

The Abbey and Palace of Holyrood.

A TRANSITION from the Castle of Edinburgh to the ancient Abbey, Palace, and royal domain of Holyrood, discloses to our view scenes and events of a different character from those which have been detailed in the preceding narrative. While the annals of almost every fortress and baronial castle of bygone times bring before us the stern and rugged features of the past, telling us of all the influences owing to which, in the Dark Ages, *might* so commonly usurped the place of right; on the other hand, the history of the religious foundations of the same period reveals the operation of motives and principles of a milder description, by which the ruder characteristics of the age were in a considerable degree softened. Of these principles, none had a more beneficial tendency than the disposition displayed by the rich and powerful of those days to consecrate some part of their wealth to the service of God by the erection of a monastery or the endowment of an abbey. Unquestionably, the piety which led to this result was too generally of a very superstitious character, these charitable deeds being regarded as sufficient atonement for almost any crime; and it is equally undeniable, that in every religious house much evil existed in the nature of the faith it taught, and not seldom also in the lives of its inmates. Still, in the state of society existing during the Middle Ages, the benefits to the population of such institutions were, on the whole, very considerable; while the motives of their founders were often, we may hope, of a more elevated character than the mere anxiety to bribe, as it were, the clemency of Heaven; springing from the patriotic wish to extend the blessings of religion over the country at large, or to confer the same advantages on some particular district; and, it may be supposed, originating not unfrequently, as in the present instance (according to the legend), in gratitude for the Divine favour and protection, experienced at some time of unusual peril or difficulty.

Of all the benefactors of the ancient Church of Scotland, David I., or St. David, as he is also termed, is the most conspicuous. His name is transmitted to posterity as the founder of several splendid religious houses, prominently noticed in the sequel of this work, and of which one of the most celebrated was the Abbey of Holyrood. According to the legend, this monastery was founded on the spot where David was miraculously preserved from the furious attack of a deer; the narration of which circumstance by Bellenden, in his translation of Boethius, is most likely one of those mixtures of fable and reality which so frequently derive their existence from what was in itself a very simple event. It is entitled—"How Kying David past to the hunters on the Croce Day¹ in hervest, how he was dung fra his hors be ane wyld hart, and how he foundit the Abbay of Halyrudhous be myracle of the Holy Croce." In the fourth year of his reign, according to this legend, David I., on Rood Day, or the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, after the celebration of mass, yielded to the request of some young nobles, against the advice of his confessor Alwin, and a hunting party proceeded eastward of the Castle, near the base of Salisbury Crags. David and his attendants were soon separated in the forest, and as he approached the base of the hill, a deer suddenly appeared, and ran with great violence towards him. The King's horse was so alarmed as to become unmanageable, and the hart threw him to the ground, severely wounded on the thigh. While David threw out his arms to save himself from the stroke of the infuriated animal, a piece of the true Cross which he possessed in a crucifix (though, according to Father Hay, on this occasion it marvellously slipped into his hand), caused the stag to disappear or vanish

¹ The festival of the Holy Cross is celebrated on the 14th of September.

at the spot where springs the Rood Well.¹ The King returned to the Castle, and in the night he was admonished in a vision to found an Abbey for canons regular, of the Order of St. Augustine, on the spot where he was preserved by the Cross. When he awoke, he made known this vision to Alwin, who zealously exhorting him to obey the divine command, he sent to France and Flanders, and obtained "richt crafty masons" to erect the Abbey, which he dedicated to the Holy Cross. The piece of the true Cross, of which, according to the legend, "na man can schaw of quhat mater it is, metal or tree," was preserved with due care in the Abbey of Holyrood till the reign of King David Bruce. That monarch carried it with him into England in 1346, and it was secured and placed in Durham Cathedral after the disastrous battle fought near that city on the 17th of October in the same year, in which the Scottish forces were entirely defeated.

The sheltered and romantic site of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood is in the verdant plain which lies at the base of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat. The erection of the Abbey was begun in its present situation in 1128,² and though the great charter is dated in 1143,³ it is evident that the canons had previously obtained possession, for in that charter they were permitted to build a burgh between their church and the King's burgh, and this was the origin of the Canongate.⁴ The original monastery church which, with the Abbey, has long since disappeared, consisted of three divisions. In the east end was the great altar, which was ascended by steps; the choir contained the pulpit, from which the epistles and gospels were read; and the nave was the place of prayer for the people. The interior and exterior were most imposing and ornamental, and the endowment was also most munificent.⁵ No person was to be allowed to molest or disturb any of the canons, or their vassals residing on the lands, or unjustly to exact any auxiliary work or secular

¹ According to Nisbet (*System of Heraldry*, folio, Edinburgh, 1742, vol. i. p. 334), Sir Gregan Crawford interposed and killed the stag; and its head, with a cross between the horns, became the armorial distinction of his family as well as of the Abbey of Holyrood. This is the crest of Crawford of Kilbirnie, in Stirlingshire, and of Crawford of Welford, in Berks. Father Hay most erroneously assumes that the Rood Well is St. Anthony's Well, below the ruins of St. Anthony's Chapel, at the north-western base of Arthur's Seat. The precise locality of the Rood Well of Holyrood, at which tradition says the pious King David quenched his thirst after recovering from his encounter with the stag, is not known, or at least no well has been known by that name for centuries. In 1845, among other improvements then in progress in the royal parks, a fine spring of water was re-opened on the northern base of Salisbury Crags, where the hill slopes down into the park near the Queen's Road. This spring is designated the *Rood Well*, but whether it is correctly so called, or will become popularly known as such, is another question.

² "Anno 1128, cepit fundari ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis de Edeneburgh."—*Chronicon de Mailros*; *Chronicon S. Crucis*. Father Hay's "Diplomatum Collectio," in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, in "*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB. Preface, p. xvi.

³ Notwithstanding the interval between the foundation of Holyrood and the date of the great charter, David I., in an Assembly held in 1128, granted the foundation charter—"regali auctoritate, assensu Henrici filii mei, et episcoporum regni mei, comitum quoque baronumque confirmatione et testimonio, clero etiam acquiescente et populo."—*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 57.

⁴ Father Hay, however, alleges that the canons of Holyrood continued to reside in the Castle till the reign of William the Lion, which extended from 1165 to 1214. Referring to the year 1176, Father Hay says—"Att which time the monastery of Holyroodhouse was as yet seated in the Castle of Edinburgh, and these canons were in possession of the buildings of the nuns, who gave to the Castle the name of *Castrum Puellarum*. These nuns had been thrust out of the Castle by Saint David, and in their place the canons had been introduced by the Pope's dispense, as fitter to live amongst soldiers. They continued in the Castle during Malcolm the Fourth his reign, upon which account we have severall charters of that King granted *apud Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Castello Puellarum*. Under King William, who was a great benefactor to Holyroodhouse, I fancie the canons retired to the place which is now called the Abbey, and upon the first foundation, which was made in honour of the Holy Cross, they retained

their first denomination of Holyroodhouse."—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, Preface, p. xxii.

⁵ The canons received a donation of the church of Edinburgh Castle, the church and parish of St. Cuthbert's, and of the ground on which they were authorized to build the future burgh of the Canongate. The canons were also endowed with the Barony of Broughton, now a north-eastern suburb of Edinburgh, on which, near the Water of Leith, were subsequently erected the village and mills still called the Canonmills; the lands of Inverleith, now the parish of North Leith, the chapel of Corstorphine, with thirty-six acres, and the chapel of Libberton, with thirty acres, which then belonged to St. Cuthbert's church, in the vicinity of the city; the church of Airth, on the south side of the Forth in the county of Stirling, also a salt-pan and twenty-six acres in the said parish; the villages and lands of Pittendriech, Fordam, and Hamer; an hospital, with a plough of land and a perpetual annuity of forty shillings out of the town of Edinburgh; for supplying the canons with apparel, one hundred shillings out of the petty tithes of Perth from the first duties payable to the King, out of the first merchant ship which arrives at Perth, and if none arrive, the sum of forty shillings out of his revenues in Edinburgh; also forty shillings out of Perth, with a house in Edinburgh free of customs and duties; twenty shillings, with a house, and the draught of a poking net, out of Stirling; a house in the town of Berwick; another in Renfrew, with a rood or fourth part of an acre, a draught of a net for salmon, and a herring fishery; a draught of two nets in Seypwell; as much wood as the canons required from the royal forests in the counties of Stirling and Clackmannan; one half of the tallow, lard, and hides of animals slaughtered in Edinburgh; the tithes of "whales and sea-monsters," and of all "pleas and profits" from the river Avon, which chiefly separates the county of Stirling from that of Linlithgow, including the whole coast of the Frith of Forth to Coldbrandspath, or Cockburnspath, on the coast of the German Ocean in Berwickshire; the half of the "pleas and profits" of Kintyre and Argyll; the skins of all the rams, sheep, and lambs, which die naturally, belonging to the royal castle of Linlithgow; eight chalders of malt, eight of meal, and thirty cart-loads of brushwood from Libberton, and one of the mills of the Dean near Edinburgh, with the tenths of the mills of Libberton and Dean, and those of the King's new mill at Edinburgh and Craighendmark, to be held in free and perpetual alms.—Hamer is one of the three ancient parishes of Tynninghame, Hamer, and Aldham; forming the present united parish of Whitekirk and Tynninghame in Haddingtonshire. The church of Hamer had been long known as Whitekirk, from the appearance of the edifice. When Edward III.

customs from them; the canons, their vassals and servants, were to be exempted from all tolls or duties; and even their swine were to be free from "pannage," or from duties charged for feeding in the royal or other woods. The burgesses of the Canongate, under the canons, were to have the liberty of buying and selling goods and merchandise without molestation; and no bread, ale, or vendible commodity, was to be taken without their consent. The Abbot of Holyrood was also entitled to hold his courts of regality in as "full, free, and honourable manner" as the Bishops of St. Andrews, and the Abbots of Dunfermline and Kelso, enjoyed their courts.¹

The Abbey of Holyrood received an increase of property and revenue by a charter of William the Lion, granted between 1172 and 1180, and the churches and chapels in Galloway, which belonged to the monastery of Icolmkill or Iona, with all their "tithes and ecclesiastical benefices," exclusive of several churches in Fife and other counties, were assigned to the canons. The first Abbot was the founder's confessor, Alwin, who resigned the abbacy in 1150, and is said to have died in 1155. He was succeeded by Osbert, whose death occurred in 1150, the year of his promotion, and whose name is not in the list of Abbots in the old Ritual-Book. William was Abbot in 1152, and is a frequent witness to charters during the reign of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. During Abbot William's rule, Fergus Lord of Galloway became a canon of the Abbey. The successor of William was Robert, who lived also in the reign of William the Lion, and this Abbot granted to the inhabitants of the new burgh of the Canongate various privileges, which were confirmed, with additional benefactions, by David II., Robert III., James II., and James III.

The fifth Abbot of Holyrood was John, who presided over the monastery in 1173. He was witness to a charter of Richard Bishop of St. Andrews, granting to the canons of Holyrood the church of Haddington, with the lands of Clerkington. About this time, according to Fordun, the canons still resided in Edinburgh Castle, and in 1177, Vibian, Cardinal Presbyter and Apostolic Legate, convened the Scottish bishops in that Fortress, confirming many ancient canons, and enforcing new ecclesiastical enactments. In 1189, however, an assembly of the Scottish bishops, rectors of churches, nobility, and barons, was held in the monastery of Holyrood, which seems to have been the first meeting of any importance congregated within its walls. This was occasioned by the celebrated Cœur-de-Lion, who had invited William the Lion to his court at Canterbury, restoring Scotland to its independence, ordering the boundaries of the two kingdoms to be re-established as recognised at the captivity of the Scottish king, and granting him full possession of all his fees in the Earldom of Huntingdon and elsewhere, on the former existing conditions. It was agreed in this convention at Holyrood that William the Lion was to pay 10,000 merks for this restitution—a sum supposed to be equivalent to 100,000*l.* sterling of the present day.² Though the clergy contributed their share of this sum, they reimbursed themselves to a certain degree by imposing a kind of capitation tax on their tenants, which was so heavy as to induce some of them to elude payment by leaving their places of residence.³

The successor of John, as Abbot of Holyrood, was William; and during his time, in 1206, John Bishop of Galloway relinquished his episcopal function, and became one of the canons. He was interred in the church, and a stone recording his name and dignity was placed over his grave. The next Abbot was Walter, Prior of Iona, who was appointed in 1210, and died in 1217. His successor was William, whose retirement is only recorded. He was succeeded by another William, who, in 1227, on account of old age and the burden of his duties, resigned the Abbacy, and retired to the island of Inchkeith, in the Frith of Forth, as a recluse; but after a residence there of nine weeks he returned to the monastery as a private monk. The next Abbot was Helias, or Elias, described as the son of Nicolas a priest—pleasant, devout, and affable, and who was interred in St. Mary's chapel, behind the great altar. He drained off the water in the lands round Holyrood, by which

invaded Scotland, in 1356, the sailors who attended him on land plundered the church of Hamer or Whitekirk of a statue of the Virgin and other valuables. The canons of Holyrood who resided there were unable to prevent this profanation, and they are alleged to have invoked the Virgin Mary so successfully that a furious storm made them repent of their temerity.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Haddingtonshire, p. 39.

¹ All this is witnessed or attested by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, John, Bishop of Glasgow, Henry "my son," William "my nephew," Edward the Chancellor, Herbert the Treasurer, Gillemichael (Earl,) Gospatrick, brother of Delphin, Robert Montague, Robert de Burnville, Peter de Bruce, Norman (Vice-Comes,) Ognu Leising, Gillise,

William de Graham, Turstan de Crectunc, Blemus the Archdeacon, Ælfric the Chaplain, and Walteran the Chaplain.—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, p. 6; Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, folio, pp. 154-147.

² Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132, 133. Father Hay, however, states that the sum was 5000 merks—"quinque millia marcarum."—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, Preface, p. xxii.

³ Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 132, 133. His lordship, however, alleges that "the quantum" of the aid granted to William the Lion "was ascertained in a convention of some sort at Musselburgh."

the monastery was rendered more salubrious, and he surrounded the cemetery with a brick wall. Helias was succeeded by Henry, who was consecrated Bishop of Galloway in 1253, after the death of Gilbert, Bishop of that see, though he was not consecrated till 1255.¹ Ralf, or Radulph, was appointed Abbot on the removal of Henry to the see of Galloway. On the 14th of January, 1155, in the reign of Alexander III., an assembly was held at Holyrood, in which the King, with advice of his magnates, settled a dispute between David de Loucher, sheriff of Perth, and the Abbey of Dunfermline.²

At the end of the thirteenth century, during the disastrous wars of the succession to the Scottish crown, the Abbot of Holyrood, who had succeeded Ralf, was Adam, an adherent of the English party. He did homage to Edward I. on the 8th of July, 1291, and in the following month the national records were placed under his care. This Abbot was named one of the commissioners appointed by the English King to examine the records, in his letter to Radulphus Basset de Drayton, governor of Edinburgh Castle, and others, regarding the appointment of commissioners for investigating the Scottish records preserved in that Fortress.³ Adam was Abbot in 1310, four years before which an order had been granted for the restoration of the Abbey lands by the English monarch, and it is alleged that he went to France—that he was a sufferer in the cause of Bruce—and that he returned to Scotland after the battle of Bannockburn, with a poetical encomium on Bruce.⁴

The successor of Abbot Adam was another Helias, or Elias, who is mentioned in a transaction connected with William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Gervase, Abbot of Newbattle, in 1316. Six years afterwards, in 1322, the Abbey of Holyrood was dilapidated and plundered by the army of Edward II.,⁵ but the indignities then perpetrated on the monastery are not minutely recorded. The Abbot in 1326 was Symon, supposed to have been Symon de Wedale. On the 8th of March that year, King Robert Bruce held a Parliament in the Abbey, in which was ratified a concord between Randolph Earl of Moray, afterwards Regent, and Sir William Oliphant, in connexion with the forfeiture of the lands of William de Monte Alto;⁶ and it is probable that the Parliaments of the 28th of February and the 17th of March, 1327, assembled in the same place. A Parliament of a different description was held in the Abbey on the 10th of February, 1333-4, when Edward Baliol rendered homage to Edward III. of England, as Lord of Scotland. Sir Geoffrey Scrope, Chief-Justice of England, appeared at the bar of this Parliament, which was composed of those Anglo-Scots who had been gained by bribery, with a few who preferred Baliol's claim to the crown to that of David II., the son of King Robert Bruce; and, in the name of Edward III., as Lord-Superior of Scotland, required Baliol, whom he designated "King," to perform all the "pactions, agreements, contracts, and promises between them."

The successor of Abbot Symon was John, whose name occurs as a witness to three charters in 1338; and Bartholomew was Abbot in 1342. He was succeeded by Thomas, who was Abbot in 1347. On the 8th of May, 1366, a council was held at Holyrood, in which a treaty of peace with England was discussed, a new coinage was ordered, and a voluntary assessment was sanctioned for the ransom of David II., who had been taken prisoner at the defeat of the Scottish army near Durham, in 1346, when the Cross designated the "Black Rood" of Holyrood, fell into the hands of the English, as already mentioned in this narrative.⁷ In 1370, King David II., who returned to Scotland in 1358, died in the Castle of Edinburgh, and was buried near the high altar in the Abbey church. John of Gaunt was hospitably entertained in Holyrood in 1381, when he was compelled to seek refuge in Scotland from his enemies. The Abbey was burned in 1385 by Richard II., when he invaded Scotland, and encamped at Restalrig, but it appears to have been soon repaired. Henry IV. generously spared the monastery in 1400, on account of the kindness of the Abbot and canons to

¹ Bishop Keith, in his Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops (4to. Edin. 1755, p. 162), says, that Abbot Henry of Holyrood was consecrated to the see of Galloway by Walter Archbishop of York; but the Chronicon de Lanercost, cited in "Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis," (Preface, p. xxv.,) alleges that he was consecrated by the Bishop of Durham. The Archbishop of York in 1255 was Walter de Gray, Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of Durham was Walter de Kirkham. Hence, probably, the mistake of the name.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 61. In this most elaborate volume is a list of articles found in a chest in the dormitory of Holyrood.

³ Ibid. vol. i. p. 4.

⁴ Dempster, however, designates him "Alexander Montgomericus,

canonicus Lateranensis, Abbas S. Crucis sub Monte Doloroso."—Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, sive de Scriptoribus Scotis, 4to Edin. 1829, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, vol. ii. p. 475.

⁵ Rymer's Fœdera, folio, vol. iii. p. 1022.

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 123-127.

⁷ This cross, which was that of the saintly founder of Holyrood, and had delivered him from the attack of the infuriated hart, is prominently noticed in the list of ornaments, plate, relics, and other valuables, in Edinburgh Castle in 1391.—Indentura de Munimentis captis in Thesaurario de Edinburgh; per Preceptum Regis Angliæ, apud Berewyk, Anno Domini Millesimo cc.lxxxxi. (1291.)—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, folio, 1844, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

his father, John of Gaunt. The successor of Thomas was John, who was Abbot in January 1372. The next Abbot was David, who held the Abbey in 1383, in the reign of Robert II. Dean John of Leith was Abbot in 1386, and must have been in possession for a number of years, as he was a party to the indenture of the lease of the Canonmills to the burgh of Edinburgh, on the 12th of September, 1423. Six years afterwards, in 1429, a singular spectacle was witnessed in the Church of Holyrood. Alexander Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, who had offended James I. by ravaging the crown lands near Inverness, suddenly appeared in the church, on the eve of a solemn festival, in presence of the King, his Queen, and Court, which was frequently held in the Abbey. The Earl was almost in a state of nudity, and holding a naked sword by the point in his hand, which he surrendered, he fell on his knees, and implored the royal clemency. His life was spared, but he was committed a close prisoner to Tantallon Castle, under the charge of the Earl of Angus.¹

Patrick was Abbot of Holyrood in September 1435. On the 25th of March, 1438, James II., who had been born in the Abbey, and was then little more than seven years old, was crowned in the church of Holyrood.² A similar ceremony was performed in the same place in July 1449, when Mary, daughter of Arnold Duke of Gueldres, and Queen of James II., was crowned.

On the 26th of April, 1450, the Abbot of Holyrood was James, of whom nothing is known. Ten years afterwards, the body of James II., who was killed by the bursting of one of the rudely constructed cannon of that age at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, was brought to Holyrood and interred. About the period of the death of James II., Archibald Crawford,³ who had succeeded Abbot James, probably in 1457, rebuilt the church of the Abbey in the style of which the nave known as the Chapel-Royal is the only interesting memorial. It is said that he erected the church from the foundation, and consequently none of the original pile, commenced in 1128 by David I., exists. The church erected by Abbot Crawford was, when entire, a large and splendid edifice in the form of a cross; and though the outlines of the transepts, choir, and Lady Chapel, have disappeared, the roofless nave conveys some idea of the ancient splendour of the entire edifice. The grand entrance was by the magnificent doorway on the west front, which was flanked on each side by a massive square tower, the north one of which still remains, but the south tower was either destroyed when the Abbey was demolished by the Earl of Hertford, or was removed to make way for the buildings of the Palace. The prevailing styles are those of the Norman, the second Gothic, the third or florid Gothic, and the Mixed. On the exterior of some of the buttresses on the north side are carved the arms of Abbot Crawford.

During the incumbency of Abbot Crawford, on the 10th of July, 1468, the Princess Margaret, then in her thirteenth year, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark, was married to James III., and crowned in the church of Holyrood amid great rejoicings. The successor of Abbot Crawford was Dean Robert Bellenden, who, according to his namesake and probable relative, held the Abbacy sixteen years. In addition to his benevolence to the poor, it is stated that he was at the expense of the great bells, the font, twenty-four caps of gold and silk, a chalice of fine gold, several of silver, and an eucharist, and he covered the roof with lead; nevertheless the Abbot was not popular with the brethren, and he resigned the appointment, assuming to his death the habit of an ordinary monk.⁴ Bellenden was one of the commissioners for settling a truce with England in 1486, and he was Abbot on the 13th of September, 1498.

The Abbot in 1515, two years after the fatal battle of Flodden, was George Crichton, Lord Privy Seal, promoted to the Bishopric of Dunkeld in 1522. William Douglas, prior of Coldingham, was the successor of Bishop Crichton, and is mentioned as such in a charter dated 17th December, 1527. The next Abbot was Robert Cairncross, provost of the collegiate church of Corstorphine, and chaplain to James V. He was Lord High Treasurer in 1528 and 1537, and lost it in March 1538-9, when he vacated the Abbey for the See of Ross, which he held with the Abbey of Fearn till his death in November 1545.

Abbot Cairncross was the last ecclesiastic of the ancient hierarchy who presided over Holyrood, and we

¹ Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 8vo. 1836, p. 37.

² A contemporary chronicler thus records the coronation of the youthful sovereign,—“1436, Wes the coronacioun of King James the Secund, with the red scheik (cheek), callit *James with the fyr in the face*, he beand bot sax years auld and ane half, in the Abbay of Halyrudhous, quhair now his banys lyes.”—Chronicle at the end of Winton MS. cited in “*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*,” Preface, p. xlix.

³ Abbot Crawford was a son of Sir William Crawford of Haining,

and had been Prior of Holyrood. He was one of the commissioners sent to treat with the English at Coventry for a truce, in 1459, and from that year till 1474 he was repeatedly employed in numerous treaties. In the latter year he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and he died in the beginning of 1483.

⁵ The History and Chronicles of Scotland, written in Latin by Hector Boece, translated by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray and Canon of Ross, 4to. Edin. 1821, vol. ii. pp. 298, 299.

have thus a succession of twenty-eight of those dignitaries from the foundation of the Abbey, in 1128, to 1538 or 1539, when Abbot Cairncross was promoted to the Bishopric of Ross. Robert, an illegitimate son of James V. by Euphemia Elphinstone, obtained a grant of the Abbey while an infant, and his exchange of it with Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, for the temporalities of that see, is subsequently noticed.

We are now arrived at the date of the foundation of the Royal Palace of Holyrood, for, though the monastery was a favourite residence of the Scottish kings when in Edinburgh, the history of the Abbey is distinct from that of the Palace. Though the reputed founder is said to have been James V., the edifice was commenced by his father, James IV. The precise year in which the Palace was begun cannot be ascertained, all the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for the years preceding 1501 having been irretrievably lost, but the edifice was in progress under the superintendence of "Maister Leonard Logy."¹ While the erection of the Palace was proceeding, an English princess, from whom were to descend a long and illustrious line of sovereigns of the British Empire, entered as an affianced bride within the portals of Holyrood, and doubtless the new Palace would be duly prepared for her reception.² This was in 1503, when the Princess Margaret and her train of English nobles first entered the metropolis of her future husband, James IV., and was received with that respect due to the royal daughter of Henry VII. The "Fyancells"³ of the Princess in the royal manor of Richmond, on the 25th of January, 1502, her departure from England, her journey into Scotland, reception, and marriage, are minutely narrated by John Younge, Somerset Herald, who was one of the official attendants.⁴ James IV., accompanied by sixty of the nobility, met his royal bride at Dalkeith. On the morning of the 7th of August the Princess proceeded to Edinburgh, and the King received her half-way, attended by a numerous cavalcade. The King leaped into the saddle of the Princess's palfrey, placing her close behind him, and in this manner they entered Edinburgh, amid rejoicings and fantastic pageants, a fountain of wine, which was free to all, playing at the Cross, and the windows of the houses gorgeously ornamented with tapestry. They were met at the church of Holyrood by the Bishop of St. Andrews,⁵ his cross carried before him, attended by the Bishop of Aberdeen, Lord Privy Seal,⁶ the Bishops of Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld,⁷ and a number of Abbots in their pontificals, and the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood, in rich vestments preceded by their Cross. The whole cavalcade dismounted, and entered the church in procession. Having performed their devotions, the King led the Princess out of the church, through the cloister, to her apartments in the Palace. After a brief space, the Princess was led by the King into the great hall, where she was introduced to a numerous company of Scottish ladies of rank, each of whom she kissed, the Bishop of Moray⁸ attending her, and telling her their names. The King supped in his own chamber, with a number of the English attendants of the Princess, after which he returned to his bride, and indulged for a short time in dancing. The King then retired, bidding her "joyously good night." On the 8th, the nuptials were celebrated in the church, and on the four following days banquets, tournaments, and processions, occupied the assembled guests. And yet, twelve years afterwards, in 1515, this very princess, who was honoured with public shows, feasts, carousals, and dances, at her marriage,⁹ was seen presenting herself to the Regent Albany in her deceased

¹ From the 3d of March, 1501-2, to the 3d of September that year, he received several sums, amounting in all to 31*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* Payments of larger sums to Logie are entered in the Accounts for 1502, 1503, and 1504. Other artisans were employed during those years in the erection or embellishment of the New Palace, which then received the designation of Holyrood-house, as distinct from, though closely connected with, the Abbey of Holyrood. The progress of the erection of the Palace in 1504 is ascertained from various documents. On the 10th of September that year is "a precept maid to Maister Leonard Logy for his gude and thankful service done and to be done to the Kingis Hienes, and speciallie for his diligent and grete laboure maid be him in the bigging of the Palace beside the Abbay of the Haly Croce, of the soume of forty poundis of the usual money of the realme, to be paid to him of the Kingis cofferis yerlie for all the dayis of his life, or quhill he be benefitit of ane hundereth merks." The chimneys of the Palace were finished in 1504, and the tower is noticed as completed in 1505.—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, Preface, pp. vi. vii. viii.

² It appears from the Lord Treasurer's Account Book, that Holyrood was the principal residence of James IV. In the years 1502, 1503, 1504, and 1505, various payments to tradesmen are recorded.

³ Such was the value of money at the time, that the sister of Henry VIII. could produce as her marriage-portion only 10,000*l.*, her jointure in case of widowhood was 2000*l.*, and her annual allowance as Queen-Consort was 1000*l.*

⁴ Leland's *Collectanea*, edited by Hearne, 8vo. London, 1770, vol. iv. pp. 258-300.

⁵ James Duke of Ross, and Archbishop of St. Andrews, was the second son of James III., and the second brother of James IV. He died in 1504, at least the see was vacant in 1505.

⁶ The illustrious William Elphinstone, founder of King's College and University in Old Aberdeen, the cathedral seat of the bishopric.

⁷ Apparently Edward Stuart, who was Bishop of Orkney in 1516, Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, John Fraser, Bishop of Ross, James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, and George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld.

⁸ Andrew Foreman, already mentioned, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews.

⁹ Some of the internal decorations of the Palace of Holyrood are mentioned by the loyal English herald. The hangings, or tapestry, of the "Great Chamber" represented the "history of Troy towne," and "in the glassyn windowes were the Armes of Scotland and England

consort's Palace of Holyrood, "sore weeping," and in vain requesting mercy for Lord Drummond, the maternal grandfather of her second husband, the Earl of Angus, who had been committed to Blackness Castle, and for Gawin Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, then a prisoner in the sea-tower of St. Andrews.

Holyrood was the chief residence of James IV., on the erection and embellishment of which he expended considerable sums, till his death at the fatal battle of Flodden in 1513. In 1515, John Duke of Albany, governor of the kingdom during the minority of James V., resided in Holyrood after his arrival from France, and continued the deceased King's erection of the edifice. He built a tower, subsequently fortified, at the Palace, in which he imprisoned Lord Home in 1515, for joining the party of the Queen-Dowager and her husband the Earl of Angus, and declaring for the English interest.¹ In 1516, Albany erected a "turnpike," or staircase, in the Palace.² Sir John Sharp, one of the chaplains, was at this time keeper of Holyrood, with an annual salary of ten merks, and an occasional allowance for a gown at Christmas. He held this office for upwards of twenty years during the reign of James V.

It is thus evident, that to ascribe the foundation of the Palace of Holyrood to James V. is most erroneous, and yet all the local historians of Edinburgh have adopted this mistake. The Palace, in reality, appears to have been only an occasional residence of James V., who, however, after he assumed the government, authorised the payment of several sums towards its "reparation," or for the completion of the "new work in the Abbey of Halyrudehouse," under the superintendence of John Scrimgeour, master of works. The portions of the Palace erected by James V., or in his reign, are generally understood to be the north-west towers, forming a portion of what are commonly called Queen Mary's apartments, and in the lower part of a niche in one of which could for many years be traced the monarch's name and royal title. Those additions are said to have been superintended by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, a court favourite, whose life was turbulent, and his death inflicted by the executioner.

On the 26th of July, 1524, James V., then in his thirteenth year, and his mother the Queen-Dowager, suddenly left Stirling, accompanied by a few attendants, and entered Edinburgh, where they were received with rejoicings by the citizens. A procession was formed to Holyrood, and proclamations were issued announcing that the King had undertaken the administration of affairs, though this was not exercised till four years afterwards, when he was in his seventeenth year. During that interval the Queen-Dowager, Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrews, Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Angus, the successor of the Archbishop as Lord Chancellor, were actually, though not in name, the occasional Regents. The latter marked the commencement of his authority by assigning the Abbey of Holyrood in 1524 to his brother William Douglas, who was already the intruding possessor of the Priory of Coldingham, and who retained both till his death in 1528, the year in which James V. began his reign in person. In the month of August 1534, an ecclesiastical court was held in the Abbey of Holyrood, at which James V. was present, clothed in scarlet. James Hay, Bishop of Ross, sat as commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Several individuals were cited before this court, some of whom recanted, and performed the ceremony of burning their fagots. The brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, who had been burned for heresy at St. Andrews, were summoned, but the King privately advised the former to leave Scotland for a time, as he could not protect him; the Bishops, he alleged, having proved to him that heresy was not within his prerogative. The lady, however, appeared, and a long theological discussion ensued between her and Spens of Condie, subsequently Lord Advocate. The King was amused at the zeal of the fair disputant, who was his relative, and his influence saved her from further trouble. Nevertheless, two convictions were pronounced on this occasion. The unfortunate persons were David Straiton, the brother of the Laird of Laurieston in Forfarshire, and a priest named Norman Gourlay. They were led to the stake, on the 27th of August, at the rood or cross of Greenside on the north side of the Calton Hill, and met their fate with constancy and resolution.

On the 1st January, 1536-7, James V. was married to the Princess Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, in the presence of her father and the King of Navarre, several cardinals, and a brilliant assemblage of rank and beauty. On the 19th of May, the eve of Whitsunday, the King and

byparted, with the difference before said, to which a chardon and a rose interlaced through a crowne was added." In the King's "Great Chamber" were displayed the "story of Hercules, togeder with other hystories." The hall in which the Queen's attendants and company were assembled, also contained the history of Hercules on tapestry,

and in both apartments were "grett syerges of wax for to lyght at even."

¹ See the fate of this nobleman in the History of the Castle, p. 8 of the present work.

² Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis, Preface, pp. lxxi. lxxii.



HOLYROOD PALACE.

From an Original Drawing by J. D. Harding

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

his consort landed at Leith, and arrived at the Palace of Holyrood, accompanied by processions and other displays, amid the most enthusiastic acclamations. But disease had undermined the constitution of the young Queen, and within forty days she was consigned a lifeless corpse to the royal vault in the Abbey Church. So intense was the regret of all classes at the untimely death of Queen Magdalene, that it occasioned a general public mourning, and Buchanan, who was an eye-witness, mentions the event as the first instance of such a demonstration in Scotland.

In 1538, the Scottish King assigned several of the richest abbeys and priories to three of his illegitimate children, then infants. Robert, one of them, by Euphemia, a daughter of Lord Elphinstone, was appointed Abbot of Holyrood. By this arrangement the King was enabled to draw the revenues till the nominal possessor arrived at the age of maturity.

The second Queen of James V., Mary of Guise, the mother of Queen Mary, was married to the Scottish King in the cathedral church of St. Andrews in June 1538. Mary of Guise appears to have been seldom at Holyrood; the Palace of Linlithgow, her jointure, having been her favourite residence. This princess, however, was crowned in the Abbey Church, of which some notices occur in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts.¹ After the willing rout of his army on the shore of the Solway Frith, James V. avoided Holyrood on his return, and proceeded to Falkland, where he expired on the 14th of December, 1542.²

The first great calamity which befell the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood was in 1543, when both were plundered and considerably injured by the English during the Earl of Hertford's invasion. In this expedition, Sir Richard Lee, Knight, the "Master of the Pioneers," carried away a brazen font, supposed to have been the one erected by Abbot Bellenden, which he placed, with an inflated Latin inscription, in the church of St. Alban's, where it remained till it was sold and destroyed in the Civil Wars.³ According to the authority cited by Sir Walter Scott,⁴ the entire Abbey of Holyrood was destroyed or dilapidated, except the body of the Church, and the north-west towers of the Palace. Whatever was the extent of the injury which the building then sustained, it was speedily repaired, only to be more effectually demolished a second time during the expedition of the Protector Somerset, after the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, when Sir Walter Bonham and Edward Chamberlain obtained license to "suppress" the Abbey, and at their first visitation they found that the monks had fled. The roofs of the Abbey Church and of most of the monastery were amply covered with lead, which the English seized, and they carried off two bells. The third calamity which befell the Abbey was at the Reformation, when it was spoiled by the mob, and the Palace was plundered on the 29th of June, 1559. The fate of the monks is not known.⁵

The history of the Monastery of Holyrood terminates at the Reformation, before which era the canons had been dispersed, their residences destroyed, and their church dilapidated.⁶ The subsequent events are connected

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 299-301.

² Some notices of the residence of James V. at Holyrood occur in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, and from these it appears that a private chapel in the Palace was unconnected with the Abbey church. A "pair of organs" were purchased in January 1541-2; and Sir David Murray of Balvaird, Knight, received 400*l.* on the 24th of that month, "in recompence of his lands of Duddingstone tane in to the new park besyde Halyrudehows."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I.

³ The inscription is thus rendered—"When Leith, a town of good account in Scotland, and Edinburgh, the principal city of that nation, was on fire, Sir Richard Lea, Knight, saved me out of the flames, and brought me into England. In gratitude to him for his kindness, I, who heretofore served only at the baptism of the children of kings, do now most willingly offer the same service even to the meanest of the English nation. Lea, the conqueror, hath so commanded. Adieu! A.D. 1543, in the 26th year of King Henry VIII." "The victor's spoil," observes Sir Walter Scott, "became the spoil of rebellious regicides, for during the Civil Wars this sacred emblem of conquest was taken down, sold for its weight, and ignobly destroyed; nor would the memory of Sir Richard Lee's valour have survived, but for the diligence of an accurate antiquarian."—Border Antiquities of England and Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 77.

⁴ Kincaid's History of Edinburgh, 12mo. 1784, Appendix, No. XXIV. p. 327.

⁵ One of them, named John Brand, conformed to the Reformation, and is designated "Minister of Holyroodhouse," which means the

present parish of the Canongate. He married, and had a son, who perished by the hands of the executioner at the Cross of Edinburgh for killing William King, an illegitimate son of a lawyer named James King, on St. Leonard's Hill, opposite Salisbury Crags. On the 20th of May, 1615, he was condemned to be beheaded. He is designated "John Brand, student in the College of Philosophie of Edinburgh, sone to umquhill John Brand, Minister at Halyrudhous."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 360.

⁶ The "Calendar and Ritual Book of Holyrood" are in the possession of Mr. Pringle of Whytbank, forming a large folio volume of 132 leaves of thick vellum in oak boards, covered with stamped leather, resembling the binding of the sixteenth century. This curious memorial of the Canons of Holyrood consists of three principal parts—a Calendar, a Martyrology, and a Ritual. As none of the Scottish Saints are commemorated, and even the name of the founder is omitted, it is conjectured that the Calendar was not constructed for Holyrood, or any other Scottish Church; while in a comparatively modern hand, apparently of the sixteenth century, are inserted two festivals,—on the 19th of June, after the patrons of the day—*Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii Martyrum*, and written *Margarete Regine*; and on the 13th of October, in faint ink, and in imitation of the older writing—*Dedicatio Ecclesie—prime dignitatis*. The Martyrology, to which the Calendar has no reference, is for the whole year, omitting the great Feasts, and is followed by lessons and prayers for particular Sundays and Festivals, and the Rule of the Order of St. Augustine, the patron of the Canons-Regular. The *Historia Miraculose Foundationis*, printed in the second

with the Palace, and with that portion of the Abbey Church (afterwards known as the Chapel-Royal) which was for a century and a half used as the parish church of the Canongate. Though the convent, during each successive reign from that of David I., obtained numerous immunities, grants, and revenues, which rendered it one of the most opulent religious houses in Scotland, its annual rental, as stated at the Reformation, was only about 250*l.* sterling in money, exclusive of property; but the other sources of income were valuable, consisting of payments of victual, fowls, fish, salt, and various emoluments.¹

The Palace became the ordinary residence of Queen Mary after her return from France in 1561, and here occurred those events in her tragical career which connect her life with Holyrood, and invest its melancholy apartments with absorbing interest. As characteristic of the times, the windows seem to have been secured like a prison, and the marks of the iron bars are still visible on the outside of some of the windows of the Queen's chambers. Mary landed at Leith, as the youthful Dowager of France, on the morning of the 19th of August, 1561, accompanied by her three uncles, the Duke D'Aumale, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior of France, who was the commander of the galleys, Monsieur D'Anville, the heir of the Constable Montmorency, and several French gentlemen of inferior rank. The Queen rode direct to Edinburgh in a kind of rude procession, and passed through the city to Holyrood. Mary's "honourable reception" at Leith by the Earl of Argyll, Lord Erskine, Lord James Stuart, and others, who conveyed her to Holyrood, is mentioned by contemporary writers; and Knox records the "fires of joy set furth at night," and a concert with which she was regaled under her "chamber window"—the "melodie of which," as she alleged, "lyked her weill, and she willed the same to be continued some nychts efter with great diligence." But Dufresnoy, one of Mary's attendants, thought very differently of this display, and more especially of the music of the Scottish minstrels. He relates that the Queen rode on horseback from Leith to Edinburgh, and the "lords and ladies who accompanied her upon the little wretched hackneys of the country as wretchedly caparisoned, at sight of which the Queen began to weep, and to compare them with the pomp and superb palfreys of France. But there was no remedy except patience. What was worst of all, when arrived at Edinburgh, and retired to rest in the Abbey, which is really a fine building, and not at all partaking of the rudeness of that country, there came under her window a crew of five or six hundred scoundrels from the city, who gave her a serenade with wretched violins and little rebecks, of which there are enough in that country, and began to sing psalms so miserably mistimed and mistuned, that nothing could be worse. Alas! what music, and what a night's rest!"

The only person of distinction waiting to receive Mary was Lord Robert Stnart, one of her illegitimate brothers already mentioned, whose residence as Commendator was within the precincts of the Palace. The Queen went to his house, and issued orders to assemble the nobility, who had been previously summoned to meet on the last day of that month.² Probably Lord Robert's house was the only one suitable for her temporary reception, for, though the Queen brought her jewels with her, her tapestry and other furniture

volume of the BANNATYNE MISCELLANY, is the next article, and to this succeed an imperfect entry of the foundation of the Priory of St. Mary's Isle (called *de Traill*) near Kirkcudbright, which is also printed with the *Miraculosa Fundacio*, a very imperfect list of the Abbots, and a formulary and ritual for the great Festivals, with minute directions for ornamenting the church, and for processions and other ceremonies. Then follow *Tempora feriandi—ne Judaismo capiantur, de Festivitatibus prime dignitatis, de Festis secunde dignitatis, de Honore Sancte Crucis, de Duplicibus Festis, de Festis Communiibus, de Festis novem lectionum, de Privatis Festis trium lectionum, Ordo ad visitandum Infirmum*, the Service for the Dead, and Funeral Service, *Commemoratio animarum, Benedictio carniū et ovorum, super butirum et caseum—ad omnia que volueris—super cibum et potum*, which are a series of graces, a service *pro Itinerantibus*, a Litany in a modern hand, an *Inventarium Jocalium, Vestimentorum, et Ornamentorum Magni Altaris et Vestibuli Monasterii Sancte Crucis*, in October, 1493, printed in the BANNATYNE MISCELLANY; and on a leaf after the Calendar are forms of excommunication for theft, and of absolution from that sentence. It is difficult to determine the age of this volume, which was evidently written at different times, and is in the large square character suited for the altar. The following is the prayer which was said daily for the benefactors of the Monastery, in which it is curious not to find the name of William the Lion—"Propicietur clementissimus Deus animabus regum David,

Malcolmi, Alexandri, David, Roberti, Jacobi, et comitum Henrici et David, et animabus episcoporum, abbatum, confratrum, patrum, matrum, fratrum, et sororum nostrarum congregationum, parentum, et amicorum nostrorum defunctorum, et animabus Fergusii, Vchtrei, Rollandi, et Alani, et animabus omnium defunctorum tributaque eis pro sua pietate vitam eternam, Amen." This prayer was written in the reign of the first James; and a preceding prayer for that monarch, his Queen, *et liberos eorum*, indicates that it was composed after his return from England. This volume of the "Calendar and Ritual of Holyrood" is supposed to be the "Martyrologium" quoted by Father Hay.—*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Preface, pp. cxxxiii—cxxxvi.

¹ Those payments were estimated at 442 bolls of wheat, 610 bolls of bere, 560 bolls of oats, 200 capons, two dozen of hens, two dozen of salmon, twelve loads of salt, and a number of swine. The Canons of Holyrood had right of fattening their hogs in the extensive tracts now forming the finely cultivated parish of Duddingstone, between Arthur's Seat and the Frith of Forth. See the rental of Holyrood Abbey in Keith's "History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland," folio, Appendix, p. 186. It is therein stated that the money amounted to 2926*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Scots.

² Hardwicke's Miscellaneous State Papers, 4to. London, 1778, vol. i. p. 176: Cecil to Throgmorton, 26th August, 1561.

were not delivered till some days afterwards, and her horses were detained at Berwick. The mortification she was compelled to endure on account of her religion was manifested on the first Sunday after her arrival at Holyrood, which was St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August. Due preparations were made to celebrate mass in the Chapel-Royal, at which the Queen was to be present, and no sooner was this known than a mob rushed towards the edifice, exclaiming—"Shall the idol be again erected in the land?" Men of rank encouraged this riot, and Lord Lindsay, with some gentlemen of Fife, pressed into the court of the Palace, shouting—"The idolatrous priests shall die the death!" The Queen, astonished and trembling, implored another illegitimate brother, Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, who was in attendance, to allay the tumult. With the utmost difficulty, notwithstanding his popularity, he succeeded in some measure in so doing; and, under the excuse of preventing the contamination of the assailants by the sight of "idolatry," he placed himself at the door of the Chapel, at the hazard of his life restraining the fury of the mob. Though the service was continued in quietness, at its conclusion new disorders were excited.

On the 31st of August, a banquet was given to Mary and her relatives by the city of Edinburgh, and on the 2d of September the Queen made her public entry, and was entertained in the Castle, as narrated in the history of the Fortress.¹ On the latter day John Knox had an audience of Mary, who had been informed of a sermon he had preached against the mass on the preceding Sunday in St. Giles' Church, and who seems to have supposed that a personal conference would mitigate his sternness. Knox presented himself at Holyrood, and when admitted into the presence of Mary, he found only Lord James Stuart in attendance. The interview commenced by the Queen accusing him for his treatise on the government of queens,² and his intolerance towards every one who differed from him in opinion, and she requested him to obey the precepts of the Scriptures, a copy of which she perceived on his person, desiring him to "use more meekness in his sermons." Knox, in reply, "knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep."³ Such were the agitation, fear, and disquietude of the Queen, that Lord James Stuart attempted to soothe her feelings, and to soften the language she had heard. Amid tears of anguish and indignation, she said to Knox—"My subjects, it would appear, must obey you, and not me. I must be subject to them, not they to me." After some further altercation, in which Knox certainly comported himself with great boldness, he was dismissed from the royal presence; and when asked his opinion of the Queen by some of his friends, he said, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty art, and obdurate heart against God and his Word, my judgment faileth me; and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her, to the church and state."⁴ Though Knox and Buchanan repeatedly mention the profligacy of Mary's court at this time, it appears to be without any sufficient reason; but it must be confessed that the pastimes occasionally exhibited at Holyrood were not the most dignified. One of these occurred on a Sunday in December 1561, in presence of the Queen, when Lord Robert Stuart, his half-brother Lord John Stuart, both abbots—the one of Holyrood, the other of Coldingham, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and others, to the number of six on each side, disguised, the one half like women, and the others in masks, performed a game at the ring, in which the party in female habiliments, headed by Lord Robert, were the victors; and yet this same Lord Robert had cruelly beaten one of the priests who officiated in the Chapel-Royal on Halloween Eve, or All Saints' Day, and it was proposed to allow none to attend the Queen at divine service, under "pain of confiscation of goods and lands," except those who came with her from France.

The avocations and amusements of Mary at Holyrood about this period are prominently recorded. After dinner she read Livy and other histories with George Buchanan, and she had a library, two globes, one celestial and the other terrestrial, six geographical charts, and pictures of her mother, her father, her husband Francis II., and the Constable of France. The Queen was a chess-player, and she greatly delighted in hawking, and shooting at the butts. Mary had also two gardens at Holyrood, one on the north and the other on the south side of the Palace. In her household were minstrels and singers, and the first introduction of

¹ See p. 16 of the present Work.

² This was Knox's production, levelled also against Queen Elizabeth and all female sovereigns, entitled—"The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," published in 1557, and printed in his "Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland," folio, Edin. edit. 1732, pp. 468-487.

³ Randolph to Cecil, 7th September, 1561, in Bishop Keith's

"History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland," edition of the SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 80; folio edit. p. 189.

⁴ This interesting and characteristic interview is recorded by Knox in his "Historie of the Reformatioun in Scotland," folio, Edin. edit. 1732, pp. 287-292, and is most graphically and minutely detailed by Mr. Tytler in his "History of Scotland." It is also the subject of a splendid picture by Sir William Allan.

Riccio to the Scottish Court was to supply a vacancy among the latter, a bass-singer having been wanted to perform along with the others. In 1561, and in 1562, the Queen had five players on the viol, and three players on the lute. In the Chapel of Holyrood were a "pair of organs," for which, in February 1561-2, the sum of 10*l.* was paid by the Queen's command to William Macdowell, Master of Works, in addition to the sum of 36*l.* paid in February 1557-8, by the Treasurer to David Melville of Leith, who had recovered and carefully preserved them. As respects Mary's feminine avocations, she was sedulously employed at Holyrood with her needle, and tradition often mentions her industrial performances. She was attended in her private apartments by her four Marys—Mary Fleming, Mary Bethune, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Seton; but Mademoiselle de Pinguillon is noticed as her chief lady. In the Palace were a cloth of gold, tapestry, carpets, chairs and stools covered with velvet and adorned with fringes, vessels of glass, and her jewels, a few of which were afterwards secured by legal proceedings for King James VI. by the Regent Morton. No plate is recorded; yet that Mary had silver articles of value, is proved from the fact that they were coined by those who dethroned her, to pay the expenses of their insurrection.

On the 11th of August, 1562, Queen Mary and her retinue left Holyrood on a progress as far north as Inverness. During this journey circumstances occurred which were most disastrous to the Earl of Huntly and his family. Huntly himself fell in an insurrectionary conflict in the vale of Corrichie, nearly twenty miles west of Aberdeen; his body was brought to Edinburgh by sea, and deposited in a vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, whence it was removed to the Monastery of the Black Friars, where it continued till it was conveyed to the family tomb at Elgin; and his son, Sir John Gordon, perished on the scaffold in Aberdeen, in presence of Mary, who was a reluctant spectator of a death which was one day to be her own. The Queen returned to Holyrood on the evening of the 21st of November, after an absence of nearly four months, and she was immediately seized with an illness which confined her to her couch six days. On the 10th of January, 1562-3, the Queen again left Holyrood for Castle-Campbell, near the base of the Ochills, to be present at the marriage of Lady Margaret Campbell, sister of the Earl of Argyll, to Sir James Stewart of Doune, then Commendator of St. Colm, in 1581 created Lord Doune. On the 14th Mary returned to Holyrood, where she remained till the 13th of February, having recovered from another illness which seized her after her arrival.

The fate of an individual now presents itself, the first part of whose story was enacted in Holyrood. When Mary arrived from France, a French gentleman named Chatelard, a soldier by profession, handsome in person and of varied accomplishments, came in the train of D'Anville. After residing some time at Holyrood, he returned to France with D'Anville, by whom he was again sent to Scotland with a letter which he delivered to the Queen at Montrose, while on her progress to Edinburgh from the North. The Queen subsequently had long conversations with Chatelard, whose manners were agreeable, and who could talk to her of many of the scenes of her youth in France. He was also enthusiastic in music and poetry, of which the Queen was passionately fond, and he was admitted by her to friendly intercourse, though Knox alleges that it was a tender familiarity. Encouraged by the Queen's favour, Chatelard in an evil hour aspired to Mary's love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy he concealed himself in her bed-chamber at Holyrood, in which he was discovered by her female attendants immediately before she retired for the night. This was on the 12th of February, 1562-3, and it is singular that he had armed himself with a sword and a dagger. Chatelard was expelled by the Queen's attendants, who, not wishing that their royal mistress should be annoyed by this extraordinary and daring circumstance, concealed it from her till the morning. When Mary was informed of Chatelard's presumptuous behaviour, she ordered him instantly to leave the Palace, and never again to appear in her presence. This lenity, however, failed to exercise a proper effect on the infatuated man. On the 13th of February, the Queen left Holyrood for Fife, and Chatelard had the presumption to repeat his offence at Burntisland on the night of the 14th. The household were soon alarmed, and the intruder closely secured by the Earl of Moray. On the second day after this outrage he was tried and condemned at St. Andrews, where he was executed on the 22d of February, 1562-3.

On the 18th of May, 1563, the Queen returned to Holyrood, after an absence of upwards of three months in Fife and the neighbouring counties of Kinross and Perth. This was preparatory to the meeting of the Parliament, which assembled on the 26th of May, and sat till only the 4th of June. Mary rode to the Parliament from Holyrood accompanied by her ladies in court dresses, the Duke of Chatelherault carrying the crown, the Earl of Argyll the sceptre, and the Earl of Moray the sword. The Queen addressed the

Parliament in her native tongue, and if her proficiency in elocution was no better than the specimens of her epistolary correspondence written with her own hand in the common language of the country, her oratory must have been homely enough, though it must be recollected that French was her ordinary mode of intercourse. It appears, however, that this speech, delivered by Mary the first time she ever saw a Parliament, was written in French, and translated and spoken by her in English. The Queen's appearance on this occasion excited the loyal feelings of the citizens, who exclaimed as she passed to and from the Parliament—"God save that sweet face!"¹ On the first day of the Parliament the Queen gave a banquet to a large party of ladies in Holyrood. Mary rode to the Parliament from the Palace three several days.

During the sitting of this Parliament a sermon was preached by Knox in St. Giles' Church, in which he alluded in the most forcible language to the Queen's rumoured marriage. This was soon communicated to Mary, and Knox was again summoned to her presence. Lord Ochiltree² and some of his friends accompanied Knox to the Palace; but John Erskine of Dun, the "Superintendent of Angus and Mearns" under the new system, was the only person admitted with him into the Queen's cabinet. As soon as Mary saw Knox, she exclaimed, weeping, and in great excitement—"Never was prince handled as I am. I have borne with you," she said to Knox, "in all your rigorous manner of speaking both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whenever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once avenged." The reply of Knox increased the Queen's anger, and she indignantly asked—"What have you to do with my marriage?" This elicited a definition from Knox of his vocation to preach faith and repentance, and his imperative necessity to teach the nobility and commonwealth their duty. The Queen again asked—"What have ye to do with my marriage, or what are ye in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, Madam," was the stern reply; "and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me, how abject soever I may be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same." Erskine of Dun here attempted to soothe the Queen by some complimentary allusions to her personal beauty, the excellence of her disposition, and the admiration expressed for her by all the princes of Europe, who were rivals to gain her favour. Knox stood immovable, and his coolness increased Mary's anger. He urged his conscientious motives, which further offended the Queen, who ordered him to leave the cabinet and remain in the antechamber till her pleasure was intimated. Lord John Stuart, Commendator of Coldingham,³ joined the Queen and Erskine of Dun in the cabinet, in which they remained nearly an hour. During this space, Knox, who was attended by Lord Ochiltree, delivered a religious admonition to the ladies. He retired, accompanied by Erskine, to his residence at the Nether-Bow.

On the 29th of June, 1563, Queen Mary left Holyrood on another progress in the west and south-west of Scotland. While the Queen was at Stirling, and was so far on her return to Edinburgh, a riot occurred at Holyrood, in which Knox was considerably implicated. On Sunday the 8th and 15th of August, the Queen's Roman Catholic domestics wished the exercise of their own religion, and divine service was to be celebrated in the Chapel-Royal. This was known in the neighbourhood, and a "zealous brother" entered the edifice, exclaiming, as a priest was preparing to commence mass—"The Queen's Majesty is not here: how dare you, then, be so malapert as openly to do against the laws?" The Queen's household were so much agitated, that they sent to Wishart of Pitarrow, the comptroller, who happened to be in St. Giles' Church listening to a sermon, requesting him to proceed to Holyrood and protect the Palace. Wishart proceeded thither, accompanied

¹ This is Knox's statement respecting the Queen's "painted oration," as he terms it, to the Parliament. He adds other exclamations which "might have been heard among her flatterers—Vox Dianæ, the voice of a goddess (for it could not be *Dei*), and not of a woman! Was there ever oratour spak so properly and so sweetly?"—*Historie*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 330.

² Andrew Stewart, second Lord Ochiltree, a zealous Reformer, whose second daughter, Margaret, became the second wife of John Knox, by whom she had three daughters. This marriage excited much jocularly at the expense of the lady. Lord Ochiltree's second son was the unprincipled Captain James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, created Earl of Arran, and constituted Lord Chancellor by James VI., killed in 1596 by Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, nephew of the Regent Morton; and his third son, Sir William Stewart of Monkton,

was assassinated by Francis Earl of Bothwell in the Blackfriars' Wynd of Edinburgh in 1588.

³ Lord John Stuart died soon afterwards at Inverness, while holding a justice-court with his illegitimate brothers the Earl of Moray and Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, in which two witches were condemned to be burnt. Knox alleges, on common report, that on his death-bed he urged the Queen to abandon her "idolatry," and lamented that he had supported her in her "impiety" and "wickedness against God and his servants." Knox adds, that "in very deed grit cause had he to have lamented his wickedness," and records one of his sayings against the preachers, which was—"Or I see the Queen's Majesty so troubled with the railing of these knaves, I shall leave the best of them stickit in the pulpit."—*Historie*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 335.

by Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, then Provost, the Magistrates, and a numerous party; but the disturbance had ceased before their arrival, and the result of the prosecution of the offenders is not known. Knox was summoned before the Queen and the Privy Council for his interference in this affair, and especially for violating an act of the recent Parliament, which declared all assemblages of the people in towns without the Queen's consent illegal.¹ He denied that he was guilty of seditious or rebellious practices, and entreated the Queen to forsake her "idolatrous religion," at which the Earl of Morton, then Lord Chancellor, told him to "hold his peace and go away."

Mary returned to Holyrood on the 30th of September, and seems to have constantly resided in the Palace during the following winter. In January and February 1563-4, the Queen gave banquets to the nobility, who in turn invited her to be their guest. An event occurred in that year which had a serious influence on her future destiny. This was the return of her relative, Matthew Earl of Lennox, the father of Lord Darnley, from his exile in England. The Earl arrived at Edinburgh on the 8th of September, and was informed that the Queen was then the guest of the Earl of Atholl in Perthshire. He resolved to proceed thither, and went to St. Andrews, where he heard of the Queen's return. The Earl presented himself at Holyrood on the 27th of September, riding to the Palace, preceded by twelve gentlemen splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet, and followed by thirty attendants bearing his arms and livery.² Either at this or a subsequent interview Lennox gave the Queen "a marvellous fair and rich jewel, a cloek, a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking-glass very richly set with stones in the four metals; also to each of the Marys such pretty things as he thought fittest for them."³ Though Lord Darnley was with his mother, the Countess of Lennox in England, Mary by her conduct sufficiently intimated that she had heard with satisfaction favourable reports of him, and rumour had already selected him as the Queen's husband. A series of festivities was now held in Holyrood, and a grand entertainment given by the Queen on the 12th of November is specially mentioned.

Mary left Holyrood for Fife on the 19th of January, 1564-5, and on the 13th of February she rode to Wemyss Castle, then inhabited by the Earl of Moray. Darnley arrived in Edinburgh on that day, and on the 16th had his first interview with the Queen, by whom he was well received; Sir James Melville, who was present in Wemyss Castle, recording that Mary "took very well" with her visitor. Darnley was then only nineteen years of age, and four years younger than Mary. Repeated outrages on the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood compelled Mary to hasten to Edinburgh, and she arrived at the Palace on the 24th of February.

Darnley was now a regular frequenter of Holyrood, and took part in all the amusements of the Court. On the 26th of February he was entertained at supper by Moray in his house in Croft-an-Righ behind the Palace, where he met the Queen, with whom he danced. Darnley was at this time popular with the citizens of Edinburgh, who considered him good-natured and affable in his behaviour.⁴ At length he proposed marriage to the Queen, which she at first rejected, and even refused a ring which he wished her to accept. The intimacy, however, continued, and the nuptials were finally arranged at Stirling in a meeting of the Privy Council on the 15th of May, 1565, when Darnley was created a Knight, Earl of Ross, and Lord of Ardmanach, his elevation as Duke of Albany having been merely delayed.

The Queen returned to Holyrood on the 4th of July, on the 20th of which month Darnley was created Duke of Albany, the Queen having previously received the approval of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, and also the dispensation of the Pope. Sunday the 29th was the day of this ill-fated marriage, and the place was the same Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig in the vicinity, and Bishop of Brechin, performed the ceremony, according to the ritual of the Church of Rome, between the hours of five and six in the morning. It has been invariably recorded that Mary on that eventful occasion was attired in mourning, and the dress was that which she wore on the day of her first husband's funeral. Three rings, one

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 543, entitled—"For Staneheing and Suppressing of Tumults within Burrowis."

² Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 77.

³ Randolph to Cecil, MS., State Paper Office, 24th October, 1564, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. pp. 297, 298. In the same letter it is stated that Lennox presented Maitland of Lethington, then Secretary of State, and the Earl of Atholl, with diamond rings—"as also somewhat" to the Countess of Atholl—"to divers others some-

what, but to my Lord of Moray nothing." It appears, however, that the Countess of Lennox sent a diamond to the Earl of Moray, and Lennox was anxious to conciliate the Privy Council. Moray then resided in the antique tenement on the west side of the alley called Croft-an-Righ, locally Croftangry, behind the Palace, leading from the royal park into the suburb of the Abbey-Hill.

⁴ MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Randolph to Leicester, 19th February, 1564-5, and to Cecil 27th of that month, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 314, 315.

a rich diamond, were placed by Darnley on the Queen's finger, and they knelt together during the prayers. When the ceremony was concluded, Darnley kissed the Queen, and proceeded to her apartments, leaving her to attend mass, which he seems to have purposely avoided. A splendid banquet was given in the Palace in the afternoon, and the entertainments and rejoicings continued three or four days. On the following day the Queen subscribed a proclamation in the Palace, which was published at the Cross of Edinburgh, ordering Darnley to be styled King, though this by no means associated him with her in the government. Mary had soon cause to regret this most imprudent act, which excited the strongest dissatisfaction among the nobility, while Darnley's conduct after his marriage made him numerous enemies. On the 19th of August, when he attended St. Giles' Church, Knox edified him by a sermon against the government of boys and women, meaning him and the Queen.

In the autumn a serious insurrection occurred, in which the Earl of Moray was a conspicuous leader. At this crisis the Earl of Bothwell returned from France, accompanied by David Chalmers of Ormond, who was soon appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session. Bothwell, who had been expelled from Scotland by the power of Moray, was received with marked distinction by the Queen, and was present at a meeting of the Privy Council on the 5th of November. The Queen and Darnley continued to reside in Holyrood during the winter, and about the beginning of February 1565-6, the Seigneur de Remboilliet, ambassador from the King of France, arrived to present Darnley with the order of St. Michael, known as the Scallop or Cockle-Shell Order, so called from the scallop shells of which the collar was composed. The investiture was performed after the celebration of mass in the Chapel-Royal, and on the 11th of February the ambassador was invited to a feast, at which the Queen and her ladies thought proper to appear in male apparel, and presented each of the strangers with a "whinger" embroidered with gold.

At this time two conspiracies were in active progress—the dethronement of Mary, and the murder of David Riccio, which latter plot was originally formed by no less personages than Darnley himself and his father, Lennox. Darnley, whose enemies were powerful, was persuaded that Riccio was the sole instigator of those measures which had deprived him of the crown-matrimonial and his share of the government, for which it was too obvious he was utterly incapacitated by his habits, disposition, and imbecility. Mary had painfully discovered that her love was thrown away on one whom it was impossible to treat with confidence and regard, and an unhappy quarrel was soon the result, which the conduct of Darnley rendered every day the less reconcilable. Such was the dreadful condition of the royal inmates of the Palace of Holyrood at this crisis—Darnley the dupe of an absurd delusion—a plot formed against his life—and the ruin of the Queen projected.

Riccio, the immediate victim of the tragedy of Holyrood, was a constant attendant on the Queen in his capacity of French secretary, and resided in the Palace. This unfortunate foreigner, who is described by Sir James Melville as a "merry fellow and a good musician," was born at Turin, in Piedmont, where his father earned a subsistence as a musician, had followed the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, and having attracted the notice of Mary, he was in 1561 appointed by her a valet of her chamber. At the dismissal of Raullet, the Queen's French secretary, whom she had brought from France, Riccio was appointed his successor. He appears to have been unpopular from the first, and his officious interferences soon rendered him an object of bitter hatred. As to his personal appearance, he was by no means prepossessing, and indeed it was expressly stated that he was advanced in years and deformed. This was the person against whom Riccio's enemies embraced the opportunity of exciting the weak mind of Darnley to such a degree, that he sent his relative George Douglas, on the 10th of February, to implore Lord Ruthven, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to assist him against the "villain David." Ruthven was then so unwell, that, as he himself says, he was scarcely able to walk the length of his chamber, yet he consented to engage in the murder; but though Darnley was sworn to keep the design secret, Randolph revealed it in a letter to the Earl of Leicester nearly a month before it was perpetrated. In reality, however, the first conspirators against Riccio were the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington, the last ingeniously contriving to make Darnley the patron of the plot, and the dupe of his associates.

The Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, who rode from Holyrood to the Tolbooth, near St. Giles' church, in "wondrous gorgeous apparel," early in March 1565-6. Mary requested Darnley to accompany her on the first day to the Parliament; but he preferred riding to Leith with "seven or aucht horse" to amuse himself. The murder of Riccio soon dispersed the Estates. On the evening of Saturday, the 9th of March, about five hundred persons surrounded Holyrood, the Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay kept guard without,

and one hundred and sixty men were in the court. Mary was in that portion of the Palace consisting of the north-west towers, in the upper storeys of which are the apartments known by her name. These are reached by the staircase entered from the piazzas in the interior of the north side of the quadrangle, and also by a narrow spiral stair on the north side of the Palace, near the western door of the Chapel-Royal. By this private stair the conspirators were admitted to Darnley's apartments on the first storey. About seven o'clock in the evening the Queen was at supper in a very small room or closet, and with her were the Countess of Argyll and the Commendator of Holyrood-house, her illegitimate sister and brother, Beaton of Cricch, master of the royal household, Arthur Erskine, who commanded her guard, and Riccio. Darnley ascended the above private staircase communicating with the Queen's bed-chamber, as if to join the Queen at supper, and threw up the arras which concealed its opening in the wall. One writer¹ alleges, that Riccio was sitting at a side-table, according to his custom while waiting, when the assassins entered; and another,² that he sat at the table with the Queen. Be this as it may, the closet is so small that the distinction of attitude could be scarcely perceptible. A minute had scarcely elapsed after Darnley went into the closet, when Lord Ruthven, a man of tall stature, and cased in complete armour, abruptly intruded on the party. His features were so sunk and pale from disease, his appearance so repulsive, and his voice so hollow, that the Queen started in terror, and commanded him instantly to leave the closet, while her guests and attendants sat paralysed at his sudden invasion. It is stated that Ruthven, when he entered, merely wished to "speak" to Riccio; but Mary suspected violence, and Ruthven's refusal to depart alarmed the Italian, who crept behind the Queen. An explanation was then demanded from Darnley, who affected ignorance, while he scowled fiercely at the victim. The light of torches now glared in the outer-room, or bed-chamber, a confused noise of voices and weapons was heard, and instantly George Douglas,³ Ker of Fawdonside, and others, crowded into the closet, which must have been completely filled, and the wonder is that so limited an apartment could contain so many persons. Ruthven drew his dagger, fiercely exclaiming to the Queen—"No harm is intended to you, Madam, but only to that villain." He made an effort to seize Riccio, who sheltered himself behind the Queen, and according to some accounts, almost clasped her in his arms in a state of distraction, shouting in a foreign accent—"Justice! justice! save my life, Madam, save my life!"

All was now in disorder, the chairs, table, dishes, and candlesticks, were overturned, and Darnley endeavoured to unloose Riccio's arms from the Queen's person, assuring her she was safe. Ker of Fawdonside presented a pistol to the breast of the Queen, and threatened to destroy her and Riccio if she caused any alarm. While Mary shrieked with terror, and Darnley still held her, Riccio was stabbed over her shoulder by George Douglas with Darnley's own dagger. He was then dragged out of the closet to the entrance of the presence-chamber, where Morton and others rushed on him, and completed the murder, leaving Darnley's dagger in it to show his connexion with the crime. According to the Queen's statement in her letter to Archbishop Beaton, Riccio was despatched by no fewer than fifty-six wounds.⁴

After the murder was perpetrated, Lord Ruthven staggered into the Queen's apartment in a state of exhaustion, and found Mary in terror of her life. He sat down and coolly demanded a cup of wine, which was presented to him. When the Queen reproached him for the dreadful crime he had committed, he not only vindicated himself and his associates, but harrowed her by declaring that her own husband was the contriver. At this moment one of the Queen's ladies rushed into the cabinet, and exclaimed that Riccio was slain, the Queen not having been till then aware of the completion of the murder. Riccio, on the night of the murder, was dressed in a night-gown of furred damask, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet,

¹ Crawford's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 9.

² Archbishop Spottiswoode's History, p. 194.

³ George Douglas is already mentioned as a relative of Darnley. He was commonly known as the *Postulate Bishop of Moray*—the designation of *Postulate* in Scottish phraseology intimating the appointment or nomination of a person to a Bishopric or Abbey, and he was the *Postulate* of the benefice until he obtained full possession. George Douglas was nominated titular Bishop of Moray in 1573, by his relative the Regent Morton, at the death of Patrick Hepburn, the last consecrated Roman Catholic bishop of the see. He was an illegitimate son of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, the father of the Countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, by Margaret of England, Queen-Dowager

of James IV. Mr. Tytler (History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 22) designates this person Darnley's *cousin*, but it appears he was the "bastard uncle of Darnley and bastard brother" of his mother. He was titular Bishop of Moray sixteen years, which fixes his death in 1589, and he was buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.—Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, 4to. p. 89.

⁴ If tradition is to be credited, Riccio was murdered at the top of the private staircase, and some large dark spots, purposely kept on the floor, are most pertinaciously declared to be the indelible marks of his blood. This is unworthy of the slightest credit, more especially when it is recollected that this part of the Palace was completely gutted by fire in Cromwell's time, when his soldiers were quartered in Holyrood.



QUEEN MARY'S BED-CHAMBER, HOLYROOD.

From an Original Drawing by G. Cattermole.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

and a rich jewel is mentioned as ornamenting his neck, which could not afterwards be found.¹ The dead body was dragged to the porter's lodge, stripped naked, and treated with every mark of indignity. It is alleged, however, on the most undoubted authority, that the mangled body of the Italian was subsequently deposited for a time in the royal vault, beside the remains of her ancestors, by express order of the Queen—a circumstance afterwards remembered to her disadvantage. Riccio was latterly interred in the chureyard of Holyrood Abbey, which was close to the Palace.²

Immediately after Riccio was murdered, the assassins kept the Queen a close prisoner in her apartments; Darnley assumed the regal power, dissolved the Parliament, commanded the Estates to leave Edinburgh within three hours on pain of treason, and orders were sent to the magistrates enjoining them to be vigilant with their city force. To the Earl of Morton and his armed retainers were intrusted the gates of the Palace, with injunctions that none should escape; nevertheless the Earls of Atholl and Bothwell contrived to elude the guards, by leaping from a window towards the north side of the garden, in which some lions and other wild animals were kept. The Earl of Atholl, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Murray of Tullibardine, Maitland of Lethington, and Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, were permitted to retire, which they readily did, though both Maitland and Balfour were deeply implicated. On the following morning, which was Sunday, Sir James Melville was "let forth" at the gate. The Queen, seeing him passing through the court-yard, threw up the window-sash, and implored him to summon the citizens to deliver her out of the hands of traitors. Her entreaties were not lost upon him; for being allowed to proceed, on pretence that he was merely "going to sermon in St. Giles' church," he went straight to Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, then Provost, who caused the common bell to be rung, and, at the head of a body of armed men, rushed into the court-yard of the Palace, demanding the release of their sovereign. Mary in vain solicited permission to address the citizens from the window. She was forcibly dragged from it, with threats that if she attempted to show herself she should be cut in pieces. Darnley, however, appearing in her stead, assured the Provost and his party that the Queen was safe, and, commanding them to disperse, they instantly retired.

Mary does not appear to have been often a resident in the Palace till after the birth of her son James VI., in Edinburgh Castle, on the 19th of June, 1566.³ She was occasionally at Holyrood in August and September that year; and, on the 29th of the latter month, Darnley arrived at the Palace about ten in the evening, but he peremptorily refused to enter unless the Earls of Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, and some of the officers of state, who were within, should depart. The Queen condescended to wait on him, and conducted him to her own apartments, where he remained with her during the night.⁴ On the following day the Privy Council met in the Queen's apartments, and argued with Darnley respecting the folly of the design which he had formed to leave the kingdom; and the Queen took him by the hand entreating him to say whether she had ever offended him. He confessed that she had never given him any cause of complaint, but he abruptly retired from the Privy Council, saying to her—"Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space;" and to the Privy Council—"Adieu, gentlemen." This was the last time Darnley was in Holyrood, from which he immediately proceeded to his father at Glasgow.

Bothwell was now rising in the Queen's favour, and, as his residence was within the precincts of Holyrood, he had frequent opportunities of evincing his devotedness to her interests. On the 6th of October, after attending a meeting of the Privy Council, Bothwell left Edinburgh to quell some disturbance on the Borders, and to prepare that frontier district for the Queen's reception.⁵ Mary, accompanied by the officers of state

¹ Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March, 1566, in Wright's "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters," vol. i. pp. 233, 234.

² Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 334. This was the former cemetery adjoining the Chapel-Royal, and was the burying-place of the inhabitants of the Canongate. The supposed grave of Riccio is still pointed out in a part of the floor, which, by the extension of the Palace, is formed into the entrance to the Chapel-Royal, from the north-east corner of the piazzas of the inner quadrangle. A flat stone, with some vestiges of sculpture, is said to cover the remains of the Italian. Mary promoted a brother of Riccio named Joseph, who came to Scotland in the suite of Malvoiser or Mauvissière in 1565, to be her private foreign secretary.

³ See the History of the Castle in the present Work, p. 17.

⁴ Buchanan, in his "Detection," boldly states that Mary was at this time lodging in the "Checker House," and this erroneous assertion is made to inculcate her with Bothwell, who was undeniably now her favourite. The records of the Privy Council prove that the Queen was resident in Holyrood, attended by the Lords of the Privy Council and the officers of state, from the 24th of September till the 6th of October, when she went to Jedburgh to hold justice-courts. Keith gives the dates from the 23d of September till the 8th of October.

⁵ It is alleged by Sir James Melville, from personal observation, that Bothwell's plot for the murder of Darnley, and the possession of the Queen's person, commenced about the time he was sent to the Borders; but this was his own private scheme, and Moray, Morton, Maitland, and others, were in a plot of their own to destroy Darnley, which, as already stated, was formed about the end of September.

and the whole court, left Holyrood on the 8th of October for Jedburgh to hold justice-ayres, the very day on which Bothwell, who had set out on the 6th, was severely wounded in the hand in an encounter with a Border leader named Elliot of Park. Darnley was at the time with his father at Glasgow. It would be irrelevant to this narrative to detail the Queen's proceedings during this expedition.¹ On the 20th of November she arrived at Craigmillar Castle, where she resided in a very debilitated state till the 5th of December, when she removed to Holyrood;² thereafter, on the 11th of December, she left Holyrood for Stirling Castle, to be present at the baptism of her son, and returned thither on the 14th of January, 1566-7. On the 20th she had become reconciled to Darnley, who had exhibited some strange conduct at Stirling on occasion of the royal baptism, which he either refused or was not allowed to witness. While on the road from Stirling to Glasgow he had been seized with smallpox. On the 24th of January the Queen left Holyrood to bring Darnley from Glasgow to Edinburgh, he having partially recovered from his sickness.³ At this interview with Mary in Glasgow, he professed an earnest repentance of his errors, pleaded his youth, the few friends on whom he could now depend, and declared to her his unalterable affection. The Queen then told him, that as he was scarcely able to travel on horseback, she had brought a litter to carry him to Craigmillar, where she intended that he should have the bath, and the air of which would be more salubrious to promote his convalescence than that of Holyrood.

The Queen arrived at Edinburgh with Darnley on the 31st of January, but, instead of Craigmillar Castle, the house of the provost of the church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, commonly called the Kirk-of-Field, was selected for his residence. This house stood on the ground now occupied by the south and south-east portion of the University. It is almost impossible to account favourably for Mary's placing Darnley in such a locality as the Kirk-of-Field, unless she may have wished him to be nearer Holyrood than he would have been at Craigmillar, which is three miles distant; or she may have acted by the advice of her physicians.⁴

Into the dreadful catastrophe of the murder of Darnley in this Kirk-of-Field house, early in the morning of the 10th of February, it is impossible in these limits minutely to enter. The Queen had passed the greater part of Sunday, the 9th, with him, apparently on the most affectionate terms, while the conspirators employed by Bothwell were actively engaged in depositing bags of gunpowder in an apartment under Darnley's chamber. Mary at first had resolved to remain all night in the house, but she recollected an engagement to be present at an entertainment in Holyrood, which was the more extraordinary as it was given on the Sunday evening.⁵ When the Queen left Darnley she embraced and kissed him, put a ring on his finger as a mark of her affection, and bade him farewell for the night. She returned to the Palace with her attendants by crossing the Cowgate, walking up the Black Friars' Wynd, and down the High Street and Canongate. Bothwell also left the Kirk-of-Field house at the same time with the Queen, and joined in the unseemly festivities in the Palace, from which he stole away about midnight, and prepared himself for the horrid deed by changing his dress. Early in the morning the citizens were alarmed by a loud explosion. Darnley had been strangled with his page, and their bodies carried into a small orchard without the garden wall, where they were found, the former attired only in his shirt. The house was blown up with gunpowder, and Mary was a second time a widow.⁶

¹ Such as Mary's extraordinary and fatiguing ride from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle and back in one day to visit Bothwell, when she was informed that he was wounded; her dangerous illness on her return to Jedburgh; Darnley's hasty visit to her after her recovery; and her progress to Edinburgh by Kelso, Coldingham, and Dunbar.

² During Mary's sojourn in Craigmillar she was visited by Darnley on the 26th, and he remained with her a week. In Craigmillar also at that time was matured the project to murder Darnley.

³ Darnley had received some private intelligence of the plots against him; he was aware of the return from exile of the Earl of Morton, who regarded him as the cause of all his sufferings; and he knew that among his mortal enemies, who had never forgiven him for his desertion of them after the murder of Riccio, were some of the most powerful nobility, who now enjoyed the confidence of the Queen.

⁴ Nevertheless, making every allowance for the rudeness of the domestic accommodation of the age, the house was insecure and confined; and its proprietor was Robert Balfour, a dependant of the Earl of Bothwell, and the brother of Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, the deviser of the bond for the murder drawn up at Craigmillar.

⁵ This was a masque, with which the Queen intended to honour the marriage on that day of one of her foreign domestics named Sebastian, or Sebastiani, and Margaret Carwood, one of her favourite women.

⁶ Darnley and his page were murdered before Bothwell arrived at the Kirk-of-Field house after his revelry in the Palace. When he left his residence within the precincts of Holyrood to perpetrate the crime, or to be a witness of its consummation, he was accompanied by a Frenchman named Nicholas Hubert, who figures in the narrative by the sobriquet of French Paris, and three of his hired retainers. As the localities in the vicinity of Holyrood are now greatly altered, and many buildings are removed which existed in Queen Mary's time, it is difficult to understand the places mentioned. Bothwell and his hirelings, after they left his residence, proceeded "down the turnpike," till they came to the back of the "cunzie-house," or Mint, which was then near the Palace, and they next entered the Canongate. As they passed the South Garden, which was on the south-west of the Palace near the base of Salisbury Crags, they were challenged by two sentinels at a gate leading into an "outer close," to whom they replied that

When Mary was informed of Darnley's fate she evinced the utmost horror, and secluded herself in her chamber overwhelmed with sorrow. Early in the day she removed to the Castle for security, and shut herself in a close room, apparently absorbed in grief. Her conduct and the proceedings of her advisers, however, were narrowly scrutinized; and it was observed to her disadvantage that it was not till two days after the commission of the murder that a proclamation appeared, offering a reward of 2000*l.* to those who should make known the perpetrators. On that very night a paper or "placard" was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth, charging the Earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and Bothwell's associate, David Chambers, as the guilty parties. The Queen meanwhile continued in the Castle, and the body of Darnley was carried to Holyrood, where it lay in state till the 15th of February, five days after the murder. On the evening of that day it was privately deposited by torch-light in the royal vault in the Chapel-Royal, in presence of the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, and Sir John Stewart of Traquair, whom the Queen had recently appointed captain of her guard.¹

Mary still avoided Holyrood, and remained in the Castle. Her physicians, alarmed at the state of her health, sent a statement to the Privy Council, who advised her to have change of air for a short period; and on the 16th of February, the day after Darnley's funeral, she rode to Seton House, accompanied by the Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyll, Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, and Maitland of Lethington, all of whom were implicated in the plot, and about one hundred attendants.

Bothwell and others continued to be publicly accused of Darnley's murder, yet no prosecution of the alleged delinquents was instituted. An affected zeal was at length displayed to bring the murderers to justice, nevertheless little was done in the matter. On the 23d of March the Queen attended a solemn dirge or "saulc-mass" in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood for Darnley, which was celebrated by her express command; and it was observed by those who were near her on that occasion that her health and beauty had undergone a melancholy change, and that she was suffering from acute mental agony. On the mock trial and acquittal of Bothwell, on the 12th of April, at Edinburgh, it is unnecessary to enlarge.² On the day of the trial Sir William Drury arrived in Edinburgh with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, and found the city in possession of Bothwell's friends and followers, to the number of more than four thousand men. The Earl's retainers surrounded the Palace, and perambulated the streets of the city, while the Castle, of which he had been appointed governor on the 19th of March, was at his command. The Queen was then in the Palace, and when Drury presented himself to deliver the letter, the purport of which was suspected, he was rudely designated an "English villain," who had come to stop the trial, and informed that the Queen was too busy with other matters of the day. At that moment Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington came out of the Palace,

they were "my Lord Bothwell's friends," which was considered satisfactory, and they were allowed to pass. They proceeded up the Canongate, and at the Nether-Bow Gate, which they found shut, one of them summoned the keeper to "open the port to friends of my Lord Bothwell." They went a short distance up the High Street, Bothwell maintaining strict silence, and enveloped in a long riding-cloak, till they came to Todrig's Wynd, an alley below Black Friars' Wynd, which they traversed, and crossed the Cowgate to a gate connected with the former monastery of the Black Friars. Here Bothwell ordered two of his attendants to wait for him, and he himself walked to the Kirk-of-Field house, which was in the immediate vicinity. Darnley had before this been strangled, and his dead body carried into the adjoining garden. Bothwell's appearance was the signal for the murderers previously stationed to complete their purpose, and after some delay the train of gunpowder was ignited, the house was blown in pieces about two in the morning, when Bothwell, accompanied by two of his dependants, returned to those whom he had left at the Black Friars' gate, after the absence of half an hour. The party again crossed the Cowgate and separated, running up the Black Friars' Wynd and another alley, and meeting in the High Street near the Nether-Bow. They went down an alley on the north side of the High Street, intending to leap over a broken part of the city wall in Leith Wynd; but Bothwell thought it was too high, and, afraid of injuring their limbs, they were again compelled to rouse the gate-keeper at the Nether-Bow, who opened to them as "friends of my Lord Bothwell." They rapidly passed down St. Mary's Wynd, and reached Bothwell's residence at the Palace by the road now known as

the South Back of the Canongate. Their reply to the sentinels was—"Friends of my Lord Bothwell;" and to the question—"What crack was that?"—referring to the explosion which had been heard throughout the city—they declared they knew nothing; and they were told, that if they were "friends of my Lord Bothwell," they might "gang their way." When Bothwell entered his house he called for a drink, undressed, and went to bed, where he had scarcely been half an hour, when a domestic rushed into his apartment, announcing in the greatest consternation the fate of Darnley—that "the King's house was blown up, and the King was slain." "Fie, treason!" exclaimed Bothwell in feigned astonishment, and he instantly rose and dressed himself. He was immediately joined by the Earl of Huntly, his brother-in-law, who was in the plot, and they both proceeded to the Queen's apartments in the Palace, accompanied by several other persons connected with the court.

¹ Darnley was embowelled and embalmed in Holyrood on the 12th of February, 1566-7, by the Queen's special command. In the Lord Treasurer's Accounts is the following charge—"To Marten Pitcanit, ypothegar, to mak furnishing of druggis, spicis, and other necessaris, for appenyng and perfuming of the King's Grace's Majestie's unquhill bodie, 40*l.*; *Item*, for colis, tubbis, hardis, barellis, and utheris necessaris preparit for bowaling the King's grace, 2*l.* 6*s.*"

² It is alleged that on the 5th of that month the Queen, in one of her migratory visits to Seton House, entered into a marriage-contract with Bothwell, which was written by Huntly, the Lord Chancellor, and brother of Bothwell's countess.

and Drury gave Elizabeth's epistle to the latter, who returned with Bothwell and delivered it to Mary. They soon reappeared, and mounted their horses, Drury being informed by Maitland that the Queen was asleep, and could not be disturbed. This was immediately discovered to be a falsehood, for a servant of the French ambassador Le Croc who was near Drury, looking up towards the Palace, saw and pointed out the Queen and Mary Fleming, Maitland's wife, standing at a window. It was also observed that the Queen gave Bothwell a familiar salute as he rode out of the court-yard of the Palace to his pretended trial. He was acquitted, and two days afterwards he increased the excitement against him by carrying some part of the Regalia at the opening of the Parliament. The Queen on this occasion declined the ancient custom of a civic guard from Holyrood, preferring a company of hackbutters; and such were the public sorrow and indignation at her whole conduct, that the very market-women exclaimed to her in the street—"God preserve your Grace if you are innocent of the King's death!"

On the 21st of April the Queen left Holyrood to visit the infant prince at Stirling, and when returning on the 24th, Bothwell, at the head of eight hundred horsemen, seized her person near Almond Bridge, about six miles from Edinburgh, and eleven from Linlithgow. He conveyed the Queen to his castle of Dunbar, and two days afterwards he commenced his process of a divorce from his countess in the Archbishop of St. Andrews' court, and in the Commissary Court recently instituted by the Queen. In the former court his plea was founded on consanguinity, though Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only a few months before the birth of James VI., was merely his cousin in the fourth degree of relationship, and in the latter court the prosecution was ostensibly at the instance of his countess. The marriage was declared null in the Archbishop's Court on the 7th of May, and four days after the consistorial court pronounced a similar sentence.

After a brief, and it cannot be denied a criminal residence in Dunbar Castle, with the man universally accused of the murder of her husband, and guilty of the seizure of her person, Mary arrived in Edinburgh, accompanied by Bothwell. On the 8th of May, the day after the divorce was declared in the Archbishop's court, a proclamation was issued, announcing that the Queen had resolved to marry the Earl, and on the 11th she removed with him to the Palace. The proclamation of the banns of marriage was reluctantly performed by John Craig, the colleague of Knox, for which he was afterwards severely assailed in the General Assembly, though his mode of procedure on the occasion was the reverse of complimentary either to the Queen or to Bothwell.¹ On the 12th of May the Queen created Bothwell Duke of Orkney and Marquis of Fife, placing the ducal coronet with her own hands on his head, in the Palace. The marriage-contract was signed on the 13th,² and on Thursday the 15th the unhappy nuptials were celebrated according to the new form by Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney,³ in the then council-hall of the Palace at the early hour of four in the morning. The ceremony was prefaced by a sermon by ex-Bishop Bothwell from the second chapter of the book of Genesis, in which he enlarged on the bridegroom's penitence for his former life, and his resolution to amend, and conform to the strict discipline of the Protestant preachers. John Craig, who had proclaimed the banns in St. Giles' church, when he publicly "took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world," was nevertheless present. The event was unattended by the pageants and

¹ Craig was "bruted" in the General Assembly on the 30th of December, 1567, for proclaiming the banns of the Queen and Bothwell, and was ordered to "give in his purgation in writing," which he produced on the 6th of July, 1569, to the then General Assembly, and it was unanimously pronounced satisfactory—that he had "done the duty of ane faithful minister."—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I., pp. 114, 115, 144.

² The authentic contract of the marriage, which was duly registered and still exists, is printed in Goodall's "Examination of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell," 12mo. Edin. 1754, vol. ii. pp. 57-61.

³ This personage, who is subsequently noticed as Commendator of Holyrood-house, was second son of Francis Bothwell, one of the first fifteen judges of the Court of Session, by Janet, daughter of Patrick Richardson of Meldrumsheugh. Adam Bothwell was nominated Bishop of Orkney in 1558, the year before the commencement of the Reforma-

tion, after the death of Bishop Reid, appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session on the 14th of January, 1564, and an Ordinary Lord on the 13th of November, 1565. He married Margaret, daughter of John Murray of Touchadam, and three sons and one daughter were the recorded issue. The ex-Bishop of Orkney was severely censured by his Reforming friends for his solemnization of the marriage of the Queen and Bothwell. On the 25th of December, 1567, it was one of four charges preferred against him in the General Assembly, and he was deposed on the 30th from "all function of the ministrie, conform to the tenor of the act made thereupon, aye and until the Kirk be satisfied of the slander committed by him." He was restored in the General Assembly, on the 10th of July, 1568, on the condition that on a Sunday he should, "when he best may for weakness of his body," preach a sermon in the Abbey church of Holyrood, and at the end confess his offence, desiring at the same time forgiveness of the congregation, which he promised to do.—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. pp. 112, 114, 131.

rejoicings usual on such occasions, and few of the leading nobility were present.¹ It was again observed that Mary was attired in a mourning dress.²

On the night of the marriage a classical proverb was affixed on the gate of the Palace, intimating that only disreputable women marry in the month of May.³ Although Mary after the marriage assumed a gay dress in Holyrood, and frequently rode out with Bothwell, and although he appeared anxious to treat her with respect, refusing to be covered in her presence, which she occasionally resented in a sportive manner by snatching his bonnet and putting it on his head, yet at times his passionate temper violated all restraint, and those who saw the Queen in private soon perceived that she was truly miserable. It was evident that she was suffering the most intense mental anguish, and her unhappy feelings on the very evening of the day of her marriage are described by the French ambassador Le Croc, who visited her in the Palace at her own request. He says that a strange formality was apparent between the Queen and Bothwell, which she entreated Le Croc to excuse, saying that if he ever saw her sad, it was because she had no wish to be happy, which she never could be, as she wished only for death. Le Croc also mentions that on a certain day, when alone with Bothwell in a closet, she called aloud for a knife to kill herself, which was heard by some of the household in an adjoining room.⁴

A formidable confederacy was soon organized, consisting of all the influential nobility, by whom it was intended to seize the Queen and Bothwell at Holyrood; but the Earl of Argyll sent private information to Mary of this plot, which induced her and Bothwell to remove to Borthwick Castle, six miles beyond Dalkeith, on the 6th of June, from which she with difficulty escaped on the 11th to Dunbar Castle, disguised in male attire. The surrender of Mary to the confederated nobility at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh, on the 15th of June, was the last time she saw Bothwell, who fled a fugitive, and became a pirate for a time among the Orkney Islands, till he was immured in a Danish prison, in which he terminated his guilty career. Mary was brought to Edinburgh in the most humiliating manner, riding between the Earls of Morton and Atholl. She was lodged for the night in the house called the Black Turnpike, amid the insults and execrations of the multitude. On the following day the Queen was removed to Holyrood, and the citizens, who had considerably relented, were appeased by the promise of her liberty. But the project of 1565 to imprison her in Lochleven Castle was again revived, and finally determined. On the night of the 16th of June the Queen was hastily conveyed thither, under the charge of Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, men of rude and ferocious manners. Such was the conclusion of Mary's career at Holyrood, which she left on this occasion, never to return.

The Earl of Moray was chosen Regent for the infant prince James, who was now proclaimed King; and Mary was forcibly compelled to sign her own abdication in Lochleven Castle. On the 24th of June, a week after the Queen's removal thither, the Earl of Glencairn and his retainers attacked the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, committing the greatest ravages in the interior, destroying the altar, tearing down the pictures, and defacing the ornaments.⁵ Little is known of the state of Holyrood during the short regency of Moray,

¹ A contemporary chronicler, who erroneously asserts that the marriage was performed in the "auld chapel," says that the persons present were the Earls of Crawford, Bothwell's brother-in-law Huntly, and Sutherland; Lords Oliphant, Fleming, Livingstone, Gammis, and Boyd; Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, Bishop Lesley of Ross, Lord John Hamilton, Abbot of Aberbrothock; with "certane utheris small gentlemen quha awatit upon the said Duke of Orkney."—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 111, 112.

² Sir James Melville relates an anecdote of Bothwell in Holyrood on the day of the marriage, which shows his immoral and profligate habits, and the unprincipled conduct of Huntly in still associating with the repudiator of his sister. "As for me," he says, "I tarried not at court but now and then; yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that time to the court, I fand my Lord Duc of Orkeney sitting at his supper. He said, I had been a gret stranger, desiring me to sit down and soup with him. The Erle of Huntly, the Justice-Clerk, and dyvers utheris, were sitten at the table with him. I said that I had already souped. Then he called for a cup of wyne, and drank to me, that I mycht pege him like a Dutchman. He bade me drink it out till (to) grow fatter—'for,' said he, 'the zeall of the com-

monweill has eaten you up, and made you so lean.' I answerit, that every little member suld serve to some use; but that the care of the commonweill appertenit maist to him and the rest of the nobilitie, wha suld be as fathers to the same. Then he said—'I wist weill he wald find a frin for every boir.' Then he fell in purpose of gentilwemen, speaking sic filthy language that (I) left him, and past up to the Quene, wha was very glad of my comming."—Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 158.

³ The passage referred to occurs in the Fifth Book of Ovid's *Fasti*, and the entire stanza is as follows—

"Nec viduæ tædis eadem, nec virginis apta
Tempora; quæ nupsit, non diuturna fuit:
Hac quoque de causâ, si te proverbia tangunt,
Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait."

This last line was the proverb found on the gate or porch of Holyrood.

⁴ Sir James Melville states that the Queen was so "disdainfully handlit," and with such "reproachful language," that in the presence of himself and Arthur Erskine she demanded a knife to "stick herself"—"or else," she said, "I shall drown myself."

⁵ This was not the first outrage of the kind committed by the Earl in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. Knox says that Glencairn broke the

and of his successors, Lennox, Mar, and Morton. In 1569 Lord Robert Stewart, Commendator of Holyrood, exchanged his abbacy with Adam Bothwell for the temporalities of the See of Orkney, and by this transaction some information is obtained of the condition of the Chapel-Royal at the time. To the fifth of the articles presented against Bothwell in the General Assembly held in Edinburgh on the 1st of March, 1569-70, he answered, that as it respects the Abbey Church of Holyrood, it had been dangerous to be within it for twenty years past by the decay of two of the principal pillars, and the sum of 2000*l.* would scarcely warrant its security; but with their consent, and the enforcement of legal authority, he intended to "provide the means that the superfluous ruinous parts, to wit, the queir and cross kirk,¹ might be disposed by faithful men, to repair the remanent sufficiently."² The exchange of the property of the bishopric of Orkney by Adam Bothwell for the abbacy of Holyrood, was ratified by charter under the Great Seal, dated 25th September, 1569, upwards of five months before he was impeached in the General Assembly. The new possessor resigned the abbacy of Holyrood in favour of his eldest son John before 1581. On the 24th of February, 1581-2, the 8th of December, 1582, and the 11th of July, 1593, the year of his father's death and interment in the Abbey Church, where his monument with an inflated inscription is still to be seen, John Bothwell obtained charters of the Abbey of Holyrood, which in 1607 was erected into a temporal lordship in his favour, and he was created a peer by the title of Lord Holyroodhouse.³

About the end of September 1579, James VI. made his first public entry into Edinburgh, and proceeded direct to Holyrood. He was then in his fourteenth year, and he took possession of his Palace with great splendour, amid the acclamations of the citizens. James, however, was not often a resident in Holyrood till some years afterwards. The next notice which occurs of him in connexion with the Palace is on the 13th of May, 1586, when he convened there all the nobility who were at feud, and, after a banquet, caused them to "shake hands togidder, and to drink ane to ane ither." He then formed a procession of them to the Cross, walking hand in hand, and accompanying them himself, that the citizens might witness the reconciliation he had effected. The Town-Council were as usual compelled to be at the expense of this exhibition, by providing copious libations of wine at the Cross.

On the 6th of May, 1590, James brought his Queen, Anne of Denmark, to Holyrood,⁴ the marriage, it is said, having been a second time solemnized in St. Giles' Church, and on the 17th of that month she was crowned in the Chapel-Royal, the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton presiding at the solemnity. On this occasion the Magistrates proceeded to the Palace and presented the Queen with a rich jewel, which James had deposited with them as security for a considerable sum of money he borrowed from them, and they were compelled to take his verbal promise as a pledge of payment, which he never found convenient to remember.

The violent conduct of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell is elsewhere noticed.⁵ One of his mad projects was to secure the person of James VI., which he repeatedly attempted. Bothwell appeared in Edinburgh on the 27th of December, 1591,⁶ and was admitted late in the evening into the court-yard of Holyrood. His

altars and images; yet in the "Inventar of the Quenis Grace Chapell-Royall geir and ornaments now heir in the paleiss of Halyruidd-houss, deliverit by Sir James Paterson, sacristane, at the Quenis command to Serves de Condé, Frenchman," dated 11th January, 1561-2, neither crucifixes nor images are mentioned, and no allusion occurs to any silver or gold vessels. At the time Glencairn committed the above desecration, an inventory was taken of all the Queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, the former of which was sent to the Mint to be converted into coin. A cupboard of silver plate belonging to the Queen, which was seized, is said to have weighed not less than two hundred and fifty-six pounds.

¹ This intimates that the transepts, in addition to the choir, the portion of the edifice now left, were standing in Queen Mary's time, and that the chancel only had been destroyed.

² Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BANNA-TYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I., pp. 163, 167, 168.

³ This peerage became extinct at the death, in the Canongate, in 1755, of Henry Bothwell, designated Lord Holyroodhouse, descended from William, third son of the ex-Bishop Bothwell. This Henry Bothwell petitioned George II. to be allowed the style and dignity of Lord Holyroodhouse, and it was referred to the House of Lords in

March 1734. No further proceedings were instituted. The title, however, was not recognised long before the Union, and seems to have become dormant at the death of John, second Lord, in 1635, who succeeded his father in November 1609, and to whom he was not served heir till 1629. At the time of the Union the title was claimed by Alexander Bothwell, father of the before-mentioned Henry Bothwell, but it is not on the Union Roll of the Peers of Scotland in 1707.

⁴ The King, who undertook this matrimonial expedition to show, he said, that he was not to be "led about by his Chancellor by the nose like an ass or a bairn," arrived in Leith roadstead on the 1st of May, but he was compelled to remain on board till the 6th, while the Palace of Holyrood was in preparation for his reception.

⁵ See the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work, p. 29.

⁶ Sir James Balfour (*Annales of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 389) and Birrel (*Diary*, p. 26) date this adventure as occurring on the 27th of September; but in the summons of treason against Bothwell and his associates, Gilbert Pennycook, John Rutherford of Hunthill, his son Thomas Rutherford, and Simon Armstrong, younger of Whitehaugh, on the 21st of July, 1593, the outrage is expressly stated to have

adherents immediately raised the cry—"Justice! justice! a Bothwell! a Bothwell!" The forfeited Earl hastened to the King's apartments, the doors of which he found carefully secured, notice of his invasion having been obtained by Sir James Melville and his brother Sir Robert two days previously, and the King had received sufficient warning, which he thought proper to disregard. Bothwell threatened to burn the doors which resisted his weapons, and the Queen's apartments were also attacked, on the supposition that the King would be found in one of them. The door of a gallery was successfully defended by Henry Lindsay, master of the Queen's household, and the King was conveyed to a turret of the Palace, which he reached opportunely while the assailants were breaking the doors with hammers, and demanding fire to consume the resisting obstacles. During this tumult the brother of Scot of Balwearie was shot in the thigh, and two of the King's domestics were killed on the south side of the Palace. Bothwell was compelled to retire, leaving nine of his followers in custody, who were hanged without trial the next day betwixt the Girth Cross and the porch of the Palace.

Bothwell either cared little for the forfeiture which was pronounced against him in June 1592, or he was rendered desperate by outlawry and attainder. Yet he had many powerful friends, the repeated proclamations against him had excited much sympathy in his favour, and many, especially the enemies of the court favourites, considered him a persecuted individual. Bothwell soon returned to Edinburgh, and his supporters, notwithstanding the prosecutions and verdict against him, advised that he should present himself before the King in Holyrood as a suppliant for pardon. In defiance of this arrangement, or following the impulse of his impetuous temper, on the 24th of July, 1593, at eight in the morning, he violently invaded the Palace with a number of retainers. The King, who was in the utmost alarm, and unable to resist a band of armed men, was intercepted by Bothwell as he was emerging from a back-stair undressed, and in the excitement caused by this obtrusion he called to the Earl to consummate his treason by piercing his sovereign to the heart. Bothwell, however, laid down his drawn sword, fell on his knees, and implored pardon. James yielded from necessity to his entreaties, and that very day actually signed a capitulation with this rebellious and outlawed peer, to whom he was in reality a prisoner, in which he pledged himself to remit all his past offences, and procure a ratification of it in Parliament, Bothwell promising to withdraw from the court, and reside peaceably on his own estate. He eventually retired to the Continent, and lived several years in obscurity and indigence, in which condition he died.

James VI. after this affair was a frequent resident in Holyrood when in Edinburgh, and the birth of his eldest son Prince Henry, in 1594, induced the Magistrates to send ten tuns of wine to the Palace, at the same time commissioning one hundred of the citizens to be present at the baptism. As this was a most unexpected and acceptable gift, James invited the Magistrates to the baptism of the Princess Elizabeth in the Palace on the 28th of November, 1596. This was considered so complimentary by the civic functionaries, that they engaged to give the Princess 10,000 merks on her marriage-day, which they honourably fulfilled, with an addition of 5000 merks. In 1598, Holyrood received a royal visitor in the person of Philip, Duke of Holstein, the brother of Queen Anne, who arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of March. The Town-Council invited him to a banquet in "Macmorran's lodging" on the 2d of May, which was attended by the King and Queen, and, on the 3d of June, the Duke embarked at Leith for Denmark.¹

The death of Queen Elizabeth, on the 24th of March, 1603, obtained for James VI. the great object of his ambition, the crown of England. Sir Robert Carey,² unknown to the English Privy Council, instantly left London for Edinburgh, and arrived at Holyrood with remarkable celerity, considering the then roads. The King had retired to bed before Carey appeared at Holyrood, but he was quickly admitted, and saluted James as King of England. Carey, after narrating the particulars of Elizabeth's decease, told the King, that, instead of bringing letters from the English Privy Council, he had narrowly and purposely avoided them, but he could produce an undoubted evidence of his veracity, and he presented a blue sapphire ring. This ring was from Lady Scroope, Carey's sister, one of those connected with Elizabeth's court, with whom James maintained a constant correspondence some years before the Queen's death, and it had been sent to

occurred on the 27th of December.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland, vol. i. Part II., pp. 294-296.

¹ Birrel's Diary, pp. 46, 47.

² Sir Robert Carey was the fourth son of Henry first Lord Hunsdon, and was created Baron Carey by letters-patent, 5th February,

1625-6. His "Memoirs" contain many curious particulars of the court of James VI. after his accession to the English crown, and he left an account of the death of Queen Elizabeth, whom he visited in her last illness.

her by the King, with positive instructions to return it to him by a special messenger as soon as Elizabeth expired. James carefully examined the ring, and replied, "It is enough: I know by this you are a true messenger."

Three days after Elizabeth's death the keys of Berwick were presented to James VI., and, on the 28th, John Bothwell,¹ Commendator of Holyrood, was in possession of that town. On the 5th of April the King left Holyrood for England, attended by a numerous cavalcade of the Scottish nobility and gentry, and some English knights. He was followed on the 1st of June by the Queen and Prince Charles, who, on the 30th of May, took leave of the citizens, and her other children left the Palace on the day after her departure.

The promise of James to visit Holyrood every third year was never realised, and it was not till 1617 that he was enabled to see his native kingdom. From the end of October 1615 to his death, on the 15th of February, 1619, William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, officiated at Holyrood as Dean of the Chapel-Royal, and this pious prelate seems to have attracted a numerous congregation. Previous to the King's arrival in Edinburgh in 1617, the Chapel-Royal was ordered to be repaired, and persons were sent from London to ornament the interior with gilt and carved work, chiefly consisting of statues of the Apostles. An organ was also intended to be placed in a gallery above the west grand entrance. This threatened to excite a popular tumult; and a letter of remonstrance, written by Bishop Cowper, and signed by Archbishop Spottiswoode and several of the Bishops, procured the omission of the decorations. James, in his reply, censured the Scottish bishops for their contracted views, and intimated that some English divines in his suite would enlighten them on those matters.²

James entered his native city by the West Port on the 16th of May, and was received in the most enthusiastic manner. Drummond of Hawthornden had prepared a prose speech with which he intended to greet his Majesty, but by some untoward circumstance he was prevented from delivering his oration.³ The King proceeded to Holyrood after hearing a sermon by Archbishop Spottiswoode in St. Giles' Church, and knighting William Nisbet of Dean, the Provost, at St. John's Cross in the Canongate. He was welcomed at the Palace by Mr. John Hay, Clerk-Register-Depute, in an address containing the grossest flattery, and James then entered the Chapel-Royal, to be edified by another sermon from Archbishop Spottiswoode. Returning to the Palace, he was presented at the gate of the inner court with a book of Latin poems,⁴ and afterwards the Magistrates entertained the King and his retinue at a sumptuous banquet.

It is unnecessary to enumerate in the present narrative the progresses of James during his visit to Scotland, and all the pedantry and flattery displayed. On the 8th of June the learned Dr. Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal,⁵ and on the same day Sir Thomas Lake, eldest son of Secretary Lake, was knighted. The King left Holyrood immediately after the rising of the Parliament on the 28th of June, and returned to England by Glasgow and Dumfries.

On Sunday the 15th of June, 1630, Sir James Balfour was inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms in the Chapel-Royal by the Lord Chancellor Dupplin, the King's commissioner. Conventions of the Estates were held in Holyrood on the 28th of July, the 3d of November, 1630, the 31st of March, the 20th of April, and the 26th of July, 1631, and the 7th of September, 1632, in which several regulations were enacted;⁶ but nothing of importance occurs in the history of the Palace and its Chapel-Royal till 1633, when both were the scene of the coronation and festivities of Charles I. On Saturday the 15th of June, the King, accompanied by Dr.

¹ Erroneously designated "Lord Abbot" and "Bishop of Holyroodhouse" in the English narratives of the King's accession. He was the eldest son of Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, accompanied the King to England, and, as formerly mentioned, was created Lord Holyroodhouse in 1607.

² A letter from Secretary Lake, dated Edinburgh, 6th June, 1617, to Sir Dudley Carleton, notices the then state of the Chapel-Royal. He states that "his Majesty hath set up his chapel here in like manner of service as it is in England, which is well frequented by the people of the country." According to the Earl of Dunfermline, the Chapel-Royal was at this time almost rebuilt. His lordship wrote to the King—"Your Majesty's chappell in Halyrudhous (is) built up of new, with all ornaments and due furnitour (which) might be required in any royall chappell, and maist magnificklie deckt and set furth."—

The Earl of Dunfermline to James I., dated Edinburgh, 23d December, 1617, in the Melros Papers, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, vol. i. p. 298.

³ The intended speech of the poet of Hawthornden is in the "Progresses of King James the First," by Nicoll, vol. iii. pp. 318, 319.

⁴ A copy is in the Library of the British Museum, beautifully bound in crimson velvet, and superbly gilt, and conjectured to be the identical copy presented to the King. The authors of those laudatory effusions were the professors of the University of Edinburgh, and a Latin speech was delivered in their name by Mr. Patrick Nisbet.

⁵ This discourse is the tenth in the Bishop's "XCVI Sermons," and is on the "Sending of the Holy Spirit."

⁶ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. Appendix, pp. 208-237, 230-244.

William Laud, then Bishop of London, Dr. Francis White, then Bishop of Ely, and a number of the English nobility and gentry, entered Edinburgh on horseback, amid the greatest pomp and magnificence,¹ and reached Holyrood by the same route through the city traversed by his father in 1617. On Sunday he attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal, which was performed by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, the dean. On Monday the 17th, William, Earl of Angus, was created Marquis of Douglas, and George, Viscount Dupplin, was created Earl of Kinnoull, in the drawing-room of the Palace, and eleven gentlemen were knighted, after which the King went privately in his coach to the Castle, in which he passed the night, and on the following day was the coronation.

On the morning of the 18th, a splendid procession of the nobility and public functionaries preceded the King from the Castle to Holyrood.² The spurs were carried by the Earl of Eglinton, the sword by the Earl of Buchan, the sceptre by the Earl of Rothes, and the crown by the Earl of Angus, supported on his right by the Earl of Erroll, Lord High Constable, and on his left by the Duke of Lennox, Great Chamberlain, and the Earl Marischal. The King, arrayed in crimson velvet robes, followed, riding on a rich foot-cloth embroidered with silver and pearls. When the procession arrived at the porch of the Palace, the King walked across the court-yard, which was railed on each side, and covered with blue cloth, to the Chapel-Royal, under a canopy of crimson velvet laced and fringed with gold. He was met at the west entrance of the Chapel-Royal by Archbishop Spottiswoode and several bishops, and after kneeling devotionally, he was conducted to a chair placed at the west pillar of the side aisle, where Mr. James Hannay, Minister of the Chapel-Royal, addressed him in a short speech. The King then rose and walked through the church to a platform on which was the chair of state, the choir singing an anthem. Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon, delivered a gold vial, in which was the oil, to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who placed it on the communion-table, and the King removed from the platform to the chair near the pulpit. Bishop Lindsay of Brechin preached the sermon, after which the King returned to the chair of state on the platform. The ceremony of the coronation now commenced, and was conducted in the most impressive manner by Archbishop Spottiswoode, assisted by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, Bishop Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Bishop David Lindsay of Brechin, Bishop Guthrie of Moray, and Dr. Maxwell, Bishop-Elect of Ross, in their episcopal robes. After several preliminaries and devotional exercises, the Archbishop crowned the King, the oath of allegiance was administered, and the usual homage was rendered by the nobility. After placing the sword and sceptre in the King's hands with an appropriate address and invocation, the Archbishop and the other bishops were saluted by the King, who then ascended the platform, where he was solemnly enthroned. The Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor, now proclaimed at each corner of the platform the royal pardon under the Great Seal to all who required it, and the archbishops and bishops knelt and did homage, repeating the words after the Earl Marischal, and kissing the King's left cheek. At the conclusion, the King entered the Palace bearing the crown, sceptre, and sword, amid the sound of trumpets, and the discharge of the Castle artillery.³

On the 18th of June, the Parliament met in the Tolbooth, and the usual and ancient ceremonial of the "riding" from Holyrood was distinguished by a grand procession, in which the King was prominent. On the 24th, which was St. John the Baptist's day, the King resorted to divine service in the Chapel-Royal. Charles again attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal on the 25th, when Dr. William Forbes, soon afterwards first Bishop of Edinburgh, preached the sermon. The Liturgy of the Church of England was read, and Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane appeared in his episcopal robes, the other bishops present wearing gowns. On Sunday the 30th, Archbishop Laud preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal, which "scarce any

¹ Sir James Balfour, then Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, whose duty it was to superintend the procession, and who preceded the Earl Marischal in it, has preserved an account of this public entry of Charles I. into Edinburgh, which is printed in his "Annales of Scotland," vol. ii. pp. 196-198; vol. iv. pp. 354-356.

² The order of this procession, with the parties present, is given by Sir James Balfour in his minute and interesting account of the coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood, in his "Annales," vol. iv. pp. 386-389.

³ Sir James Balfour states, that when the ceremonial was con-

cluded, and the King moved from the platform to enter the Palace, gold and silver pieces were thrown among the spectators by the Bishop of Moray, who acted as Lord Almoner. This coin represented the King's profile in his coronation robes on one side, with the inscription CAROLUS DEI GRATIA SCOTIE, ANGL. FRANC. ET HYB. REX, CORONAT 18 JUNII, 1633; and on the reverse a thistle flowered in three large stems, with small branches issuing from it, and the words—HINC NOSTRE CREVIRE ROSE.—The "Memorable and Soleme Coronatione of King Charles, crowned King of Scotland at Holyrudhousse, the 18th of June, 1633," in "Annales of Scotland," vol. iv. p. 403.

Englishmen," says Clarendon, "had done before him."¹ On the 18th of July the King left Holyrood for Dalkeith, proceeding to England by Berwick.

After this visit of Charles I. to Scotland, those ecclesiastical measures were concerted which in 1638 excited the great rebellion throughout the lowland counties in Scotland, caused by the introduction of the Book of Canons and the Scottish Liturgy. The mode of conducting divine service in the Chapel-Royal, which belonged to the Crown as an appanage of the Palace, and the conduct of Bishop Bellenden, the dean, were the subjects of special correspondence.² In 1635, Bishop Bellenden was translated to Aberdeen, and was succeeded in the see of Dunblane, and as dean of the Chapel-Royal, by Dr. James Wedderburn, prebendary of Wells. When the Scottish Liturgy was announced in 1636, the congregation of the Chapel-Royal was one of the first supplied with it, for which Robert Bryson, bookseller, and Evan Tyler, printer, granted a discharged receipt on the 15th of April for the sum of 144*l.* Scots, or 12*l.* sterling.

In May, 1638, James, third Marquis of Hamilton, created in 1643 Duke of Hamilton, whose fate in 1643 was as disastrous as that of his sovereign, was nominated Lord High Commissioner to Scotland by Charles I., to allay the religious and political distractions excited by the attempt to introduce the Scottish Liturgy, and by the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant. The nomination of the Marquis was by no means popular among the Covenanters, though others doubted his sincerity, and accused him of secretly favouring the movement. He was received at the Watergate of the Canongate, close to Holyroodhouse, by the Magistrates of Edinburgh. The Marquis had resolved to attend divine service in the Chapel-Royal, where Dr. Balcanquhal was to officiate, who was particularly obnoxious to the Covenanters; and, to prevent this, some of them secretly entered the edifice, nailed up the organ, and announced to the Marquis, that if the "English Service-Book" was again used, the person who did so would hazard his life. The residence of the Marquis at Holyrood failed to influence the Covenanters, and the Civil War ensued, which was precluded by the Glasgow General Assembly.

The next occupant of Holyrood during this unhappy contest was the King himself, who arrived in Edinburgh, accompanied by his nephew, the Elector Palatine, on Saturday the 14th of August, 1641. His reception was different from that of 1633, and the chief mark of respect was a banquet given to him by the Magistrates, which cost upwards of 12,000*l.* Scots, on the 30th of August, in the hall known as the Parliament House. No public procession greeted his arrival, no demonstrations of joy were evinced, and at six in the evening he approached Holyrood rather as a private individual than as the sovereign. The King gave audience in the Long Gallery to numbers of the nobility and gentry, who kissed the hand of him whose royal functions had been rendered merely nominal. On Monday it was debated before the King, at a meeting of the Privy Council, whether or not the Parliament ought to "ride anew;" and it was arranged that the King, after a sermon in the Chapel-Royal, should proceed to the Parliament in his coach, alight at the Lady's Steps on the north-east corner of St. Giles' Church, where he was to be met by the Regalia, and thence walk to the Parliament House in a very limited procession, attended by the officers of state. The King addressed the Parliament in a conciliatory speech, and returned to the Palace. The concluding pageant of the "Riding of the Parliament" was held from Holyrood to the Parliament House on Wednesday the 17th of November. A sermon by Alexander Henderson at half-past eight in the evening ostensibly concluded the proceedings, though

¹ Archbishop Laud preached several times in the Chapel-Royal during the King's visit. On the 15th of June he was sworn a privy-councillor of Scotland.

² On the 8th of October, 1633, the King wrote to Bishop Bellenden, enjoining that the dean of the chapel should at all future coronations be assistant to the Archbishop of St. Andrews—that the book of the form of the coronation lately used was to be carefully preserved in a box, and kept in possession of the dean—that divine service was to be performed twice daily according to the English Liturgy, till "some course be taken for making one that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church" (of Scotland)—that the communion was to be received kneeling, and administered on the first Sunday of every month—that the dean preach in his "whites" on Sundays and the Festivals, and be as seldom absent as possible; and that the Privy Council, officers of state, judges, and members of the College of Justice, communicate in the Chapel-Royal once every year, or be reported to the King by the dean in case of refusal. This was followed by a letter to

the Lords of Session, dated at Greenwich, 13th May, 1634. Bishop Bellenden, however, was refractory, or perceived that it was impossible to fulfil the King's orders, and was soon out of favour with the Court. The correspondence with him on the subject was chiefly carried on by Archbishop Laud, and became at last conciliatory in reference to those whom the English primate describes as having "obeyed or disobeyed his Majesty's commands in receiving the communion in the Chapel-Royal." On the 12th of January, 1635, Archbishop Laud again wrote to Bishop Bellenden about the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. He mentions Edward Kellie, who in November, 1629, had been appointed to an official situation in the Chapel-Royal by writ under the Privy Seal. The English primate states that the next time he saw the Earl of Traquair he would converse with him about the "gentlemen of the Chapel," and "one Edward Kellie." In a postscript the Archbishop says that he had seen the Earl, who assured him that Kellie had been paid.

the Parliament virtually continued its sittings till June 1644. The lateness of the hour prevented riding back in state to the Palace. The King gave a supper to the nobility in the then great hall, after which he solemnly took leave of them, and left Edinburgh on the following day for England, where he was soon involved in the Civil War.¹

Scotland was placed under the rule of a Parliamentary Committee of the Estates after 1641, and the distractions which ensued left Holyrood deserted and unnoticed either by royalty or by the dominant party. After the death of Charles I., the Covenanters induced Charles II. to appear in Scotland, proclaimed him King, and brought him to Edinburgh; but the presence of the English army under Cromwell prevented him from residing in Holyrood. The victory near Dunbar, on the 3d of September, 1650, enabled Cromwell to quarter a part of his forces in the Palace. While thus occupied, the edifice was, on the 13th of November that year, either by accident or design, destroyed by fire.² Cromwell, however, ordered the Palace to be restored in 1658, and it was completed in November 1659, with the addition of a building within the court, which was afterwards removed.

On the 31st of December, 1660, John, Earl of Middleton, the Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, entered Holyrood in state, and the Palace was his residence during that meeting of the Estates, which assembled on the 1st of January, 1661. Another grand riding of the Parliament from Holyrood occurred on the 9th of October, when the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Rothes was Lord High Commissioner. A fortnight previous, Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo had been inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms by that nobleman in the Palace. The Duke of Rothes died at Holyrood on the 27th of July, 1681, and his body was conveyed to St. Giles' church on the 23d of August, from which it was brought in state to the Chapel-Royal, honoured by a magnificent procession, attended by numbers of the nobility and gentry. On the following day the body was conveyed to Leith, and shipped for Burmtisland, to be interred in the family vault at Leslie.

After the Restoration, it was determined to erect a new Palace, and Sir William Bruce, of Kinross, an architect of considerable celebrity in his day, designed the present quadrangular edifice, which he connected with the original north-west towers. In 1676, Charles II. issued minute directions respecting each floor, staircase, apartment, and chimney, and granted his warrant for payment of 4734*l.* as the estimated expense of completing the Palace and gardens. The church was also repaired, and on the 3d of September, 1672, it was ordered to be designated the Chapel-Royal, and no longer the parish church of the Canongate. The erection of the edifice was superintended by Robert Milne, master-mason, a memorial of a relative of whom is on an isolated tombstone in the enclosed grounds behind the Palace.

In 1679 the Duke of York, afterwards James II., visited Edinburgh, occupied the Palace, and was magnificently entertained by the Magistrates. While at Holyrood, the Duke became unpopular by his encouragement of the drama and other amusements, to which the citizens were generally opposed. The Prince again arrived at the Palace in 1680, as a kind of exile from the English court on account of his religious principles, accompanied by his Duchess, and his daughter the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. The "Duke's Walk," the common appellation of one of the royal parks at the base of Arthur's Seat, east of the Palace, was so called because it was the ordinary promenade of the Duke and his family. The former foot-path is now superseded by the fine carriage-drive leading round Arthur's Seat and the base of Salisbury Crags, begun in 1844.³

The apartment known as the Picture-Gallery, and then designated the Council Chamber, in which the election of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland is held, was fitted up by the Duke of York as his private chapel, in conformity to the ritual of the Roman Catholic religion—a purpose to which it was appro-

¹ Before Charles I. left Edinburgh he was officially informed of the Irish Rebellion. It is traditionally said, that when told of it he was amusing himself by playing golf on Leith Links, and the spot on which he stood is still pointed out on the east side of the Links, near the present toll-bar at the road leading to the villas of Summerfield and the decayed hamlet of Restalrig. The King, it is added, immediately returned to Holyrood in a state of intense mental excitement, which was greatly increased by the unhappy position of his affairs in Scotland.

² Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. p. 35. Nicoll afterwards added—"Except a lytill."

³ In 1843, the office of Hereditary Ranger of the royal parks of Holyrood was purchased by Act of Parliament for 30,674*l.* from the Earl of Haddington, whose ancestor, Sir James Hamilton, had obtained the gift by charter from Charles I. on the 10th of August, 1646, as a recompense for a large sum which he lent the King in his necessities during the Civil War

priated upwards of a century afterwards, during the first residence at Holyrood of Charles X. as Count d'Artois. On the 27th of July, 1681, the Duke inaugurated Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Bart., as Lord Lyon, in the Palace; but on this occasion the usual sermon preached by the Dean in the Chapel-Royal, before the King or his commissioner and the nobility, was omitted. On the 25th of September, 1686, the Duke, who had succeeded as James II., issued his warrant to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to continue this gallery as a private chapel. At that period Holyrood could boast of its printing-press. At length James II. directed that the Chapel-Royal should be fitted up exclusively for the Roman Catholic ritual, and as the place of the installation of the Knights of the Thistle. The King intimated that he expected the Chapel-Royal to be repaired and altered according to his directions before the 1st of May, 1688, when it was to be opened for the Roman Catholic service, under pain of his severe displeasure. Father Hay states that the King intended to bestow the Abbey church on the canons of St. Genivieve, of whom he was one. On Tuesday the 11th of July, the keys of the church were delivered to the Earl of Perth as Lord Chancellor, who sent them next morning to the Lord Provost, with an intimation that fourteen days would be allowed to remove the seats and other furniture. Father Hay records a duty he performed in the Chapel-Royal on the evening of the 22d of January, 1688. This was the interment of Agnes Irvine, wife of Captain Charteris, in presence of the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Perth, and a number of persons of all ranks. "I was in my habit, with surplice and aulmus," says the Father: "the ceremony was performed after the rites of Rome. She was the first person since the pretended Reformation that was interred publicly after that manner."

The King's private chapel was still maintained in the Palace, and it appears that some Jesuits occupied part of the Lord Chancellor's apartments on the north side of the Abbey porch. The Chapel-Royal was almost completed for the reception of the Knights of the Thistle about the date of the Revolution. Much excitement then prevailed in Edinburgh, occasioned by the King's proceedings. When the landing of the Prince of Orange was announced in Edinburgh, the first strong intimation of the public feeling in favour of the new government was the assembling of a numerous mob on Monday the 10th of December, for the purpose of burning the Chapel-Royal.¹ The rioters were opposed within the precincts of the Palace by an officer named Wallace and about sixty men, who fired on the assailants, some of whom were killed and wounded. Though repulsed, they soon reappeared with the Magistrates and their officials, who exhibited a warrant from the Privy Council, and Wallace was ordered to surrender. A second skirmish ensued, in which the rioters were successful, and their fury resistless. The Chapel-Royal and the private chapel in the Palace were plundered and devastated; and nothing was left of the former except the bare walls. The royal sepulchre was shamefully violated, and the assailants broke open the leaden coffins, carrying off the lids, in which were the bodies of James V., Magdalene of France, his first queen, Lord Darnley, and others of the royal family of Scotland. Some minor excesses occurred, and the dwellings of all known supporters of King James were plundered or menaced.²

After the Union, the Palace was deserted, and the Chapel-Royal was allowed to continue a ruin till 1758, when it was ordered to be repaired at the expense of the Exchequer. The edifice was most absurdly and injudiciously allowed to be covered with flag-stones, the weight of which was too heavy to be supported by the old dilapidated walls, and on the 2d of December, 1768, about mid-day, a part of the roof and walls fell into the interior, bringing down more of the edifice on the following night. The admired Gothic pillars and ornaments on the north side of the church, were destroyed, and the sepulchral vaults and monuments were greatly injured by the rubbish. The ruins were removed from the interior in 1776. At that time the bodies of James V. and some others were in their coffins in the royal vault, and the head of Queen Magdalene is described by an eye-witness³ as "entire, and even beautiful." Within three years afterwards, according to the same authority, the coffins, the head of Queen Magdalene, and the skull of Darnley, were stolen, and the thigh-bones of the latter only remained, showing the tallness of his stature. The royal vault, which is in the south-east angle of the church, and is a most repulsive-looking cell half under ground, now contains

¹ Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh in 1689, 4to. 1828, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 16-19.

² The principal ringleaders in this attack on Holyrood are enumerated by the Earl of Balcarras, who specially mentions Alexander Swinton, Lord Mersington, the "fanatick judge, with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as ale and brandy could make him; next, the Provost

and Magistrates, with a mob of two or three thousand men. Captain Wallace had certainly been able to defend the house if he had kept his men within the court, and fired out at the windows."—The Earl of Balcarras' Account of the Affairs of Scotland, in the Appendix to the "Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh" in 1689, pp. 95, 96.

³ Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, p. 255.

merely a pile of human bones. The tombstones of prelates, abbots, nobles, knights, and burgesses of the Canongate, are on the floor of the roofless edifice, and some tablets are conspicuous on its walls.¹ The only one deserving of notice as a work of art is in the interior of the north-west tower, and was erected to the memory of Robert Douglas, Viscount Belhaven, who died at Edinburgh on the 12th of January, 1639. A full-length statue of the deceased is stretched in a recumbent posture on a pedestal five feet high, the right arm resting on a cushion, the head raised, and the left arm supporting a sword, the drapery consisting of the robes of a peer, and two fluted columns with fancy capitals supporting an open pediment, above which are placed the arms of Lord Belhaven. In the space between the columns, behind the statue, are two tablets, divided by a pilaster, containing long Latin inscriptions.

From the Union till 1745, Holyrood was totally neglected, and abandoned to a solitude only varied by the occasional elections of the sixteen representative peers. On the 17th of September, 1745, Prince Charles Edward Stuart took up his residence in the Palace, and gratified his adherents in the city by a series of levees, entertainments, and dancing assemblies, in the Picture-Gallery. His army was encamped on the south-east side of Arthur's Seat, overlooking the village of Wester Duddingstone, where he slept the night before the battle of Prestonpans. The Prince returned to Holyrood on the 22d, the day after the battle, and continued there till the 31st of October, when he commenced his luckless march to England. The Duke of Cumberland resided a short time in the Palace after his return from the battle of Culloden, in the spring of 1746, and he is said to have slept in the same bed which the Prince had occupied. In 1795, the apartments on the east side of the quadrangle, were prepared for the reception of Charles X., then the exiled Count d'Artois, and his suite, and he continued at Holyrood till 1799, holding levees, which were attended by the higher classes of the citizens. In 1822 occurred the visit of George IV. to Edinburgh, when the state-rooms on the south side of the quadrangle were decorated for the reception of the King, whose court and levees once more threw a passing lustre on these old and usually silent halls. Holyrood became a second time, in 1831, the asylum of Charles X., accompanied by his family, consisting of the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, the Duchess de Berri, her son the Duke of Bordeaux, and a numerous suite. The royal exiles finally left the Palace in 1835. Her present Majesty and Prince Albert, in their progress through the city to the Castle, on Saturday the 3d of September, 1842, passed the south side of the Palace with their cortege, and entered the Canongate. Since that date Her Majesty has occasionally stopped at Holyrood.

After the visit of George IV. the sum of 24,000*l.*, voted by Parliament, was expended in the external and internal repair of Holyrood. The interior of the Palace contains several noble rooms, especially those known as the Royal Apartments, which are now annually occupied by the nobleman who is appointed to represent the sovereign as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. These apartments are adorned with tapestries representing mythological scenes from the classic writers, painted wainscotings, and profusely carved roofs and ceilings. In the Throne-room is a portrait of George IV. in Highland costume, by Sir David Wilkie, and in an adjoining room are those of King William III., Queen Anne, George I., and John Duke of Argyll. The Duke of Hamilton, as Hereditary Keeper, and the Duke of Argyll, as Heritable Master of the Household, possess apartments in the Palace, in which are several full-length portraits and fine pictures; and other persons reside in the edifice by royal permission. The Picture-Gallery, which occupies the first floor of the north side of the quadrangle, is an old and gloomy apartment of great length, on whose walls are suspended the portraits, by a Flemish artist named De Wit, of one hundred and eleven Scottish sovereigns, the existence of the greater number of whom, from the reputed reign of Fergus I., is as imaginary as are their likenesses.

In the north-west towers are Queen Mary's Apartments, and those of the Duke of Hamilton, the former containing furniture of no greater antiquity than the time of Charles I. In the west front of the tower is the Queen's bedchamber, the walls covered with tapestry, and a very decayed bed is shown as that on which Mary reposed. The Queen's reputed dressing-room in the south-west turret is entered from this room, and also the closet in the north-west turret from which Riccio was dragged in the presence of Mary to be inhumanly

¹ Among these are the monuments of Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, and of Dr. George Wishart, one of the Bishops of Edinburgh after the Restoration. Lady Jane Douglas, sister of Archibald first and only Duke of Douglas—a lady whose history is remarkable as connected with the celebrated plea known as the "Douglas Cause"

—William seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, and his Countess Mary, eldest daughter of William Maxwell of Preston in Kirkcudbrightshire, the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart., and many others, repose amid the humble dust of the burgesses of the Canongate. The Earls of Roxburgh had also a funeral vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood.

murdered. In the Queen's Presence-chamber, as it is called, are shown several articles, some of them house-wifery, alleged to have belonged to Queen Mary and Lord Darnley, particularly the pretended boots, lance, and iron breast-plate of the latter, the whole of which are evidently spurious. This apartment also contains a profusion of pictures and prints, chiefly of the seventeenth century, of no great merit.

On the north-west of the Palace is a large garden, at one time the Botanical Garden, in which is a sundial said to have belonged to Queen Mary; it is curiously carved, and probably at least as old as her reign. A small octagonal building of considerable antiquity, and still inhabited, connected with the wall on the west side of the garden, enclosing it from the street called the Abbey-hill, is designated Queen Mary's Bath. On the west side of the lane known as Croft-an-Righ, or the King's Meadow, locally "Croftangry," behind the enclosed grounds of the Palace, leading from the park to the suburb of the Abbey-hill, is an old edifice which was the residence of the Regent Moray. It is traditionally said that he obtained a gift of this house from Queen Mary, and in the garden behind is a tree supposed to have been planted by her own hand.

The royal parks, known as St. Ann's Yards and the Duke's Walk, extend east from the Palace nearly a mile to the villa of Parson's Green; and the lower part of the domain is upwards of two miles in length, south-west from the Palace at the base of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, by St. Leonard's Hill, the basaltic columns on Arthur's Seat, popularly known as Samson's Ribs, to the lake and village of Duddingstone. Salisbury Crags, 574 feet above the level of the sea at the cavity called the Cat-Nick, present an immense semicircle of almost perpendicular precipices, from the footpath under which the hill slopes steeply to the valley between its base and St. Leonard's Hill on the west, the old road of the Dumbiedykes, immortalised by Scott, and often traversed by Queen Mary when she rode to and from Craigmillar Castle, and the south side of the Canongate. Between Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat is the deep secluded valley of the Hunter's Bog, about a mile and a half in circumference, formed by the declivity of the former and the abrupt rising of the latter hill, displaying within itself all the wild scenery of a remote mountain glen, and commanding at either extremity beautiful and extensive views. Arthur's Seat, some views of which strongly resemble a lion couchant, consists of a series of elevations, the summit of the highest 822 feet above the level of the sea. On the north-west of this green romantic hill is the fragment of St. Anthony's Chapel, on elevated basalt, overlooking the Duke's Walk, and protected from the east winds by a high perpendicular rock. When entire the building was forty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and eighteen feet high, having at its west end a tower nineteen feet square, and supposed to have been about forty feet high. The doors, windows, and roof, were Gothic, though of no architectural pretensions. A few yards west of this ruin are the remains of the cell of the Hermitage, which was sixteen feet long, twelve broad, and eight high. Of the foundation and history of St. Anthony's Chapel and Hermitage, nothing is known beyond conjecture. Below the cell is St. Anthony's Well, a spring of pure water issuing from the rock into a hollow stone basin, which in former times supplied the recluse above.¹ Below the summit of Arthur's Seat, on the south side, the Seaforth Regiment of Highlanders intrenched themselves when they mutinied in September 1776, keeping possession of their position for several days, and obtaining supplies of provisions from the citizens. Further down, behind a sloping eminence perpendicular on one side, called Dunsapie Rock, at the base of which is the small restored Dunsapie Loch, and near the village of Duddingstone, the adventurers of Prince Charles Edward's Highland army encamped before and after the battle of Prestonpans. A steep rock overhanging a part of Duddingstone Loch is known as the Hangman's Knowe, from the circumstance of a functionary of that description in Edinburgh having thrown himself from it, and drowned himself in the lake some years before the Revolution.

Salisbury Crags, Arthur's Seat, and the royal parks, are all within the "Sanctuary of Holyrood," and include a circumference of four and a half miles. Persons who retired to the Sanctuary were safe from their

¹ St. Anthony's Well is introduced pathetically in the first part of the fine old Scottish ballad, entitled "The Marchioness of Douglas," the heroine of which was Lady Barbara Erskine, eldest daughter of John ninth Earl of Mar, who married James second Marquis of Douglas in September 1670, a nobleman of violent temper, by whom she was barbarously treated on a false charge of conjugal infidelity, which had been insinuated to the Marquis by a gentleman named Lorie, who had previously wooed her without success. The lady is made to sing sorrowfully—

"Now Arthur's Seat shall be my bed,
The sheets shall ne'er be press'd by me;
St. Anton's Well shall be my drink,
Since my true love has forsaken me."

Lady Barbara was eventually separated from her husband. She bore one son to the Marquis, who was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692.

creditors for twenty-four hours, after which a "protection," issued by the Bailie of the Abbey at a specified charge, must be obtained. The debtors, or "Abbey lairds," as they were ironically designated, might exceed the boundaries of the Sanctuary on Sundays without molestation. Legal alterations, however, have rendered this compulsory "lairdship," to escape incarceration in a prison, to a certain extent unnecessary.

The beautiful and romantic carriage-drive round Arthur's Seat and through the parks was commenced in 1844, when the latter were thoroughly drained, and great improvements were everywhere effected. This road in many places resembles one in some wild and solitary district of the Highlands, far removed from the busy haunts of men, and discloses in every direction the most varied and magnificent views.

Near the east end of the Duke's Walk is a spot on which was once a pile of stones called Muschet's Cairn, removed during the formation of a footpath suggested by Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-chief of the Forces in Scotland from 1789 to 1798, who resided in Holyrood-house. The tragical story of Nicol Muschet of Boghall, the murderer of his own wife, is alluded to by Sir Walter Scott in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," in which the cairn is made the scene of Jeanie Deans's midnight interview with Robertson. The wretched man was inveigled to marry a woman of indifferent character, by a person of the name of James Campbell of Bankfoot, ordnance storekeeper in Edinburgh Castle, a man known to all the reprobates of the city, who was tried on the 29th of March, 1721, before the High Court of Justiciary, and sentenced to banishment for life for his concern in the matters connected with the murder. Muschet, in his two confessions, one of which is printed,¹ narrates, that on the night of the 17th October, 1720, he brought his wife from the house of an acquaintance in the Canongate, and walked into the parks behind the Palace, pretending that he was on his way to Duddingstone, and threatening that, if she refused to accompany him, he would never see her again. The unfortunate woman, after in vain entreating him to return to the city, followed him weeping into the Duke's Walk, where the murder was effected, which this ill-omened pile of stones afterwards commemorated. The wretched husband was apprehended, tried, and executed in the Grassmarket, on the 6th of February, 1721. Such is the tragical story of Nicol Muschet and his cairn.

¹ Declaration of Nicol Muschet, in "Criminal Trials illustrative of the Tale entitled the Heart of Mid-Lothian," 12mo. Edin. 1818, pp. 331-343.