prevailed, and the forlorn bishop and presbyter were left to console each other in their affliction, while St. Paul's happy choice fell upon Dr. Charles Webster, who first acted as Mr. Harper's assistant and later as his successor. The congregation at this time could not have been so much reduced as we might expect, since on Easter Day 1774 there were two hundred communicants at St. Paul's, and Dr. Drummond's congregation, wherever they may have been, were as many more. It was during this unsettled period of the congregation's history that Dr. Johnson paid his famous visit to Edinburgh, and it was a relative of Dr. Webster's, the Rev. Alexander Webster, the lively minister of the Tolbooth Church, who conducted the worthy scholar through the streets and closes of the Old Town. One wishes that he could have been conducted to worship in Carrubber's Close, but Johnson has told us that he never worshipped in a nonjuring chapel, which no doubt accounts for him attending the Cowgate Chapel in Edinburgh. In 1785 William Harper the second, whose home was in the now defunct Marlin's Wynd, was gathered to his fathers, and Dr. Charles Webster assumed the full charge of St. Paul's. As the time of his ministry presents a good many features of interest, we shall leave it for another chapter.

[1] "Lyon in Mourning," vol. iii. p. 298. Scot. Hist. Soc.

CHAPTER VII

1785–1806

John Wesley in Scotland—Dr. Webster—Organ Introduced in the Chapel—Extension of the Chapel—List of Trustees—Death of Prince Charles—Prayer offered for the Reigning House—Alexander Campbell Organist—Opening of St. Peter's—Repeal of the Penal Statutes—Death of Dr. Webster

THE long dark night of oppression was passing away, and with the dawning day of liberty came an impulse of fresh life felt throughout the whole country as the faithful preaching of John Wesley awoke the nation from the sleep of religious apathy that had lasted so long. And even in Scotland, where his views were not extensively adopted, the influence was felt, and this obscure chapel was to share in the spring of reviving life and love.

Wesley had a strong friendship with Dr. Webster's family, and from a comparison of the passages in his journal where he speaks of worshipping, as he was accustomed to do, in the Episcopal chapels, there seems little reason to doubt that St. Paul's is the one referred to in the following extract :—[1]

"*Edinburgh*, 1772, *April* 17.—Being Good Friday, I went to the Episcopal Chapel, and was agreeably surprised: not only the prayers were read well,

[1] Wesley's Journal.

seriously and distinctly, but the sermon upon the sufferings of Christ was sound and unexceptionable. Above all, the behaviour of the whole congregation, rich and poor, was solemn and serious."

High praise this, and pleasant it is to chronicle that much the same opinion has been expressed to the writer, by one whose name commands respect in the Church to-day, of the services on a Good Friday in Old St. Paul's of our time.

To the influence and example of Wesley we may ascribe much of the fervour and eloquence that marked the ministrations of Dr. Webster and his nephew, John Webster, who was his "assistant and successor" in St. Paul's. They were descended from a staunch Jacobite family, Dr. Webster being named "after the Prince": his grandfather, a friend of Dr. Pitcairn's, died fighting for the royal cause. Charles Webster was born in the mansion house of "Bonnie Dundee," which his father had bought, and nurtured among such surroundings, and inheriting such traditions, we can well understand how dear the fading glories of the lost cause would be to a young eager heart. His mother, a stately lady of the olden school, was wont, when Hogmanay brought round the Prince's birthday, to assemble her household in festive gathering to drink the royal health. On one such occasion, Charles Webster being abroad at the time, a servant is said to have wonderingly remarked, "Well, I always knew the lady to be a proud lady, but I never knew she had a son a prince."[1]

[1] Biography of Dr. Charles Webster.

Charles Webster was liberally educated, both at home and abroad, holding a medical degree in addition to his holy orders, and was evidently a man of great natural gifts, most nobly devoted to his sacred vocation. It was a time of transition. The aristocratic inhabitants of the Old Town closes were "flitting," as we Scotch folk say, across the valley of the Nor Loch to the stately new homes arising on the northern slopes, or spreading into the new streets springing upon the south, beyond the old limits of the city walls, while their places in the high "lands" and tenements were taken by the poor, and kept by them to this day. In 1784 food was deplorably scarce in Edinburgh: almost a famine took place, and sickness was rife among the poor parishioners of St. Paul's. To them, then, did their faithful priest go, bearing the gifts of healing for soul and body, shrinking not from the greatest depths of poverty and vice—and this, be it remembered, when such ministrations were not so common as, thank God! they are now. No doubt this acquaintance with the necessities of the poor, as well as his experience as a lecturer at the Medical School, would influence Dr. Webster in helping to found the Edinburgh Dispensary. Notwithstanding the migration, the congregation kept up well. A few years before, they had, greatly daring, ventured to let once more the sound of instrumental music arise in their midst, a step which gave great searchings of heart to some cautious spirits, as will be evident from the following letter, written by the Rev. Alexander

Allan, afterwards assistant in the chapel, to Bishop Petrie :—[1]

"EDINBURGH, 11*th May*, 1782.

"RIGHT REV. DEAR SIR,—. . . I know not whether our friends in the north may have got any fresh assurances of protection in these perilous times, but make no doubt you will be surprised when I inform you that our neighbours in Carrubber's Close (I mean Mr. Harper's congregation) appear as if they were great favourites with those in power; for not satisfied with excellent vocal music, they have lately erected an organ in that chapel—they have not yet begun to use it in public on the Sundays, but frequently practise it on the week-days in the presence of both clergy and laity. I have talked a little to the bishop about the propriety of this step, as it appeared to me both rash and imprudent, and might in the end prove of more general concern than they imagined. His reverence told me that they had never consulted him in the affair; he had, however, spoken to Mr. Harper about it, and discharged the use of it in public on the Sundays. Whether they will pay any regard to this inhibition, time must determine. But it is evident the plan was to use it directly, although Mr. Harper softens the matter by saying that it is to improve the voices of the young people with regard to the proper time, which end might have been attained by placing it somewhere else than in the body of the chapel."

[1] Canon Archibald's "History of Episcopacy in the Diocese of Moray," p. 204.

This organ is the instrument asserted by tradition —resting, however, on no stronger evidence that can be discovered than a confident statement by Dr. Webster's biographer—to have been given by Queen Anne to the chapel. In view, however, of the fact that in the Church accounts at this time we find the sum of £30 paid to Dr. Webster for the organ, as well as £4, 15s. 6d. to James Logan for tuning and putting it up, it is difficult to reconcile the statements. And now the first recorded organist comes upon the scene in the person of Mr. Alexander Campbell, a man of considerable note in his day, accomplished and kind-hearted, and an enthusiast in music. Before and after his day we find a precentor referred to; but upon the noble salary of £6, 6s. per annum, and a small payment to an organ-blower, the music of Old St. Paul's was then conducted; what it was like one fain would know! Campbell was employed to teach, or try to teach, the young Walter Scott to sing—a seemingly hopeless task, for as Scott himself tells us, when he attended in George Square to give Walter and his brother their lessons in psalmody, the result was so dreadful that Lady Cumming, their neighbour, "sent her compliments to Mr. Scott, and begged that the boys might not all be flogged at the same hour, for though she had no doubt the punishment was deserved, the concourse of sound was really dreadful."[1] Nevertheless Campbell persisted in believing that his pupil could sing if he chose. Nor did Sir Walter forget his old teacher, for when, in 1816, the musician had fallen into somewhat

[1] Lockhart's "Life of Scott," p. 48 *n*.

reduced circumstances, the Wizard of the North assisted him by contributing some words to a collection of Highland airs he had made, entitled "Albyn's Anthology." One of these, the spirited "Pibroch an Donuil Dhu," Scott then considered "the only good song he ever wrote," but at that time he had not written "The Bonnets o' Bonnie Dundee." He got Campbell to "try over" tunes with him when a song-writing fit took him, notably when George IV. was expected to visit Scotland in 1822. On that occasion part of Scott's extensive arrangements was the adaptation of the old song "Carle, an the King come" to some new verses, "Carle, *now* the King's come." Sorely must an ardent Jacobite like Campbell have felt this, though the "rightful race" had by this time faded away to the "shadow of a shade." The fine air of "Gloomy winter's noo awa" was claimed to be composed by Campbell, and he was the author of several works, one at least illustrated by himself. When Mrs. Siddons visited Edinburgh in 1784, Miss Pitcairn, an old lady member of the congregation, daughter of the great Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, was invited by Mr. Campbell to attend one of the performances. The sprightly old lady replied, "Laddie, wad ye hae an auld lass like me runnin' after the play-actors—me that hasna been at a theatre since I gaed wi' papa to the Canongate in the year '10?" The theatrical performances in the Canongate which the old lady remembered, are supposed to have been a continuation of those held at Holyrood by the Duke of York, afterwards James II., during his brief court there.

Alexander Campbell married a lady of the family of Macdonell of Glengarry, referred to earlier in this book. Burns, while in Edinburgh, was a frequent visitor in Campbell's family, and in his "Epistle to James Tennant of Glenconner" there is the following amusing reference to the musician, who was a fellow-member of Lodge Canongate, Kilwinning:—

> "Lord remember Singing Sannock,
> Wi' hale breeks, saxpence, and a bannock."

That "Singing Sannock" is Alexander Campbell we learn from a little book entitled "Burns in Edinburgh," describing his initiation as Poet Laureate of the Lodge in 1786. In this connection there can be little doubt that the two previous lines,

> "An' no forgetting Wabster Charlie—
> I'm tauld he offers very fairly,"

refer to the clergyman of St. Paul's, with whom Burns had an acquaintance, since in writing to the Rev. John Skinner, two years later, he refers to his "much-respected friend the Rev. Dr. Webster." Mr. William Tytler is another gentleman of the congregation addressed by the poet, in the lines beginning "Revered defender of the beauteous Stuart," and there can be no doubt that at the celebration of Prince Charles's birthday, to which Burns was bidden, he would meet with many kindred spirits. It is pleasant to know that "Singing Sannock's" beautiful rendering of Scottish songs cheered Sir Walter Scott's evenings at Abbotsford, and that when evil days came upon the musician his famous pupil was good enough to employ him in the transcription of manuscripts and

such-like work. One of Campbell's good deeds, for which many might bless his name, was his founding the Edinburgh Destitute Sick Society, which continues its beneficent work to this day. His portrait by Kay, with a hand-organ strapped on his back, is a skit in revenge for some sketch contributed by himself.

But we must return to the fortunes of the "Chaple in Corriber's Close," whose managers in 1786 addressed the following letter to their clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Webster :—

"EDINBURGH, *May* 1786.

"REV. SIR,—We subscribing members of the Congregation of Corribor's Close, considering the daily diminution of the Clergy and people—and its consequences. And being fully satisfied with your ministrations since the year 1774. And particularly these six months past, the most laborious season, when the whole charge devolved on you. We take this opportunity of expressing our thankfulness, and desire That you continue the same charge as you have begun, till you find it necessary to apply for an assistant.

"That God may long continue you in health and strength is the Sincere wishes of

"Revd. Sir,

"Your most humble Servants,

(Signed) "STUART THREIPLAND."

That same summer they were able to extend their borders by purchasing the under-floors of the old tenement where they had worshipped so long. This transaction was effected by Mr. James Steuart,

Writer in Edinburgh, son-in-law of Thomas Ruddiman, who had long ere this passed to his rest, his descendants still continuing to worship in the old chapel. Mr. Steuart advanced £100 of the purchase price of £140, and the title-deeds, which had been in Sir Stuart Threipland's hands, were given into his keeping. Sir Stuart was now the only living member of the body of trustees in whom the chapel was vested, so it was resolved to add a few more names to the list of managers. These now included John Goodwillie, James Skinner, Alexr. Laing, James Steuart, William Dallas, &c., presided over by the veteran Sir Stuart, to whom the premises were assigned during his lifetime; after his death to—

"Joseph Robertson, Surgeon in Edinburgh.
Jas. Cargill, Merchant there.
Wm. Gordon, Bookseller.
John Goodwillie, Writer, etc. etc."

This was not such an imposing list as the former band of trustees formed in 1741, which had been as follows :—

"Sir Andrew Gibson of Pentland.
Henry Bethune of Balfour.
John Blair of Bathyock.
Dr. Thomas Young, Physician in Edinburgh.
Mr. David Græme, Advocate.
John M'Kenzie.
James Hay.
William Siton and James Sangster, all four Writers to the Signet.

Thomas Gibson of Cliftonhall and Alexr. Keith, Junr., two of the Under Clerks of Session.
Andrew Marjoribanks.
William Neilson.
John Gordon.
Archibald Stewart.
John Haliburton and the said Hugh Clark, all six merchants in Edinburgh.
Alexander Keith of Ravelston.
Alexander Orme of Balvaird.
James Guild.
Alexander Deuchar.
Alexander M'Intosh.
George Handyside.
James Hay.
William Lumsden.
Alexander Christie.
William Wilson.
Martin Lindsay and George Boswell, 12 writers in Edinburgh.
Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, Keeper of the Advocate's Library, and William Gedd and Ebenezer Oliphant, both Jewellers in Edinburgh, then members of the said congregation or major part of them."

From 1786 onwards for a time considerable progress was made, and the minutes and accounts are most carefully kept in Mr. Steuart's beautiful writing. The property was handed on from one set of trustees to another, finally, long after, being transferred to the Episcopal Fund Trustees. From time to time, however, great gaps occur in the

records, and after Dr. Webster's death they are most irregularly kept for some years. No register of baptisms or marriages is extant for the time of his ministrations; and this is much to be regretted, as the period was an interesting one. Before this time, however, pretty complete lists of the seat-holders survive, showing, if it needed to be proved, how many of the best families in Scotland were connected with this chapel. The rigours of persecution were past, as the immediate representative of the Stuart dynasty was sinking into his grave, leaving no son to heir his unhappy fortunes, and his brother, the Cardinal, was but little recognised —though there were not wanting those who hoped that some dispensation might yet revive their drooping hopes. And soon the end came.

In 1788 Prince Charles Edward died, and with him the last hopes of a Restoration passed away. Nowhere would his memory be more grieved over than in this chapel, the members of which had done and suffered so much for him and his. The Stuart sun had set, in sadness, even in a cloud. At last the Church in Scotland could, with a clear conscience, acknowledge the reigning house, and almost universally it was resolved that prayers should be offered for it. But there were still some faithful hearts that would not believe that all that they had fought for was as nought—for when Dr. Webster wrote to Lawrence Oliphant of Gask, whose young people were then under his spiritual charge, during their studies in Edinburgh, informing him of his intention, he received the following reply: "Oh,

Doctor, think, think again and yet advise a delay; there never came good of hurry; wait at least for one year, as your Primus proposed. Let not the long-boasted faith of the Jacobites be lost. Government leaves you in quiet; is there no reliance on the Almighty?"[1]

That the clergyman felt the importance of the occasion we know, for Sir Walter Scott's friend William Erskine, afterwards Lord Kinedder, who was present, writing afterwards to Mr. Oliphant, reported that when Dr. Webster read the altered prayers for the first time, his voice faltered and sank. The organist thus describes the scene:—

"Well do I remember the day on which the name of George was mentioned in the morning service for the first time! Such blowing of noses—such significant hems—such half-suppressed sighs—such smothered groans, and universal confusion, can hardly be conceived! But the deed was done—and those who had participated could not retract."[2]

So ended the hundred years of brave protest for which Scotland and the Church, and this congregation in particular, paid so dearly. Was it all in vain? Let those who value not faith and courage say so. Such dauntless love is never wasted—

"Thanks to Him
Who never is dishonoured in the spark
He gave us from His fire of fires, and bade
Remember whence it sprung, nor be afraid
While that burns on, though all the rest grow dark."

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[1] Kingston Oliphant's "Jacobite Lairds of Gask."
[2] Alex. Campbell's "Life of Rev. D. Mackintosh."

There was one "last leaf" hanging to the bough, however, one faithful heart among the congregation, who never till his death would own allegiance to the Hanoverian race. This was Alexander Halket, so amusingly described by Chambers as the "Last of the Jacobites." He dwelt in a fine old house near Holyrood, hung round with portraits of the rightful race, and here he used to entertain his circle of Jacobite friends. Once a year, in court dress, with a sword by his side, did this forlorn hero pay a solemn visit to Holyrood Palace, musing on the vanished glories, and in the same guise appeared at Edinburgh Castle when the Scottish regalia was discovered in 1818. In the chapel he led off the responses from his old Prayer-book, containing the names of King Charles, the Duke of York, and Princess Anne, and always blew his nose loudly during the prayers for King George and the Royal Family! He died in Edinburgh in 1825.

The Church in Scotland now began to spread herself abroad without fear or reproach, although the penal statutes were still in force, and the congregation in Carrubber's Close increased so much, "the gallaries, passages, and even the outside steps being crowded," that it was resolved to open another place of worship. Accordingly, in 1791, Dr. Webster acquired the lower floors of a large tenement in Roxburgh Place, and founded there the congregation since known as St. Peter's, which now worships in a beautiful church in Lutton Place. This, the first of the churches which have sprung from St. Paul's, is an offshoot of which it may well be proud. Dr.

Webster and his nephew, the Rev. John Webster, who now assisted him, officiated alternately at the "Old" and the "New Chapels," which were both well attended.

Next year, 1792, the penal statutes against the Episcopal Church in Scotland were at length repealed, largely through the exertions of the Earl of Kellie, whose family connection with St. Paul's has already been referred to, and at the same time another church in Edinburgh was opened. This was St. George's in York Place, designed to accommodate the many Episcopalians who had removed from the Old Town to the fine new streets and squares springing up in that neighbourhood, the first to be built upon when Edinburgh stepped across the valley from the Old Town to the New.

Mr. Ruddiman, some years before his death in 1757, had built a fine house at Cleland's Yards, behind where the Theatre Royal now stands, and here his descendants continued to dwell. His grandson, Mr. Charles Steuart, was one of the founders of St. George's, and as he had previously been a member of St. Paul's, it may be claimed that, in a certain sense, St. George's was an offshoot from the parent tree. Dr. Webster had married a Miss Graham of Balgowan, granddaughter of Sir David Threipland, and cousin to the famous Lord Lynedoch, the hero of Barossa and Corunna,[1] and it fell to the clergyman's lot to console the hero for the loss of his wife, the beautiful Mrs. Graham, whose portrait by Gainsborough is treasured in the National Gallery, Edinburgh. Miss

[1] Chambers' "Threiplands of Fingask," pp. 66, 67.

Graham and her sisters were brought to Edinburgh to attend the festivities under the celebrated Miss Nicky Murray, each young lady mounted on horseback, and escorted by a perfect dragon of an uncle. But, "Love will venture in where it daurna weel be seen," and at Dunfermline there was a meeting of eyes with a group of young officers, partners at a Perth ball the year before. Spite of the dragon, "Love found out the way," and when sitting down to dinner at the inn the young ladies found themselves waited upon by three young officers in the guise of waiters, exhibiting their devotion in the formal manners of the time. Miss Catherine's choice, however, fell upon the accomplished Dr. Webster, and their home in the Crosscauseway was a resort of the most cultivated society of the city. But all this happiness was not to last: Dr. Webster fell into bad health, which a voyage to the West Indies as chaplain to the troops failed to benefit, and he died at St. Vincent in 1795, leaving his widow and three daughters. In his biography it is stated that the Duchess of Albany, daughter of Prince Charles, made a voyage to England under his care,[1] and that she made a rough sketch of him on the way, which was afterwards developed into a miniature portrait.

The name of Miss Walkinshaw, possibly an aunt of this lady, appears for several years among the seat-holders at St. Paul's. Their Edinburgh dwelling was in Niddry's Wynd, on the other side of the High Street from Carrubber's Close.

The Rev. JohnWebster now succeeded to the joint

[1] It would be interesting to have more proof of this.

charges of SS. Peter and Paul, assisted by the Rev. Alexander Allan, whose letter respecting the organ has been quoted. His parents were great friends of John Wesley, and it is said that on one occasion, when they were attending an early morning meeting of his, they were surprised to see their little son John, then about six years old, whom they had left at home fast asleep, appear at the door of the hall. His father called him to his side, and he listened to the preacher with great earnestness. When Wesley came down from the pulpit he laid his hands in kindly benediction on the boy's head, saying, "My little fellow, I hope good things will come of you." And good things came: he grew up so manifestly fitted for the sacred ministry to which his young heart was given, that he was ordained before the usual time, and ministered faithfully at St. Paul's and St. Peter's till he too was cut off in the prime of life in 1806. He is buried in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.[1]

[1] "Memoirs of Dr. C. Webster," &c.

CHAPTER VIII

1806–1842

Rev. Simon Reid—Lady Nairn—Keith of Ravelston—Revs. Messrs. Elstob and Craig, Henderson, &c.—First Hymn-book—Dean Ramsay, &c.

THE period we now enter upon is marked by a certain reaction, and so far as can be gathered from the meagre details that survive, life in the chapel was somewhat stagnant. The Rev. Simon Reid, who had been a member of Bishop Abernethy Drummond's congregation in Blackfriar's Wynd, was now appointed to St. Paul's. He was ordained in 1781 to the joint charges of Arradoul and Fochabers,[1] and in 1801 he was officiating in Leith, from whence he, like a certain famous predecessor, came to Carrubber's Close. In his time celebrations took place monthly and on great festivals. The offertories were not inconsiderable, and among the entries we find that in 1811 there was collected "For the British Prisoners in France" the sum of £11, 12s. In 1814 there was held a "Thanksgiving for peace."

The chief interest now, as before, centres in the personalities of the worshippers, and even this dull

[1] Canon Archibald's "History of the Episcopal Church in Moray."

time has its heroes, and above all its heroine. For now came to make her wedded home in Edinburgh one who had no doubt often worshipped here in earlier days, Carolina Oliphant, afterwards Lady Nairn, the "White Rose of Gask," ever to be remembered as the deathless singer of the lost cause. She and her husband, Major Nairn, were cousins, both descendants of notable Jacobite families. The Nairn titles and estates had been forfeited, like so many more, but the title was restored to Major Nairn by George IV., largely owing to Sir Walter Scott's influence. One of the few recorded Episcopal acts of Bishop Rose after the Revolution was the consecration of a chapel on the Nairn estates in Perthshire, but this was afterwards razed to the ground by the Duke of Athole when he acquired the property, and it was with melancholy eyes that the last Lord Nairn, the son of Major and Carolina Nairn, looked upon the lands his forebears had lost for the king. Lady Nairn, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to mention, was the daughter of Laurence Oliphant, junior, of Gask, and granddaughter to the "Auld Laird" of whom she sang so sweetly. Although she had strong Presbyterian sympathies she and her husband were both seat-holders in St. Paul's, and Lord Nairn, to give him his restored title, was a vestryman for many years. Their only child, the last Lord Nairn, who died abroad in early manhood, was not christened at St. Paul's, but in the Cowgate or Bishop Abernethy Drummond's Chapel, so often referred to. It was during the Nairns' stay in or near Edinburgh that the full heart of the yet un-

known minstrel poured forth the tide of song which was to carry "the tender grace of a day that was dead" to the hearts of generations to come. For a time they resided in Holyrood Palace, fitting home for the "Queen of Scottish Song," crowned now with laurels scarce less green than those with which her father wreathed his Prince's brow within the same grey walls. Midst all the patient saints of God, the "fair women and brave men" whom St. Paul's may hold in honour, let a place be kept for she who sung "The Land o' the Leal."

Yet another famous singer may claim kinship with the faithful company at St. Paul's—William Edmonstone Aytoun, whose parents on both sides had a family connection with the Church; and much of the inspiration of the gallant "Lays of the Cavaliers" is considered to have been derived from his mother, the adopted daughter of the Keiths of Ravelston.

Mr. Alexander Keith of Ravelston, a member of this congregation, in 1811 married a sister of Lady Nairn. He was then an old man, as will be seen from the entry of his baptism, which is too quaint to be omitted :—

"1737. *Decr.* 28, f. 4, h. 6.—Baptized a son of Alexr. Keith, Under Clerk of Session, and Johanna Swinton, named Alexander (the former son of that name being dead). Alexr. Keith, Senr. Mr. Orem, Dor. Rutherford. Mr. Watt, James Hay, Mrs. Orem, Miss Swinton, etc. etc. pnt. N.B. Mrs. Keith (after three months of grief for the Death of her former

children, and toyl by the sickness of her husband) came to the altar of God on Xmas Day, and brought forth her son on St. John's Day. Δοξα τω Θεω."

This is one out of the many christenings recorded in the Keith family, who lived in the same stair in the "College Wynd" where Sir Walter Scott's parents resided, and where he himself was born. Mrs. Keith was his grand-aunt, and many merry days did the young Walter spend in the grounds of Ravelston, a property to the west of Edinburgh which Mr. Keith acquired in 1739, and there can be no doubt that from the "dear Keiths and Swintons" he must have derived much of his Jacobite lore.

One evening, while Prince Charlie held the city, Mrs. Cockburn, the anthoress of the "Flowers o' the Forest," was returning from a visit to Ravelston when the carriage was stopped at the city gate. The lady, who was by no means a Jacobite, must have had some anxious moments, since she had in her possession a copy of verses she had written, making fun of the Prince's proclamation. The soldiers, however, respected the Keith coat-of-arms on the carriage, and let her pass in peace.

Another visitor at Ravelston in later years was Scott's little "Pet Marjorie," a connection of the Keiths, and from this and other links with St. Paul's may we not hope that the dainty child-genius may have sometimes worshipped here in the days when she was a "Pisplekan in Edinburgh, and a Prisbeteran in Kirkcaldy."

The Keiths of Ravelston claimed descent from

the hereditary Earls Marischall of Scotland, and in recognition of this, when the long-lost "Honours of Scotland" were discovered by Sir Walter Scott in 1818, hidden away in the great old chest in the Crown Room of Edinburgh Castle, George IV. offered the custody of them, with the honour of knighthood, to the Mr. Alexr. Keith mentioned above. In consequence of his advanced age, he declined, and the honour was bestowed upon his nephew. Mr. Keith died the following year. The day before his death he visited Sir Walter and bade him good-bye.

The cushion on which the crown used to rest was quite lately restored to the Government by Sir Patrick Keith Murray of Ochtertyre, in whose family's possession it had been, and it is now placed beside the regalia in the Castle.

Mr. Reid, who seems to have been in bad health, resigned in 1815, and was succeeded at short intervals by the Revs. Wm. Elstob and Edward Craig. There are faint indications in the ministry of the former of a more advanced type of Churchmanship, but the general tendency was to decay. The aristocratic congregation of the old qualified chapel in the Cowgate about this time transferred themselves to the handsome new church of St. Paul's at the corner of York Place and Broughton Street, and it seems as if some of the Old Town Episcopalians connected themselves with St. Paul's, Carrubber's Close, probably not caring to worship so far from their homes. Of this, however, there is no certain record preserved.

In 1821 the Rev. Edward Craig resigned, going to St. James's Chapel in Broughton Place, a very plain structure, resembling an ordinary dwelling-house. Here he achieved a brief notoriety by certain ultra-Evangelical practices, and attacked his clerical brethren for what he deemed erroneous teaching on the subject of baptismal regeneration. An interesting collection of Psalms and Hymns, arranged for public worship in St. James's, was published in 1822, and from the admirable preface it is evident that it was compiled for the use of the chapel in Carrubber's Close. This points to its being the work of the Rev. Edward Craig, he having officiated at these chapels in turn, and this small hymn-book must have been one of the first to be used in the services of the Church.

Two future bishops of the Church now took charge of St. Paul's, Messrs. Walker and Terrot, who had also charge of the daughter church of St. Peter. Dr. Walker, a most saintly man, was afterwards Professor of Theology and Dean of Edinburgh. Upon the death of Bishop Sandford in 1881 he was consecrated to the see of Edinburgh, and in 1837 became Primus of the Church.

The Rev. Charles H. Terrot, whose honoured name and presence is well remembered in Edinburgh, became Bishop Walker's successor in 1841, and Primus in 1857. Not even the able and devoted services of these distinguished clergymen could arrest the downward tendency in the chapel's fortunes, and so hopeless seemed the outlook that they recommended that it should be shut, and the congregation united with

its flourishing offshoot, St. Peter's. The vestry, presided over at this time by the distinguished scholar, Sir John Leslie, Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy in Edinburgh University, resolved, however, with a spirit worthy of their ancient lineage, to struggle on. At this critical period they were fortunate enough, after some voluminous and characteristic correspondence with the well-known Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, to secure the services of his son, the Rev. John Sinclair. His coming may be said to have rescued this historic congregation from the annihilation or absorption that threatened it at this time, though the danger had ever and again to be faced. The work went on again under his able superintendence, and in 1824 he officiated at the wedding of his sister, Miss Julia Sinclair, to the Earl of Glasgow, and in 1825 at the baptism of their son, George Frederick, late Earl of Glasgow. The baptistery in the new church has been decorated by the Countess of Glasgow in memory of this. Mr. Sinclair left in 1826, and in later years held joint charge in St. Paul's, York Place, along with Bishop Terrot. After this he became Archdeacon of Middlesex. The present Archdeacon of London, the Venerable W. M. Sinclair, is his nephew.

He was succeeded at Carrubber's Close, in May 1826, by one whose name is dear to Scotland and all who love her, the genial Dean Ramsay, whose "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character" all the world knows. The only outstanding feature of his brief sojourn at St. Paul's was his immediately being summoned to Abbotsford by Sir Walter Scott to

officiate at Lady Scott's funeral. This was, of course, owing to Sir Walter's connection with St. George's Church, where Mr. Ramsay had previously ministered, though he had, as we have seen and shall see, several ties with this old congregation. Dean Ramsay, to give the name he is best known by, soon left to go to St. John's, where he remained until his death in 1872. A cross, erected to his memory "by his fellow-countrymen," stands at the east end of St. John's Church in Princes Street.

The next incumbent of Old St. Paul's was the Rev. Wm. Henderson, a descendant of the celebrated Alexander Henderson, Moderator of the General Assembly of 1638, but of an Episcopalian family. He left to go to Arbroath in 1828, and was followed at St. Paul's by the Rev. W. H. Marriot, one of the masters at the new Edinburgh Academy. Archdeacon William, Scott's friend, was then the head master, and frequently officiated at the chapel. It is not unlikely that Mr. Marriot may have been related to the Rev. John Marriot, tutor to the Duke of Buccleuch's son, to whom Scott dedicated one of his poems. Mr. Marriot died in 1832, and was buried in Corstorphine Churchyard, most of the congregation following him to the grave. Some verses in his memory, signed with the initials "E. R.," appeared in *Stephen's Episcopal Magazine.*

The Rev. D. T. K. Drummond was next inducted, three collects from the American Liturgy being used at the service. He resigned in 1838, on being appointed to the new Church of the Holy Trinity just built on the steep banks of the Water of Leith beside

the Dean Bridge. While there he had an unfortunate difference with his diocesan, which led to his resignation, and he afterwards set up an independent meeting-house. Yet another change for poor Carrubber's Close! This time the Jacobite link occurs again, an ancestor of the new incumbent, the Rev. Torry Anderson, son of Bishop Torry, having been "out in the '45" with Lord Pitsligo's Horse.

It is not clear how long he officiated, and there may have been some clergymen in temporary charge, things being in an unsettled state, no doubt owing to the frequent changes of clergy; but now a change took place which was the forerunner of better things. The appointment of the Rev. John Alexander in 1842 marks an epoch which must be left for another chapter.

CHAPTER IX

1842–1883

Beginning of the Oxford Movement in Scotland—Rev. J. Alexander—Founding of St. Columba's—Days of Trial — Changes of Clergy — Meeting-house taken down — Homeless Days—Building of New Church

The long, dreary period of spiritual deadness that followed the Wesleyan revival was passing away, as the dawning life of the Oxford movement began to stir in the Church. How much we owe to this forward impulse we scarcely realise, since even those who most would disapprove have yet been influenced by it, more than they are aware.

And Old St. Paul's, which had shared considerably in the first revival, was to have the honour of being the first congregation in Scotland to initiate the other. For to the Rev. John Alexander, ordained to the charge in 1842, belongs rightly the honour of being the pioneer in this far-reaching movement, so far as Scotland was concerned, and in this dilapidated chapel, in its dreary, dirty close, we first find the week-day services, the frequent communions, the chanted psalms, and other privileges which perhaps are not now sufficiently valued by those who never felt the lack.

In Mr. Alexander the Jacobite traditions of the

congregation were maintained, he being descended on his mother's side from Captain Gordon of Terpersie, who fought for Prince Charles at Culloden, and gave up his life at Carlisle.[1] Like two other distinguished sons of St. Paul's, he was a native of Banff, where his father was provost. He studied at Aberdeen, and was called to the bar before taking holy orders. Dean Walker of Aberdeen, who was present at his institution in Carrubber's Close, describes the outlook of the congregation at that time as bright and full of promise.[2] And the promise was fulfilled, not only in the increased attention paid to the services of the Church, but in the searching out, teaching, and training the poor and the young in the principles of the faith.

A few years before, in 1838, had been formed the Scottish Episcopal Society, one of whose objects was to promote what we now call Home Mission work, and it had united with the congregation in securing Mr. Alexander's services on the understanding that he would devote a portion of his time to this work. His faithful labours in the surrounding streets and closes soon resulted, as such work was bound to do, in a large increase in the church attendance, and the number of communicants. The Scottish Communion Office was restored to use, daily prayers offered, responses and psalms chanted, while the chapel was "decorated with evergreens at Easter for the first time." A school was opened in Baker's Hall, Lawnmarket, and the children taken regularly to church,

[1] *Scottish Standard-Bearer*, vol. vii. p. 102.

[2] In a letter to the writer.

free seats being provided. Bishop Terrot and his daughter presented a new marble font to the Church at this time ; it is now in St. Ebba's, Eyemouth, a Church which St. Paul's has done much to support.

It seems strange that there should have been any difference of opinion about all this good work, but so it was, and criticism from without and within hindered the growing life. In particular, a determined opposition arose at the time in Scotland to the use of the venerable Scottish office, a difference which long disturbed the peace of the Church. It was the old, old question, that had rent the Church asunder in former years, the question on which her future will ultimately turn ; the real question that matters, let outside details be what they will.

It ended for Old St. Paul's, at that time, in the formation of a scheme to found a new church, in a cleaner and more open locality than the now somewhat disreputable Carrubber's Close, and its tumbledown chapel was to be replaced by a "free and open" church, where the Scottish Office would be the only use. This project was warmly taken up by Episcopalians throughout the city, and a site was secured on the Castle Hill. Here the church known as St. Columba's was erected, partly from stones of the old chapel of Mary of Guise, which formerly stood near the spot. So behold, on a day, the scholars of Old St. Paul's march forth with their banner flying to take possession of their new quarters below the church, and services began, the Rev. John Alexander being appointed to the first charge on 28th September 1846.

Another congregation thus sprang from the old root, and one that, for a time at least, seemed to have drained much of the parent life away. The work at St. Columba's was carried on with conspicuous success by this brave priest, whose name in the long roll of honour at Old St. Paul's must ever hold a distinguished place.

It might have been thought that all this spelt annihilation to the portion of the congregation that determined to remain behind in Carrubber's Close, but it was not so, although they had now to pass through the least creditable part of their history. The Episcopal Fund Trustees, who had a certain charge over its concerns, closed the chapel, a proceeding stoutly resisted by certain vestrymen who, however, by no means kept the peace among themselves.

For some years there is a distracting record of disputes, carried even to the courts of law, and appeals to Episcopal authority and subsequent rebellion are painfully frequent. The chapel, ministered to by various visiting clergy, seems to have been a happy hunting-ground for the "No Popery" agitators. The only appointment that was made, and that an unfortunate one, was of the Rev. George Montgomery West, a clergyman in American orders, who only made a brief stay. One piece of good work marks this period in the opening of a school in Roxburgh Place, carried on with much success for many years, latterly, under the charge of Miss Thomson, the respected Bible-woman of the congregation.

A peaceful period now set in under the pastoral guidance of the Rev. Jas. McLauchlan, who for the

next twelve and a half years laboured faithfully to repair the waste places. Of Presbyterian family, he became an Episcopalian by conviction, and after studying at St. Andrews and Glenalmond he was ordained to the charge of St. Paul's, in 1853. The chapel in those days presented but a dreary appearance, with its old-fashioned pews—rented, of course—its dingy gallery, and a pulpit on either side of the communion rails. An unwritten law prevailed that nothing less than silver should be offered on Communion Sundays. One interesting feature of Mr. McLauchlan's ministry was his undertaking mission work in the Bathgate district, where he baptised many of the mining population, sometimes in the open air. These baptisms are recorded in the books of St. Paul's. He resigned in 1865, and was appointed to a living near Torquay. Previous to his lamented death in 1892, he was for some years vicar of Emmanuel Church, Camberwell. The Revs. Wm. Kennedy, Henry Wadsworth Nicholson, and Robert Peel Wadsworth now followed each other at St. Paul's in rapid succession. The school was obliged to be closed, but mission work among the poor of the district was still carried on, even when, as shortly happened, the poor old chapel was levelled with the dust. The demolition of surrounding buildings under the City Improvement Trust made the building unsafe, and in 1873 it was closed by the bishop's orders.

The Rev. C. Darnell was the next clergyman appointed, the Rev. David Smart acting as curate, a position which he held for a number of years, various

clergymen acting as incumbents from time to time. Among these were the Right Rev. Henry Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh, the Very Rev. Dean Montgomery, and the Rev. Canon Meredith, now of St. Columba's, Crieff. The Rev. David Smart, to whose unwearied exertions the keeping together of the homeless congregation may justly be ascribed, was of a historic family, having claims to be a lineal descendant of the royal Stuarts. Naturally, he took a deep interest in the old meeting-house, and, to his honour be it said, did all in his power to preserve it. He collected sufficient funds to restore and repair the building; but although the walls were strong enough to stand for centuries more, the burgh engineer pronounced the building unsafe, and it was ordered to be pulled down. Dispossessed again, the congregation had to seek a fresh place of worship, this time no man making them afraid. And yet it must have been a trial to quit the time-honoured Close, where their forefathers worshipped, and to wander forth, from one city hall to another, dependent occasionally on the services of any visiting clergyman that could be secured. For a short time services were held in another "upper room" in Carrubber's Close, but it was ten years before they could again meet in their own church on the old spot. For in 1880, when the old church was finally demolished, the resolution was formed to rebuild upon the historic site a church to carry on the old traditions. A heroic project for a mere handful of people, albeit not without a modest sum at their disposal; but it only shows, what has been proved over and over

again, the dauntless faith and courage of this venerable congregation. And much as we may regret the hasty action which demolished the old meeting-house, as well as many more historical landmarks of our ancient city, yet who can but rejoice to see the glory of the new house which has arisen upon the old foundations, where "the Lord's name is praised, from the rising of the sun, unto the going down of the same:" a centre of all true worship and work, and the dearly-loved spiritual home of a large and devout congregation!

Plans for the new church, to seat 300, were prepared by Messrs. Hay & Henderson, the estimated cost being £3500. This was proposed to be raised from their own funds, by a grant from the Walker Trust, and subscription. At this point a great piece of good fortune befell. The Walker Trust, which in terms of the Misses Walker's will was to provide for a church in the east end of the city, as well as building the magnificent cathedral in the west end, adopted the new church of St. Paul's as the beneficiary. A noble gift, and one that ought to rank highly in the history of the Church in Scotland. Dearly as all Scottish Church people must prize the beautiful St. Mary's Cathedral, there is a certain fitness in at the same time building up a noble home for the old congregation which kept alive Episcopacy in Edinburgh when everything but the Divine promise threatened extinction. And such a noble and beautiful home shelters it now, as Scotland can scarcely match, thanks to the generous aid of many true friends, both old and new. Grants

amounting to £300 per annum, as well as other help, were given by the Trust, and by this and other helps the work was carried through, and the first portion of the church opened for Divine Service early in 1883.

On 27th January of that year it was formally opened by Dr. H. Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh. Chancellor Cazenove, of the cathedral, preached from Matt. xxiv. 7.

So, after ten years' wanderings, the much-tried little band of faithful worshippers once more found a spiritual home in the old Close, now altered almost out of recognition. Once again the voices of prayer and praise went up from the scene of so many memories, and the light shining in a dark place was to burn more brightly than ever, a witness to the Eternal Providence of Him who "slumbers not nor sleeps."

It was decided now to alter the title of the church to that of Old St. Paul's, to avoid the long, cumbrous addition of Carrubber's Close, in distinguishing it from the congregation in York Place.

The Rev. David Smart, having piloted the congregation safely back to its old anchorage, resigned the charge at the end of 1883, and was afterwards appointed by the Earl of Yarborough to the living of Keelby in Lincolnshire, and three years later he was presented to the vicarage of Milbourne, St. Andrews, which he still holds. Upon Mr. Smart's resignation of St. Paul's, the Dean and Chapter of St. Mary's Cathedral, in whom the patronage is vested, presented the Rev. Reginald John Simpson Mitchell Innes to the charge, and on 1st January 1884 he entered upon his ministry there.

CHAPTER X

1883–1906

The Rev. Canon Mitchell Innes—Mission by Dean Montgomery—Extensions of the Church—Development of the Services and Organisation—Appointment of the present Rector—Completion of the Church and Dedication Service —Description of the Building

THE new Rector, the Rev. R. J. S. Mitchell Innes, the descendant of two eminent Scotush families, was born at Parson's Green, near Edinburgh, and educated at Trinity College, Glenalmond, under Dr. Hannah, in Germany, and at Oxford University, where he graduated M.A. After ordination he worked under Dr., now Archbishop Maclagan, at St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, where he had charge of the choir. From thence he came to St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, where he was the first precentor, setting the keynote of the high spiritual life ever since aimed at in the choir. His coming to Old St. Paul's marks a new era in its history; henceforward we find a record of steady progress, patient, sure, and well directed in the right way. It is difficult, nay, impossible, to say all that might be said; that must be for future years. Suffice it that catholic faith and practice have won their way. The handful of people has become a great congregation, to whose hearts and minds the glory of God has ever been presented as the one end and aim of life, here and hereafter.

The new beginning in the congregational life was fittingly introduced by a mission held in 1884 by Dean Montgomery, to whose constant kindness, and that of his colleague at St. Paul's, York Place, the Rev. Wm. Douglas, the congregation had owed much in their homeless days. Those who remember his earnest spiritual teachings can understand what a powerful influence for good his eloquent preaching would be. Later in the same year the centenary of Bishop Seabury's consecration was held at Aberdeen, attended by a great concourse of clergy and laity, both native and American. Two of the American clergy, the Rev. Dr. Beardsley, Rector of St. Thomas, Connecticut, Seabury's biographer, and the Rev. Professor Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, officiated at St. Paul's during their visit, being naturally much interested in this Church, to which the good bishop had in his youthful days belonged. Canon Mitchell Innes, to give him the title he is best known by, was assisted in the arduous work of building up the congregation by, first of all, the Rev. A. E. Laurie, the present Rector, who, after acting for a few years as lay reader, was ordained to the curacy of Old St. Paul's in 1890, and has continued to work there ever since. In 1896 the staff was increased by the appointment of the Rev. William Perry, who afterwards became Vice-Principal of the Theological College, then Rector of St. John's, Alloa, aud now of St. John's, Selkirk, and the Rev. E. J. S. Reid, now Rector of St. Cuthbert's, Hawick. This same year the congregation came face to face with the necessity of enlarging the church very consider-

ably in order to accommodate the increasing congregation, about ninety candidates being presented annually for confirmation. Twice already it has been found necessary to do this, but the fresh extension was intended to occupy all the vacant ground that was available in Carrubber's Close, and to include the building of a side chapel for the daily services, guild meetings, &c., and was estimated to cost £4500. A few years before a bazaar had been held on behalf of the Extension Fund and church furnishings which realised over £1000, and a heavy feu-duty, which had burdened the finances to the extent of £52 per annum, had been bought up at the cost of £1100, chiefly by the liberality of Mrs. Ramsay of Charlotte Square, a great benefactor to the Church.

In the new extension the Walker Trust again came nobly to the rescue, promising the sum of £300 per annum for six years if the congregation on their part could raise the like sum. This offer was gratefully accepted, and they set themselves manfully to gather up the money—no inconsiderable task when we remember that the church is now to a great extent the church of the poor. But they have been taught the duty of faithfully giving to God's service, and year by year they patiently collected as they were able, till at last the necessary sum was in hand. In later years the custom of holding bazaars and kindred methods of raising money for church purposes was departed from, a "more excellent way" having been found, whereby each member of the congregation places what they can afford to give in boxes supplied to each one for the purpose. On the First Sunday

in Advent these boxes, containing the "Sacrifices" for the year, are solemnly presented in the Offertory. This plan has been quite successful in raising the money required, and a thousand times more, we may be sure, in the lofty principle inculcated, and the elimination of the worldly motives and suggestions inseparable from many schemes for such purposes. That the adoption of such scriptural means of giving to God's service may lead to the return of the ancient custom of giving the "tenth" for sacred purposes, must be the wish of all who desire to see God's work done in God's way.

In order to do justice to the Church's work in the old Canongate, S. Saviour's Mission had been opened by St. Paul's in 1896, in a room in Brown's Close. The necessary plumbing, joinering and gilding work was done by members of St. Paul's, and workers have not been wanting to spread the knowledge of the truth in this fresh beginning of life among those whom St. Paul's is bound to minister to. Services and school were begun, and still carried on with every prospect of increasing success.

At the end of 1897 the saintly, venerable Dean of the diocese, Dr. J. F. Montgomery, died, and the Sub-Dean, the Rev. J. S. Wilson, was appointed to succeed him. Thereupon the Bishop preferred Canon Mitchell Innes to the vacant office of Sub-Dean. This, while a great gain to the Cathedral staff, was a heavy loss to the congregation he had built up, and they viewed it with much concern—so much so, that they petitioned the Bishop and Canon Mitchell Innes to reconsider the matter.

Both, however, replied that they considered it their duty to abide by the original decision. The great affection and respect the congregation entertained for their beloved Rector was in some measure shown by gifts presented to him shortly after, but the full measure of what his work among them has been can never be fully known or appreciated. Not in the beautiful church alone, with its well-ordered services and far-reaching organisations, but in the lives of those to whom he so faithfully ministered in his Master's name, will his memory live. The tie between them has never been severed: both in his work at the Cathedral, and now in Glasgow, his influence extends to his old flock at St. Paul's, as well as to those who may have journeyed far away. The Dean and Chapter, as patrons of the living, now appointed the Rev. A. E. Laurie, the present Rector, who had worked so long among them, to the vacant charge, an appointment that gave great satisfaction. A heavy charge and nobly borne, as all who know can testify. The best traditions of life and work have been more than maintained, the organisations so well and completely planned continue to develop, while the loving care of all that can pertain to the well-being of the flock knows no limit. Day and night the clergy of this church are ready to minister to the sick and needy in their Master's name, going down into the darkest places of sin and suffering with an utter forgetfulness of self, that is the truest gospel message.

Among the many spiritual influences that have gone to the moulding of this congregation, mention

ought to be made of the missions held at different times by the Rev. Father Hall, now Bishop of Vermont, U.S.A., ever a friend of Old St. Paul's, and the Rev. Canon Mitchell, now Principal of the Theological College. Night by night the crowded High Street saw the white-robed procession of priest and choir emerge from the old Close, where of old they shrank from the eyes of men—the "Church invisible" of Dundee's merry jest. Forth they came, their standard the Cross, their message the proclamation of the King of Kings, "Peace and goodwill to all mankind," "God so loved the world that He gave His only Son." Fearlessly now went up the old petitions of the Litany as the simple procession wended its way down the historic Canongate, witnessing, midst the squalor of that street of vanished glories, to the eternal mission of the Church of Christ, to "seek and save that which was lost."

John Wesley said of this congregation, more than a hundred years before, "they have lost their glorying." If so, surely in the work St. Paul's is now doing they have found it again. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Lives have been laid down from this congregation ere now for an earthly king; lives are being lived now, and laid down, for the King of Kings, and to His glory. The clergy mentioned above as assisting the Rector of St. Paul's have been appointed to other charges; they were succeeded by the Revs. Ranald Macpherson, L. L. Cappel, and James Beale, junior, and now by the Revs. Harold Bentley Smith and Richard Collins. The two first named have since departed for other

spheres of work, while the Rev. James Beale, the son of the Rector of St. James, Duns, was called suddenly to his rest at the end of 1904 while in the full tide of work and activity—a great sorrow to the people of St. Paul's, by whom he was greatly beloved.

And now the time was approaching when the Extension Scheme, so long and patiently worked for, was about to be consummated. On 25th August 1904 a memorial stone had been laid in the side chapel by the Rev. Canon Mitchell Innes, who also gave the address at the solemn and beautiful service held in the church; and now, on St. Paul's Day, 1905, the long-waited-for and oft-postponed dedication of the completed church took place.

> "If St. Paul's Day be fair and clear,
> It doth betide a happy year,"

says the old saw, and surely this fair and clear beginning of a new chapter in the Church's history is a happy omen for future years. No cloud, not even the recent sorrow for the departed priest, was allowed to dim the brightness of this happy day. From very early morning, faithful worshippers knelt to offer the great thanksgiving, and by the evening all was ready for the bishop's benediction. The dedication service was arranged for the evening in order that all might be able to be present, and long before the appointed hour the church was filled with a devout congregation. A long procession, headed by the cross, including the Bishop and clergy, with the choir and representatives of the various organisations of the Church carrying guild banners, &c., went round the outside of the church, chanting portions of

the Litany by the way. Strange and touching it was to the kneeling worshippers within to hear the faithful voices of priest and people rising and falling in the old, old appeals for mercy and forgiveness as they wended their way down the old Close of so many memories. Much had come and gone since, centuries ago, this spot was dedicated to God's service, and—

> "Many a blow and biting sculpture
> Polished well these stones elect,"

with which this temple has been raised to the honour and glory of God. The procession entered the church to the joyous strains of "At the Name of Jesus," sung while the long procession of clergy and choristers passed into the chancel. After shortened evensong sung by the rector, the lessons being read by the Revs. E. T. S. Reid, Rector of St. Cuthbert's, Hawick, and Ranald Macpherson, Vicar Choral of Ripon Cathedral, former curates of the church, the Benediction service began. It consisted of the "Veni Creator" sung kneeling, after which Bishop Dowden and his chaplain, the Rev. W. M. Meredith, Rector of St. Columba's, Crieff, formerly incumbent of this church, with the Rector, proceeded to the baptistery, which forms the extension to the nave. After this had been solemnly dedicated, the Bishop proceeded to the altar in the side chapel, and dedicated it also to the service of Almighty God. The crowning point of the service was reached when the clergy and choir, grouped before the altar, sang the "Te Deum" as a heartfelt act of thanksgiving. Next came the sermon, fitly preached by the late rector, Canon Mitchell Innes, from the words, "Ye also, as

lively stones, are built up a spiritual house" (1 Pet. ii. 5). After the Benediction had been given by the Bishop, the processional hymn, "For all the saints who from their labours rest," most appropriately concluded a beautiful and impressive service.

The following description of the completed church is largely taken from the *Scottish Standard-bearer*, the measurements being supplied by the architects, Messrs. Hay & Henderson. Mr. George Henderson designed this most beautiful building, which will remain as a memorial of his finished work on earth, and one to which most earnest and loving care was given, as befitted its sacred purpose.

The church of Old St. Paul's is designed in the Early English style, the exterior severely plain. It faces northward, occupying all the space between Carrubber's Close on the west and Gray's Close on the east, and may be approached either from the High Street by Carrubber's Close or by Jeffrey Street on the north. In olden days the Close ran much farther down into the valley than it does now, Jeffrey Street having, as it were, cut across the foot of it; this and the bringing of the railway through the old hollow of the Nor Loch has altered this neighbourhood very much indeed. Until recent buildings overshadowed the church it could be seen from Princes Street, but from the North Bridge it can easily be observed still. Its chancel has a high gable pierced for three bells and surmounted by the cross. The total length of the interior is 127 feet 6 inches, and the width, not counting the side chapel, 39 feet. It can accommodate (including clergy and choir) about 1000. The

View of the Interior of Old St. Paul's from the Altar, showing the Seabury Chapel to the right

roof of the nave is 57 feet above the floor, and the walls are 26 feet high. The chancel has an aisle on each side of two bays, the arches of which are divided by polished granite shafts. Above the altar are three chancel windows filled with rich stained glass. The centre light represents the Crucifixion, with the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John on either side, and St. Mary Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the Cross. The base of this light portrays Moses raising the brazen serpent in the wilderness. In the left-hand window is the figure of St. Paul, the patron saint of the Church, bearing the book and sword; at the base a representation of the saint preaching on Mars Hill. The other light has St. Columba in monastic dress wearing a pectoral cross and bearing the pastoral staff, while a mitre lies at his feet; the base shows the saint directing the building of the abbey at Iona. High above there is an oval opening containing a representation of our Lord seated in glory robed as Priest and King. The inscription is as follows:—

"This window is erected to the Glory of God, and in memory of Henry Alexander Douglas, and Elizabeth Dalzell, his Wife; and Lady Christian Douglas and Lady Catherine Douglas; also Henry Alexander Douglas, Bishop of Bombay; by Edward O. and H. Charlotte Douglas, 1885."

This beautiful memorial forms an interesting link with the Jacobite period of Old St. Paul's history, the earliest names mentioned carrying back the family connection with the Church a long way.

Henry Alexander Douglas was the third son of

Sir William Douglas, fifth Bart., of Kelhead, in Dumfriesshire, born in 1781, and married in 1812 to Elizabeth Dalzell, second daughter of Robert Dalzell of Glenae, titular Earl of Carnwath. Henry Alexander Douglas was brother of Charles and John, fifth and sixth Marquises of Queensberry, which title fell to Sir Charles Douglas in 1810. They with all their family were worshippers in Old St. Paul's. When Prince Charles Edward was on his march to England, on passing Kelhead the Lady Douglas of that day met him at the foot of the avenue, and presented two of her sons to his service, bidding him "hang them on the nearest tree" if they failed in their duty. This Spartan mother, not so long after, had to succour one of these sons, Erskine Douglas, surgeon, who after following his "dear master," whom he could never afterwards mention without tears, to Culloden, reached Edinburgh in woman's guise, begging. With great difficulty gaining admission to his mother at Queensberry House in the Canongate, he was more suitably attired, and, after some other adventures, escaped to join Prince Charles on the Continent, where he remained for several years. Bishop Sandford married this gentleman's daughter in 1790, and their son, Sheriff Erskine Douglas Sandford, as one of the Episcopal Fund Trustees, was in some measure associated with the affairs of St. Paul's in later years.

The altar and super-altar are of carved oak; the latter has four medallions, carved with the Agnus Dei, the Crown of Thorns, Pelican, Chalice and Wafer. The top of the altar is a slab of porphyry weighing over 12 cwt.

The altar vessels of silver gilt, the chalice studded with carbuncles, were presented by the congregation of St. Mary's Cathedral, and the altar cross was given by Mr. and Mrs. Erskine of Pendower, Tunbridge Wells. It was presented in memory of Mrs. Erskine's sister, who had bestowed an earlier cross, since given to St. Ebba's, Eyemouth. Both these sisters were daughters of the late Dr. Walker, Bishop of Edinburgh, who, it will be remembered, was one of the clergy of Old St. Paul's. The sanctuary lamp, altar, desk and candlesticks were also offerings. But the most striking feature of the chancel is the reredos, presented by Miss Cranston, Waverley Park, Edinburgh, in memory of her father. The following description of this beautiful work of art is chiefly taken from the parish magazine: "It is a most elaborate work in Gothic, decorated with many carved niches and floreated cornices, and numerous crochetted finials, all of which give a very rich and pleasing effect. There are also in the various niches and on the pinnacles many beautifully carved figures of saints and angels, numbering forty-one in all, and so arranged as to have reference to the subjects selected for treatment—'Christus Propheta,' 'Christus Sacerdos,' 'Christus Rex,' 'Christus Salvator.' Immediately over the retable is a cornice, enriched with small niches, containing the twelve apostles with their emblems. In the large centre panel over this is placed a painting copied from Benvenuto de Cellini's 'Infant Saviour, with Madonna Enthroned' in the National Gallery, London. This was a gift from Miss Dick Lauder. The panels of the triptych, a gift from a lady in the

congregation, are adapted from celebrated frescoes in the Riccardi Chapel in Florence, painted for the Medici in A.D. 1458, by Benozzo Gozzoli, a pupil of Fra Angelico. They represent angelic figures in adoration of the Holy Child in His Mother's arms. On the angel's garments are inscribed the sentences, 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus, bonæ voluntatis.'"

A beautiful marble parapet wall, surmounted by a highly-ornamented wrought-iron chancel screen, encloses the sanctuary, enhancing its beauty without obscuring it in the least.

The nave is divided into seven bays, with lofty plain lancet windows, several filled with stained glass. Two of these, representing St. Giles and St. Cuthbert, were given by Mrs. Douglas of Killiechassie in memory of her husband, the donor of the chancel windows which commemorate their ancestors. Two other windows in the nave, representing St. Margaret and St. David, are a memorial to Mrs. Johnston, a true friend of St. Paul's, given by her daughters, as well as the carved oak sedilia in the chancel.

The pulpit is of carved oak, bearing the figures of St. Paul and his four companions, SS. Luke, Silas, Timothy and Titus, and bears the following inscription: "This pulpit was erected to the glory of God and in loving memory of Rev. Geo. Crawley Bowles, Rector of East Thorpe, Essex, and Jane Lucy his wife, by Blanche their daughter in 1892." A bishop's chair of carved oak was presented by the congregation in memory of a most loyal and devoted vestryman, Mr. Robert Isles, who died in 1890.

The side chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin

Mary, and erected in memory of Bishop Seabury, is entered from the nave through three arches, above which are beautiful traceried windows. The chapel is 42 feet long by 10 feet 6 inches wide, with an open timber roof (like that of the nave) 18 feet 6 inches in height.

The reredos of the altar is a triptych in gilt oak. The centre panel has a painting of the Annunciation, copied from Fra Angelico, and the two side panels will shortly be filled. The reredos and pictures were given by Miss Johnston, in memory of the late Miss Cornelia Dick Lauder. In the niche above is a carved figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, holding the Holy Child. A stained glass window, representing the consecration of Bishop Seabury, was dedicated on 14th November 1905, the anniversary of his consecration in 1784. It was given by the Rev. E. T. S. Reid as a memorial of his mother. Another window is shortly to be filled with stained glass representing the Carpenter of Nazareth, in memory of the late Rev. James Beale, assistant priest of St. Paul's.

Over the principal entrance to the church is a relief panel, representing the Glorified Christ with hand upraised in blessing. It is a memorial to a former Churchwarden, Mr. Robert Robertson, an old and attached member of the congregation, both in the old church and the new.

In continuation of the chapel arches, are two lofty arches giving access up a flight of steps from the nave to a quasi-transept, where the doorway enters from Carrubber's Close. From here also a quaint stair rises to a tribune gallery, which crosses the end gable, and through several picturesque-

looking arches leads to the choir vestry. In the centre of the end gable, below the tribune gallery, and within a lofty inner arch, is the baptistery, paved with marble mosaic, and the windows filled with stained glass. A brass plate inserted in the wall bears the inscription, "To the glory of God, and in loving memory of George Frederick, 6th Earl of Glasgow, who was baptized in old St. Paul's Church, 18th November 1825, this window and pavement are dedicated by his widow." A beautiful panel in relief work, representing the "Presentation of the Infant Christ in the Temple," is placed upon the wall in memory of Miss Dick Lauder, a lady whose name can never be forgotten in this Church. A worker at the old chapel, her interest in the congregation's welfare never failed throughout its years of difficulty, and when her nephew, Canon Mitchell Innes, became Rector in 1884, she became a worshipper here, and the good works done and the loving sympathy shown throughout a long life can never be fitly told. They are a blessed memory and inspiration to all who had the privilege of knowing her.

The church is seated with chairs, and lighted throughout with electric light. The brass lectern, Litany-desk, and various other church furnishings, were all gifts from members of the congregation and others. Much loving devotion has shown itself in beautifying this house of God, and there is still room for further decoration.

Below the church is a large hall, used for Sunday-school and other parochial purposes, and close by, in Jeffrey Street, stands Lauder House, built and presented to the Church by the late Miss Dick Lauder and Canon Mitchell Innes as a rectory clergy

house. The importance of this generous gift to the life and work of St. Paul's is great. A Church which maintains full services and all the multifarious activities of a properly-worked town parish, especially in a densely-populated district like that in which Old St. Paul's is situated, can only be fitly worked where the clergy reside beside their flock and the church where they daily minister to their spiritual necessities. Lauder House, too, carries down, though the donors knew it not, the honoured name associated with the Church property in Carrubber's Close since the days of King James IV., as we have seen, to those which this generation has known.

Of the many good works carried on in connection with this Church, it would take too long to tell. Nothing that can be thought to contribute to the welfare of its people is overlooked. Much has been said of the brave days of old, much might be said of the brave days of the present, of the faithful, self-sacrificing ministry to souls and bodies, of the high ideals of priests and people, of the little children so lovingly taught and trained. Here no longer is worship conducted in fear and silence, nor with the "fatal blight of seat-rented respectability," but an ever-open door welcomes all alike to enter, kneel and pray. After centuries of alienation and oppression, of strife and bloodshed, a "long compass round is fetched," and surely we may claim to see in it all the Eternal purpose manifesting itself in the preservation of this anciently-dedicated spot, and the erection of such a beautiful house of God in the very heart of the old city of Edinburgh. For the material fabric is as nothing, save as a fitting shrine for the spiritual

presence that hallows the whole. Here day by day the Holy Eucharist is offered up. Daily Matins and Evensong never fail, and on Sundays choral celebration of the Holy Communion is in its proper place as the principal service of the day. Lent and Advent bring their appropriate observances—nor are the children forgotten; every Sunday afternoon is devoted to the Catechism following upon morning school, while week-day services in Lent and Advent impress their proper lessons, crowned by Children's Eucharists on the great festivals. Indeed the instruction of the children of the Church is, as it ought to be, one of the chiefest duties dwelt upon at Old St. Paul's, and with the happiest hopes and "forward-looking thoughts." What its future may be God only knows; the loving devotion of the past is its happiest augury. Surely a congregation that has weathered so many storms must have been preserved to do some yet greater work for God in the world!

"Through good report and evil report," through darkness into light, have they been brought, and Bishop Rose's old prayer, uttered well-nigh two hundred years ago, that "the Lord would build up Jerusalem, and repair His sanctuary that was trodden down," has been abundantly answered. Like him, too, we can only humbly say, "We Thy people shall give Thee thanks for ever, and show forth Thy praise to all generations."

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