

CHAPTER I.

EDINBURGH.

History of the Castle.

ON whatever side the traveller approaches Edinburgh, he cannot fail to admire the mingled beauty and grandeur of a scene where Nature has bestowed every charm that can adorn a great city. Mountain and valley—woods, corn-fields, and meadows—a sea-view of surpassing beauty—and beyond, fading into the distance, the blue hills of Fifeshire and the Grampians—unite to form a scene which can nowhere be excelled. But amidst all this variety of landscape, one lofty and majestic object rises prominent in the view, and marks for miles around the position of the Scottish capital. This is the Castle; whose History, varied and troublous as the dark ages that have rolled over it, is now to engage the reader's attention. Nor is it without reason that the first place in the present work is assigned to this subject. The Castle of Edinburgh is associated with so many important events in Scottish history, that its annals take precedence almost by right; and it is invested with another and peculiar interest by the fact, that the City itself owes its origin to the fortified and almost impregnable precipices of the Castle rock, in those early days when men generally sought the protection of such places of strength, and erected their rude habitations in their immediate vicinity.

The Castle occupies the precipitous termination of the hill on which the old City is built, and the defences inclose altogether about seven English acres, having accommodation for upwards of two thousand men. The only access is by the Esplanade, a spacious inclosed area kept in proper order for the parade and drill of the garrison. None of the edifices and defences of the present Fortress are of very ancient date, the earlier buildings having been successively destroyed, once by King Robert Bruce himself, to prevent this stronghold from again falling into the hands of the English. When the Castle of Edinburgh, therefore, is mentioned in Scottish history before the reign of James V., it is not to be identified with the present Fortress, the dates on the oldest parts of which reach no farther back than 1566 and 1616. The Half-Moon Battery appears in the "Bird's Eye" view of the City by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647, but is not in the curious sketch in a French work of the previous century.¹ The whole, with the exception of

¹ "Théâtre des Cités du Monde," published in 1575, the delineator of which, it is evident, never saw Edinburgh, and must have been guided solely by oral information. In the French description prefixed to the view of the City, it is narrated that the Castle, "called in Latin *Alata Castra*, the *Winged Castle*," was "founded by Cruthueus, King of Scots," and that the city was "first named Agneda." As no evidence, however, can be adduced to show that this worthy monarch ever existed, the information is not of much importance. We are further told, that "the Fortress is so strongly fortified by nature as to render

it impregnable, it being impossible to carry it by escalade. The rock is hard, and so precipitous that vultures there build their nests. These are occasionally *harried* by rash or foolhardy boys, who descend for that purpose from the rock on which the Fortress is seated." This assertion respecting the vultures and their nests is not more correct than the story of King Cruthueus; though it may be remarked, that till a comparatively recent period the rock was certainly inhabited by hawks of a large species, which may perhaps account for the mistake by the French author.

the south and east sides, has undergone a very considerable change since Slezer published his "Theatrum Scotiæ" in 1693, in which the drawings are very accurate.

But the rock was occupied as a fortress long before the authentic records of Scottish history. The real foundation of the stronghold may probably be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons in the fourth or fifth century, and, as remarked above, it certainly originated the city built under its protection. Without referring to the story of Edwin—a reputed King of Northumberland, who is said to have possessed all the country from the present English Border to the Frith of Forth—the Gaelic name *Dun-Edin*, applied to Edinburgh, has a special reference to the Castle, and is by no means so modern as has been supposed, for it occurs in the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, under date A.D. 1107, in recording the demise of King Edgar. We know that Edinburgh is designated *Dun-Monaidh* in Gaelic tales, and the same occurs in the Gaelic translation of the "Service of the Church of Scotland" by the titular Bishop Carsewell of Argyll, preserved in the library of Inverary Castle. This term signifies the *Hill of the Moor*, and is remarkably appropriate when it is remembered that the ridge on which the Castle and old city are built was for many centuries environed by small lakes and marshes, and this is also the apparent origin of *L'Isleburg*, the French appellation of Edinburgh in Queen Mary's reign.

The ancient Fortress was known as the *Castrum Puellarum*.¹ Lord Hailes inquired whether it was actually so designated,² and the author of "Caledonia" replies—"Walter Hemingford would have answered the question in the affirmative, and the Chartulary of Newbattle would have shown him the way to the *Castrum Puellarum*."³ Various charters of David I.,⁴ Malcolm IV.,⁵ Alexander II., and Alexander III., are cited as granted at the *Castrum Puellarum*; and in some charters of Malcolm IV. to the monks of Cambuskenneth, the city is strangely designated *Oppidum Puellarum*. Alexander II. dated most of his charters from the Castle. Perhaps the boldest assertion respecting the antiquity of the Fortress was that of the worthy magistrates of Edinburgh, who, in their congratulatory address to James VI., when he visited his native city in 1617, scrupled not to allege that it was built by Fergusius, the founder of the kingdom, three hundred and fifty years before the Incarnation!

The Saxon Princess canonized as St. Margaret, Queen of Malcolm III., the son of the "gracious Duncan" said to have been murdered by Macbeth, died in the then Castle of Edinburgh in A.D. 1093, four days after her husband was killed at Alnwick Castle. It is not to be inferred, however, that the Queen died of grief for the loss of Malcolm,

¹ The describer of Edinburgh in the "Théâtre des Cités du Monde," could not resist inserting the ridiculous fable, that "this said Fortress bounding the west side of the City, is called the Castle of the Virgins, because there the daughters of the Kings of the Picts were kept strictly guarded, and where they learnt divers handiworks until they were fit for marriage." This is the alleged origin of the *Castrum Puellarum*, yet no writer ventures to state who the said Pictish princesses were, or the precise periods when those fabulous maidens inhabited the rock. It may be conceded that in the fifth century of the Christian era, which is the era of the Anglo-Saxon dominion south of the Frith of Forth, the rock on which the present Castle is built became a stronghold of the Chiefs of the Northumbrian dynasty; and from King Edwin, who lived in the seventh century, the name of *Edwin's Burgh*, applied to the city, was in all probability derived. Coeval with or preceding the time of Edwin, the name of the rock is supposed to have been *Mai-din* in ancient British, or *Magh-dun* in Gaelic, which may signify either the *Fortified Mound in the Plain*, or the *Good Fort*; and, as some fanciful etymologists concluded that *Mai-din* was the same as the English word *maiden*, from this arose the title, by which the Castle of Edinburgh is designated in old writings, of *Castrum Puellarum*, and the romantic fable that it was the residence of the unmarried Pictish princesses.

² Sir David Dalrymple, Baronet, the great restorer of Scottish history, and a distinguished Judge in the Court of Session from 1766 till his death in 1792, by the title of Lord Hailes, the designation by which he is generally known among the learned in Europe. In March 1773, his lordship inserted this laconic "Card" in the Scots Magazine (vol. xxxv. p. 120):—"Lord Hailes requests all gentlemen who have turned their thoughts to the antiquities of Scotland, to favour him with answers to the two following queries:—1. What evidence is there that *Castrum Puellarum* means Edinburgh? 2. What is the exact interpretation of *Castrum Puellarum* in the Gaelic and Saxon languages? The answers to these queries may be communicated in the Scots Magazine." This Card elicited two replies in that periodical. The first

appeared in the Number for April, merely as a suggestion, and we are told, on the authority of John of Wallingford (*apud Gale*, tom. i. p. 540), that "King Athelstan gave his sister Orgiva in marriage to Sictric, a Danish chieftain, and for her sake bestowed on him all the country between the Tees and Edinburgh, with the title of King. The same writer, a little after (p. 543), acquaints us, that when the English dominions were divided between the brothers Edwi and Edgar, this last had for his share Essex, Norfolk, the kingdoms of Mercia, Deira, and Bernica, with Lothian, as far as *Castrum Puellarum*. Now, the same place which is called *Edinburgum* in the first of these passages, appears plainly to be called *Castrum Puellarum* in the last." The second reply, which is also an answer to the second query of Lord Hailes, was inserted in the Number for May; and the author contends, that though the ancient name of Edinburgh was *Castellum Puellarum*, or the *Maiden Castle*, yet it is probable that other fortified places were so designated, and he instances Roslin Castle, eight miles from Edinburgh, which, he says, is called the *Maiden Castle*. He further says that *Castellum Puellarum*, in the Gaelic tongue, may be rendered thus—"Caishtideal na Maighdeanen, or *Dian na Carruigh na Hoighean*, that is, the *Castle of Maidens*, or the *Fort or Stronghold of the Virgins*. How the Saxons would have expressed *Castellum Puellarum*, I know not." The above is an amusing specimen of ingenious trifling.

³ Chalmers' Caledonia, 4to. vol. ii. p. 556.

⁴ A "Concordia," or Agreement, was effected between Robert Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Abbot of Dunfermline, *apud Castellum Puellarum* in presence of David I., Prince Henry his son, and their Barons, respecting the payment of tithes. This document is preserved in the Chartulary of Dunfermline.—Sir John Connell's Treatise on the Law of Scotland respecting Tithes, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 1, 2.

⁵ In the reign of Malcolm IV., Geoffrey de Maleville, of Maleville Castle in the shire of Edinburgh, was *Vice-Comes de Castrum Puellarum*. The old house of Maleville Castle was on the site of the present Melville Castle, near Lasswade, the seat of Lord Viscount Melville.

of which it is traditionally related that she had a presentiment on the very day it occurred; for Turgot, her confessor, informs us that she was confined to her bed six months before that event, and that abstinence ruined her constitution, inducing excruciating pains, which death alone terminated. The demise of such a princess was too important to be allowed to pass without alleged miracles; and Fordun accordingly relates that Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm, after he usurped the crown, besieged the Castle, in which the body of the Queen still lay—that her servants conveyed it out of the Fortress by a postern gate on the west, where the rock is less precipitous—and that, while so engaged, a miraculous mist concealed them from the besiegers. The object of Donald Bane on this occasion was to obtain possession of the person of Margaret's fourth son Edgar, the youthful heir to the crown, but the Prince escaped at the removal of his mother's remains.

The Canons of St. Augustine were first placed in the Castle, before David I., in 1128, founded the Abbey of Holyrood in honour of the Holy Cross—though this statement is at variance with the legend. The Fortress was at this period one of the usual royal residences. Among the earliest possessions bestowed by that monarch on his new monastery, were the church of the Castle and the church of St. Cuthbert under the Castle rock, with all their dependencies and pertinents, among which one is the piece of land recently given by the King, bounded by “the fountain which rises near the corner of the King's garden on the road leading to St. Cuthbert's Church.” The Canons evidently found the Fortress to have been an inconvenient residence, though sufficiently desirable as a place of security, and they removed with pleasure to their afterwards celebrated Monastery of Holyrood.¹

Few notices occur of the ancient Castle till 1174. The English then acquired it as part of the ransom of William the Lion, but it was restored when he married the Princess Ermengarde, cousin of Henry II. and grand-daughter of William the Conqueror. The condition of the then Fortress in the middle of the thirteenth century, when, in 1242, it was surprised by Alan Durward, Earl of March, and other leaders, may be inferred from the circumstance that Margaret, Queen of Alexander III., daughter of Henry III. of England, complained to the Scottish Estates that she was confined in the Castle, which she described as a “sad and solitary place, without verdure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome.” The Castle was strongly fortified by the English under Edward I., and continued in their possession till 1312–13, when it was taken by Randolph Earl of Moray, the nephew of King Robert Bruce. At that time the Governor was Sir Piers Leland, a Gascon knight, and Randolph had blockaded the Fortress so closely, that he had cut off all communication with the surrounding country. As Leland's fidelity was suspected, he was thrust into a dungeon, and another commander chosen. In this state of affairs a soldier named William Frank offered to point out to the Earl a part of the rock by which the defences could be scaled. He said that he had formerly resided in the Castle, and having a partiality for a young woman in the neighbourhood, he had been accustomed to get over the wall by a ladder of ropes, and by a steep and difficult path to arrive safely at the base of the rock. That track, notwithstanding its perilous precipices, had become familiar to him, and he still perfectly remembered its intricate approaches. Randolph received this information with joy, and selected thirty men for the enterprise. The soldier was their guide, and the first who mounted the ladder; Sir Andrew Gray followed, and the Earl himself was the third. Though it was midnight, an alarm was given before the whole party scaled the walls, the garrison ran to arms, and a desperate combat ensued; but their commander was slain, and they at length yielded. Leland was released from his dungeon, and entered the service of Robert Bruce, who afterwards ordered him to be hanged and quartered on a charge of treachery. This unfortunate soldier is designated *Viscount of Edinburgh* by his namesake Leland the antiquary.²

The Castle appears to have been destroyed by Robert Bruce, as already noticed, for prudential reasons, and was in ruins in 1335, when the battle was fought on the Borough Muir between the Scots and the Flemish auxiliaries, under Count Guy of Namur, in the service of the English.³ It was, soon after that affair, strongly rebuilt and

¹ *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: Monumenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, presented by Lord Francis Egerton to the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1840, Preface, pp. 10, 11.

² Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 37, 38.

³ Count Guy of Namur was the second son of John de Dampierre, Count of Namur. On the above occasion the Scots were commanded by the Earls of Moray and March, and Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie. Count Guy landed at Berwick on the 30th of July, 1335, and, concluding that Edward III. had left no enemies in his rear, he advanced to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, and the Castle in a dismantled state. A desperate conflict ensued on the Borough Muir, in which the Scots obtained the victory by the opportune arrival of

William Douglas from the adjacent Pentland Hills with a reinforcement, which decided the day. Count Guy retreated into the city, maintaining a running fight, and took refuge among the ruins of the Castle. He ordered his horses to be killed, and formed a temporary rampart of their bodies, but thirst and hunger soon compelled him to capitulate. A curious circumstance is related regarding the battle on the Borough Muir. Richard Shaw, a Scottish esquire, was observed to be singled out by a combatant in the forces of Count Guy; they were both slain, and when the body of the stranger was stripped of its armour, it was discovered to be that of a woman.—Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.

garrisoned by Edward III., to whom the rock had been ceded by Edward Baliol; and it continued in possession of the English till 1341, when it was again recovered by stratagem. On that occasion Richard Limosin was the commander, apparently acting as the deputy of Thomas Rokesby,¹ who, according to the Minutes of the thirteenth Parliament of Edward III., was Governor of the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. The plan of surprise was suggested by William Bullock, an ecclesiastic, who had formerly been in the confidence of Edward Baliol. It was arranged that a certain William Currie, the master of a small vessel belonging to Dundee, assisted by a person named Fairley, should bring his ship up the Forth as an English victualling sloop having on board provisions. Currie anchored near the island of Inchkeith, and sent a messenger on shore, who proceeded to the Castle, announcing his various pretended stores, and showing samples of wine, beer, and biscuits, with all of which the Governor expressed himself satisfied. The price having been arranged, it was stipulated that the provisions should be delivered early the next morning, to prevent any interception on the part of the Scots. In Currie's vessel were Douglas the celebrated Knight of Liddesdale,² Sir William Fraser, some other persons of note, and about two hundred resolute men. They landed near the present fishing-village of Newhaven, and, proceeding to the city, concealed themselves about the base of the rock during the night. Early in the morning the waggons appeared at the outer gate, attended by twelve armed men disguised as drivers of the supposed goods. The drawbridge was lowered without suspicion, when Currie and his attendants contrived to overturn the vehicles, which prevented the portcullis being raised, and, throwing off their assumed dress, they stabbed the warder and sentinels. The Knight of Liddesdale and his companions soon appeared, and entered the Fortress sword in hand. The cry of treason was raised, and a desperate conflict fought at the gate; but the gallantry of the assailants prevailed, and most of the garrison were put to the sword, except Limosin and his esquires, who contrived to escape. The command of the Fortress was given to William Douglas, an illegitimate brother of the Knight of Liddesdale.³

No accounts are preserved of the state of the fortifications at this period, nor is any description extant; yet it is not recorded that the Castle was subsequently dilapidated, though the English, immediately after the above exploit, were completely driven out of Scotland. David II. died in the Castle on the 23d of February, 1370-1, in the forty-seventh year of his age and forty-second of his reign. He was buried in the church of the Abbey of Holyrood before the great altar, and was succeeded by his nephew Robert, the High Steward of Scotland.⁴ The Fortress now became occasionally the residence, and not unfrequently the prison, of the Scottish Kings. The next event of any importance in its history occurred a century later, when Lord Chancellor Crichton,⁵ during the minority of James II., defended it successfully against the attempts of the powerful Douglas family, who, during that reign, were able to contend even with the royal authority. In 1438, when James II. was

¹ Rokesby was a prominent esquire at the battle of Halidon, near Berwick, in 1327.

² Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, is celebrated in Scottish history. He was an illegitimate son of Sir James Douglas, surnamed the "Good Sir James," the intimate companion of King Robert Bruce, with whose heart he was entrusted, to deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; but he was killed in his progress by the Saracens in Spain, and the heart of Bruce was brought back and interred in Melrose Abbey. The Knight of Liddesdale supported Bruce's son, King David II., and was prominent in many important transactions; but he sullied his fame by the cruel murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, whom he starved to death in a dungeon in his Castle of Hermitage, in Liddesdale, in 1342. The Knight was himself killed in 1353, while hunting in Etterick Forest, by order of Sir William Douglas, his father's nephew and his own godson.

³ The French story of this surprise of the Castle of Edinburgh is amusing.—"Douglas was very intimate with a rich man named Walter la Tour. The latter, by order of Douglas, went into the Forth with his bark, pretending to be a merchant, and to have brought wine from France. He, as had been concerted, brought some pieces, and, having filled a few flasks with it, goes the next day to the Castle, calls out the store-master, gives him the flasks that he might taste the wine; and he prizing it much, for they had been long without any, was asked if he chose to have some pieces of the same kind brought to the Castle. To which he replied, that it would be very agreeable if, in such a scarcity, that pleasure were done them; and, to remove doubt of payment, furnished ready money, and ordered the wine to be brought next day. This La Tour promised, and to bring at peep of dawn a waggon

with two large flasks. The gates were immediately opened to him; but, when the waggon was just in at the gate, the axle very luckily broke, and the waggon fell down. Douglas, having his men at no great distance, came up immediately with a small number, killed the sentries who resisted, and seized upon the Castle. King David was at that time returning from France with his consort Joanna."—According to the veracious French narrator, this occurred after "David Bruce of Scots, and Edward King of Britain, had laid waste a great part of England, and all Scotland; for the land not having been cultivated for several years, there arose such a famine in England and Scotland, that people ate horses, dogs, cats, and such-like animals, for want of other food. Nay, some say they were so pinched with famine, that neighbours stole and ate each other's children!"—*Théâtre des Cités du Monde*, 1575.

⁴ Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

⁵ William Crichton, created Lord Crichton in 1445, is conspicuous in Scottish history during the reigns of James I. and James II. He was knighted by James I. at his coronation, and at the accession of James II. he was appointed Lord Chancellor. He was dismissed from that office in 1444, but was re-appointed in 1447, and continued primo minister of Scotland till his death in 1454. Lord Crichton, who was the chief contriver of the murder of the Earl of Douglas and his brother, was the grandfather of William third Lord (who was forfeited in February, 1483-4, for joining the Duke of Albany against James III.), and ancestor of the Crichtons, Viscounts Fren draught, of whom Lewis, the fourth Viscount, was attainted in 1690 for opposing the Revolution.—*Crawford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland*, folio, pp. 26-31.

little more than seven years of age, he was conveyed from the Castle to the Abbey of Holyrood, and crowned with great magnificence. During the two succeeding years he continued to reside in the Fortress in the charge, or rather custody, of Lord Chancellor Crichton, greatly to the annoyance of his mother, Queen Joanna,¹ by whom a scheme was devised for his liberation, which was completely successful. Pretending that she would leave Edinburgh on the following day to perform a pilgrimage to Whitekirk,² in accordance with a vow for her son's health, the Queen took leave of the Chancellor, recommending the young King to his care and fidelity, and retired for the night to her devotions. Next morning the King was craftily carried out of the Fortress concealed among his mother's clothes, and conveyed in a chest to Leith, whence he was transferred to Stirling, and placed under the care of Sir Archibald Livingstone, whom the Queen considered his legal guardian. Livingstone raised an army, and laid siege to Edinburgh Castle; but Chancellor Crichton delivered the keys into the King's own hands, agreed to join against Archibald fifth Earl of Douglas and second Duke of Touraine, and effected a reconciliation with Livingstone.

This Earl of Douglas died of fever, at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, in 1439, and was succeeded by his son William, the sixth Earl and third Duke. The power of the House of Douglas was at the time most formidable, and the Earl appeared in public with a retinue of followers more like an independent prince than a subject. Chancellor Crichton, irritated at this conduct, resolved to cut off the Earl and his brother David; who, with Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld,³ a faithful adherent of the family, were accordingly inveigled into Edinburgh Castle by promises and flattery, and after a treacherous entertainment, which was succeeded by a pretended trial of short duration, were beheaded within the Fortress on the 24th of November, 1440.⁴

James II. was then in his tenth year, and was literally the prisoner of the Chancellor Crichton and Sir Alexander Livingstone.⁵ In 1444, the former shut himself up in the Castle, of which he had been appointed Governor in the previous reign; and the eighth Earl of Douglas having now gained the ascendancy, Crichton, who had been deprived of the Chancellorship, resolved to defend himself to the utmost against his enemies. In 1445, he was proclaimed a rebel in a Parliament assembled by Douglas; his castle of Crichton, five miles from Dalkeith, was taken and dismantled, and his estates forfeited; in retaliation for which he made occasional sallies from the Castle, and ravaged the lands belonging to Douglas. In this year James II. was induced to besiege the Fortress, but it was bravely defended by Crichton, who the following year surrendered on advantageous terms to himself—the restoration to his estates, honours, and even to the office of Chancellor.

In 1479, James III., suspecting the fidelity of his brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, sent the former a prisoner to the Castle, and the latter to Craigmillar, a baronial fortalice three miles south-east of Edinburgh, on the road to Dalkeith. Albany knew the despotic temper of the King, and, not willing to trust his dubious fraternal affection, contrived to escape, after a confinement of some duration, at the very time when the King was lodging in the Fortress. A French vessel, either by chance or design, arrived in the Forth, and anchored off Newhaven; the captain gave out that his cargo consisted of excellent wines, and sent to the Castle, requesting the Duke of Albany to honour him by the first choice. Two casks of malmsey were ordered, in one of which was concealed a roll of wax, enclosing a paper containing directions, while a long rope was put into the other. The Duke's domestic servant was entrusted with the secret, and acted most faithfully towards his master. On a certain evening the Governor of the Castle, having waited on the King, and ordered the gates to be shut and the watch set as usual, repaired to Albany's apartment to enjoy a collation and the malmsey. The Duke was on his guard, but plied the Governor so amply with wine, that he and three of the garrison, appointed to attend the prisoner, were soon intoxicated, and were overcome by sleep, if not by death, for some accounts state that they were poisoned. Albany and his domestic retired to a part of the battlements concealed from the sentinel, fixed the rope, and the

¹ Daughter of the Duchess of Clarence, niece of Richard II., by her first husband John Duke of Somerset, the grandson of Edward III.

² The church of Whitekirk, in Haddingtonshire, belonged to the Canons of Holyrood, and was long a resort of those who confided in the efficacy of pilgrimages.

³ Sir Malcolm Fleming of Biggar and Cumbernauld was the father of Sir Robert Fleming, created Lord Fleming, probably by James II., though the date is not known. His lineal descendant, John sixth Lord Fleming, was created Earl of Wigton in 1606.

⁴ The fate of the Earl of Douglas, then only in his seventeenth year, is thus lamented in the fragment preserved by Home of Godseroft

in his History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, folio, Edin. 1664, p. 155—

“Edinburgh Castle, towne, and towre,
God grant them sink for sinne;
And that even for the black dinner
Earle Douglas gat therein.”

⁵ Sir Alexander Livingstone was the eldest son of Sir John Livingstone of Calendar, killed at the battle of Homildon in September 1402. He was denounced as a rebel in 1445, and imprisoned in 1446, but obtained his release by paying a sum of money, though this did not save one of his sons, who was tried and beheaded. Sir James, his eldest son, was created Lord Livingstone in 1458, and from him descended the Earls of Linlithgow and Calendar.

servant went first down to explore the dangerous precipice. The rope, however, was too short, and the man fell to the base and broke his thigh. Albany secured himself against similar danger by increasing the length with his bedclothes, and safely descended. He first carried his servant on his back to a place of safety, and then proceeded across the fields on which the New Town is now built to Newhaven, where he made an appointed signal, and was received on board the vessel, which immediately set sail. The King was so much surprised at his brother's escape, that he would not believe it till he had examined his apartment, caused the Castle to be searched, and seen the spot and instrument of his flight. A different fate awaited the young Earl of Mar, who was brought from Craigmillar to Edinburgh, and put to death by the opening of his veins, on the charge of conspiring against the King's life by magical practices, for which also several others were condemned and executed.¹

After the famous Raid of Lauder² in 1482, when the nobility opposed James III., and executed his favourites, the King was brought back from that town to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he was kept as a kind of state prisoner. He was treated with respect, however, and the royal authority was carefully maintained; but he was vigilantly attended by some of the Peers, to observe his conduct and prevent his escape, till he should give sufficient security not to revenge the death of his favourites, to which he evinced obstinate repugnance. It is curious to know that James III. was delivered from his duration in the Castle after the Raid of Lauder by his brother, the Duke of Albany, at whose escape from the Fortress, as already related, he was so much irritated. This appears to have been effected about the end of September 1482, and Albany, who had returned from France and England, having obtained a pardon from the King, was received into such apparent favour that the royal brothers are said to have shared for some time one bed and the same table.³

James III. was assassinated at Sauchie, near the memorable field of Bannockburn, while flying from his insurgent nobility, in 1488, and was succeeded by his son James IV. The young King took possession of the Castle, which his father had garrisoned, and appears to have often resided in the Fortress. In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer is an entry dated July 10, 1488, recording a payment to English "pyparis that came to the Castle gate, and playit to the King."⁴ In 1495, Kenneth Oig Mackenzie of Kintail, and Farquhar Macintosh, son and heir of the

¹ Another account of Mar's death, more favourable to James, is given by Drummond of Hawthornden, and is quoted in Tytler's History (vol. iv. p. 260) as the more probable version of the story. But the matter is very doubtful, and the relation in the text is supported by Lesley and Buchanan.

² The *Raid of Lauder* was one of the most daring acts of opposition to the sovereign by the nobility recorded in Scottish history. James III. thought proper to associate with persons of mean origin, whom he made his favourite companions. Among them were Cochrane an architect, Rogers a musician, Leonard a smith, Hommel a tailor, and Torphichen a fencing-master. The nobility were greatly enraged at the preferment of such persons, more especially when in 1482 the King conferred on Cochrane the dignity, or at least the revenues, of the Earldom of Mar, which had been previously held by his own brother. Cochrane had further incurred the popular hatred by debasing the current silver with a kind of alloy which rendered it *black money*—a fraud which accelerated his ruin and that of his master. It is traditionally said of this favourite, that when informed that the merchants and farmers rather allowed the grain to rot than receive the price of it in such dubious metal, and that his coin would be recalled, he answered, as if such were an utter impossibility—"Not until the day I shall be hanged!"—an apparent prophecy, which the people afterwards repeated with exultation. In 1482, the English army under the Duke of Gloucester advanced to Berwick, and James III. collected his forces to oppose the invaders. An army of 50,000 men assembled under the royal banner at the Borough Muir, whence they marched to Soutra, crossed the Soutra Hills, and encamped at the royal burgh of Lauder in Berwickshire, twenty-five miles from Edinburgh. The King had already returned an unsatisfactory answer to one of many remonstrances addressed to him to dismiss his pernicious favourites, and restore the confidence placed by his ancestors in the nobility; and the Peers only awaited some favourable opportunity to revenge themselves both on him and on his associates. This they now found. Cochrane had imprudently followed the King with the army to Lauder, as commander of the rude artillery then in use, and his presence and pomp were considered additional insults. The

other favourites were also with the army. On the morning after their encampment at Lauder, the Peers held a secret council in the Church, and in the course of the debate Lord Grey introduced this fable:—"The mice," he said, "consulted as to the mode of deliverance from their common enemy the cat, and agreed that a bell should be suspended from the neck of their foe, to notify its approach and their danger; but what mouse would have the courage to fasten the bell?" "I shall bell the cat!" exclaimed Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, commonly called the *Great Earl*, and this saying procured for him the sobriquet of *Bell-the-Cat*. It was resolved that the King should be placed under restraint in the Castle of Edinburgh, and all his favourites hanged over the bridge of Lauder. Cochrane, ignorant of their designs, left the royal presence, splendidly attired and attended by three hundred men, to attend the council. He commanded a retainer to knock at the door of the church, and when Sir Robert Douglass of Lochleven, who guarded the passage, inquired his name, he replied—"Tis I, the Earl of Mar." He was then admitted, and the Earl of Angus advancing to him, pulled a gold chain from his neck, exclaiming—"A rope will become thee better!" while Douglas of Lochleven seized his hunting-horn, observing that he had been too long a hunter of mischief. More astonished than alarmed, Cochrane asked—"My Lords, is it jest or earnest?" He was answered—"It is good earnest, and so shalt thou find it, for thou and thy accomplices have too long abused our Prince's favour; but no longer expect such advantage, for thou and thy followers shall now reap the deserved reward." They sent a few of their number to amuse the King, and immediately hanged Cochrane and the other favourites, including a gentleman named Preston, over the bridge of Lauder, sparing only John Ramsay of Balmain, a youth who firmly clasped the King's person. The bridge at Lauder over the Leader occupied the site of the present one, and the house in which James III. was placed under restraint after this bold deed was standing in 1819. The church in which the conference was held, was removed when John Duke of Lauderdale made the additions to Thirlstane Castle.

³ Pinkerton's History of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 312.

⁴ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 115.

captain or chief of the Clan Chattan, were imprisoned by the King in the Castle; and this durance was probably the punishment of their turbulent conduct in 1491, and a dread of their influence among the Islanders. They contrived to escape in 1497, but they were treacherously assailed at the Torwood in Stirlingshire, by Buchanan of that Ilk, on their way to the Highlands. Mackenzie, who offered resistance, was killed, and his head was presented by Buchanan to James IV. Macintosh was taken alive, brought back and consigned to his former dungeon in the Castle, in which he was detained till after the battle of Flodden.¹ In 1506, Donald Dubh, or the Black, the alleged heir of the Isles, who had been proclaimed Lord of the Isles by Macleod of Lewis and other powerful chiefs, in 1504, was taken prisoner a second time, and was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, in which he was so vigilantly watched that he remained in the Fortress nearly forty years, until he effected his escape under the Regency of the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Chatelherault.² In 1503, when James IV. married the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, he met his Queen at Dalkeith, on her journey from Berwick; and some days afterwards she made her public entry into Edinburgh, when the Castle was the scene of splendour and profusion. The Abbey of Holyrood, however, was evidently the principal residence of the King after his marriage, as we find payments in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts to "carteris and pynours for carrying of bed-clothes and hingings fra the Castell to the Abbay and other places."³ The King often rode from the Castle to witness the progress of an enormous ship, called the Great Michael, which he was building at Newhaven, near Leith, and for which he exhausted all the oaks in Fife, except those at Falkland Palace. The defeat at Flodden ended the career of James IV., and spread dismay throughout Scotland, which prevailed many years.

After the battle of Flodden, in 1513, at which most of the Scottish nobility fell with James IV., the few survivors of the Scottish Privy Council met at Perth. It was agreed that the widowed Queen Margaret, in accordance with her husband's will, should conduct the government until a regency should be appointed. The Duke of Albany, the son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, brother of James III., and the next heir to the monarchy, failing the young King, was invited from France to assume the Regency. In April 1514, Queen Margaret was delivered of a posthumous son, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross, but he survived only till his second year. In the Parliament which met in July 1514, a temporary Regency was devolved, with Albany's consent, during his absence, on the Queen, James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Earls of Huntly,⁴ Angus,⁵ and Arran.⁶ The young King and his infant brother were assigned to the guardianship of the Earl Marischal, and Lords Fleming and Borthwick, and the Earl of Arran was appointed Captain of Edinburgh Castle. Albany landed at Dunbarton on the 18th of May, 1515, and on the 26th he entered Edinburgh, when he was received at the gate of the Abbey of Holyrood by the Queen-Mother with the utmost professions of kindness. He was inaugurated on the 12th of July with royal pomp, and proclaimed Governor and Protector of Scotland till the King should attain the eighteenth year of his age.

Lord Home⁷ joined the party of Queen Margaret, who had married the Earl of Angus, and zealously supported the English interest against Albany, for which the Queen and Angus, among other advantages, agreed to pay him

¹ Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 8vo. pp. 91, 93. This exploit of the Laird of Buchanan was signally avenged in 1513. Kenneth Oig Mackenzie of Kintail had a foster-brother named Donald Dubh Macgillecrisic vic Gillereoch, of the district of Kinlochawe in Ross-shire, who, with the rest of his clan, was at Flodden with his young chief, John Mackenzie of Kintail, who was taken prisoner. During the retreat of the Scottish army from the field of battle, this Donald Dubh, or *Black Donald*, overheard a person near him say,—“Alas, laird, thou hast fallen!” He inquired who this was, and was told that the Laird of Buchanan had sunk from wounds or exhaustion. The Highlander, eager to revenge the death of his chief and foster-brother, drew his sword, exclaiming—“If he hath not fallen, he shall fall!” and, running to Buchanan, killed him on the spot.

² Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands, pp. 102, 103.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 119.

⁴ Alexander third Earl of Huntly, eldest son of George second Earl by his first countess, the Princess Annabella, daughter of James I. He commanded the left wing of the Scottish army at Flodden along with Lord Home, and was one of the few who escaped from that disastrous carnage.

⁵ Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, grandson and successor of Earl Archibald styled *Bell-the-Cat*. He married Queen Margaret in 1514, and the issue was Lady Margaret Douglas, who became the countess of Matthew fourth Earl of Lennox, and mother of the unfortunate Lord Darnley. The Earl of Angus was divorced by Queen Margaret in 1526.

⁶ James second Lord Hamilton, created Earl of Arran by James IV. after his marriage to the Princess Margaret, was the only son of Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow, created Lord Hamilton by royal charter in 1445, and his second wife, the Princess Mary, daughter of James II., and widow of Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran. He was in France when the battle of Flodden was fought, and when he returned to Scotland many anxiously wished that he should be appointed Regent, from his near relationship to the young King and his sufficiency for such a charge; but he yielded his pretensions to Albany.

⁷ Alexander third Lord Home, eldest son of Alexander second Lord, by Nicolas, a daughter of George Ker of Samuelton. He possessed great influence in the south of Scotland, especially in Berwickshire. Lord Home led the van at the battle of Flodden, and dispersed that division of the English army opposed to him.

the sum of 3000 merks. In 1515, an amnesty was offered by Albany, through the French ambassador, to Lord Home, and a pardon sent to him, with the request of a conference to be held at Dunglass Castle, on the confines of Berwickshire and Haddingtonshire. Home agreed to meet the Regent at Dunglass, where he was immediately arrested, and committed a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. He did not, however, long remain in the Fortress, for he induced the Earl of Arran to allow him to escape, and even to accompany him to the Borders.¹

Albany had scarcely assumed the Regency when he acted in the most tyrannical manner. He committed John first Lord Drummond, the maternal grandfather of the Earl of Angus, and Constable of Stirling Castle, a close prisoner to the Castle of Blackness.² The celebrated Gavin Douglas,³ the second brother of Angus, was sent by Albany to duress in the Sea-Tower at St. Andrews,⁴ under the pretence that he was soliciting the bishopric of Dunkeld from the Pope, through the influence of the Queen and her brother Henry VIII. Margaret was then residing in Edinburgh Castle, with the royal infants, the Fortress having been a part of her enfeoffment,⁵ and proceeding to the Abbey of Holyrood, she presented herself before Albany "sore weeping" in behalf of her husband's relatives. Her tears and entreaties were of no avail, and she returned to the Castle dejected and dispirited. It was even resolved by the Regent Albany to deprive her of the royal children. Four Peers were deputed by the Parliament to demand the royal infants; and they proceeded to the Castle, at the gate of which they were met by the Queen, with the young King in her hand, his brother carried behind in the arms of a nurse, and around stood the Earl of Angus and a few attendants. A great concourse of persons resorted to witness this interview. After the acclamations with which the Queen was received had subsided, Margaret exclaimed aloud—"Stand! Declare the cause of your coming." The Peers answered that they were sent by the Parliament to demand the young King and his brother. They were, however, astonished when they heard her cry out—"Drop the portcullis!" The massive iron was instantly let down between the Queen and the delegates, whom she now addressed—"This Castle is part of my enfeoffment, and I was made sole Governor of it by my late husband, the King, nor to any mortal shall I yield the important command. But I respect the Parliament and nation, and request six days to consider their mandate; for of infinite consequence is my charge, and my counsellors, alas! are now few." She then withdrew, and the delegates also retired; but on the fifth day she departed with her children to Stirling, her usual residence, the inhabitants of which were zealous in her behalf.

The Regent, attended by most of the nobility, marched to Stirling with seven thousand men, and easily obtained possession of that Fortress. The Queen requested the Regent's favour for her children, herself, and her husband Angus; and he replied, that as respected herself and the royal infants every indulgence would be granted, but none could be extended towards Angus and his family, because they were traitors. The Queen was compelled to return to Edinburgh Castle without the young King and his brother. She continued in the Fortress about four weeks, and as she was strictly watched by spies, her residence had some appearance of imprisonment. The Queen was then far advanced in pregnancy, and, impatient at the restraint imposed on her, she wrote to Lord Dacre, the Warden of the West Marches, under her brother Henry VIII., informing him that she was kept in a kind of captivity in her Castle of Edinburgh, while her friends were in prison, and her revenues retained—that she was consequently suffering extreme poverty, and was determined to escape from persecution—and that she wished to flee to Blackadder Castle, near the Borders, which he had recommended as a sure refuge, from its proximity to England, while she could not be said to have abdicated her rights by leaving Scotland. She also sent a ring to Henry VIII., as a pledge of her

¹ Lord Home made his peace with the Regent Albany in 1516, and was restored to his honours and estates, but this was of little avail to avert his fate. When on a visit to Albany in September that year with his fifth brother William, he was arrested, tried and convicted on a charge of high treason, beheaded on the 8th of October, his head placed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his honours and estates forfeited to the crown. His brother was tried at the same time, found guilty, executed on the following day, and his head was also spiked on the Tolbooth.

² Blackness Castle, in the parish of Carriden, on the south shore of the Frith of Forth, three miles east of Borrowstonness, six miles west of South Queensferry, and six miles north-east of Linlithgow, was kept up as a place of strength during the reigns of the early Scottish monarchs, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was used as a state prison.

³ His translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, and his own poems, are well known. He was Provost of St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, and rector of Heriot in that county, in 1509, and he was nominated Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1514, but the consecration did not take place, and he became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1516. He is prominently noticed in the history of St. Giles's Church in the present work.

⁴ The Sea-Tower of St. Andrews was a most repulsive dungeon within the precincts of the Castle or Archiepiscopal Palace of St. Andrews, overlooking the German Ocean and the Frith of Tay. Some remains of it still exist, which are detached from the ruins of the subsequent castle.

⁵ In 1445, reign of James II., an Act was passed by the Parliament held at Edinburgh, enumerating the "Lordschippis and Castellis annex to the Crown," and among them—"Item, the Castell of Edinburgh."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 42.

unalterable determination.¹ This scheme succeeded, and in the beginning of September we find the Queen at Blackadder, where she remained a month before she retired into England.

In 1517 and 1518, the young King James V., unconscious of the political agitations then raging between his mother on the one side and the Regent Albany on the other, was quietly pursuing his elementary education in Edinburgh Castle, to which he had been conveyed for safety.² He was placed under the charge of Gavin Dunbar, Prior of Whithorn, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow and Lord Chancellor. From the entries of payments in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, the apartments appropriated to the youthful sovereign seem to have been in a very indifferent condition. Though afterwards reimbursed, Dunbar, his preceptor, was obliged to repair at his own cost, in the first instance, the chamber in which the King acquired his lessons, one particular room having been assigned for that purpose.³ In reality, during the whole of Albany's regency, the wants of the young monarch and his personal comforts were so much neglected, that it was often with difficulty he could procure a new doublet or new pair of hose; and at one time he must have wanted them, if they had not been supplied by his illegitimate sister, the Countess of Morton,⁴ who occasionally sent articles of wearing apparel to the Castle for his use. The Lord Treasurer,⁵ moreover, frequently refused to pay the tailor for making his clothes, even when the cloth itself happened to be given as a present.⁶ Though he lived in the Castle for security, the King was allowed to go abroad occasionally, when the city and neighbourhood were considered sufficiently quiet, and a mule was kept for him, on which he rode out during the intervals of study, for amusement and recreation.

The fear of an epidemic fever, designated "the pest," in Edinburgh, in 1517, induced the custodiers of James V. to remove him from Edinburgh Castle to that of Craigmillar, in the neighbourhood,⁷ during his residence at which his mother returned to Scotland. In 1519, another epidemic threatened to appear in Edinburgh, and the King was removed to Dalkeith, six miles south of the city. He was, however, speedily brought back to the Castle, and was attended by the Earls of Angus, Erroll,⁸ and Crawford,⁹ Lord Glammiss,¹⁰ Archbishop Forman of St. Andrews,¹¹ the

¹ The Queen, to avoid suspicion or obstruction in her intended flight, informed Lord Dacre that when she left Edinburgh Castle she would retire first to Linlithgow, the Palace at which was included in her dower, and that she would leave thence with her husband Angus, and a few domestics not in the secret, on the first or second night. She was to be met some miles from Linlithgow by forty strongly mounted troopers, who were to escort her to Blackadder.

² "April 23 (1517).—*Item*, to xiiij pynouris, quhillk drew the artalere in the Castell at the Kingis cumin to this toune, iij s. viij d."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 265.

³ "Feb. 16 (1516-7).—*Item*, gevin to Maister Gawin Dunbar, the Kingis Maister, to by necessar things for the Kingis chamer, ix li.—Aug. 28. *Item*, to Maister Gawin Dunbar, the Kingis maister, for expensis maid be him in reparaling of the chamer in the quhillk the King leris (learns) now in the Castell, iij. li." This refers to the school-room.—Selections from the Lord Treasurer's Accounts in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 265, 266.

⁴ Catherine, daughter of James IV. by Mary Boyd, married to James third Earl of Morton.

⁵ John Campbell of Lundie was Lord Treasurer from 1517 to 1520, when he was succeeded by Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, who held the office till 1528.

⁶ The furnishing of materials for the King's clothes, and *employing a tailor to make them*, often occurred. In the Lord Treasurer's Accounts are the following entries in 1517-18:—

"June 15. *Item*, bocht to Colene Campbell, the Kingis servitour, at the Quenis cumin to Edr. vi elne of grene Birgem settene, price of ye elne xiiij s. *summa*, iij li. xvij s.

"*Item*, for iij quarteris and 1 half of blak vellous to begary ye said collere cott, price xl s. viij d.

"*Item*, for half an elne of fusteane to lyne the body of his cott, xij d.

"*Item*, for iiij elne of black gray to ye samyn, price v s. iij d.

"*Item*, for making the coit, iij s.

"Jan. 19.—*Item, de mandato Dominorum*, gevin to the Inglese man that presentit the clayth of gold come out of England to the Kingis grace in the Castell, x light crouns, vij li."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 266.

⁷ The fact is proved by the Lord Treasurer's Accounts: "Aug. 28 (1517).—*Item*, for ij gret lokkis and keyis, with slottis and stapillis, for the Kingis chamer, he remanand in Craigmillar, xij s. *Item*, to Robene Purvese for schoyne (shoes), howsis (stable), breddill (bridle), and helteris (halters), bocht for the Kingis mule, xx s. vj d. *Item*, for twa small stok-lokkis in *Craigmillare*, v s ij d. *Item*, for ij gret lokkis bocht for ij zettis (gates) in *Cragmyllare*, be command of Mons^r Labasty, *quhen the King was thair*, xij s." The cause of this removal is recorded by Bishop Lesly, who also intimates the Queen-Mother's arrival in Scotland—"The Quene being in Ingland, hearing of the departing of the Governour (Albany) furth of Scotland, returnit to Edinburhe the xvij day of Junij, with ane quiet trayne; bot was nocht admittit to vissit the King in the Castell, quhill (until) in August thaireftir; *becaus thir was sum feir of the pest in the Castell*, the King was transportit to *Cragmillar*, quhair the Quene vissiet him oftymes. But thair-thruch rais ane grait suspicion that he suld have bene stollin away be her into Ingland, and thairfor he wes brocht againe to the Castell of Edinbruch, and was keptit thairto the returning of the Duk" (of Albany).—BANNATYNE CLUB Edition, p. 109. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 266, 267.

⁸ William Hay fifth Earl of Erroll, son of William fourth Earl, who fell at Flodden, and his Countess Elizabeth, daughter of William first Lord Ruthven.

⁹ David Lindsay seventh Earl of Crawford, son of Alexander sixth Earl by his Countess Margaret, a daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglas.

¹⁰ John Lyon sixth Lord Glammiss, son of John fourth Lord by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew third Lord Gray. He succeeded his brother, George fifth Lord, who died in his minority in 1505. Lord Glammiss married Janet, second daughter of George Douglas, Master of Angus, and sister of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus. The extraordinary proceedings against this lady, and her melancholy fate, are related in a subsequent part of this narrative.

¹¹ Andrew Forman, who had been Archbishop of Bourges in France, and was translated from the Bishopric of Moray to the Primacy of St. Andrews in 1514. He was the immediate predecessor of Archbishop James Beaton.

Bishops of Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Dunblane and Orkney,¹ and many abbots and dignitaries of high rank. As the Earls of Angus and Arran were now at the head of two distinct factions having a deadly feud with each other, which broke forth the following year in the extraordinary riot in the High Street of Edinburgh known as *Cleanse the Causeway*, subsequently related, the gates of the Castle were shut against the party of the Earl of Angus by the noblemen to whose care the King had been committed. On the 3d of December, 1521, the Regent Albany visited the King in the Castle, where he received the keys from the Captain, gave them to Queen Margaret, and received them from her hands as a sign that he ought to have the guardianship of the young monarch.

In the Parliament held at Edinburgh in July 1522, it was concluded, by the desire of the Queen and the Regent, that James V., then in his eleventh year, should be removed from Edinburgh Castle to Stirling, and placed under the sole care of John fourth Lord Erskine.² In 1524, James V. assumed the government, when only about fourteen years of age. Accompanied by the Queen, he proceeded from Stirling to the Abbey of Holyrood, which he entered amid loud acclamations, and then took possession of the Castle, which was probably entrusted to a new governor.³

On the 14th of November, 1524, a Parliament was held in Edinburgh; and early in the morning of the 23d of that month, the Earls of Angus and Lennox,⁴ the Master of Glencairn,⁵ Scott of Buccleuch,⁶ who had been recently liberated from prison, and other leaders, suddenly advanced to Edinburgh. They scaled the city walls, opened the gates, admitted the whole of their followers, consisting of nearly four hundred men, and, proceeding to the Cross, they proclaimed that they appeared as good subjects. Angus and his friends appeared before the Privy Council, and insisted that sundry noblemen and bishops should take the guardianship of the young King. As soon as the arrival of this armed body of retainers was known in the Castle, a furious discharge of artillery was poured into the city. The Bishop of Aberdeen and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, accompanied by Magnus, the English ambassador, went in haste to the Abbey of Holyrood, to entreat the Queen-Mother instantly to stop the fire of the Fortress. They found several of the nobility already assembled in the Abbey, with four or five hundred followers, prepared to attack Angus. Margaret admitted the bishop and the abbot, commanding the ambassador to retire, and he did so amid considerable danger, after one ball had killed a priest, two tradesmen, and a woman.⁷ Another *Cleanse the Causeway* might have been the result, which was prevented by Angus leaving Edinburgh for Dalkeith with his party in the afternoon, and his countess, the Queen-Mother, proceeded by torch-light from the Abbey to the Castle. It was intended to serve Angus, Lennox, and the other leaders, with a summons of treason for this exploit; but an act of exoneration was passed by the Parliament on the 22d of February following, when Angus and Lennox had so far made their peace with their opponents that they were chosen two of the Lords of the Articles.

Queen Margaret retained the young King in the Castle without any personal restraint. Archbishop James Beaton, then lord chancellor, and Angus, nevertheless alleged that she kept her son in a kind of captivity, and demanded that he should be ruled by a council appointed by the three estates. The citizens of Edinburgh were favourable to the Archbishop's party; and they were only restrained by the threatening aspect of the garrison in the

¹ The Bishops mentioned were Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen (uncle of Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow), son of Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock by Jane eldest daughter of John seventh Earl of Sutherland; Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld; and James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, eldest son of Chisholm of Cromlix near Dunblane. The name of the Bishop of Orkney is uncertain.

² Properly fourth Earl of Mar of the surname of Erskine, son of Robert third Lord Erskine, who fell at Flodden, and his wife Isabel, a daughter of Campbell of Loudoun, ancestor of the Earls of Loudoun.

³ The Queen-Mother left Stirling for Edinburgh, with her son the young king, on the 26th of July. Nearly three months before this, James Crichton of Cranstoun-Riddell was Captain of the Castle. In the Lord Treasurer's Account is the following payment:—"April 17, 1524. *Item*, to James Crechtounne of Cranstoune-Riddale, *Capitane of the Castell of Edr*, for expensis maid be him upoune the sustentatioun of Donald of the Ilis, Patrik Wilsoune, Cammouse, Frenchman, and diverse utheris being in ward, &c., xliij li. xv s."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 270.

⁴ John third Earl of Lennox, son of Matthew second Earl and his Countess Elizabeth, daughter of James Lord Hamilton. He was the father of Matthew fourth Earl, and grandfather of Lord Darnley.

⁵ William Cunningham, afterwards fourth Earl of Glencairn, son of Cuthbert third Earl and his Countess Marjory, daughter of Archibald fifth Earl of Angus.

⁶ Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and Buccleuch, afterwards mentioned, an ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Buccleuch.

⁷ This invasion of the city, and the injury inflicted by the artillery of the Castle, evidently elicited the following Act, which was passed by the Parliament on the 22d of February, 1524-5:—"It is statutit and ordainit, that forasmekle as the Lordis of Counsall, and utheris our Soverane Lordis leigis reastand and repairand to the toun of Edinburgh, may be invadit, persewit, or troublit be evill avisit persounes being in the Castell of Edinburgh be schot of gunnis; that thairfor the Capitane of the said Castell suffir na gunnis to be schot furth of the samyn, to the hurt, damage, or skaith of ony of our Souerane Lordis leigis: nor that he suffir nane of the artilzery, gunnis, pulderis, bullettis, or uthir municions, now being in the Castell forsaid, to be remuffit furth of the samyn to ony uthir place, without the avise and command of the Lordis chosin of Counsall, under the pane of treasoun; and that na gunneris pass to the Castell of Edinburgh without command and charge of the said Lordis, undir the pane of deid."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 290.

Castle. Among the various notices of the Fortress in subsequent years, we find James V. advancing in person to besiege it in March 1527-8, at which time his mother the Queen, and her new husband Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, second son of Andrew Lord Avondale, had taken refuge within its battlements to secure themselves from Angus, whom she had divorced. The Queen instantly surrendered the keys, and entreated pardon for her husband and his brother, who was with them, on her knees. James, however, was advised to inflict some punishment, and, with the exception of the Queen, they were imprisoned for a short time.

The Castle was often appointed to be the place of confinement of the hostages required for the peaceable behaviour of the turbulent Highland and Hebridean chiefs. In 1530, James V., when he granted a protection to nine of the principal islanders sent by Hector Maclean of Duart, against the Earl of Argyll, agreed, as additional security, to take two of the following hostages from the Earl,—Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Archibald Campbell of Auchinbreck, Archibald Campbell of Skipness, and Duncan Campbell of Ilangerig. The two were to enter into "ward" in the Castle, and strong measures were to be adopted against the refractory chiefs. In 1531, or 1532, Patrick third Earl of Bothwell, whose father, the second Earl, had been keeper of the Castle in the reign of James IV., was seized and committed to the Fortress by order of James V., for secretly passing into England, and holding a treasonable correspondence with the Earl of Northumberland. This Earl, who was the father of the notorious Earl of Bothwell, was confined in the Castle a considerable time, for he was in it as a prisoner in June 1533. One writer asserts that he "died the following year a captive or an exile."¹ This, however, is a mistake. Bothwell certainly was exiled, but he returned to Scotland after the death of James V., was present in the Parliament of 15th March, 1542-3, and was the rival of the Earl of Lennox to obtain the Queen-Dowager Mary of Guise in marriage. He was again in prison at the period of the battle of Pinkie in 1547, the day after which he was released from a long confinement, and he is supposed to have died in exile in 1556.

In 1537, the Castle was partly the scene of one of those atrocious tragedies which stain the national annals, and is indelibly disgraceful to the memory of James V. This was the execution of Lady Glamis, who was tried and convicted on a charge of conspiring to take away the King's life by poison. Jane or Janet Douglas, the victim of this judicial murder, was the second daughter of George Master of Angus, eldest son of the celebrated Earl of Angus, surnamed *Bell-the-Cat* and the *Great Earl*. She married John, sixth Lord Glamis, who died in December 1527, leaving by her a son named John, seventh Lord, then a youth, who was long involved in his mother's misfortunes, and at least one daughter, who became the wife of Ross of Craigie. Lady Glamis afterwards married Archibald Campbell, styled of *Kepneith*, probably Skipnish, the second son of Archibald second Earl of Argyll. Her brother Archibald, who succeeded his grandfather as sixth Earl of Angus, had been forfeited in Parliament in 1528, with his brother George Douglas, and Archibald Douglas his uncle. All persons were strictly prevented from "intercommuning," or affording shelter, food, or raiment, to the Earl and the other specified traitors and rebels, under the penalty of death. Regardless of this prohibition, Lady Glamis awarded to her two brothers and her uncle all the assistance in her power, and this brought on her the implacable vengeance of James V., who had solemnly sworn that while he lived the Douglas family never should be allowed to find refuge in Scotland. In 1528, Lady Glamis had also been summoned with three gentlemen to answer a charge of treason by the Parliament for giving pecuniary and other assistance to her brother the Earl, who had rendered himself obnoxious to James V. by sundry attempts to "invade the King's person" in the month of May 1527, and the charge was continued till the following January, when the proceedings against her seem to have been relinquished. In addition to the charge of treason, she was falsely accused, in 1531, of taking away the life of her husband Lord Glamis *per intoxicationem*, probably meaning the agency of drugs, charms, or enchanted potions. At last, in 1537, Lady Glamis, her son the young Lord Glamis, her husband Campbell of Skipnish, John Lyon, a relation of the deceased Lord Glamis, and an old priest, were committed to Edinburgh Castle on the charge of conspiring against the King's life by poison or witchcraft, with the intention of restoring her brother the Earl of Angus, though the said accusation of "treasonably conspiring or imagining the King's slaughter or destruction by poison" was a new device in the affair. She was brought to trial at Edinburgh on the 17th of July, and among the assize, or fifteen jurymen, were the Earls of Atholl, Cassillis, and Buchan, Lords Maxwell and Sempill, the Master of Glencairn, Sir John Melville of Raith, and Sir James Tours of Inverleith. Unprincipled witnesses were brought forward merely to please the King, and on their false testimony the jury were compelled to return a verdict of guilty, without, as says Sir Thomas Clifford in a letter to Henry VIII., "any substantial ground or proof of matter." Lady Glamis defended herself with an eloquence which astonished

her judges; but she was condemned to be burnt on the Castle-hill; and this infamous sentence was inflicted with the sanction of the King, amid the tears and lamentations of the spectators.¹ Her husband, and her son Lord Glamis, were sentenced to be hanged as “art and part” in the pretended charge of attempting to poison the King. The latter was detained a prisoner in the Castle till the death of James V., when he was restored to his estates and honours.² Her husband attempted to escape from the Castle by means of a rope over the walls, on the day after she was burnt, but he fell on the rocky precipices, and died from the bruises he received. It is said that the contriver of all this barbarity was a person named William Lyon, a relative of Lord Glamis, who, after the death of that nobleman, made advances to Lady Glamis, which she indignantly repelled, and he determined to sacrifice her to his revenge after she married Campbell of Skipnish.³

At the time of this judicial murder of Lady Glamis, who has been most erroneously represented by some writers as having suffered for witchcraft, the Castle was the prison of two other distinguished persons. These were John, sixth Lord Forbes, and his eldest son the Master of Forbes. As it was easy, in that age, to invent any charge of treason, Lord Forbes and the Master had been accused, in 1536, of “conspiring the destruction” of the Scottish army at Jedburgh, or exciting a mutiny among the Scottish forces while on their march to defend the Borders against the English; and the Master was individually indicted for intending to murder the King at Aberdeen by the shot of a “culverin.” The leading person in the plot against the life of Lord Forbes and the Master was George, fourth Earl of Huntly—the same nobleman who was killed at the battle of Corrichie in Aberdeenshire in 1562, and whose second son, Sir John Gordon, was beheaded for his share in that insurrection, which caused the temporary fall of the noble family of Gordon. It is true that the Master of Forbes was also accused of a real crime. In 1530, he was obliged to find surety to “underly the law” for the murder of Alexander Seton of Meldrum in Aberdeenshire, but he obtained a “remission” or pardon that year. Lord Forbes and the Master are said to have been committed prisoners to the Castle in 1536, though, probably, the former only was that year placed in durance; for on the 11th of June, 1537, the Privy Council, at which the King was present, ordered a herald “to pass, and command, and charge the said Master of Forbes to enter his person within the Castle of Edinburgh, under the pain of treason, and there to remain until the first day of July; or else that he, within the said space, find sufficient caution and surety to the Justice-Clerk that he shall compare by the said first day of July before our Sovereign Lord, or his Justice, to defend the said matter as accords upon the law, under the pain of 20,000 merks.” As long as the Master remained in the City of Edinburgh he was not to approach the King’s person nearer than the Nether Bow, which is half-way between the Castle and Holyrood Palace; and if he left the City, he was to keep himself at the respectful distance of three miles from the presence of royalty. Though the Master denied the truth of Huntly’s accusation, and offered to maintain his innocence by single combat, his destruction was determined; and on the 14th of July, 1537, he was tried, convicted, and condemned to be “harlyt and drawn throw the causeway of Edinburgh, and hangit on the gallouse to the deid, and quarterit, and demanit as ane traytour.” The only alteration of the sentence was that he was beheaded, which “favour,” as Sir James Balfour quaintly terms it,⁴ he procured from the King “by the mediatioun of some friendis.” The death of the Master of Forbes was another judicial murder, for if it is true that he married a sister of the Earl of Angus,⁵ such a connexion was sure to bring upon him the vengeance of the King; but he acknowledged on the scaffold that he deserved his fate for the murder of Seton of Meldrum.⁶ His father was detained a prisoner in the Castle for a considerable time, and his brother William, who, after his death, became

¹ Lady Glamis is described as the “most celebrated beauty in the nation, of a middle stature, not too fat, her face of an oval form, with full eyes, her complexion extremely fair and beautiful, with a majestic mien; besides all these perfections, she was a lady of singular chastity; her modesty was admirable, her courage was above what could be expected in her sex, her judgment solid, her behaviour affable and engaging to her inferiors as well as equals.”

² He was the father of John eighth Lord Glamis (father of the first Earl of Kinghorn) and Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar. The former was killed in the street of Stirling on the 17th of March, 1578, in an encounter between his followers and those of the Earl of Crawford; and the latter, designed Master of Glamis, figures in the famous plot known as the *Raid of Ruthven*, in 1582, when the bold and daring achievement of seizing the person of James VI. was effected in Ruthven Castle, now Huntingtower, near Perth.

³ Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. pp. 187–190.

⁴ *Annales of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 268.

So says Calderwood in his *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, Wodrow Society’s edition, 8vo. Edin. 1842, vol. i. p. 112; but no such marriage is narrated in the Peerage accounts. It is expressly stated by Lumsden of Tullikerne, in his *Genealogy of the Family of Forbes*, written in 1580, and printed at Inverness, 8vo. 1819, pp. 11, 18, that the Master of Forbes married “Elizabeth Lyon, daughter to the Lord Glames, who was falsely murdered in Edinburgh, as is notable known,” by which it would appear that Lady Glamis was his mother-in-law, yet her daughter is alleged to have married Ross of Craigie. The Master of Forbes was, however, related to the Douglas family. His great-great-grandfather Sir Alexander Forbes, created Lord Forbes before 1442, married Lady Elizabeth Douglas, only daughter of George Earl of Angus, and grand-daughter of King Robert II., by whom he had issue two sons, the elder of whom succeeded him, and three daughters.

⁶ Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 183–187.

Master of Forbes, and eventually succeeded as seventh Lord, was also committed to the Castle as a prisoner. On the 11th of December, 1537, the Privy Council accepted a bond of caution, signed by five gentlemen, three of them of the name of Forbes, that "John Lord Forbes, and his son William Master of Forbes, should not escape from the Castle of Edinburgh."¹ Previous to the 10th of April, 1538, Lord Forbes appears to have been set at liberty, and his son released from durance in the Castle; for on that day a warrant was subscribed by the King, permitting "William Forbes, sonne and appearand aire of Johne Lord Forbes, now beand in our Castell of Edinburghe, to cum and remane in warde in our toune of Edinburghe," from which he was not to depart without the King's special license, under the penalty of 10,000 merks. It is singular that James V. soon admitted him into his favour, and in 1539 appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber—"a degree of confidence," it is well remarked, "unknown in that age of deep revenge."²

James V., of whom it is said that "he had a solemn vow that no one should be spared that was suspected of heresy, though he were his own son," witnessed from the Castle the execution of five persons on the 1st of March, 1538-9.³ The unfortunate individuals, who were first strangled and then burnt on the Castle-hill, were John Keillor, a Dominican or Black Friar, John Beveridge of the same order, Duncan Simpson, a priest from Stirling, Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar in the county of Clackmannan, and a gentleman of Stirling named Robert Forrester, a notary by profession. The general charge against them all, of which they were found guilty, was, that they were "heresiarchs, or chief heretiks, and teachers of heresie." They had been imprisoned in the Castle previous to their trial.

In 1540, Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and Buccleuch, an ancestor of the Dukes of Buccleuch, was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. He had been summoned before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh for alleged assistance to Lord Dacre in some Border maraudings. Sir Walter Scott had appeared before the Court on the 19th of April, 1535, and submitted to the will of the King, who then imprisoned him, probably in the Castle.⁴ But he was in the Fortress in 1540, for on the 11th of March, 1540-1, William, Earl of Glencairn, John Home of Cowdenknows, and nine others, four of whom were Kers, became cautioners for "the Laird of Branxholme, now being in warde within the Castell of Edinburghe, that he sall remane in warde within the burghe of the samyne, and nocht to depart thairfra, without he obtene license of our Souerane Lord, undir the pane of 20,000 merkis." On the 8th of August, 1541, caution was again found that Sir Walter Scott "pass and remain in the pairtis of Moray, and utheris be-northe the water of Spey, as in our Souerane Lordis warde, induring his will, and nocht to eschaip furth of the samyn," under the penalty of 20,000 merks.⁵ It is said that Sir Walter continued "under a cloud" till the death of James V., in December 1542. He was killed in a nocturnal encounter with Sir Walter Ker of Cessford in the High Street of Edinburgh in October 1552.

Referring the reader to the note below for some details of the condition of the buildings and the artillery of the Castle in the reign of James IV. and James V.,⁶ it may be sufficient to observe, that the Castle of Edinburgh, long before and after that period, was seldom or never without its complement of state-prisoners of rank. Numerous

¹ "In presens of the Lordis Chancellor, President, and Lordis of Counsell, comperit Walter Innes of Touchis, Robert Orrok of that ilk, James Forbes of Carnebo, John Forbes of Drumdocht, and William Forbes of Ardmurdo, who became plegeis and souertieis, conjunctlie and seueralie, renunciand the benefice of diuision, to the Justice-Clerk, in our Souerane Lordis name, for Johne Lord Forbes and William Maister of Forbes his sone, now being within the Castle of Edinburg in warde, that thair sall nocht eschew nor depart furth of the said Castle of Edinburg, bot sall remane thairintill, as in fre warde, quhill thair be fred furth of the samin be the Kingis Grace, under the pane of ten thousand merkis. *Et hoc plegium captum fuit ex mandato Dominorum Consilii.*—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. i. Part I. pp. 186, 187.

² Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, edited by Wood, folio, vol. i. p. 593.

³ The presence of James V. at this inhuman *auto-da-fé* is noticed in his Household Book, under date March 1, 1539—"Accusatio hereticorum, et eorum combustio, apud Edinburgh, Rege presente."

⁴ It is stated by his great namesake, in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, that Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm was imprisoned and forfeited in 1535 for levying war against the Kers; but the assistance rendered to Lord Dacre is the only point mentioned in the summons against him, though it probably originated in the feuds between the

Scotts and the Kers, as Sir Walter Scott was extremely obnoxious to the English, and was noted for his uniform hostility to them.

⁵ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 229.

⁶ According to a popular tradition, the stones used for some of the buildings of Edinburgh Castle were obtained from a quarry, now covered by plantations, near the ruinous castle of Craigmillar. A part of the Fortress was known as *David's Tower*, in which were the *Lord's Hall*, the *Mid-Chalmer*, the *King's Kitchen*, and the *New Court Kitchen*, and for all these are entries of payments of timber work in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts in 1516. In the Fortress were also the *Captain's Tower*, and the *Gun House*, in which latter were the "haill munitione," such as "pikkis, halbarts, billis, mattoks, spades, schovels, halbrokkes, spleuttis;" and various other weapons and implements, and in 1515 were also "artalzere." On the 2d of August that year, a payment is entered for a certain number of carts employed to remove the "guns, gun-stanes, powdir, cofferis, and uthir artalzery out of the Castell and Abbay of Edinburghe to Leithe;" and on the 12th of September a payment for the same labour occurs. The artillery seems at that time to have been under the command of a Frenchman, who is designated "Johanne Bouskat, Commissioner of the Artalzery." In 1527, the Comptroller was ordered to provide stores for four hundred persons to defend the Castle against the English, and the Fortress was thoroughly

instances of these occur in the Justiciary Records, which it is unnecessary to enumerate in this narrative.¹ In February 1545-6, George Wishart, commonly called the Martyr, younger brother of Sir John Wishart of Pitarrow, appointed Comptroller of Scotland and privy councillor after the return of Mary from France in 1561, was apprehended at the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, three miles from Tranent, by the Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of the county, whose son and successor is odious for his crimes in the reign of Queen Mary. Bothwell carried Wishart to Elphinstone Tower, nearly three miles distant, where the Regent Arran and Cardinal Beaton, his deadly enemy, were waiting to receive him, and he was there confined during the night. He was next conveyed by Bothwell to his own castle of Hailes near Haddington; but by the persuasion of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise, he was removed to Edinburgh Castle by order of the Privy Council. Wishart was soon afterwards transferred, by the influence of Cardinal Beaton, to St. Andrews, where he was tried for heresy, and cruelly burnt on the 1st day of March. Cockburn of Ormiston, and Sandilands younger of Calder,² two avowed enemies of the Cardinal, were also apprehended at Ormiston on the night Wishart was taken; and they were sent to the Castle, in which they were imprisoned for a few weeks.³ Crichton of Brunstane, another of those hostile to the Cardinal, was also with them, and a diligent search was made for him, but he contrived to escape through the woods of Ormiston.⁴ Three years afterwards, on the 5th of February, 1547-8, Nicolas Ramsay of Dalhousie⁵ produced sureties that he would remain in ward, wherever the Governor and Regent, James Earl of Arran, thought proper to appoint. On the 4th of March he again found caution to remain in ward within the "bounds of Fife" during the Governor's pleasure, and that "the said Nycholl sall entir againe in ward within the Castle of Edinburghe or Blackness, within three dayis next after he be chargeat thairto, be our Souverane Lady, my Lord Governour, or thair letteres."⁶ On the 14th of August, 1548, Richard Maitland of Lethington, father of the celebrated Secretary of State to Queen Mary, produced George Lord Seton as his surety that he would enter within the Castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, at the pleasure of the Governor, on forty-eight hours' warning.⁷

Robert, third Lord Sempill, was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh for killing William, third Lord Crichton of Sanquhar,⁸ in the residence of the Regent Arran at Edinburgh, and almost in his presence, in June 1552

repaired, at a considerable expense, from November 1538 to September 1539. In March 1540 or 1541, the Duke of Norfolk informs the Lord Privy Seal of England that a "secret frende," who "hath a great authoritie about the ordnance of Scotland," informed him that "there were new trymmed, and part of them newe made, in the Castell of Edinborough, xvi grete peeces, as cannons and culveryns, and ix smaller peeces for the felde." A Register House was "biggit within the Castell" in 1541, and various payments occur, referring to structures of which it is now impossible to obtain any description, or to identify them as specified in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts. On the 16th of March, 1541-2, David Crichton of Naughton was appointed Captain and Keeper of the Castle for life, with a salary of 400 merks.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. pp. 258, 260, 261.

¹ In 1524, the "Captain" of the Fortress absconded. On the 4th of November, John and George Tennent produced Alexander Livingstone of Donyphace, properly Dunipace, in Stirlingshire, as their surety that they would "underly the law" for allowing James Hamilton of Stenhouse, described as "Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh," to escape from ward. The cause of his imprisonment is not stated.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 331. Lindsay of Pitseottie, who calls him William Hamilton, says that he was also Lord Provost of Edinburgh, which he never was; and that he, his son James Hamilton, and six other persons, one of whom was a woman, were killed on the streets of Edinburgh some time afterwards in a riot by some Frenchmen.

² John Sandilands, eldest son and heir of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Knight, whose younger son, Sir James Sandilands, was recommended by Sir Walter Lindsay to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Knights Templars at Malta, to succeed him as the Grand Master of that Order in Scotland. This personage became the first Lord Torphichen, and at his death in 1596 without issue, the title devolved to his grand-nephew, the grandson of John Sandilands, younger of Calder.

³ Ormiston and Sandilands contrived to escape from the Castle after a month's captivity. On the 29th of March, 1546, James Lawson of Highriggs, a property now occupied partly by George Heriot's Hospital, and two of his friends, "found caution to underly the law

for art and part of the assistance afforded to William Cockburn of Ormiston and the young Laird of Calder in breaking their ward furth of the Castle of Edinburgh." On the same day Sandilands produced as sureties James Forrester, described as *young Laird of Corstorphine*, George Preston of Craigmillar, Robert Mowbray of Barnbogle, John Pennycook of that Ilk, and two others, "for his entry within the Castle of Edinburgh upon twenty-four hours' warning, under the pane of L.10,000 Scots," and that he "sall remane in warde in the mene tyme in the place of Corstorphin Colege, toune, and yards thairof." This was recalled on the 29th of September, 1546, by the Governor and Regent, the Earl of Arran, who, at St. Andrews, granted letters of license to his "lovit Johne Sandilandis, young Laird of Caldour," to pass to "the partis of France, and thair remane ane certain space, as the said licence mair fullie proportis;" and that he shall "nocht be chargeit to entir in the said warde, nor yit his souerteis sal be unlavit for nonentre of him in warde, until his returning and hame-cuming agane within the Realme of Scotland, and xl dais thairefir."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 333, 334.

⁴ Cockburn of Ormiston and Crichton of Brunstane were forfeited and banished in 1548 by the Regent Arran, at the instance, it is alleged, of Archbishop Hamilton, his illegitimate brother, the successor of Cardinal Beaton in the Primacy of St. Andrews.

⁵ Nicolas Ramsay of Dalhousie was the grandfather of James Ramsay, whose elder son George was created Lord Ramsay of Melrose in 1618, a title which he relinquished for that of Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie in 1619; and his eldest son William, second Lord, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dalhousie in 1633. Sir John, the younger son of James Ramsay, and brother of the first Lord Ramsay, was created Viscount of Haddington in 1606, and Earl of Holderness in the Peerage of England in 1620.

⁶ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 336.

⁷ Ibid. vol. i. Part I. p. 338.

⁸ Grandfather of Robert sixth Lord, who was hanged in Great Palace Yard, before the gate of Westminster Hall, in June 1612, for hiring two men to assassinate an unfortunate fencing-master named Turner.

or 1553. The cause of this murder is not clearly stated; but it is admitted that Lord Sempill was saved from the scaffold by the influence of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, who cohabited with his daughter, by whom he had a son named John Hamilton of Blair. This dame, designated "Lady Gilton," is ungallantly described by Buchanan as neither "handsome nor a woman of good reputation, nor noted for any thing but her wantonness." Be this as it may, the Regent Arran, on the 10th of September, signed a warrant at Edinburgh, in the house of Archbishop Hamilton, who was his illegitimate brother, releasing Lord Sempill from durance in the Castle. The injured relations of the murdered Lord Crichton were obliged to yield to circumstances, and even to affix their names as concurring in the pardon. It can scarcely be doubted that Lord Sempill was indebted for his life to his daughter's connexion with Archbishop Hamilton, who swayed the Regent. Lindsay of Pitcottie loudly denounces the scandal of compounding for such an atrocious crime, and states that "no conviction was made therefor, because he (Sempill) was the Bishop's *guidfather*; but the plague of God left never the Bishop's house thereafter, because they left the public fault unpunished conform to justice."¹

Sir James Balfour states, under the year 1559—"The Lord Herries escapes out of Edinburgh Castle, where he was a prisoner, and joins himself to the Congregation."² The cause of the confinement of Lord Herries is not stated. This nobleman was Sir John Maxwell, second son of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell. He married Agnes, eldest daughter and coheir of William fourth Lord Herries of Terreagles, and became fifth Lord Herries in right of that lady. The title was confirmed to him by Queen Mary, and as Lord Herries, though he at one time joined the Lords of the Congregation, he is prominent as the devoted adherent of that unfortunate sovereign.

In 1559, Mary of Guise, the widowed consort of James V. and mother of Queen Mary, for whom she had acted as Regent after the deprivation of the Earl of Arran, resided in the Castle during the siege of Leith by the Lords of the Congregation, who were assisted by the English auxiliaries. The state of the Queen-Dowager's health rendered her retreat to the Fortress necessary, as she prudently declined to expose herself in Leith to the hazard of a siege which was protracted to the following year. She, however, daily watched with anxiety from the ramparts all the operations of her adversaries and their English allies, the former of whom had branded her French forces in Leith as "*throat-cutters*," to whose mercy, in their opinion, "no honest men durst commit themselves." During one desperate assault in 1560, in which the besiegers were repulsed, the Queen sat on the battlements of the Castle, regarding with intense feelings the vicissitudes of the fight, even while she was labouring under an illness which in a few days proved fatal. When the Queen saw the English repulsed, and the French banners again placed triumphantly on the walls of Leith, she was unable to repress her joy; and she is accused by John Knox of exclaiming—"Now will I go to mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen;" and she immediately proceeded to the Castle church,³ which was dedicated to the canonized Queen Margaret. The French, elated at their success, are accused of expressing their exultation in a very atrocious manner. As soon as the English had returned to their encampments on Leith Links and the vicinity, the French are said to have sallied out and stripped naked the dead bodies of their assailants, and then to have ranged and suspended the corpses along the outside of the wall, the lower parts of which were composed of sloping earth, and exhibited them in that position several days. When these were shown to the Queen-Dowager, she is reported to have exclaimed—"Ah! yonder is the prettiest tapestry I ever beheld. Would that all the fields between me and Leith were covered with the same stuff!" The Queen must have had most extraordinary powers of vision if she, or any other person, could have recognised a row of dead bodies on the then defences of Leith from Edinburgh Castle, which is about two miles distant in a straight line. Whether she said it is another matter, though it is not likely, when it is recollected that she was then suffering from a malady which caused her death a few days afterwards; and it seems inconsistent with the authentic accounts of her last moments, during which she had an interview with her four most determined opponents, the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Marischall, and Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, subsequently Earl of Moray and Regent of Scotland. During this her mortal illness she requested particularly to have an interview in the Castle with D'Oisel, the French ambassador, to bid him farewell; but this was not permitted, though he had been one of her intimate friends. She addressed to him a

¹ This passage occurs in the octavo edition of Lindsay of Pitcottie's History of Scotland, p. 511; but it is not in the folio edition published at Edinburgh in 1728, p. 198.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 340, 353-355.

² Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 317.

³ The church here spoken of was the ancient one which is de-

scribed as having been a very elegant Gothic structure, altogether different from the present chapel,—a small, plain edifice, without the least architectural pretensions, and which may be classed in the same category with the New Barracks on the western side of the rock, so justly condemned by Sir Walter Scott, in his Provincial Antiquities, as greatly disfiguring the appearance of the Fortress.

letter requesting some medicines, which was intercepted, and presented to Lord Grey of Wilton,¹ the English commander, who quietly observed—"Medicines are more abundant and fresher in Edinburgh than they can be in Leith; there lurketh here some mystery." He held the paper before a fire, and some secret writing appeared, which he examined. His lordship destroyed the letter, observing to the Queen's messenger—"Albeit I have been her secretary, tell her that I shall keep her counsel; but say to her that such wares will not sell till there is a new market." The Queen died in the Castle, almost in the presence of the above-mentioned noblemen, on the 9th of June, 1560; but the apartment is not pointed out, though it must have been one of those in that part of the Fortress in which her grandson James VI. was born. She exhorted the noblemen who were with her at her death-bed to be loyal to her daughter; and lamenting in the most pathetic manner the distracted state of the kingdom, occasioned by religious and political strife, and the unhappy forebodings of the future, she asked forgiveness if she had at any time offended them, and died in the most peaceful manner. If interment suitable to her rank and the rites of her religion had been permitted, it is not unlikely that the body of the Queen-Dowager would have been deposited beside that of her husband in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, but the opposition of the Reformers was too powerful.² The corpse was accordingly enclosed in a leaden coffin, and kept in the Castle until the 19th of October following, when it was placed in a vessel at Leith, conveyed to France, and buried in the Benedictine Convent of St. Peter at Rheims, of which her sister was Abbess.³ John fifth Lord Erskine, properly sixth Earl of Mar, of the surname of Erskine, and in 1565 restored to that ancient earldom, was Keeper of Edinburgh Castle at the death of the Queen-Dowager, and for some years afterwards. He succeeded his father John fourth Lord Erskine in that important charge, and in his honours and estates, in 1552. Lord Erskine subsequently appears as the Regent Mar, the successor of the Earl of Lennox in that high office, and consequently one of the four Regents of Scotland during the minority of James VI.

Queen Mary landed at Leith from France on the 19th of August, 1561. She proceeded directly to the Palace of Holyrood, and some days afterwards made her public appearance in Edinburgh by riding to the Castle, amid the acclamations of the citizens. After dining with Lord Erskine the governor, she returned to Holyrood by the High Street and the Canongate. During the time she was within the Fortress the followers of John Knox had not been idle. As soon as she emerged with her train from the Castle, the first object which met her eye was a little boy, who was made to come out of a round hole, as it is termed, or globe, and present to her a Bible, a Psalter, and the keys of the gates, reciting some complimentary verses.⁴ The other demonstrations, according to Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's resident at Edinburgh, were "terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; there were burnt Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in the time of their sacrifice." It was intended also to burn the effigy of a priest at the altar, in the act of the elevation; but this was prevented by the Earl of Huntly, who that day carried the Sword of State.

In 1563, the Castle contained, as a state prisoner, Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, the last Roman Catholic Primate of Scotland. On the 19th of May in that year the Archbishop and forty-seven persons, most of whom were ecclesiastics of the subverted hierarchy, were arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary for "celebrating the Mass, attempting to restore Popery at Kirkoswald, Maybole, Paisley," and other places, and for "convocation of the lieges. Two of the accused, Hugh Kennedy of Blairquhan, and David Kennedy, gentlemen related to the Earl of Cassillis, were sentenced to be "put in ward within the Castell of Edinburgh, thair to remain during the will and plesour of our Souerane Lady." The same punishment was inflicted on Archbishop Hamilton on the 29th of May; but on the 26th of July he produced William Sempill of Thirdpart, and Michael Nasmyth of Posso, as pledges and sureties, "conjunctlie and severallie," under the penalty of 3000*l.*, that the said Archbishop, then "in our Souerane Ladie's ward within the Castell of Edinburgh," would not "contravene the ordinance and proclamation made by hir

¹ Sir William Grey, thirteenth Baron Grey of Wilton in the county of Hereford, succeeded his brother, the twelfth Baron, about 1529.

² John Knox says, "The preichours bauldly gaynstude that ony superstitious rytes could be ussit within that Realme quhilk God of his grit mercie had begun to purge, and so conclusion was tane that the buriall would be deferrit till further advysemēt."—*Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 271.

³ Bishop Keith's *History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland*, folio, Edin. 1734, p. 130; and the *SPORTSWOOD SOCIETY'S* edition, 8vo. Edin. 1844, vol. i. pp. 284, 285.—John Knox, in reference to the Queen's burial at Rheims, says, "Quhat pompe was ussit thair

we nouthur heard nor yet regaird; bot in it we see that she who wes delyttit that uthers lay without buriall, gat neyther so sone as she herself, if she had bein of that counsail in her lyfe, wad have requyred it, neyther so honourably in this realme as same tyme she luiked for."—*Historie*, &c. p. 271. He here refers also to the Queen-Dowager's alleged exclamation about the "tapestry."

⁴ Randolph to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th September, 1561, in Keith's *History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland*, p. 189; and in Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 74.

Grace anent the religion quhilk hir Majestic fand publick and universallie standing at hir arryval within this Realme furth of the partis of France."¹ This procured the Primate's release, which was not effected without the tears and intercessions of Queen Mary; and his next sojourn in the Castle, which was in 1567, was evidently his own voluntary act.²

The marriage of Queen Mary to Lord Darnley, and the murder of Riccio on the 9th of March, 1565-6, are connected with the history of the Palace of Holyrood, which is subsequently detailed. A few days after the murder of Riccio the Queen proceeded to the Castle. One of the first persons she met when she entered the Fortress was James third Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, who is already mentioned as the Regent during a part of the Queen's minority. As Arran was allied to the English throne, and was the presumptive heir to the Crown of Scotland, he had been recommended by the Lords of the Congregation to Queen Elizabeth as her husband—an alliance which the English Queen had declined. The cause of his residence in the Castle of Edinburgh as a prisoner, for such he was at the time, requires to be explained. After Mary's arrival in Scotland in 1561 he openly aspired to her hand, but he forfeited all claim to her regard by violently opposing her religious principles. The parsimonious conduct of his father and his disappointed love gradually preyed on his mind, and he at last became insane. He was placed in the Castle for security, and when Mary saw him on this occasion she kissed him, and treated him with marked kindness, which he felt and acknowledged, though he was soon after obliged to leave the Fortress. The Queen had intended her accouchement to take place at Stirling Castle, and went thither for that purpose, but she was persuaded to alter her resolution, and returned to Edinburgh. The Fortress was evidently repaired about this time for the Queen's reception, as the initial of her name in cipher, and the date 1566, occur above the door in the south-east corner of the quadrangle leading into the apartments occupied by her.³ After her return, the Queen, previous to her confinement, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation among the leading nobility, and sent for the Earls of Argyll and Moray, to induce them to agree with the Earls of Huntly, Atholl, and Bothwell. Mary gave them a splendid feast in the Castle, but the parties were too turbulent, irascible, and interested, and the attempt was a failure. Darnley was at this time residing in the castle of Dalkeith,⁴ and the discords between him and the Queen were the constant theme of conversation throughout the kingdom. Meanwhile the Queen amused herself in the Castle with her needle and her books, occasionally taking exercise in the vicinity of the Fortress; for we find Randolph informing Cecil that she had walked one day *a mile out of the Castle*—a fact which intimates that she had no wheeled carriage.⁵ At the beginning of June, the Queen, whose confinement was approaching, invited the principal nobility to Edinburgh, and had frequent interviews with them in the Castle. She made her will, of which she wrote three copies. One was to be sent to France, another she gave to those noblemen to whom she committed the charge of the affairs of the kingdom during her delicate situation, and the third she kept in her own possession. Uncertain that she should survive, the Queen personally arranged everything either for life or death, and was again reconciled to her wayward husband.⁶ On the day preceding her accouchement, Mary wrote a letter which was to be conveyed to Queen Elizabeth by Sir James Melville of Halhill, and she also wrote to Sir William Drury,⁷ Governor of Berwick, requesting him to supply her messenger with passports, and to have post-horses in readiness to facilitate his speedy arrival in London. On the 19th of June, 1566, the future King James VI. of Scotland, and the successor of Queen Elizabeth as James I. of England and Ireland, was born in the Castle.⁸ Sir

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. pp. 427-429.

² Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, 8vo. Edin. 1843, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 362.

³ The letter M for Mary, with which an H is interwoven, the initial letter of her husband, Henry Lord Darnley. The day after the marriage Mary had caused Darnley to be proclaimed King—a most imprudent act, and one which caused her much trouble, though it was merely nominal, as he never was associated with the Queen in the government, of which, indeed, he was utterly incapable; nevertheless his name, conjointly with the Queen's, occurs in various proclamations, and on certain coins.

⁴ The old castle of Dalkeith, then the stronghold of the Earl of Morton, and popularly known as the *Lion's Den*, from the dark doings of that nobleman, occupied the site of the present Dalkeith Palace.

⁵ Chalmers (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 173) mentions this pedestrian exercise of the Queen as having occurred after her accouchement. He adds (vol. ii. p. 13)—“The first wheeled carriage which was seen in Scotland was a chariot which the Lady Margaret

(sister of Henry VIII. of England) brought with her when she came to marry James IV. This chariot remained at Methven Castle. After she died, about the spring-time of 1540-1, the Governor had it brought to Edinburgh, and repaired, in March 1542-3.”

⁶ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 7th June, 1566, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. 47, 48.

⁷ See the subsequent part of this narrative for further notice of Sir William Drury, who was conspicuous in the transactions of the time.

⁸ The room in which James VI. was born is, as it now appears, a most repulsive apartment, almost square, of exceedingly limited dimensions, the window of which looks towards the Grassmarket and the south-east parts of the city, and is the fourth window from the Half-Moon Battery in the south-east corner of the Fortress. The room is on the basement story as entered from the quadrangle in the Castle, and the access to it is by a dark passage leading into the Canteen. This miserable room, which is always shown to visitors of the Fortress, has a small fire-place, and if it has not since been altered, it is astonishing how the Queen could have been accommodated in it. In com-

James Melville, who was in the Fortress, and, according to his own account, "praying night and day for her Majesty's good and happy delivery of a fair son," was immediately dispatched with the tidings of this important event to Queen Elizabeth. He reached London in three days, and found Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, to whom he was introduced while she was "in great mirth dancing after supper; but so soon as the Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the Prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night, all present marvelling whence proceeded such a change; for the Queen did sit down, putting her hand under her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies, that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock."¹ Margaret (also called Helen) Little, wife of Alexander Gray, burghess of Edinburgh, was the "maistress nutrix" of the infant Prince, and for her services she received, in February 1566-7, a grant of half the lands of Kingsbarns, between Crail and St. Andrews in Fifeshire, during her own lifetime and that of her husband. In July 1566, the Queen also granted to Margaret Houston and her son Thomas Beveridge an annual donation, for life, of two chalders and four bolls of barley from the Newtown of Falkland, for good service rendered by the said Margaret Houston at the birth of the Prince in the Castle.² Darnley was with the Queen when the Prince was born, and wrote a congratulatory letter to the Cardinal of Guise, which he dates "*in great haste*" from the Castle, and sent it by a gentleman whom he does not name.³

In the beginning of August, after her complete recovery, Queen Mary left Edinburgh Castle and proceeded to Lord Erskine's family mansion of Alloa Tower, whence she removed to Stirling Castle. The Queen embarked at Newhaven near Leith, preferring to proceed to Alloa by water, as she had no wheeled carriage, and had not yet sufficient strength to hazard herself on horseback. Buchanan relates that Mary sailed to Alloa, which is about thirty miles distant from Edinburgh, in the company of *pirates*; but he conceals the fact, that the said "pirates" were the Earl of Bothwell, then Lord High Admiral of Scotland, whose duty it was to provide the vessel for the Queen's accommodation, and the ordinary seamen; and he also omits to notice that she was accompanied by the Earls of Moray and Mar, some of the officers of state, and her usual attendants. Darnley chose to follow the Queen to Alloa by land, and remained there two nights with her, another reconciliation having been effected by the French ambassador Mauvissière. On the 22d of August, after a hunting expedition into Meggetdale in Peebles-shire, the Queen and Darnley removed the infant Prince from Edinburgh Castle to Stirling Castle; and he was again brought to the former Fortress by the Queen, when she returned from Stirling in January 1566-7, before she proceeded to Glasgow to remove Darnley, who had been seized with severe illness, to Edinburgh. After the murder of Lord Darnley on the 10th of February, 1566-7, the Queen took up her residence for a few days in the Castle. The Queen's conduct on that memorable occasion will, of course, be viewed differently by her partisans and by her accusers. She shut herself up in a close apartment, and was, apparently at least, absorbed in grief at the atrocious act which had made her again a widow. Her physicians, alarmed at the state of her health, represented her condition to the Privy Council, who advised her to retire to the country for a short period. On the 16th of February the Queen left the Castle and proceeded to Seton House, the stately mansion of Lord Seton on the shore of the Frith of Forth, in the parish of Tranent, nearly eleven miles east of Edinburgh, accompanied by the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county of Haddington, Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, and about a hundred attendants. It is singular that this assemblage consisted of Bothwell, the actual murderer, Maitland, one of at least other three who concerted the crime, and Archbishop Hamilton, Argyll, and Huntly, with many of the leading nobility and state functionaries who had joined the conspiracy against Darnley, while some, one of whom was the Earl of Moray, cautiously avoided sharing directly in a plot which they deemed it impolitic or dangerous to reveal. Mary remained at Seton House

memoration of the birth of James VI. the following doggerel lines are painted on the wall:—

"Lord Jesu Chryst, that crownit was with thornse,
Preserve the birth, quhais badgie heir is borne,
And send his Sone successione to reigne still
Lang in this Realme, if that it be Thy will.
Als grant, O Lord, quhat ever of Hir proseed
Be to Thy Glorie, Honor, and Prais: sobeid."

These lines were probably the production of some contemporary poet-aster, for they are printed by the magniloquent Mr. Pennycook in his History of the Blue Blanket, published in the reign of Queen Anne, and Maitland inserted them in his History of Edinburgh, folio, Edin. 1753, p. 161. The room is panelled with painted wood, instead of plaster, and the roof is also of wood, divided into four compartments. The date

"19 Iunii" is painted above the fire-place, the side on the left of it contains the preceding rhymes under the Royal arms of Scotland, and opposite the fire-place is the date 1566. On the roof are the initials M.R. and I.R., indicating MARY R. and JAMES R., repeated twice, and surmounted by crowns. The whole is emblazoned, and displays an attempt at ornament in a very rude style.

¹ Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill, London, folio, 1683, pp. 69, 70, and the same, printed from the original MS. for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1827, pp. 158, 159.

² Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 176.

³ Printed in Miss Strickland's Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, 8vo London, 1842, vol. i. p. 21. The letter is short, and contains no important information beyond the fact of the Prince's birth, and a request that the King of France would send a representative to the baptism.

till the 7th of March, when she returned to Edinburgh, and received in the Castle a letter of condolence from Queen Elizabeth, which was delivered by the English ambassador Killigrew. The Queen again went to Seton House on the 9th, but she seems to have returned to Edinburgh on the following day, or on the 11th; and on the 19th of March the infant Prince was conveyed from the Castle to Stirling, in which Fortress he was delivered in trust to the Earl of Mar till he should attain the age of seventeen years. Previous to her unfortunate marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, soon after the murder of Darnley, Lord Erskine was induced by the Queen to surrender the Fortress, which he did on the 19th of March, 1566-7, when he received a discharge from the Queen and Privy Council for himself, and as successor of his father, and his deputies and servants, of their "intromission" with the Castle, which was ratified by the Parliament on the 16th of April, 1567.¹ Mary's object in this was to confer the command of the Fortress on the profligate and unprincipled Bothwell, and she actually appointed him on the 19th of March, 1566 7, three weeks before his mock trial for the murder of Darnley. Mary's subsequent calamities, and Bothwell's expulsion and forfeiture, rendered his tenure of brief duration, and probably his command was merely nominal; for it is stated, that in March 1566-7, after the infant Prince was sent to the Earl of Mar at Stirling, the Queen consigned the Castle to Sir William Cockburn of Skirling, Knight, who "keipit the samin till the 22d of Apryl, and then Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, Knight, Laird of Burghley, was made Captane thairof."² It subsequently appears, however, that the latter was appointed substitute for Bothwell. After Bothwell's extraordinary seizure of Queen Mary's person, not unwillingly, it is evident, on her part, between Kirkliston and Edinburgh, and her conveyance to Dunbar Castle, it was rumoured in Edinburgh that he had forcibly committed violence towards her. The city gates were ordered to be shut, the inhabitants ran to arms, and the artillery of the Castle was fired. On the 6th of May, the third day after his divorce from his countess, Lady Jane Gordon, Bothwell brought Queen Mary from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and at his arrival we are told that the "artailzarie of the Castell shot maist magnificientlie." The Queen entered the City by the West Port, and rode through the Grassmarket and up the West Bow to the Castle, Bothwell on foot leading the horse by the bridle. On the 8th of May a proclamation was issued at the Palace of Holyrood, announcing that the Queen intended to marry Bothwell, and on the same night Balfour was constituted Captain and Governor of the Castle. On the 11th, the day before her infatuated marriage, the Queen and Bothwell removed from the Castle to the Palace.³ This was, apparently, the last time Queen Mary was in the Fortress. Immediately before her surrender at Carbery Hill, near Musselburgh, to the confederated nobility, Sir James Balfour deserted the Earl's interest, which he was too sagacious not to see was utterly ruined; and we are told that he was "so dealt withall, that the matter came to talking, whereby he was suddenly corrupted with money, and randerit the Castell in their hands, to the prejudice of the prince and his maister who placed him there."⁴

During the imprisonment of Queen Mary in Lochleven Castle, after her compulsory abdication of the throne, her illegitimate brother the Earl of Moray, who had been appointed Regent, induced Sir James Balfour to resign the command of the Castle for a sum of money and a grant of lands, and bestowed it on Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange in Fife,⁵ who had been one of the most active conspirators against Cardinal Beaton at St. Andrews in 1545-6. Kirkaldy resided in the Castle, and appears to have had the principal direction of affairs during the Regent Moray's journeys to the conferences at York, relative to Queen Mary, with the English commissioners. A curious instance of the credulity of the age occurs at this time. In 1568, Sir William Stewart, Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, was consigned to Kirkaldy's care in the Castle on a charge of conspiring against the Regent's life by sorcery and necromancy. On the 2d of August he was removed from the Fortress, and committed a close prisoner to Dunbarton Castle. The Regent affected to pardon him for plotting his destruction, and allowed him to be strangled and burnt for "conjuratioun and witchcraft."⁶ The truth is, that the unfortunate Lord Lyon was a supporter of Queen Mary—the whole kingdom

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 647.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 479.

³ Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland since the Death of James IV. till the year 1575, 4to. 1833, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 110, 111.

⁴ Historie and Life of King James the Sext, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 11.

⁵ Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the earliest converts to the Reformed doctrines in Scotland, and a brave and accomplished man, was the eldest son of Sir James Kirkaldy, Lord High Treasurer to James V. Knox designates Sir William's mother, who was a daughter of Melville of Raith, called by courtesy Lady Grange, "ane

ancient and godlye matron." When James V. was on his way to Falkland Palace, after the rout of his army at the Solway Frith, he lodged one night in the house of Halyards, in the parish of Auchtertool in Fife, which then belonged to Kirkaldy of Grange, and he was received with great courtesy and sympathy for that misfortune, which, however, caused his death at Falkland Palace a few days afterwards. The execution of Sir William Kirkaldy, afterwards related, was one of the most atrocious acts of that unprincipled age.

⁶ Lord Hunsdon to Sir William Cecil, dated Berwick, 30th August, 1569; Birrel's Diary, p. 17; Annals of Scotland, by Sir James Balfour of Denmiln and Kinnaird, Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms to Charles I. and Charles II., vol. i. p. 345.

having been divided, after her flight to England, into two factions, known as the Queen's Men and the King's Men; and the charge of witchcraft, though it was the common belief of the age, was a convenient device to get rid of a political opponent.¹ Kirkaldy was at this time a zealous supporter of the Regent Moray's party, or the King's Men; and when Sir James Balfour was accused by the Earl of Lennox in 1569 for his connexion with his son Darnley's murder, he was imprisoned in the Castle. Incited by Secretary Maitland of Lethington, whose policy he generally followed, Balfour had intrigued sedulously for Queen Mary in 1568 and 1569, during the Regent Moray's absence in England. He was liberated upon his own security, and was never brought to trial, having effected a reconciliation with the Regent by liberal bribes to his servants. Little doubt, however, can be entertained of the truth of the accusation. He is said to have been the original deviser of the plot against Darnley, though he was not personally present at the murder. He is aptly designated the "most corrupt man of his age"²—an age notorious for the most abandoned profligacy, and John Knox severely describes him as one of a family in whom was "neither fear of God nor love of virtue farther than the present commodity persuaded them."³

Maitland of Lethington was committed a prisoner to the Castle in 1568–9, before the assassination of the Regent Moray by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, at Linlithgow, in January 1569–70. On the 14th of February he was brought from the Castle to the Tolbooth, in which the Privy Council met, and he "made ane perfect oration, whereuntil he lamented the death and murder of my Lord Regent, and made his purgation of the horrible cryme, wherefore, as he alleged, he was put in captivity." He was declared innocent, and set at liberty.⁴ He seems to have returned to the Castle of his own accord, for on the 28th of May, 1578, he left the Fortress to attend a convention at Dunkeld.⁵ On the last day of March 1570, Lord Herries was liberated from the Castle, in which he had been imprisoned from April 1569.⁶ It appears that after the battle of Langside, which decided the fate of Queen Mary, many of the chief prisoners were committed to the Castle; for on the 17th of April the Privy Council ordered the Duke of Chatelherault, the Master of Herries, and others in custody in the Fortress, to be discharged.⁷ Among the minor incidents which occurred at that time, is one of an extraordinary pursuit on horseback from Bathgate, nineteen miles distant, to the Castle. Robert Hepburn, second son of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, was at that town, and the Lairds of Applegarth and Carmichael, with some of the Earl of Morton's servants, having information of his movements, and anxious to apprehend him, as he was alleged to have been concerned in the murder of Darnley and of the Regent Moray, endeavoured to seize him. He instantly mounted his horse and fled to Edinburgh, followed by his pursuers at full speed. He entered the outer gate of the Fortress, into which he was admitted by Kirkaldy, on the 7th of September, when almost within the grasp of his enemies. The chronicler of the time considers his escape wonderful—he, "ryding upon ane broun naig, could never have space to change of the same upon his led horse, but continuallie raid till he came to the Castle foresaid, while his pursuers not only changed horse, but also did cast from them saddels and other geir to make light for pursewing of him." The same authority adds that the Regent Lennox and Morton were enraged at Kirkaldy for receiving Hepburn; yet two days afterwards he was delivered to the Regent, on the condition that nothing was to be charged against him except Darnley's and the Regent Moray's murder.⁸

After the murder of the Regent Moray it was uncertain which party Kirkaldy intended to support; but the Castle soon became the resort and rendezvous of all Queen Mary's adherents, and he at length openly declared in her favour, keeping possession of the Fortress in her name. The Earl of Lennox was chosen to succeed Moray in the Regency, and was supported by Queen Elizabeth, who sent troops into Scotland for that purpose. Meanwhile Kirkaldy obeyed the orders of Queen Mary's party, who now assembled Parliaments of their own; and he restored to liberty all who had been consigned to his custody for opposition to the King's party, or the authority of the Regent. Yet he so far acted prudently, that he refused to countenance the extreme measures of his new confederates till he saw the English forces advance to Edinburgh, the rigorous treatment of the Queen's friends, and a civil war raging

¹ The fate of Sir William Stewart, or rather the prosecution against him, is not recorded in the Books of Adjournal, but little doubt can be entertained of the fact from the evidence of contemporaries.

² Robertson's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 354.

³ Knox's "Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland," p. 82. Sir James Balfour was most prominent in many of the eventful transactions of the reign of Queen Mary and the early part of the reign of James VI., during the Regencies of Moray, Lennox, Mar and Morton. He was the father of Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh, created Lord Balfour of Burleigh in 1606—a peerage attained in the person

of Robert fifth Lord, for his connexion with the rebellion of 1715. His second son, Sir James, was created Lord Balfour of Glenawley in the peerage of Ireland, in 1619, and his title apparently became extinct at his death in 1634. Sir James Balfour, who actually, notwithstanding his crimes, became Lord President of the Court of Session in December 1567, is supposed to have died in 1583.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 158.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 178.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 167.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 170, 171.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 186, 187.

throughout the kingdom. Aware of his hazardous position, Kirkaldy began to repair and fortify the Castle, and to collect stores necessary for a siege. The Regent Lennox, who had summoned an army to attend him in the young King's name, applied to Kirkaldy for some artillery from the Fortress, but this request was declined, on the pretence that he would not be accessory to the shedding of blood. The object of this hostile array was to prevent a parliament intended to be held by the Queen's party at Linlithgow in September 1770, which it effectually accomplished, and in October one was assembled for the King by Lennox in Edinburgh. The presence of the Regalia or the "Honours"—the crown, the sceptre, and the sword of state,—was always necessary to confer legality on meetings and enactments of the Parliament, and they were demanded by the Regent from Kirkaldy, who had them in safe custody in the Castle. A decided refusal was the reply, and from that time he was considered as a determined adherent of the Queen's party. The mediation of Elizabeth effected a cessation of hostilities for two months, which was renewed till the following April 1571, though it was not strictly observed by either faction. Three months after this a "play," alluding to the siege, was performed before John Knox, which is thus recorded—"This year (1571) in the moneth of July, Mr. Johne Davidstone, one of our regents (in the University of St. Andrews) made a play at the marriage of Mr. Johne Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr. Knox's presence, wherein, according to Mr. Knox's doctrine, the Castell of Edinburgh was besieged, taken, and the Captin (Kirkaldy), with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigie."¹ It will immediately appear how literally this was verified.

Sir William Kirkaldy about this time exercised his office as commander or "captain" of the Fortress in a very arbitrary manner. On the 21st of December, 1570, he is accused of causing John Kirkaldy, described as burges of Kinghorn in Fife, and five of his household retainers, to proceed to Leith in warlike array, and murder Henry Seton, servant to the Laird of Durie. They then returned to the Castle, but one of them, named James Fleming, was apprehended, and committed to the Tolbooth. When Kirkaldy was informed of the capture of this individual, he sent down, about eight in the evening, a party from the Fortress, all strongly armed, who broke the door of the Tolbooth, rescued their comrade, and conveyed him to the Castle, during which Kirkaldy discharged seven pieces of his artillery over the city. The Regent Lennox, who was then at his residence in the city, took no notice of this affair, and the provost and magistrates thought proper to remain within their houses.² Kirkaldy convened a meeting of his friends in January, to consult respecting the "satisfaction" to be made for the slaughter of Henry Seton, which seems to have been easily arranged, for on the 28th of that month it is recorded that he was present at the delivery of a sermon in St. Giles's Church.³ On the 4th of February he hired one hundred soldiers to occupy the residence of a citizen on the Castle-hill as a guard-house, and constituted James Melville their captain. On the 19th of March, Kirkaldy, by beat of drum through the city, invited all who wished to serve under Melville to be present with their arms the following morning at the Castle-hill to receive their pay; and on that day he had the boldness to place some of his garrison in the Palace of Holyrood.⁴ On the 10th of April, 1571, Maitland of Lethington arrived in Leith Roads by sea from Aberdeen, accompanied by some of the Earl of Huntly's followers, and he was carried in a chair from Leith to the Castle by Kirkaldy's soldiers.⁵ The Regent Lennox was denounced by Kirkaldy, as having unlawfully intruded himself into the government, by a proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 13th of April; and on the following day Lords Maxwell and Herries, and Gordon of Lochinvar, entered the Castle to attend a convention of the Queen's party. Lord Herries and Gordon of Lochinvar remained in the Fortress till the 18th of April, when they went to meet Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, who was at Carlisle in the interest of Queen Mary. On the 27th of April all the artillery, and a number of pikes belonging to the city, were seized by Kirkaldy and conveyed to the Castle. Many other minute incidents are recorded of Kirkaldy's proceedings in connexion with the Fortress at that time.

The surprise of Dumbarton Castle by the Regent's friends, and the fate of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, who had taken refuge in it, alarmed Kirkaldy, who commenced a still more thorough repair of the fortifications of the Castle. He also prepared the tower, which rises from the centre of St. Giles's Church, and is surmounted by open arches to receive a battery. His brother Sir James Kirkaldy arrived from France with ten thousand crowns of gold, military stores, and wine, which were safely conveyed from Leith to the Castle, with assurances of further assistance. All who were opposed to Queen Mary's party were ordered to leave Edinburgh, and Kirkaldy's former friend John

¹ Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville, 8vo. Edin., printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, p. 27.

² Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 197.

³ Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 198, 199.

⁴ Ibid. p. 202

⁵ Ibid. p. 206.

Knox was compelled to allow his place to be supplied by Alexander Gordon, the above-mentioned Bishop of Galloway. The Queen's party, consisting of the Hamiltons and others, commanded by the Earl of Huntly, were at this time strong in the city; and they had now the courage to hold a parliament in the very metropolis, in which the demission of Mary was declared void, prayers for the Queen were enjoined, and those who refused were forbidden to preach. Although the Palace of Holyrood was in possession of the Regent, they rode from it in procession to the Castle, preceded by the Regalia, which were produced by Kirkaldy for the occasion.

Skirmishes were now frequent in the streets and vicinity of the city between the Queen's adherents and the King's party, the latter commanded by the Earl of Morton for the Regent Lennox, the most noted of which was the conflict of "Black Saturday," fought on Saturday the 16th of June, 1571, and so called on account of the treachery by which it was distinguished, and the slaughter which took place. It was also ironically designated "Drury's Peace," from the very questionable conduct of Sir William Drury,¹ the authorized agent of Queen Elizabeth, on that occasion. In the meantime Secretary Maitland of Lethington had entered the Castle, and maintained the Queen's cause with Kirkaldy. They were joined by Sir James Balfour, for which sentence of forfeiture was declared against him on the 30th of August. In the ensuing month Kirkaldy concerted a plan for seizing the Regent Lennox at Stirling, where he had summoned a parliament, and bringing him safe to Edinburgh Castle, which failed solely owing to the imprudent conduct of the parties concerned. It is said that Lennox was actually a prisoner, and on the road to Edinburgh, when he was rescued by Morton; but he was shot by one Captain Calder, and died of the wound in Stirling Castle.

The Earl of Mar, previously mentioned as Lord Erskine, was elected Regent. He applied himself to allay the violence of the contending factions, which had almost ruined the kingdom, and he entered into a negotiation with Kirkaldy and those of the Queen's party in the Castle. He was so far successful in his endeavours to restore peace, that the signing of a treaty was almost the only formality required; but Morton and his associates completely frustrated the projected agreement. Among the other characteristic incidents of that turbulent age was a rival coinage, the one by Morton, and the other by Kirkaldy. We are told that Morton, as if he were equal with the Regent Mar

¹ Sir William Drury was the eldest son of Sir Robert Drury of Egerly, in Buckinghamshire. "His youth," says Lloyd, in his "Worthies of England," "was spent in the French wars, his middle age in Scotland, and his old age in Ireland." He died Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1579. The conflict of *Black Saturday* is worthy of notice, as illustrating the state of the opposing parties. The Earl of Morton then occupied Leith, and, among his other hostile measures against the Queen's party commanded by the Earl of Huntly, he resolved to secure all provisions sent to Edinburgh. To accomplish this, he stationed parties of soldiers on the road leading from Leith towards Newhaven on the west, and the Figgate Whins on the east, an extensive furzy tract now partly occupied by the modern town of Portobello. Morton's forces intercepted and brought into Leith all kinds of stores, which he appropriated to the use of his soldiers, and detained the carts and horses employed in conveying the goods. He also compelled many of the neighbouring peasantry to join him—an expedient which increased the number of his soldiers, but added nothing to his advantage, as persons "whose thoughts are turned on peace" embark in military life with the utmost reluctance. Considering himself sufficiently strong to encounter the Queen's adherents, Morton drew out his forces to Hawkhill, in the immediate vicinity of the small lake of Lochend, between the hamlet of Restalrig and Leith Links, commanding a splendid view of the city of Edinburgh. Here, by way of defiance to the opposite party, Morton paraded in battle array. Provoked by this bravado, the Earl of Huntly speedily mustered his followers and a strong detachment of the Queen's Men, and left the city, with two field-pieces, to encounter Morton. Huntly proceeded to a locality called the *Quarry Holes*, often appropriately designated *Quarrel Holes*, on account of the many turbulent ebullitions which occurred at the place, under the north-east face of the Calton Hill, and near the site of the present Hillside Crescent on the London road, a few hundred yards in a direct line from Hawkhill, now a pleasant suburban residence. While Morton and his party were drawn up at Hawkhill, and Huntly at the Quarry Holes, the latter was visited by Sir William Drury, who had been at Leith with Morton, and the other leaders of the King's Men, during the previous night. Drury's object was to propose an amicable adjust-

ment of the difference, and that no loss of life might ensue between those who were not only countrymen and neighbours, but many of them relatives, and till lately intimate friends. With all the zeal of a peace-maker he proposed terms of accommodation to Huntly, which were considered satisfactory; but one important point remained to be adjusted and this was who should first leave the ground. On this point both Morton and Huntly were obstinate, the former charging Huntly with various acts of hostility and insult, and the latter insisting that Morton must march off first, as he had been on this occasion the aggressor. Sir William Drury very naturally suggested that both parties should retire at the same time, upon a signal from him—"And that signal," said he, "shall be the throwing up of my hat." This ingenious proposal satisfied both parties, who do not appear to have been particularly anxious to incur the risk of broken heads; and all the other items of Sir William's negotiations were equally acceptable. Having adjusted matters with Huntly, he hastened across the fields to Morton, to instruct him particularly respecting the signal of the hat. After a short confabulation with the Earl, Sir William stepped out, as if making for the centre between the contending parties, to give the signal. Before he proceeded half-way between Hawkhill and the Quarry Holes he threw up his hat, and away went Huntly and his followers, marching back to the city by the Abbey-hill and the Canongate, without the slightest suspicion of the trick played them either by Sir William Drury's or Morton's treachery, and confiding in the honour of their opponents, who, they concluded, had returned to Leith. No sooner had the Queen's party moved off the ground than Morton's soldiers, who had never left their position, ran across the fields, and furiously assailed Huntly and his followers, who were retiring in no very orderly manner. They were put to flight, and pursued into the city; a considerable slaughter took place; dead and wounded men lay in all directions; and Lord Home, several gentlemen of distinction, and seventy-two private individuals, were brought prisoners to Leith, with a pair of colours, some horses, and the two field-pieces. Such was the conflict of *Black Saturday*, which was long remembered in Edinburgh. Drury swore that he was entirely innocent, and laid the whole blame on the Earl of Morton; but he was not believed, and was soon compelled to leave the city.

in authority, "causit prent a new kind of leyit money in his castell of Dalkeyth, of the price of sax shillings and eight pennies, to have course (circulation) in the countrie by the Regent's proclamation; and at this same time was prentit in the Castell of Edinburgh, certane species of fyne silver, availing threttie, twentie, and ten shillings the pece; these Morton causit to be broken down, to make up his new sophisticat coyne, whilk thereafter had course for many years."¹ The Regent Mar died in October 1572, and he was succeeded by Morton, when the war may be said to have recommenced in right earnest.

Secretary Maitland of Lethington was one of those who encouraged Sir William Kirkaldy to defend the Castle, to which the latter was the more inclined as he had been promised assistance from France, and especially from the celebrated Duke of Alva. John Knox, with characteristic political foresight, sent Kirkaldy a warning message. "His soul is dear to me," said Knox, "and I would not willingly see it perish. Go, and tell him from me that if he persists in his folly, neither that crag in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal wit of that man (Maitland) whom he counts a demigod, shall save him; but he shall be dragged forth, and hanged in the face of the sun." Kirkaldy returned a contemptuous answer, dictated by Maitland, but he afterwards remembered the admonition when he became the victim of the Regent Morton's vengeance.²

The Regent Morton, immediately after his appointment, summoned Kirkaldy to surrender. The answer was a bold and obstinate defiance, reminding Morton of many unpleasant events in his past life which could not fail to enrage him, and exhorting him to return to his allegiance as a loyal subject of the Queen. This was towards the end of 1572; and Kirkaldy, to show his determination, opened a fire upon the city, killing a number of the inhabitants and of Morton's soldiers, which excited the public mind against him. It was probably at this time that Henry second Lord Methven was killed by a ball from the Castle. This is said to have occurred on the 3d of March, 1571-2, and his body was conveyed from Leith by sea to Perth, and interred at Methven on the 21st of that month.³ A temporary truce was arranged between Kirkaldy and the Regent till the 1st of January. During the cessation of hostilities Morton erected two bulwarks across the Lawnmarket, to protect the citizens from Kirkaldy's cannonade. The day of the truce had no sooner expired than a furious fire was commenced from the Castle. Kirkaldy's artillery was chiefly directed against the Fishmarket, then recently erected. Some of the shot fell among the baskets of fish exposed for sale, and beat many so high that they alighted on the tops of the houses.⁴ Numbers of the poorer classes, regardless of the danger, ventured into the street to secure the scattered contents of creels and baskets deserted by their owners from Newhaven and Fisherrow, when a bullet fell among them, by which five persons were killed and twenty more were dangerously wounded. On a stormy night soon afterwards, Kirkaldy directed his artillery against the west end of the West-Port, to prevent some of the Regent Morton's friends entering the city by that quarter. As the houses were chiefly thatched, the tenements were soon in a blaze, a strong wind spreading the flames; yet Kirkaldy persisted in his cannonade, and no assistance could be rendered to the inmates.⁵

These proceedings appeared so wanton and unnecessary, that the citizens were greatly exasperated against Kirkaldy and his garrison. Such a hazardous state of affairs, in reality, could not long be allowed to continue in a

¹ *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 106.

² This message, or at least one of a similar import, from John Knox to Sir William Kirkaldy in the Castle, was delivered by David Lindsay, minister of Leith, and titular Bishop of Ross from 1600 to his death in 1613. This gentleman baptised Charles I. On the particular occasion above mentioned, when he delivered Knox's message, it made some impression on Kirkaldy, who immediately consulted Maitland of Lethington; but that extraordinary person encouraged him to hold out the Fortress, designating Knox a "drying," or drivelling, "prophet."—See the conversation between Kirkaldy and Lindsay in the "Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville," Wodrow SOCIETY'S edition, pp. 34, 35.

³ Perth Kirk-Session Register, MS. in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. Henry Stewart, second Lord Methven, was the only son of Henry Stewart, second son of Andrew Lord Avondale, and his second wife, Lady Janet Stewart, eldest daughter of John second Earl of Atholl, the widow of Alexander Master of Sutherland, and of Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvan Mains. This Henry Stewart married the Princess Margaret of England, already mentioned as the widow of James IV., in 1526, and in 1528 he was created Lord Methven. Walpole, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," mentions the "tragedie"

of the Lord Methven, killed at Edinburgh Castle, 1572, written by a gentleman absurdly designated Lord Semphill. He was succeeded by Henry, his son by his wife Jane, eldest daughter of Patrick third Lord Ruthven. He married a granddaughter of James Stewart, Earl of Arran, but he had no issue, and at his death the Peerage became extinct. Lord Methven was killed at Broughton, then a baronial village, now a part of the new city of Edinburgh, in the immediate vicinity of York Place and Picardy Place. A party riding on horseback from Leith thought proper to "ryde about the town and Castell to show themselves brave; and as they recklessly came to a place called Broch-toun and assemblit in a troupe, a great cannon was delashit amongis them, whare be chance that martiall nobleman the Lord Methven, with seven uthir horsemen, was killit."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. Edin. 1835, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 100.

⁴ Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 4to. 1779, p. 32.

⁵ It appears that most of the street called the West-Port was burnt on this occasion. The fire extended itself on the east to the Magdalen Chapel—a small religious house without the Grassmarket, near the east end of the West-Port, and not the present Magdalen Chapel, which is in the Cowgate, near the south-eastern entrance into the Grassmarket, immediately west of George IV.'s Bridge.

city like Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which were congregated in houses partly of wood, with thatched roofs, and other inflammable materials. The Regent Morton, having formed a treaty with the powerful family of Hamilton, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, and other leaders of Queen Mary's party, from the benefits of which Kirkaldy was purposely excluded, now solicited the assistance of Queen Elizabeth to reduce the Castle. He was in want of every thing requisite for a siege, but Kirkaldy was in no better condition for defence. Though he had abundance of ammunition, his provisions were limited, and his supply of water was liable to be cut off. This had been partially done already, and his access to the excellent spring near the Well-House Tower, immediately under the base of the north-east side of the perpendicular rock of the Castle, was prevented, though not without several bloody skirmishes and considerable loss. Morton's soldiers obtained possession in defiance of Kirkaldy, who had erected a bulwark to defend this important well, the remains of which are still to be seen. In addition to this disaster he was annoyed by the seizure of one year's rental of Queen Mary's dowry remitted to him from France, and entrusted to the care of Sir James Kirkaldy his brother. Having ascertained that it would be impossible for him to enter the Fortress, as all access to it and to the city was vigilantly guarded, he landed at Blackness Castle, the governor of which made his peace with Morton by surrendering to him Blackness, with his prisoner and his treasure, which included a large supply of money, arms, and military stores.

Sir William Kirkaldy was well aware of the application for assistance to Queen Elizabeth, yet notwithstanding his gloomy position, his courage was unbroken, and Maitland of Lethington was sanguine. They both flattered themselves that the parsimony of the English Queen would never submit to the expense of sending an army and battering-train to Scotland; and they confidently expected assistance from France, and that in the meantime the walls of the Fortress would completely defy the besiegers.¹ For several weeks these assumptions appeared to be realized, and Elizabeth, who dreaded a war with France, was hesitating in her resolutions at the very moment that Cecil² had convinced her of the necessity of sending her forces into Scotland. She represented to her privy council the great expense, difficulty, and hazard of the siege, and urged that the Regent Morton ought to be able to conclude it without her aid. Killigrew, her ambassador at Edinburgh, became alarmed at this indecision, and announced in the most emphatic manner to Cecil, that if the assistance was refused they should lose Scotland, which would be certainly united in a league with France. He entreated Cecil to represent to the Queen, in the most energetic language, the absolute necessity of securing her influence in Scotland, which could be achieved at no very great expense, and concluded his letter by saying—"God's will be done. For mine own part, if this Castle be not recovered, and that with expedition, I see, methinks, the beginning of sorrows, and her Majesty's peaceable reign hitherto decaying, as it were in post, which God of his mercy defend!"³

These representations had the desired effect, and orders were sent to Sir William Drury, who was to command the enterprise, to be ready at a moment's notice for the march of the army and the transport of the artillery. This general had been in Edinburgh some weeks before the commencement of the siege on some real or feigned business, and had been imprudently allowed by Kirkaldy to visit him in the Castle, which enabled him to examine the defences and the points of attack. This accounts for the skill evinced by the besiegers in planting their batteries. Another offer of terms was made to the "Castillians," as Queen's Mary's party were now designated, by the Earl of Rothes: but it led to no result, and Kirkaldy and Maitland declared that, though deserted by every friend, they would retain the Fortress to the utmost extremity. As such was their determination, the English force under Sir William Drury, consisting of one thousand soldiers and three hundred pioneers, entered Edinburgh from Berwick on the 25th of April, 1573.⁴ They were joined by seven hundred soldiers of the Regent, and the English train arrived by sea at Leith about the same time. On the 17th of May the batteries were completed, and five pieces of artillery were placed on each. One was erected on the Castle-hill, opposite the outer fortification called the "Spur;" a second battery was constructed in the now Greyfriars' churchyard, a third at the West Port, a fourth near the west end of

¹ Maitland of Lethington and Kirkaldy of Grange to the Earl of Huntly, 23d February, 1572-3.—MS. State-Paper Office, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 410, 411.

² Cecil is by this time known in English history as Lord Burghley. He was so created in 1571.

³ Killigrew to Cecil Lord Burghley, 9th March, 1572-3, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 411, 412.

⁴ A curious report of the Survey of the Castle and City of Edinburgh is given by Rowland Johnson and John Fleming, who describe themselves as "servants to the Queen's Majesty" (Elizabeth), by the com-

mand of Sir William Drury and Henry Killigrew, on the 27th of January, 1572-3.—MS. in the Cotton Library, British Museum, inserted in the "Journal of the Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1573," in the Bannatyne Miscellany, 4to. Edin. 1836, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70, 71. It is stated that the "outer edge of the MS. is partially destroyed by fire," and several particulars are given of the internal state of the Fortress at the time. In an accompanying plan of this siege, inserted in the second volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany, the height of the Castle rock is exaggerated to 570 feet. The actual elevation is 383 feet above the level of the sea.

the present Princes Street, and a fifth on the north side of the North Loch, probably on the ground now occupied by the houses between Hanover Street and Frederick Street. Those batteries were designated from the names of their respective commanders, the King's Mount, Drury's Mount, Carey's Mount, Lee's Mount, and Sutton's Mount.¹

During these preparations many citizens left their houses, and removed for safety to Leith,² in consequence of which business was suspended, and considerable distress prevailed among all classes of the community. On the 30th of April, 1573, Morton assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, and a summons to surrender the Castle was sent to Kirkaldy in the names of the Regent and Sir William Drury. The operations for undermining the Spur, and the erection of the batteries, were scarcely interrupted by the garrison, who viewed the whole from the walls with apparent indifference. Maitland had acquired a complete ascendancy over Kirkaldy, and had thoroughly reasoned him into his own delusive conviction that succours would inevitably arrive from France. A number of the officers of the garrison, however, were willing to capitulate on advantageous terms, and thus prevent the disasters of a siege. They represented that their ammunition was rapidly exhausting, their provisions and water were almost consumed, and their distress was daily increasing. Of these facts Killigrew was thoroughly aware, and he wrote to Cecil on the 2d of May—"They within (the Castle) make good show, and fortify continually to frustrate the front battery,³ although the Regent and others here be of opinion that they will never abide the extremity. Their water will soon be taken from them, when the ordnance shall be laid both within and without. Hope of succours there is none, and therefore their obstinacy must needs be in vain. I send your Lordship the roll of their names within, both tag and rag, and, as I am informed, eighteen of the best of them would fain be out."⁴ But Kirkaldy was deaf to every remonstrance, and declared that sooner than yield he would keep the Fortress till he was buried amid its ruins.

This siege excited the most intense interest in England, and many young cavaliers came to Edinburgh to work as common soldiers in the trenches. One of those English cavaliers was Thomas Cecil, the eldest son of Elizabeth's celebrated minister.⁵ On the 17th of May, the day of the completion of the batteries, the then principal bastion, called David's Tower, was assailed, and the cannonade was answered by a loud and protracted shriek from the women in the Fortress, which was distinctly heard by the besiegers. Killigrew wrote to Cecil on the 17th—"This day, at one of the clock in the afternoon, some of our pieces began to speak such language as it made both them in the Castle, I am sure, think more of God than they did before, and all our men, and a great many others, think the enterprise not so hard as before they took it to be.—Thanks be to God, although it be longsome, it hath been hitherto with the least blood that ever was shed in such a case; and this conjecture we have to lead us, that they want store of powder within; for they have suffered us to plant all the ordnance, and to shoot yesterday all the afternoon without any harm from them."⁶ Killigrew mentions the alarm of the women in the Fortress—that "after the first fyre of ordnance great cries and shouts were made by the women of the Castle, terming the day and hour *black*."⁷ From the 17th till the 23d of May the English cannon incessantly played upon the fortifications; the guns of the garrison were silenced, and on the afternoon of the latter day the southern wall of David's Tower fell with a loud noise. On the following day the eastern portion of it, the portcullis, and an outer bastion known as the Well-House Tower, were beaten down, and on the 26th the Spur was stormed by the English with little resistance. Yet Kirkaldy defended himself with great bravery, and it is quaintly said of him that "he would not give over, but shot at them continually both with great

¹ "The first mount, allotted to the Regent, had the name of the *King's Mount*; the second, the General thereof of the English, Sir William Drurie, did possess; the third was in charge of Sir George Cairie; the fourth was called *Sir Henry Lee's Mount*; and the fifth fell to the government of Thomas Sutton, Master of the Ordnance in the north parts of England."—Thinne's Continuation of Holinshed, folio, London, 1586, vol. ii. p. 411. The English commanders were Sir William Drury, general of the forces; Sir Francis Russell, Knight; Mr. Henry Killigrew, English ambassador; Captains Reade, Erington, Pikeman, Gamm, Wood, Case, and Sturley, and Mr. Thomas Barton.—Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 79.

² Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 76.

³ This was the one erected at the Castle-hill to act against the outer fortification of the Spur.

⁴ Killigrew to Cecil Lord Burghley, 2d May, 1573, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 414.

⁵ The eldest son of Cecil, by Mary, daughter of Peter Cleke, Esq.,

and sister of Sir John Cheke. Thomas Cecil is described as a nobleman of great courage and unblemished probity, who in the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was honoured with the Garter. He was created Earl of Exeter in 1605, and was the ancestor of the Marquesses of Exeter, so advanced in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, in the person of Henry tenth Earl, in 1801. The names of some of the others who served at the siege of "their own free-will," were Sir George Carey, Knight, Sir Henry Lee, Knight, Michael Carey, Henry Carey, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Kelway, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Tilney, Mr. William Killigrew, Mr. William Knolles, Mr. Thomas Sutton, Mr. William Selby, and "divers others."—Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

⁶ Killigrew to Cecil Lord Burghley, dated Edinburgh, 17th May, 1573, MS. State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 415.

⁷ Sir William Drury to Cecil, 18th May, 1573; in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 415.

shot and small, so that there was a very great slaughter among the English cannoneers, sundries of them having their legs and arms torn from their bodies in the air by the violence of the great shot."

A general assault was now prepared, and the Regent Morton, who had already decided the fate of Kirkaldy if he fell into his hands, was exulting in the near prospect of revenge, when the Governor appeared one evening on the fortifications with a white rod in his hand, and demanded an interview with Sir William Drury. The result, to the Regent's mortification, was a cessation of hostilities for two days preparatory to a surrender. A meeting was held between Kirkaldy and Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie on the part of the so-called Castillians, Killigrew and Drury for Queen Elizabeth, and Lord Boyd for the Regent Morton. They assembled near the battery erected in the Lawnmarket. Drury, after extolling Kirkaldy's bravery and gallant defence, earnestly advised him to surrender, to which he readily acquiesced, on the condition that he and his friends were guaranteed protection of their lives and fortunes from the revenge of the Regent. It is said that Drury would willingly have accepted the conditions, although he wrote to Cecil on the 28th of May—"I will not hearken unto the request of the Castillians further than the Regent and our ambassador shall allow of."¹ Morton, however, disdainfully rejected any terms of surrender. He declared that he was willing to allow the garrison to go where they pleased if they came out singly and without arms; but certain persons were to be excepted, and must submit themselves unconditionally until their fate was determined by the Queen of England, according to a recent treaty. These were Kirkaldy himself, Maitland of Lethington, Lord Home, Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie, who was a brother of Sir James Melville, and four others.

As it was too evident that Morton was determined to sacrifice the leaders of the garrison to his vengeance, they refused his terms, and declared their resolution to hold out to the last extremity. But Kirkaldy's soldiers now began to mutiny, threatened to hang Maitland over the walls within six hours if he did not advise their commander to surrender, and even announced their intention of delivering Kirkaldy and his companions to the Regent. Among their other privations they suffered greatly for want of water. "Their draw-well," says Sir James Melville, whose two brothers, Sir Robert and Andrew Melville, were in the Fortress, "dried by the drouthy summer; and they had no other water but such as they fetched, letting men with cords down over the walls and crag of the Castle to a well on the west side, which was afterwards poisoned, wherethrow as many as escaped the shot died, and the rest fell deadly sick."² At length Kirkaldy was compelled to surrender, which he did on the 29th of May, after a determined resistance of thirty-three days. Two companies of the English forces were admitted within the walls on the evening of that day, and on the following morning Kirkaldy and his companions expressly stated that they submitted to the Queen of England and her general, Sir William Drury, and not to Morton as Regent of Scotland. They were in consequence conveyed to Drury's quarters, and, notwithstanding Morton's remonstrances, were treated with courtesy. In addition to the cogent reasons assigned for the surrender,³ the demolition of the Spur and of David's Tower made the Fortress altogether untenable.⁴

The result of this siege had been all along predicted by John Knox.⁵ So confident, indeed, was he of such

¹ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office; quoted in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 146.

² Sir James Melville's Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1827, pp. 253, 254.

³ The alleged causes of surrender were the following:—"First, for that they were deprived of water, because the well within the Castle was choked with the ruins of the Castle walls, and the other well could not serve them because there was a mount made to hinder them; another water there was, which was unknown to such as were without the Castle, and was taken from them by the loss of the Spur, out of which they were wont to have a pint a day to every soldier: secondly, divers persons were sick, especially through drink of the water of St. Margaret's well, without the Castle on the north side, which had been poisoned by some of their enemies: thirdlie, divers were hurt: fourthlie, not many to mainteine the Castell, and they were not able to take any rest, being so plied and dailie wearied with batterie: fifthlie, divers of the souldiers divided in opinion: sixthlie, some were no soldiers at all: seventhlie, that no aid was to be looked for by way of France. The eighth and chief cause was, that the Regent and his forces were planted in the strengths round about, and the horsemen dailie and

nightlie watching and riding, which held and took from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began."—Thinne's Continuation of Holinshed, *apud* "Journal of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1573," in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

⁴ The Journal of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1573, repeatedly cited, is supposed to have been communicated to the original edition of Holinshed's Chronicles, printed in 1577, by Thomas Churchyard, the English poet, and that account is different from the narrative in the enlarged edition of the work published in 1586. Churchyard wrote a metrical account of the siege of Edinburgh Castle, in his volume of "Chippes concerning Scotland," 4to. London, 1575, republished, with Historical Notices and Life of the Author, by George Chalmers, 8vo. London, 1817. An effusion on the same subject by Robert Sempill of Beltrees, the Scottish poet, was "imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik," in 1573, reprinted in Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, edited by Sir John Graham Dalyell, Bart. 12mo. Edin. 1801; and in a separate tract by David Constable, Esq. 4to. London, 1813.

⁵ In his last "Will and Legacie," which Knox made on the 13th of March, 1572, upwards of six months before his death, which occurred

a termination, that he frequently announced it in his sermons and conversations. Among his other vehement denunciations when at St. Andrews in 1572, for which some designated him a "rash railer," he declared that the Fortress would "run like a sand-glass"—that it would "spew out the Captain with shame"—and that he would not come out "at the gate, but over the walls." Principal Hamilton of St. Mary's College expressed some doubt whether these gloomy predictions would be realized, and challenged Knox to produce his "warrant" for such threatenings. "God is my warrant," replied Knox, "and ye shall see it;" a prophecy which he repeated in his next sermon publicly in the presence of the Principal, declaring—"Thou that wilt not believe my warrant shall see it with thy eyes that day, and shall say, 'What have I to do here?'" The Principal happened to be in Edinburgh immediately after the surrender of the Fortress, and was attracted by curiosity to the Castle-hill, accompanied by his servant. They saw the "forework" of the Castle—probably the Spur, and David's Tower—"all demolished, and running like a sand-brae." The garrison were drawn out, and Sir William Kirkaldy was obliged to extricate himself from the shattered defences by a ladder. The pressure of the crowd was so great that Principal Hamilton was glad to extricate himself, exclaiming—"What have I to do here?" When returning from the confusion, his servant reminded him of Knox's reiterated statements as to the result of the siege when at St. Andrews, and we are told that the learned Principal was "compellit to glorifie God, and say that he (Knox) was a true prophet."¹

Few persons comparatively were killed or wounded during this siege, notwithstanding its long continuance, and this fortunate circumstance is quaintly explained by a contemporary historian as follows:—"The cause whereof grew by reason of three traverses made overthwart the streets to save the people, besides the other trenches made against the Castle; at which time also the Tolbooth and the Church (of St. Giles) were fenced with a rampart formed of turfs, fagots, and other stuff fit for that purpose, whereby the Lords of the Parliament did as safely assemble, and sit in the Tolbooth, and the people went as quietly and safely to the Church to hear Divine service, as they at any time did before the wars began, and before the Castle was besieged."² According to the "Journal of the Siege," the prisoners made were Kirkaldy and his wife, Alexander fifth Lord Home, the Countess of Argyll,³ Maitland of Lethington and his wife, and the "Laird of Pittadrow," or "Peterroe,"⁴ who is styled Constable of the Castle. Kirkaldy's brother was already in the Regent Morton's custody, and Sir Robert and Andrew Melville were in the garrison. The English must have considered this siege, which at the present day would not have occupied a few hours, as a most extraordinary proof of their skill and perseverance.⁵ Sir William Drury wrote to Lord Burghley, dated Leith, 5th June, 1573—"By a computation there hath been near three thousand great shot bestowed against the Castle in this service, and the bullets of all or the most part recovered, and brought again, part by our own labours, and part by the Scots, (we) paying to the Scottish people a piece of their own coin called a bawbee for every bullet, which is in value English one penny and a quarter."⁶

The Regent Morton constituted George Douglas of Parkhead governor of the Castle,⁷ and immediately

on the 23d of November, he thus expresses himself,—“But hereof I am assurit by Him who nather can dissave nor be dissavit, that the Castell of Edinbrucht, in the quhilk all the murthour, all the trubler, and the baill destruction of this pair commonweil was inventit, and, as our own eyes may witness, by them and their mantenaris was put in execution, sall come to destruction, mantene it quha list—the destruction of body and saul, I say, except they repent.”—The last “Will and Legacie” of John Knox, in the “Memoriales” of Richard Bannatyne, his Secretary, 4to. Edin. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 370.

¹ Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, pp. 33, 34.

² Thinne's Continuation of Holinshed, edit. 1586, vol. ii. p. 411.

³ This lady was probably Joan or Janet, daughter of Alexander fifth Earl of Glencairn, the second countess of Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll.

⁴ This was a gentleman named Henry Echlin, whose brother, Patrick Echlin, was also in the Fortress. In 1581 the Laird of Pittadrow received a “benefit of pacification,” which was ratified by the Parliament held at Edinburgh that year.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 185.

⁵ We are told—“Thus, by the valiant prowess and worthy policy of Sir William Drury, our Queen's Majesty's general, and other the cap-

tain and soldiers under his charge, was that Castle of Edinburgh won, as before ye have heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; insomuch as many thought it took the name of the Maiden Castle for that it had not been won at any time before except by famine or practice; but such is the force of the cannon of this age, that no fortress, be it ever so strong, is able of itself to resist the puissances thereof, if the situation be of that nature as the ground about it will serve to convey the great artillery to be planted in battery against it.”—Journal of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1573, in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 78.

⁶ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 420.

⁷ Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 333. This George Douglas is there styled Morton's brother-in-law, and another contemporary writer calls him the Regent's brother.—Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 145. Nevertheless an “Archibald Douglas” is also mentioned as “Constable of the Castle,” in December, 1573.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 513; and he is specified as such in the forfeiture of Archibald eighth Earl of Angus, nephew of the Regent Morton, in 1581.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 203.

began the repair of the fortifications.¹ Meanwhile he was not unmindful of Kirkaldy and his fellow-prisoners, who had been carried to the quarters of Sir William Drury, and received with courtesy, as we have seen, in defiance of the Regent's remonstrances. But Morton was resolved not to be deprived of his revenge. He wrote to Cecil, warning him that the leaders of all the existing disorders were unconditionally in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, entreating the Queen's instant decision on their fate, and requesting that they should be delivered to him to be punished for their crimes. Kirkaldy and Maitland were aware of their dangerous situation, and on the 1st of June they addressed a letter to Cecil, relying on the former intimate friendship between him and them, and imploring his interest with Elizabeth to preserve them from the Regent's vengeance.² Elizabeth affected to delay, and requested information to be sent to her of the alleged crimes of Kirkaldy and his fellow-prisoners; but the Regent, supported by Killigrew, so earnestly urged their execution, that the English Queen commanded them to be transferred to the custody of the former. Maitland avoided a public ignominious death by poisoning himself at Leith, as was reported, before Elizabeth's final order arrived, though this was contradicted by many, who denounced it as an invention of his enemies. Lord Home, Sir William Kirkaldy, John Maitland, a younger brother of Maitland, Sir Robert Melville, and others, were accordingly consigned to the tender mercies of the Regent. The greatest interest was exerted to save the life of Kirkaldy. One hundred of his friends and kinsmen offered to become perpetual sureties to the families of Angus and Morton in a "bond of manrent," and to pay 2000*l.* to the Regent, exclusive of an annuity of three thousand merks, if he would pardon his intended victim; but although his avarice was notorious, he was compelled to resist the temptation, as he stated in a letter to Killigrew, by the denunciations of the preachers, who recollected the predictions of John Knox, and vehemently asserted that the Divine vengeance would never cease till the land was purged with blood. They were resolved that the prophecy of John Knox should be literally fulfilled, and they were not disappointed. On the 3d of August, Kirkaldy and his brother were brought from Holyrood to the Cross, and hanged in presence of an immense crowd of spectators. They were attended by Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, whose consolations were received by the unfortunate Knight of Grange with gratitude and contrition,³ and their heads were spiked on the fortifications of the Castle. Two citizens of Edinburgh, named James Mossman and James Cock, described as "goldsmiths," shared their fate. Those persons had been evidently connected with the rival mint in the Castle, the money of which had been declared illegal by the Regent Morton, as we find a James Fleming prosecuted in the High Court of Justiciary, on the 4th of February, 1572-3, for "furnishing the rebels within the Castle of Edinburgh with a great quantity of wine, flesh, fish, salt, and other victuals, and receiving from them false and adulterate money, or counterfeit cunzie, and passing thereof among the lieges."⁴ Several burgesses of Edinburgh were tried for "assisting the rebels in the town and Castle of Edinburgh" during this siege. Due honour was subsequently awarded to the memory of the gallant Knight of Grange. Sir James Melville informs us that as soon as King James VI. came to "perfect age, and understood how matters had gone in his minority, he caused to restore the heirs of the Laird of Grange, who, he said, was put to death contrary to the appointment made with the governor of Berwick, Sir William Drury; and also ordered his bones to be taken up, and buried honourably in the ancient place of his predecessors at Kinghorn."

On the 12th of September, 1577, the Earl of Morton resigned the regency to James VI., then only in the twelfth year of his age, at Stirling. By the advice of the Earls of Atholl and Argyll, the Regent's demission of the government was accepted, and the event was soon announced to the citizens of Edinburgh by the Lord Lyon-king-at-arms, assisted by twelve heralds. In reply to the very natural observation of the King, on this occasion, that he considered himself too young to undertake the government, and that he knew not indeed where to find a secure place of residence, Morton replied, that "his Majesty wald be weill lodgit in the Castell of Edinburgh, als weill for the gude situation of the house, the pleasant sycht of the fields, the sycht of the sea, and frequencie of ships." This flattering representation to a youth to induce him to change his residence was sagaciously met by the King, who observed that he would "gladly condescend to that change

¹ We are told that Morton "causit maissons begin to red the bruisit walls, and repayrit the forewark to the forme of a bulwark, plat and brayd abone, for the ressett and rying of many cannons."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 145.

² Kirkaldy and Maitland to Cecil Lord Burghley, MS. Letter,

British Museum, Caligula, C. IV. fol. 86: in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 419, 420.

³ *Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, pp. 35, 36; *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 335; *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 145.

⁴ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II, p. 40.

providing that his present keepers should have the maintenance of that Castle." The ex-Regent accordingly received a legal "discharge" for Edinburgh Castle on the 12th of June, 1578, exonerating him and his heirs from all liabilities for the Fortress, and "all and sundry the jewels, plenishing of his Majesty's houses, clothings, artillery, and munition, pertaining to his Highness." James VI., young as he was, having fully assumed the government on this resignation of Morton, summoned the Castle, which was still held by the ex-Regent's adherents, to surrender; on which we are told that "the keepers made obstacle, and intended to fortify the same; but within a few days thereafter, the Castle was rendered to William Erskine, parson of Campsie,¹ by the King's own command and commission, and an inventory was taken of all the princely goods and jewels therein pertaining to the King's predecessors, according to an old inventory."² In March 1578, a curious catalogue of the books belonging to Queen Mary in the Castle was delivered to James VI. at Stirling Castle; also an inventory along with it, of the "joweilis, plenissings, artaillerie, and munitioun, being within the Castell of Edinburgh, pertening to our Soverane Lord and his Hienis' derrest moder." The list enumerates the books saved from the wreck of the Royal Library of Scotland in the reign of Queen Mary.³

James VI. made his public entry into Edinburgh, in the end of September 1579, by the West Port, passing through the Grassmarket, and arriving at the Palace of Holyrood by the West Bow, Lawnmarket, High Street, and the Canongate, amid great pomp, firing of the Castle artillery, and loud acclamations of "Welcome to the King!"⁴ The Castle was an occasional residence of James after he assumed the government, but it was still for the most part used as a state prison; and one of its most conspicuous inmates at this time was Francis Stuart, the turbulent Earl of Bothwell,⁵ who considered it expedient to "enter into ward," or else was committed a prisoner to the Fortress, in 1590, on a curious charge of conspiring the death of the King, by the assistance of some East Lothian witches, during his matrimonial expedition to Denmark. Bothwell, however, soon became tired of restraint, and succeeded in escaping by the agency of a gentleman named Lauder, who happened to be the captain of the watch, and who fled with him. This revived the former prosecution, and on the 25th of June, 1591, sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him at the Cross of Edinburgh, though he was subsequently acquitted of the charge of witchcraft. His chief partisans at one period were the Earls of Angus⁶ and Argyll, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch his stepson, Sir William Stewart of Houston, and Sir James Johnstone of Johnstone, afterwards noticed. The two Earls and Sir James Johnstone were apprehended and committed to the Castle, from which they contrived to "break ward," and escaped. On the 19th of January, 1590-1, Angus M'Connell, or Macdonald, of Dunyveg in Isla, and Lachlan Maclean of Duart, were prosecuted, in their absence, for high treason, murder, fire-raising, oppression, and other crimes, before the High Court of Justiciary, and were ordered to be imprisoned in the Castle "until his Majestie's will should be declared."⁷ Donald Gorm Macdonald⁸ of Sleat, in the island of Skye, was also committed to the Fortress.

About this period, and for some time afterwards, the Castle received several important state prisoners connected with the confederacy known as the "Spanish Blanks."⁹ George fourth Earl of Huntly, one of the prominent leaders in the plot, was imprisoned there; but his confinement was almost nominal, for the King visited and dined with him, permitted his Countess¹⁰ and servants to have free access to him, and sent to him

¹ This military parson of Campsie, a parish in Stirlingshire, about ten miles north of Glasgow, was for nearly two years, from 1585 to 1587, titular Archbishop of Glasgow, though he was never in holy orders. He was a relative of the Earl of Mar.

² *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 164, 165.

³ See this list, or catalogue, in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, printed for the Club, 4to. Edin. 1833, Part I. pp. 3-12.

⁴ *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, pp. 178, 179.

⁵ Elder son of Lord John Stuart, Prior of Coldingham, an illegitimate son of James V. and Lady Jane Hepburn, daughter of Patrick third Earl of Bothwell, and sister of James fourth and last Earl of Bothwell, of the surname of Hepburn, notorious as the murderer of Lord Darnley, and the chief cause of Queen Mary's misfortunes. This Francis Stuart, who was consequently Bothwell's nephew, was created Earl of Bothwell by James VI. in 1587. He is more prominently noticed in the *History of the palace of Holyrood* in the present work.

⁶ William tenth Earl of Angus, son of William ninth Earl and his

Countess Egida, daughter of Sir Robert Graham of Morphie, succeeded his father, in 1591.

⁷ *Piteairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. pp. 224-230.

⁸ Donald Macdonald of Sleat, commonly called *Gorm*, was the ancestor of Lord Macdonald of Sleat, in the Peerage of Ireland, created in 1776, in the person of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, Bart., whose descendants are the Lords Macdonald, and their Scottish seat Armadale, in the island of Skye.

⁹ This affair of the "*Spanish Blanks*" had probably its origin, or was partly caused, by a singular document which Queen Mary signed a short time before her execution. At this period, having relinquished all hope of her son James VI. supporting the Roman Catholic religion, Mary bequeathed her interest in the succession to the English crown to Philip II. of Spain, who had married the English Queen Mary, the sister and predecessor of Queen Elizabeth. This act of the Scottish Queen was utterly impotent, but it sufficiently evinced her will, and may partly explain the cruel treatment of her by Elizabeth.

¹⁰ Lady Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of Esme first Duke of Lennox.

merely an affectionate remonstrance.¹ Huntly's solemn assertions of his innocence, indeed, soon procured his release, but the royal forgiveness was abused by his speedy appearance in open rebellion in concert with the restless Earl of Bothwell. Colonel William Sempill, designated Captain Sempill, an active intriguer in the Spanish affair, was also committed to the Castle. These intrigues of the Roman Catholic nobility of Scotland with Spain continued for several years, and some others of them were committed state prisoners to the Fortress. Among those were Francis eighth Earl of Errol,² William tenth Earl of Angus,³ a gentleman named George Ker,⁴ and Sir David Graham of Fintry. Angus contrived, like so many others confined in the Castle about the same period, to effect his escape.

In 1603, numbers of the Clan Macgregor were sent prisoners to the Fortress for their concern in the fatal conflict between that clan and the Colquhouns, known as the "Field of the Lennox," or the "Raid of Glenfruite." This sanguinary affair, the ebullition of former feuds between the two clans, occurred early in February 1602-3.

In 1609, Sir James Elphinstone, some time Secretary of State for Scotland, and Lord President of the Court of Session, created Lord Balmerino in 1603, was committed a prisoner to the Castle on the charge of treasonably corresponding with Pope Clement VIII. in the King's name. Lord Balmerino was conveyed to Leith on the 5th of December, and removed to the Fortress, whence he was taken to Falkland in Fife, brought to trial at St. Andrews on the 10th of March, 1609, pleaded guilty, and was ordered to be detained a prisoner in Falkland till the King's pleasure was known, with a significant intimation that he might as well prepare for the worst.⁵ While the prosecution of Lord Balmerino was in progress, John seventh Lord Maxwell and Sir James Macdonald of Isla⁶ were prisoners in the Castle, the former for the murder of Sir James Johnstone, chief of the Johnstones, and the latter for misdemeanours in Argyleshire and the Isles. During their imprisonment an intimacy was formed between these gentlemen, and they determined together to achieve their liberty. For this purpose Lord Maxwell convened several of the guards in the apartment of Sir James Macdonald, and after an intoxicating carousal locked them up in the room. Both he and Macdonald, though the latter was trammelled by his fetters, accompanied by Robert Maxwell of the Tower, then violently assaulted the keepers of the gates, leaving for dead the warder of the inner gate and his wife. So far they had succeeded; but one of the soldiers now gave the alarm from a window of the Fortress on the south side, looking towards the West Port, which roused the inhabitants of that locality. Lord Maxwell escaped,⁷ and Sir James Macdonald also got out of the Castle, but he injured himself by scaling a wall on the south side of the Castle-hill, and was finally arrested by some of the denizens of the West Port. He had crept to a dunghill, in which he

¹ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Ashley to Lord Burghley, dated Edinburgh, the 10th and 14th of March, 1588-9, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, small edition, vol. ix. p. 24.

² Second son of Andrew seventh Earl of Errol, by his relative Lady Jane Hay, daughter of William fifth Earl. Alexander, the eldest son, died before his father.

³ Already mentioned as the eldest son of Sir William Douglas of Glenberrie, great-grandson of Sir William Douglas, second son of William fifth Earl of Angus. Sir William Douglas of Glenberrie became ninth Earl of Angus at the death of Archibald eighth Earl in 1588, and was succeeded, at his death in July, 1591, by his eldest son William tenth Earl.

⁴ Birrell's Diary, p. 29. Mr. George Ker, or Car, is described as "Doctor of the Laws," and was the first who withstood a compulsory edict of the General Assembly in 1592, that all persons in Scotland should embrace the Reformed religion under penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of goods. He is alleged to have been the agent of the Spanish Blanks.

⁵ Lord Balmerino was again taken from Falkland to Edinburgh Castle, and at Leith, on the 1st of April, was received by an armed guard in the pay of the city of Edinburgh. His lordship entered the city on horseback by Leith Wynd, and when in that alley, or near the head of it, at the Nether-Bow gate, he was ordered to dismount, under the pretence that they "received no riding prisoners;" but he alleged that he was unable to walk by "the infirmity of gout in his feet," and requested permission to ride. A citizen upon this called out to him—"Pamfara! tantarra! my lord?"—a retort which must have annoyed the fallen courtier not a little, being the repetition of a contemptuous

phrase of his own, equivalent to "Nonsense! nonsense!" which he had made use of, some years before, to the Town-Council of the city. He was accordingly compelled to dismount, and walk to the Castle. About mid-day he was conveyed from the Fortress to the Tolbooth by warrant from the King, when he was sentenced to be beheaded and quartered at "his place of execution," his estates forfeited, and his family attainted. He was conducted after dinner from the Tolbooth, by the High Street and Nether-Bow gate, to the foot of Leith Wynd, where he was delivered into the custody of the sheriff of the county. An immense crowd assembled on the streets, and were astonished that he was still permitted to carry his sword, which was undoubtedly a very unusual indulgence to a condemned traitor, and induced some to conclude that he was in no danger, notwithstanding the doom pronounced against him, while others supposed that he was to be executed at Falkland. Eventually the King issued a warrant allowing his lordship "free ward" in Falkland Palace, and within a mile round, on finding security to the amount of 40,000*l.* Scots. After enduring this nominal restraint for a short period, he was permitted to retire to his own estate of Balmerino on the south side of the Tay, where he lived in seclusion, and died of a broken heart in 1612.

⁶ Sir James Macdonald was the son of Angus M'Connell or Macdonald of Dunyveg in Isla, and the nephew of Lachlan Maclean of Duart, mentioned in the preceding page.

⁷ Lord Maxwell continued in exile till 1612, when he returned to Scotland, and was betrayed by his relative George fifth Earl of Caithness, who delivered him up at the command of the Privy Council, and he was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 21st of May, 1613.

had covered himself to avoid detection; and being found in this unenviable condition, was re-conveyed to his former quarters. He was eventually tried on the 13th of May, 1609, found guilty of the crimes libelled, sentenced to be beheaded, and all his property forfeited;¹ but neither the day nor the place of execution was specified, and he was taken back from the Tolbooth to the Castle, to remain during the King's pleasure. After a long imprisonment, he at last escaped out of the Fortress by the contrivance of his cousin, named MacRanald, and they both fled to Spain, where they were well received.

In 1616 the Fortress was thoroughly repaired, and part of the edifices probably rebuilt, under the superintendence of Sir Gideon Murray, Treasurer-Depute of Scotland. This repair is commemorated by the carved date, 1616, on the third floor of the turnpike stair, on the north gable of the east side of the quadrangle, entering from the Half-Moon Battery. Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie, created Lord Melville of Monimail that year, second son of Sir John Melville of Raith, states to King James, in a letter dated April 1616, that the "Castell of Edinburgh was weil orderit," evidently in reference to the projected visit of the King to Scotland, and he forgets not to enlarge on the loyalty and peaceable conduct of the people.²

King James in 1617 accomplished his projected visit to Scotland, and he entered Edinburgh on the 16th of May, amid the discharge of artillery from the Castle. The author of a curious and bitter satire, entitled "A Description of Scotland,"³ maliciously conjectures that the King must have presented the cannons to the Fortress "since he was king of England." On the 19th of June the royal birthday was celebrated in the Castle, which was visited on the occasion by the King, at whose entrance into the Fortress a speech in Hebrew was delivered by Andrew Ker, described as "a boy of nine years of age," and several short Latin poems were afterwards presented. This was apparently the only visit of the King to the Fortress while he was in Edinburgh, and the last time he was within the walls of his birthplace.

For several years after this, few notices occur of the Fortress, till 1633, when it was the scene of part of the festivities attending the coronation of Charles I., which was solemnized in the Chapel-royal of Holyrood. On the 15th of June the King proceeded to Edinburgh from the then Castle of Dalkeith,⁴ in which he had passed the previous night. On Monday the 17th, the day before the coronation, the King went privately in his coach from Holyrood to the Castle, and was entertained by the Earl of Mar, then governor, many of the Scottish and English nobility participating in the banquet. Charles slept that night in the Fortress, and in the morning prepared for the ceremonial of the day. On this occasion a cavalcade, "as splendid as ever graced any pageant," proceeded from the Castle to the Palace, of which Sir James Balfour, who was present as Lord Lyon-king-at-arms, has left an interesting account.⁵

A serious affair occurred in 1634, which further tended to widen the breach already begun between the King and the Presbyterian portion of his Scottish subjects. This was the committal to the Castle of James second Lord Balmerino, who was brought to the bar in November of that year. The trial, however, on the charge of "art and part of the penning and setting down of a scandalous libel, and divulging and dispersing it among his majesty's lieges," was delayed till the 20th of March, 1635, when Lord Balmerino was again placed at the bar. Eight of the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and Balmerino was sentenced to be beheaded when the King chose to order the execution. This sentence, however, was not carried into effect, but his lordship was confined in the Castle for thirteen months, and was only liberated on condition that he should reside within certain bounds.

In 1640, the war between Charles I. and the Covenanters was commenced in earnest, and the Scottish Parliament granted "ratifications" to the military officers who were to command the Covenanting army.⁶ It was now resolved by the triumphant leaders of the Covenant, to obtain possession of Edinburgh Castle, and the Parliament of 1640, on the 1st of June, passed a "decreet and declarator of treason" against General Ruthven, the governor, who had been created Lord Ruthven of Ettrick in 1639, and "remanent under

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 5-10.

² Letters and State Papers during the reign of James VI., from the MS. Collection of Sir James Balfour of Denmyln, Bart., printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edinburgh, 1838, pp. 393, 394.

³ Preserved in the Harleian MSS. No. 5191, and printed in Nichols' "Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First," 4to. London, 1828, vol. iii. pp. 338-343. It was written by Sir Anthony Weldon.

⁴ The Castle of Dalkeith occupied the site of the present Dalkeith House.

⁵ Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 386-388.

⁶ Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgonie in Fife, created Earl of Leven and Lord Balgonie in 1641, was constituted "general of all the Scottish forces serving for the common cause, as weil horse as foote." All his proceedings in 1639 were specially approved in the most complimentary manner.

commanders" in the Fortress, who were summoned to surrender within twenty-four hours. This siege is a curious event in the history of the Fortress. Generals Ruthven and Leslie, who had been comrades in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, were the commanders of the contending parties. The former officer, Lord Ruthven of Ettrick, had attained the rank of lieutenant-general in the Swedish service, and was greatly esteemed by Gustavus Adolphus for two very different qualifications. He not only always behaved gallantly in the field, but he was so renowned for drinking, that when Gustavus entertained any officers for the purpose of obtaining secret information from them, he constituted General Ruthven "field-marshal," as he called him, of the bottles and glasses, because he could drink an enormous quantity, and yet be very little affected.¹

Lord Ruthven, or General Ruthven, by which title he is better known, returned a contemptuous answer to the summons to surrender, and the siege of the Fortress commenced. About this time another invasion of England was projected by the Covenanters, and old General Leslie had collected their forces near Berwick; but he now returned to the siege of Edinburgh Castle, delegating the principal command to his major-general, the celebrated David Leslie.² Four batteries were erected,³ the first mounted with six twenty-four pounders; the second had as many guns which were smaller; the third had seven large guns, but very inefficient; and the fourth had eight from thirty-six to forty pounders. The port-holes of this battery were constructed of wood, the breast-work of great thickness, and the flooring on which the guns moved of strong timber. Behind the battery was a trench nearly four feet broad, which was filled with water, obtained with great difficulty and hazard. As to the Spur, we are told that it "took up the greater part of the Castle-hill to little purpose, seeing it added no strength to the Castle, but put them that were within to the charges of a greater number of men than was needful to defend so strong a hold."⁴ This was well known to General Leslie; and his object in erecting the battery on the Castle-hill was to compel the garrison to surrender for want of provisions.

During the erection of the batteries, two of which were altogether useless, and the third in the Greyfriars' burying-ground, only in part advantageous to dismount a few guns on the Half-Moon Battery of the Fortress, General Ruthven kept up a constant fire on the besiegers, several of whom were killed; but they succeeded in the erection of their works, and opened a fire on the Fortress, which Ruthven returned with double the number of shot. The main design of both parties at first was to dismount each other's artillery, or at least to make them useless, before the fortifications were attacked. After continuing the siege in a desultory manner for some days, and finding every attempt to batter the walls unavailing, it was resolved to gain possession of the Spur by a mine on the Castle-hill. This was commenced, under the superintendence of Major James Somerville of Drum, on the site of the present water reservoir opposite that part of the rock by which an ascent could with some difficulty be effected.

The garrison, in the meantime, made several sallies upon the besiegers, one of which was occasioned by the following curious incident. Some sheep, having escaped from their drivers or owners in the Grassmarket early one morning, ran up a steep narrow alley called the Castle Wynd leading to the esplanade, and reached the north bank. When the garrison observed the sheep, before the animals were seen by the besiegers, they sallied through a gate in the wall of the spur opening towards the then North Loch, to secure them for provisions. The besiegers seized their arms, and a singular encounter ensued, which attracted a number of spectators, and after an hour's fight, upwards of forty men were killed, and many more wounded;

Colonel Munro, a Scottish officer in the Swedish service, author of a quaint and curious narrative, entitled "Munro's Expedition," relates, that after the battle of Leipsic he entered the apartment in which Gustavus Adolphus and the Duke of Saxony were carousing. "Being seen by his Majesty," says Colonel Munro, "I was presently kindly embraced by holding his arm over my shoulder, wishing I could bear as much drink as old Major-General Ruthven, that I might help his Majesty to make his guests happy." Another version of this story is as follows:—Gustavus was remarkably abstemious, and the Elector of Saxony was fond of the pleasures of the table. Some minutes before supper, Colonel Munro entered the room out of curiosity; when the King, who detested drinking, took him by the shoulder, and whispered—"I wish, Munro, you could be master of the bottles and glasses to-night, in the absence of Old Major-General Sir Patrick Ruthven; but you want a strength of head to relieve me on such an occasion, and make your way through an undertaking of so extra-

ordinary a nature."—Harte's History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, 4to. London, 1759, vol. i. p. 420.

² Afterwards created Lord Newark, near St. Monance in Fife, by Charles II. in 1661, though his Cavalier enemies often wittily annoyed him by alleging, that he ought rather to have been hanged for his *auld wark*.

³ One near the north-west side of the Greyfriars' burying-ground; the second a short distance from the then St. Cuthbert's Church, on the site of the present Queensferry Street; the third on the north side of the then North Loch, probably on the ground now occupied by Hanover Street; and the fourth was on the north side of the street on the Castle-hill, within sixty paces of the outer fortification or ravelin called the Spur, already mentioned.

⁴ Memoirs of the Somervilles, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 8vo. Edin. 1815, vol. ii. p. 224.

the garrison, however, so far having the best of it, that they secured thirty of the contested prize. A truce was then concluded until the dead bodies should be removed; "and thus," it is quaintly observed, "ended the sheep skirmish with the loss of so many men."¹

The power of the artillery of the Fortress exceeded the expectations of the besiegers, and one incident is recorded by Lord Somerville, who was an eye-witness, though then only eight years of age. One morning two chief cannoniers, who had been brought from the Continent by the Covenanters to serve in the war, discharged the artillery of the Castle-hill battery to so little purpose, that Major Somerville ironically taunted them for missing not only the Castle, but the entire rock. They replied that they would "make amends presently by a notable shot." They pointed out to him through the embrasure a large cannon on the Half-Moon Battery, and told him they would dismount it by the first shot, or forfeit a month's pay. The Major said that he was willing to give them double the amount if they pleased. Preparations were accordingly commenced, but while they were stooping on the "butt end" of the cannon to make their aim sure, a ball from the Castle shattered them in pieces. The same shot struck a stone gable behind the battery, a piece of which wounded Major Somerville on the right cheek. Another shot is particularly mentioned in the old accounts of the siege, and the incident excites surprise that more serious mischief was not done in the town during the contest. Major Somerville had invited some of the principal Covenanting officers to dine with him in his quarters on the Castle-hill; and while the party were sitting at dinner a ball passed through the wall of the house, entered the kitchen, where it severely wounded a female servant engaged in basting veal before the fire, and went out at the front stair. The poor girl's wound happily, though very serious, was not fatal.

The besiegers now directed their sole attention to the mining of the Spur. General Leslie held a council of war, which was attended by a Committee of the Estates, and Lord Somerville sarcastically remarks that it was a wonder that none of the preachers were present. After a long discussion it was at last resolved that the mode of assault was to be left to the prudence and skill of the party employed in the enterprise. The hazardous duty was undertaken by Major Somerville, who requested General Leslie to allow him to appoint Captain Waddell of Langside, one of his own officers, to lead the reserve—that during the assault by storm all firing of guns and small shot from the batteries should cease, lest his party should suffer as much loss from their friends as from their enemies—and that forty pioneers with shovels and mattocks should attend him, and be at his disposal in the time of action.²

These requests were granted, and Major Somerville made his preparations for this mad project, which, his relative Lord Somerville justly says, was "as foolish an enterprise as could be attempted by rational men, and so acknowledged by themselves when it was over." The Major selected two hundred and fifty men from the two regiments, each of which was upwards of one thousand strong, and they were marched to the trenches, one party under his own command, and the other under Captain Waddell, whom he enjoined not to move till he saw him and his party pass the breach, and then the Captain was to lead on his men as a reserve, and be ready for action as occasion offered. Somerville provided a dozen of ladders ten or twelve steps high, to be useful either within or without the breach; and he ordered the artillery on the battery to be discharged into the breach immediately at the explosion of the mine, when they saw the result. He then wrote a few lines to his wife, who, with his family, was at Gilmerton, a village nearly four miles south of Edinburgh, and waited the springing of the mine at daybreak. About an hour before the explosion, the garrison sentinels on the Spur announced that they heard an unusual noise within the trenches. This was intimated to the officer of the outer guard, and by him to the captain of the main-guard, who informed General Ruthven. The General was instantly on the spot, and, listening attentively, he was convinced that something was in progress. He removed six pieces of artillery from the Spur, and enjoined all the sentinels and out-guards to retire at daybreak, and to remain within the second gate of the Fortress till further orders. This simple manœuvre completely frustrated the designs of the Covenanters, though they were ignorant of it till it was too late. General Ruthven then went up above the third gate of the Fortress, probably to the present Bomb Battery, and watched the operations of the besiegers. In a few minutes he saw the Spur enveloped in flames after a loud and appalling explosion, which was succeeded by a peal of artillery and small shot. As soon as the explosion had been effected, by which a great portion of the south-east wall of the Spur was carried towards the North

¹ *Memorie of the Somervilles*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 8vo. Edin. 1815, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232.

² *Ibid.* pp. 240-243.

Loch, Major Somerville and his party hastened to the breach in the midst of the smoke and dust, avoiding as much as possible the small shot of the garrison; but they found that the earthen embankment of the Spur was nearly two fathoms high, thus retarding their projected entrance of the second gate with the garrison soldiers. Major Somerville's men were now exposed to a most destructive fire, every discharge of musketry killing several of them, and their commander being severely wounded. Covered with blood and dust, he at last retired by command of General Leslie, taking advantage of an interval betwixt the showers of musketry from the gate-house. Of the hundred and twenty-five soldiers, only the Major and thirty-three escaped, and most of them were wounded.¹ The rest were left dead between the exploded Spur and the Castle.

Every attempt to carry the Castle having failed, the Committee of Estates resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and starve the garrison into a surrender. This had the desired effect, as General Ruthven's provisions in the Fortress were scanty, many of his soldiers had died, and most of those alive were so sick of the scurvy by the frequent use of salt meat, that he had scarcely a sufficient number of men to mount guard as sentinels.² The garrison, moreover, had abandoned the Spur and all their outworks, and confined themselves solely to the Fortress. Ruthven called a council of war, by whom it was unanimously agreed, that in their deplorable condition the only course was to surrender on the most honourable terms they could obtain. A white flag was accordingly displayed as an intimation of their intentions, and General Leslie, with the sanction of the Committee of Estates, nominated Major Somerville, who had now recovered from his wounds, and two other gentlemen, to wait on General Ruthven. They met the General, who was attended by Captain Scrimgeour, in a guard-room within the third gate of the Fortress; and, after a friendly salutation, the former said to Major Somerville, the only one of the deputation whom he knew, that "they were now met in a more friendly manner than some weeks since they were like to have been, if stone walls had not hindered their nearer approach." Further conversation ensued, during a repast which General Ruthven had prepared in the guard-room, and of which he induced them to partake heartily, as if he had ample stores of provisions to hold out, but alleging that the King elsewhere required his presence. Major Somerville thought it unnecessary to contradict him, though he well knew that the want of water and provisions was the sole cause of the old General's surrender.

Major Somerville announced the result of this interview to the Committee of Estates, and on the following day they appointed two noblemen, two gentlemen, and Colonels Blair and Lindsay, to enter into terms of surrender. General Ruthven would meet them only on the Castle-hill, between the Fortress and their battery, and produced six articles of capitulation, which were partly granted and partly modified. It was also agreed, after some contention, that the garrison should be allowed as many arms as they could carry, all their baggage and ammunition, and should march out with their colours flying, taking their chance of their reception by the citizens. The articles were subscribed by General Leslie, Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerino, Balfour of Burleigh, and Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, Bart., a Judge and afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, on the part of the Covenanters, or Committee of Estates, and by General Ruthven, Captain Scrimgeour, and two others of his officers.³ The Fortress was surrendered on the 15th of September, after a siege, according to Lord Somerville, of five months, though the time appears to have been literally three months, assuming that it commenced after the garrison fired on the city, at the sitting of the Parliament in the beginning of June. Lord Somerville estimates the loss on the side of the besiegers and the citizens at one thousand men, women, and children, killed by casual shot—"much," he carefully observes, "against the intention and will of the besieged."⁴ The possession of the Fortress also cost the Covenanters a thousand shot of cannon, and the expenses of the mine to explode the Spur. The loss of the garrison during the siege is said to have been "some two hundred of all sorts."⁵

On the 18th of September the Fortress was vacated by General Ruthven and his garrison, consisting of about eighty men, who marched out with their arms, baggage, and six pieces of artillery, but without displaying their colours, lest the citizens might be provoked to attack them. They left in the Castle fifty barrels

¹ When the Major reached the battery he fainted, and was carried in a "wand-bed" to a house in the Lawnmarket amid the acclamations of the citizens, who crowded to see him, and applaud his bravery. The Magistrates visited him, brought two of the most eminent physicians in the city to dress his wounds, paid all the expenses, presented him by the hands of Sir Alexander Clark, Lord Provost, with the sum of

100*l.* sterling, and conferred on him the freedom of the city.—*Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. pp. 243–253.

² Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 403.

³ *Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. pp. 254–260.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 260.

⁵ Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 403.

of gunpowder, a large supply of balls of all sizes, and a considerable store of salted provisions.¹ They were received at the gate by three companies of musketeers, who guarded them to Newhaven, and saw them embark. Several of the Committee of Estates accompanied them to protect them from the fury of the citizens, who intended to pelt them with stones. The General walked as unconcerned as if he had been at the head of a victorious army, and at Newhaven he politely took leave of the noblemen, gentlemen, and officers, presenting 20*l.* sterling as a gratuity to their soldiers. Sir James Balfour, however, states that General Ruthven shipped his garrison to Berwick, and went thither himself by coach.

In 1641 Colonel Lindsay is mentioned as "Constable of the Castle;" and at this time James fifth Earl and afterwards first Marquis of Montrose, Archibald Lord Napier, Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, were prisoners in the Fortress, on charges preferred against them by the Covenanting government on account of their loyalty. They were kept in strict durance, and the Parliament enjoined Colonel Lindsay to allow no more of Montrose's friends to have access to him than he and his garrison could command. The Colonel, on the 30th of July, was permitted, as Captain of the Castle, to receive two weeks' pay from Stephen Boyd of Temple of the "first and readiest of the Castle rents," and it was enacted that he was to obtain from the Estates two hundred merks monthly.²

A treaty of peace was concluded between England and Scotland on the 7th of August, 1641, immediately after which Charles I. left London for his northern dominions, which were still distracted by religious contentions. On the 10th, the Parliament ordered James Murray to have all the artillery ready which could be conveniently mounted, to give the King a "volley" at his entrance into Edinburgh. Charles arrived in the city on the evening of Saturday the 14th of August, but his reception was very different from that of 1633. The prerogatives of the Crown were now usurped by the Estates, and the King was compelled to enter the Palace of Holyrood under the banner of the Solemn League and Covenant. At this time Montrose and his companions were prisoners in the Castle. They were joined in their captivity by Sir Robert Spottiswoode and Sir John Hay, who had been the assessors at the trial of Lord Balmerino, by whose influence in the Parliament they were committed to the Castle as "incendiaries." At this period the Fortress was a state prison, to which numerous Royalists of rank were consigned.

For a period of ten years after its surrender to General Leslie in 1640, the Castle continued in possession of the Covenanting government. On the 25th of February, 1647, the Estates, in their regulations for the "traine of artillerie and pay thereof," enacted that the magazine was to be in the Fortress, and remitted to the Committee "for moneys to consider of the keepers, and to condescend upon their allowance."³ The Earl of Leven was the Governor during that interval. On Saturday the 7th of October, 1648, the Fortress was honoured with a visit from Oliver Cromwell, then in Scotland, who, with Sir Arthur Hazelrig and other officers, proceeded in coaches to the Castle, by invitation of the Earl of Leven. A most sumptuous banquet was provided—"old Leven doing the honour, my Lord Marquis Argyll and divers other Lords being present to grace the entertainment. At our departure, many pieces of ordnance and a volley of small shot was given us from the Castle, and some Lords convoying us out of the city, we there parted," and rode to Dalhousie Castle.⁴ On the 12th of March, 1649, an "act and warrant" were sanctioned for "delivery of the keys of the houses of the Castle of Edinburgh, where the registers and records lie," to Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, Lord Clerk Register.⁵ On the 13th of July, the Estates authorized the demolition of the Spur.⁶

The state of Scotland from 1640 to 1650 was most deplorable. The most sanguinary vengeance was inflicted on the Royalists, or Malignants, of all ranks, who were consigned to the scaffold without mercy. One of those executed at this period was George second Marquis of Huntly, the brother-in-law of the Marquis of Argyll, who made no effort to save him, but took possession of his estates, which he kept from 1653 to the Restoration, to repay himself, as he pretended, for a large sum of money he had lent to the Chief of the Gordons. Huntly, whose sole offence was loyalty to his unfortunate sovereign, had been exempted from pardon in 1647 by the Covenanting Parliament. He was taken prisoner the same year in Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire, committed to Edinburgh Castle, and remained in the Fortress from December 1647 till March 1649,

¹ Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 403.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 12, 19, 22, 24, 26.

³ *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. vi. p. 255.

⁴ *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, by Thomas Carlyle, 8vo. London, 1845, vol. i. p. 379.

⁵ *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. vi. p. 425.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 481.

when he was tried and condemned to be beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh, which sentence was inflicted shortly afterwards.

The popular and theological hatred to Cromwell, after the execution of Charles I., induced that party of the Covenanting Presbyterians who particularly abhorred Cromwell as a "sectarian," to treat with the exiled Charles II., who landed at Speymouth on the Moray Firth on Sunday the 23d of June, 1650. The intimation of the King's arrival reached Edinburgh on the 26th, during the sitting of the Parliament. The utmost joy was manifested by all classes. Salutes were fired from the Castle; ringing of bells, blowing of trumpets, dancing all night in the streets, were some of the demonstrations—and the very "kail-wives," or women who sold vegetables in the High Street, threw their creels, stalls, and stools into the bonfires.¹ On Friday the 2d of August, the King, who had arrived at Leith on the 29th of July, proceeded in state from Leith to the Castle, by the Canongate and High Street, attended by a number of the nobility, and escorted by a strong party of the Life-guards. After remaining some time in the Fortress, and receiving the usual salute from the artillery, the King walked down to the present Parliament House, in which, according to the contemporary statement, he was sumptuously entertained by the Lord Provost and Magistrates;² but another authority alleges that the banquet was given in the "Upper Chequer House," and that the King stayed only about two hours.³

The Committee of Estates were not inattentive to the state of Edinburgh Castle. On the 19th of June they ordered Sir James Stewart and Sir John Smith to provide the Fortress with oatmeal, one hundred bolls of which were to be furnished by Sir William Dick,⁴ and on the 25th a supply of coals was to be procured from Dysart in Fife.⁵ The magistrates were enjoined to break open a certain cellar which contained some arms, and send them to the Castle on the 29th, and the Lord Clerk Register Johnstone directed the attention of the Parliament to the condition of the Fortress, "in regard that the haill registers which concern the kingdom so highly are lying there, that they may be made secure."⁶ On the 5th of July the pay of the garrison was to be defrayed by the city, and 10,000 merks were to be paid to the Castle, and to the fortalice on the islet of Inchgarvie near Queensferry, out of the city's proportion of the levy of the 80,000 merks.⁷

The victory at Dunbar on the 30th of September, gained by the imprudence of the Covenanters, extricated Cromwell from the perilous position in which he had previously been placed; and, returning to Edinburgh in triumph, he now summoned the Castle to surrender.⁸ The siege, however, which followed, and which possesses little interest when compared with that of 1640, was not conducted by the future Protector in person, he having advanced to Glasgow, but by an officer whose name is well known in the history of the times—General Monk. The Castle was at this period under the command of Walter Dundas of Dundas, who is accused of treacherously surrendering it to Cromwell. It is said, indeed, that he never had any intention to hold out; for, although he occasionally fired against the English, he would not allow them to be molested in constructing their batteries. The conduct of Dundas and his officers is minutely detailed in a process against them before the Parliament.⁹ It was alleged that he had received a sum of money as the price of his treachery,

¹ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 16, 17.

² Ibid. pp. 20, 21.

³ Sir James Balfour's Annales, vol. iv. p. 86.

⁴ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vi. pp. 522, 523.

⁵ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 528. Sir James Balfour says, under date 4th of June, that the Parliament "ordered 800 bolls meal, 500 malt, and 1000 lades of coalls out of Lord St. Clair's coal heuch, to be laid up with all expedition in Edinburgh Castle, with 500 merks to buy bedding for the souldiers, and that the cannon of the said Castle be mounted with the reddiest fynes. Sir John Smith and Sir James Stewart are to furnish 400 of this 800 bolls of meal, conform to their former paction. The House ordains the Committee of Fynes to meet to-morrow at seven in the morning for providing of the Castle of Edinburgh."—Annales of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 45.

⁶ Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vi. p. 531.

⁷ Ibid. vol. vi. pp. 539, 540.

⁸ The following account of an *apparition* at the Castle before the English invasion, given in a curious treatise published about the middle of last century, is a singular specimen of the credulity of the age:—"The Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh gave an account of this to a person in Edinburgh—That one night the sentry, upon a

great noise of drums and armed men approaching, fired to alarm the guard, who presently took their arms and approached the walls with the Governor; but, hearing nothing, the Governor beat the sentry, who notwithstanding stood to his assertion, whereupon he set another sentry, who gave the same account; but the Governor with the guard coming up could hear nothing, whereupon the Governor himself put all away and stood sentry himself, who within a little heard distinctly a great noise, as he thought, of armed men beating the *Scots March*, and approached to the Castle walls, and then desisted. Finding it an apparition, he stood yet longer, till a little after he heard the same noise approaching the Castle walls beating the *English March* more fierce than the other, and then desisted; a little after again he heard a great noise of armed men marching with greater violence than the other two, and at their approaching the Castle walls they desisted, and then beat the *French March* more fiercely than the Scots or English did. Next morning the Governor told the foresaid person what he had met with, and that they were shortly to remove, but the French would come ere the work were ended." The date assigned for these ghostly advances with Scottish, English, and French military music to the Castle, "is 1651 or 1652," but this is evidently a mistake.

⁹ "Summondis against Colonell Archibald Strauchan, Walter

and he was caricatured in London with one hand stretched out for a bag, and thrusting the Fortress from him with the other.¹ On the 14th of December the besiegers opened their fire, which they continued till the 18th, on the evening of which day Dundas displayed a white flag, and on the 19th eight articles of surrender were concluded between him and Monk. The public records, moveables, and all goods were to be conveyed by sea to Stirling; the garrison were to depart with their arms and baggage, drums beating, colours displayed, and in full marching order, with a free conduct to Burntisland in Fife, or any other place to which they might wish to proceed; and every facility was to be afforded to the officers and men.² The conditions were subscribed by the parties above mentioned, and countersigned by Cromwell, who then took possession of the Fortress. He found in it fifty-two pieces of artillery, most of them brass, ten thousand small arms, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions.³ Several of the towns-people were killed during the siege by the artillery of the Castle and the cannonading of the English. On one occasion in particular, a party of colliers having been brought from Haddingtonshire to work a mine on the south side of the Fortress, the garrison, to frustrate the design, poured down their shot in that direction, mortally wounding many of the inhabitants.

Cromwell caused the Fortress to be thoroughly repaired, and some allege that the present Half-Moon Battery was erected by him. The Castle was repeatedly a state prison for Royalists in his time. Among those committed were the Earl of Kinnoull and his son Viscount Dupplin, the Earl of Glencairn, Viscount Dudhope, and the Earl of Rothes, the last-mentioned on the pretence of breaking his patrol to Cromwell, but in reality to prevent a duel between him and Viscount Howard, whose lady he had seduced. At the death of the Protector in 1658, his son Richard was proclaimed his successor at the Cross; "the Castle also of Edinburgh," observes the local diarist, "displaying their colours, and shooting their cannons from the Castle: nothing was wanting at this tyme for honouring of that solemnitie, and much more was intended."⁴ But this apparent devotion to Cromwell's dynasty was of no long duration. The entrance of Charles II. into London on the 29th of May, which was also the anniversary of his birth, was duly celebrated by the garrison of the Castle, and the same diarist records that the discharging of the artillery "was met from the heavens with fire and a great deal of thunder, the like whereof was not seen by the space of many years before."⁵ On the 19th of June, Major-General Morgan, who was commander-in-chief, gratified the citizens by a military display of cavalry and infantry; at night fireworks were exhibited from the Castle, and from the Citadel at Leith; and the whole was concluded by "the effigies of that notable tyrant and traytor Oliver set upon a pole and the devil upon ane other, upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh: it was ordered by fyrewark, ingyne, and trayne the devil did chase that traytor, and perseuit him still till he blew him in the air."⁶

The most remarkable prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, immediately after the Restoration, was the celebrated Archibald, eighth Earl, created Marquis of Argyll by Charles I. in 1641. This nobleman was beheaded by the *maiden* on the 27th of May, and his head was placed on the spike at the west end of the Tolbooth which for eleven years had sustained that of the Marquis of Montrose.⁷ His son Lord Lorn, whose subsequent fate was similar, was committed a prisoner to the Castle in July 1662, and shortly after was condemned to be executed on a charge of lease-making. The English ministry, however, persuaded Charles II. not to inflict the sentence, and Lorn was discharged from the Castle on the 4th of June, 1663.

In 1679, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., visited Edinburgh, and was munificently entertained by the Magistrates, and, in 1680, he again arrived in the Scottish capital as a kind of exile from the English court, on account of his religious principles. At the Duke's first visit to the Castle on this occasion, the huge and curious piece of artillery called Mons Meg, which has undergone a variety of adventures, burst in firing a salute. Sir John Lauder, better known by his judicial title of Lord Fountainhall, records that this "was taken as a bad omen;"⁸ but the wonder is that the cannon had not burst long before, as a more insecure specimen of old ordnance is nowhere else to be seen than the said Mons Meg, which is now conspicuous on the Bomb Battery.

Dundas, younger of that Ilk, and utheris," in Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vi. pp. 598-601.—See also the correspondence between Dundas and Cromwell, in reference to the siege, in Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations, by Thomas Carlyle, vol. ii. pp. 87-98.

¹ Some Remarkable Passages of the Lord's Providence towards Mr. John Spreul, Town-Clerk of Glasgow, 1635-1664, 8vo. Edin. 1832, pp. 31, 32.

² Sir James Balfour's Annales of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 229-231.

³ Scots Magazine, 1745, p. 612.

⁴ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 216, 217.

⁵ Ibid. p. 290. ⁶ Ibid. pp. 293, 294. ⁷ Ibid. pp. 334, 335.

⁸ Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701, chiefly taken from his Diary, 4to. Edin. 1822

The Earl of Argyll, who had been restored to his grandfather's title in 1663, was tried on a variety of charges in 1681, while he was again a prisoner in the Castle. He was found guilty in the Justiciary Court, was conducted back to the Fortress to await his doom, and, from the preparations in the Tolbooth for his reception, it was evident that his execution was now intended; but he contrived to escape from the Castle on the 20th of December, in the disguise of a page, holding up the train of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay, daughter of the Earl of Balcarras. The account of Argyll's escape at this time from a fate which eventually overtook him, is as interesting as any such adventures of more recent times.¹ In the summer of 1685, the Earl made his invasion of Scotland, in concert with the Duke of Monmouth in England. After various adventures he was apprehended in Renfrewshire, and having been conveyed to his old quarters in Edinburgh Castle, was executed on his former sentence at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 30th of June, and interred in the Greyfriars' churchyard.

At the Revolution of 1688, which expelled the Stuart dynasty, the Castle was thoroughly repaired and put in a state of defence.² The Fortress was then commanded in person for James II. by George first Duke of Gordon, and the anxiety to obtain possession of it for the new government is intimated in the transactions of the time. On the 7th of March, 1689, William III. sent "Instructions," dated Hampton Court, to George first Earl of Melville, a zealous opponent of James II., one of which was, "If the Castle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former letters you shall treat for the rendering of it, and give assurance of indemnity, if need be, and such other gratifications to the Duke of Gordon and others as you shall see fit."³ Sir James Dalrymple of Stair wrote to Lord Melville, dated London, March 30, 1689, "I hope the settlement of the nation will be put to a close, especially seeing you are in danger from the Castle."⁴

Nothing of importance occurred in the Fortress for some weeks, until it was known that the Prince of Orange had accepted the crown of Scotland. This so much influenced an officer named John Auchmuty, that he refused to obey the orders of his Grace or his deputy-governor, and was even inclined to secure their persons; but the Duke induced him to return to his duty. After the Prince of Orange had issued his proclamation as William III., a person arrived at the Castle with a verbal message from James II., ordering the Duke to leave the Fortress in the hands of Colonel Winram, the lieutenant-governor, and retire to the North, where he would receive instruction from the expatriated King. The Duke declined to obey, on the plea that the messenger was a stranger to him, and had no credentials. The disaffection of the garrison meanwhile increased, and the Duke, feeling himself obliged to expel those who would not renew their oath of

¹ "He was lying a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, in daily expectation of the order arriving for his execution, when woman's wit intervened to save him, and he owed his life to the affection of his favourite step-daughter, the sprightly Lady Sophia, who about eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the 20th of December, 1681, effected his escape in the following manner, as related to Lady Anne Lindsay by her father, Earl James, Lady Sophia's nephew:—Having obtained permission to pay him a visit of one half-hour, she contrived to bring as her page a tall, awkward country clown, with a fair wig procured for the occasion, who had apparently been engaged in a fray, having his head tied up. On entering, she made them immediately change clothes. They did so, and on the expiration of the half-hour, she, in a flood of tears, bade farewell to her supposed (step)-father, and walked out of the prison with the most perfect dignity, and with a slow pace. The sentinel at the drawbridge, a sly Highlander, eyed her (step)-father hard, but her presence of mind did not desert her. She twitched her train of embroidery, carried in those days by the page, out of his hand, and dropping it into the mud—'Varlet!' cried she in a fury, dashing it across his face, 'take that, and that too,' adding a box on the ear, 'for knowing no better how to carry your lady's garment!' Her ill-treatment of him, and the dirt with which she had besmeared his face, so confounded the sentinel that he let them pass the drawbridge unquestioned." Having passed through all the guards, attended by a gentleman from the Castle, Lady Sophia entered her carriage, which was in waiting for her. 'The Earl,' says a contemporary annalist, 'steps on the hinder part as her lackey, and coming fore-against the Weigh-House slips off and shifts for himself.'—Lives of the Lindsays, or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarras, by Lord Lindsay, 8vo. Wigan, 1840, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

² Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell, printed for the ABBOTS-

FORD CLUB, p. 234. The external appearance of the Castle at the time is ascertained from the almost contemporary publication of Slezer, one of whose views is that of the Fortress overlooking the esplanade, which was then completely open, and is represented as sufficiently rocky. The Half-Moon Battery, and the adjacent edifice in which James VI. was born, are delineated as they now exist; but the flag-staff, which has now long been erected on that battery, is seen on the battlemented top of the adjoining tenement overlooking the old city. The Fortress was entered by a drawbridge, forming a flight of steps in the centre of a lower fortification, defended by artillery, which extended beneath the Half-Moon Battery, and is superseded by the present batteries on each side of the drawbridge and portcullis. The strength of the ordinary garrison of Edinburgh is detailed in a statement of the daily pay of officers and men in 1684. "Captain, 8s.; lieutenant, 4s.; ensign, 3s.; three sergeants, 1s. 6d. each, 4s. 6d.; three gunners, do.; three corporals, 1s. each, 3s.; two drummers, 1s. each, 2s.; scrivener, 2s.; chaplain, 2s.; surgeon, 2s.; one hundred and eight sentinels at 6d. each, 2l. 14s.; gunsmith, 10l. sterling quarterly, or 2s. 4½d. For coal and candle to the said garrison yearly, 20l. sterling." The whole expenses each day amounted to 4l. 11s. 4½d. See "Establishment for the Pay of his Majesty's standing Forces in his ancient Kingdom of Scotland, according to 28 dayes in each month, and 13 months in the year." Printed in the "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," vol. iii. Part I. p. 79, from the original document, a large sheet of vellum preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, subscribed by Charles II., and countersigned by the Secretary of State.

³ Letters and State Papers chiefly addressed to George Earl of Melville, Secretary of State for Scotland, 1689-1691, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edinburgh, 1843, p. 1.

⁴ Ibid. p. 5.

obedience, then assembled the remaining soldiers, to whom he declared his resolution to defend the Fortress, and told those who were unwilling to risk any hazard, that they also were at liberty to depart, and would be paid their full arrears. Two of the gunners only left the Fortress at the time; but on the following day a most serious defection ensued, Lieutenant Auchmuty, the master gunner, four sergeants, and corporals, and between sixty and seventy privates, leaving the Castle. The Duke then shut the gates, and prepared for defence.

While things were in this state in the Castle, a circumstance occurred which not a little astonished the citizens of Edinburgh. Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, withdrew from the Convention, and left the city at the head of not more than thirty or forty troopers, to raise the Clans in favour of James II. This little band took their departure by Leith Wynd, and riding slowly along the line of the present Princes Street, when at the end of the "Lang Gate," or "Row," as the road was then called, the Viscount ordered his men to halt near the ground now occupied by St. John's Episcopal Chapel. The Duke of Gordon watched the movements of this party with his telescope from the Castle, and perceived one of their number riding towards the base of the rock. This was Dundee, who climbed the rock on the west side of the Fortress to the foot of the wall, in which was then a gate known as the Postern Gate;¹ here the two noblemen conversed for a few minutes, and this brief interview was the last occasion on which they met. The Viscount's subsequent fate at Killiecrankie is well known; and it must be acknowledged that his death saved King William an infinitude of trouble.

The Duke still holding out the Fortress, a strong party of the Covenanters, called Cameronians, began an intrenchment on the west of the Castle rock, occupying as posts the Weigh-House, the West-Port, and St. Cuthbert's Church, respectively on the east, south, and north of the Castle. The operations soon commenced with some vigour, and the intrenchments formed on the west side of the Castle were considerably injured by the Duke's fire. Shortly afterwards a truce was beat by the besiegers for a cessation of hostilities, to allow the interment, in the Greyfriars' churchyard, of Sir George Lockhart, Lord President of the Court of Session, who had been assassinated on Easter Sunday in the Lawnmarket by Chiesly of Dalry. On the 6th of April the besiegers, though not without the loss of some men, had finished a battery on "Collops Castle," an old ruined tenement near the West-Port,² on which they planted two eighteen-pounders, but in a few hours these were both dismounted. Some time after this they made an attempt to deprive the wells in the Fortress of water, by opening the sluices of the North Loch, and reducing its level. This was on the 29th of April, and, though the attempt was unsuccessful, yet the Duke, on the 10th of May, had only ten feet water in the high well, and all the others were dry. On the 9th of May, the besiegers commenced the construction of a battery on Multrie's Hill, a hamlet which occupied the site of the present General Register House at the east end of Princes Street. From that day till the 14th of June, fully three months after the commencement of the siege, a good deal of firing was maintained at intervals by the besiegers from their posts and temporary works, which seem, however, to have been clumsy and inefficient erections, doing little real injury to the Fortress. Some of their bombs, which had been brought from Stirling Castle to assist in the reduction of the Fortress, went over the battlements, and others never reached them, falling at the West-Port, and damaging the houses in that locality. It is alleged that the besiegers always commenced vigorously firing on Sundays, which was considered somewhat inconsistent with their religious professions; and one of the Duke's Highlanders is said to have observed, that "though he was apt to forget the other days of the week, yet he well knew Sunday, by some mischief or other begun, or hotly carried on, by our reformers."

The Duke of Gordon at last found that it would be impossible to maintain the Fortress much longer. The relief promised by the Viscount of Dundee within twenty days had not been forthcoming; only five hundred Irish auxiliaries, instead of twenty thousand men, had landed in the Highlands; numbers of the garrison were constantly deserting, and informing the besiegers of the state of the Castle; the sick men were daily increasing, and scarcely forty were able to perform their duty, and relieve the night sentinels; the water was bad, the provisions would not last ten days longer; the ammunition was nearly exhausted, and all other necessaries were wanting; the fuel was greatly diminished; and the wood in the buildings injured by the bombs. At six o'clock,

¹ This postern gate, which has long disappeared, was visible in the time of Sir John Dalrymple, though then built up.—Memoirs of Great Britain, 4to. 1771, vol. i. p. 221. The Viscount of Dundee's departure from the city on this occasion is the theme of one of the most

spirited ballads of Sir Walter Scott, who makes it, however, by the West Bow.

² Immortalised in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, as the residence of Richie Moniplies.

therefore, on the 11th of June, the Duke displayed the white flag, and on the 13th the Fortress was surrendered on honourable terms to Major-General Lanier.¹ At ten o'clock in the evening, Major Somerville marched into the Castle with two hundred men, and on the 14th the garrison vacated the Fortress in small parties, that they might be less noticed, though some of them were nevertheless roughly treated by the mob. They left in the Castle fifty-nine barrels of gunpowder, only five of which were entire and the greater part spoiled with water, and a small quantity of very indifferent provisions. The principal persons in the garrison, besides the Duke of Gordon, were the Earl of Dunmore, second son of the first Marquis of Atholl, Viscount Oxenford, and Colonels Winram and Wilson, who were kept under restraint, though allowed some liberty under certain conditions.

About three weeks after the surrender of the Castle, Colin third Earl of Balcarras, who had been prevented from joining Dundee, by having been apprehended in his own mansion of Balcarras in Fife, was transferred from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Castle, in which he continued a prisoner till after the suppression of the Viscount's enterprise in the North, and the dispersion of his forces.² The condition in which King William's government found the Fortress may be inferred from the following admission, which is assigned as a reason for urging the speedy removal of the Duke of Gordon, then a prisoner on parole:—"The Castle of Edinburgh is so ruined, that there is scarce a room to keep my Lord Balcarras in; who was sent here this night."³

Various of James II.'s supporters among the Scottish nobility were for several years committed to the Castle for intrigues against King William; but the most remarkable prisoner was John first Earl of Breadalbane, deeply implicated in the massacre of Glencoe, who is described as "cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and as slippery as an eel." His lordship remained in custody some time, but was at last released without trial.

It is stated that Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony received 7332*l.* for the repairs of the Castle, from October 1695 to May 1697, the accounts or disbursements of which were to be given in to the Exchequer attested by the Earl of Leven, and that 3600*l.* of the above sum had been "profitably" expended in the enlargement of the Fortress; but no such attestation was forthcoming in the Parliament of 1704, the Laird of Blackbarony only alleging that he paid all the money to workmen and others.⁴ In 1702, the year after Queen Anne's accession, the garrison consisted of the Governor, deputy-governor, and one hundred and forty-three men, whose united daily pay amounted to 5*l.* 19*s.*, or 2069*l.* per annum.⁵

The Union was effected in 1707, amid the most violent opposition of the Scottish people. It was then declared that Edinburgh Castle was to be one of four fortresses in Scotland which should be kept in continual repair. It was stipulated that "the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the United Kingdom now called Scotland, and that they shall so remain in all time coming." On the 26th of March, after the rising of the last Parliament of Scotland, the Regalia were taken from the Parliament House to the Castle, and were deposited in the Crown-room, on the east side of the square adjoining the Half-Moon Battery. In surrendering them for the last time to the Earl of Glasgow, Treasurer-Depute, the Earl Marischal, who had opposed the Union in all its stages, declined to witness the consignment of the Regalia to upwards of a century, as it proved, of dust and oblivion. With the Treaty of the Union, the history of Edinburgh Castle, as a fortress of importance in the national annals, may be said to terminate.

¹ "Last night the Castle of Edinburgh was delivered up on capitulation by the Duke of Gordon; the copy of the articles that Sir John Lanier agreed on with him, and the Council's ratification thereof, is here enclosed sent."—Duke of Hamilton to Lord Melville, dated Holyrood-house, 14th June, 1689, in the Leven and Melville Papers, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 57, 58. "God be thanked the Castle is delivered, and Dundee's people dissipate, so the King's (William III.) affairs here are above their mischief."—Sir John Dalrymple to Lord Melville, dated Edinburgh, 18th June, 1689.—*Ibid.* p. 61.

² A curious account of the apparition of Dundee to his confidential friend Balcarras, in the Castle, is given by Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe. It was at daybreak, and the Earl was in bed. "The spectre, drawing aside the curtain of the bed, looked very steadfastly upon the Earl, after which it moved towards the mantelpiece, remained there for some time in a leaning posture, and then walked out of the chamber without uttering one word. Lord Balcarras, in great surprise, though not suspecting that which he saw to be an apparition, called out repeatedly to

his friend to stop, but received no answer; and subsequently learned that at the very moment this shadow stood before him, Dundee had breathed his last near the field of Killiecrankie."

³ Leven and Melville Papers, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 142.

⁴ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. xi. p. 160.

⁵ The garrison consisted of the Governor, who had 12*s.* per day; the deputy-governor, 7*s.*; two lieutenants, 4*s.* each; two ensigns, 3*s.* each; three sergents, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; four corporals, 1*s.* each; two drummers, 1*s.* each; one hundred and twenty soldiers, 6*d.* each; chaplain, 2*s.* 6*d.*; master gunner, 2*s.* 6*d.*; five gunners, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; surgeon, 2*s.*; porter, 1*s.*; gunsmith, 40*l.* per annum; coals and candles, 30*l.*—"Establishment for the Pay of her Majesty's standing Forces in Scotland, 15th May, 1702," from the original document signed ANNE R. in the General Register House, Edinburgh, in the "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," vol. iii. Part I. p. 96.

At the outbreak of the rebellion of 1715, under the Earl of Mar, a party of the Jacobites, consisting of about eighty persons, chiefly Highlanders, at the head of whom was James Lord Drummond, eldest son of the Earl of Perth, formed a plan for surprising the Castle, which at the time contained ample stores, and a sum of not less than 100,000*l.*, sent to Scotland as an equivalent for the distress which the English taxation had caused.¹ They gained over four of the garrison sentinels, one of whom was afterwards executed for his treachery; and it was resolved, that on the evening of the 9th of September the walls should be scaled on the north-west side, near the sally-port, where the rock is less precipitous. The design was defeated, it is said, partly by private information communicated to the authorities by the wife of a citizen connected with the project; but the dilatory mismanagement of the Highlanders themselves must have caused its failure. They indulged till so late in the evening in drinking, that when at length the attempt was begun, it was almost the time for changing guard, and while their friends in the Castle were pulling up their ladders the hour arrived, and an officer came unexpectedly upon the assailants. One of the traitor sentinels immediately fired his musket, and called to those below that the plot was discovered, on which the insurgents hastily dispersed; and his companions at the same time letting go the ropes, a few of those who had commenced the ascent fell among the rocks and were seriously hurt. To complete their misfortunes, at the very moment that this took place, a party of the city-guard, whom the Lord Provost had called out for the purpose of seizing the rebels, sallied from the West Port and captured several of those who were thus injured. The discovery of this plot caused the immediate arrest of all suspected persons, some of whom were of high rank.²

The extinction of the rebellion left Edinburgh in its then stationary condition, and the history of the Castle is of no importance for several years. In 1736 occurred the celebrated "Porteous Mob," which is subsequently narrated in this work in connexion with the Old Tolbooth and the Grassmarket. During the night of that daring act, so completely had the ringleaders arranged their plans, that every access to the Castle was regularly guarded; and though it contained a strong garrison, the commanding-officer, having before his eyes the consequences of unauthorized violence to the unhappy Porteous himself, refused to march out his troops and disperse the mob unless he received a written order from the Lord Provost. This, however, was impossible, and might have hazarded the life of any one on whom such a document was found by the populace.

The romantic enterprise of Prince Charles Edward in 1745, again roused the inactive citizens. When the approach of the Highland army was known, the money in the banks, and all important documents in the public offices, were removed to the Castle, which was then commanded by General Guest. Prince Charles was too enthusiastic to loiter in provincial towns, and pushing forward to Edinburgh, he arrived with his army of adventurers at Holyrood House on the 17th of September, taking a circuitous route along the southern environs of the city, to avoid the artillery of the Castle. On the 22d of September, the day after the battle of Prestonpans or Gladsmuir, ten miles from Edinburgh, at which the royal troops were completely routed, Prince Charles returned to Holyrood House. The Castle, however, was still held out, and General Guest indignantly scouted every threat to compel him to surrender. "When I found," says Lord George Murray, "that it was determined to blockade the Castle of Edinburgh, I took my share of the danger and fatigue, though I declared from the beginning as my opinion, that it was impracticable to take it without cannon, engineers, and regular troops; others thought it would be obliged to surrender for want of provisions; but General Guest was too knowing an officer to have neglected so material a thing, and I was sure we were not to stay long enough to bring them to any straits."³ The result was that which his lordship had anticipated. After much excitement in the city, and the killing and wounding of several persons by the artillery of the garrison, the Chevalier issued a proclamation withdrawing the blockade of the Castle, which terminated hostilities in this quarter; and the Prince soon marching into England, the Fortress had no further connexion with the rebellion.⁴

¹ Patten's History of the Rebellion in 1715, pp. 158-160.

² The reader may find a contemporary account of this affair in the Scots Magazine for 1818, p. 26.

³ Marches of the Highland Army, from the original MS. of Lord George Murray, a younger son of the first Duke of Atholl, in "Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745," edited from the MSS. of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, by Robert Chambers, 8vo. Edin. 1834, pp. 43-45.

⁴ The old mansion of Wrightshouses, a most antique pile, pulled down in 1800, had a narrow escape. "Upon one occasion a small party of the rebels took refuge there from the King's troops, and were complimented with a shower of cannon-balls from the Castle. Not a ball of the Castle would touch its old ally the Wrightshouses, but many buried themselves in its park; and an old man of the name of Adamson, who related the story, had nearly lost his head from one of them when a boy, as he was looking out of a window in the adjacent

Nothing of consequence has occurred within the walls of the Fortress since the period of which we have been speaking, apart from the usual routine of military duty, the removal and succession of regiments, and the casual visits of distinguished strangers. One incident, however, deserves particular notice; we allude to the discovery of the ancient Regalia of Scotland. These most interesting relics, as has been already mentioned, were deposited in the Castle at the time of the Union; and their very existence seems to have been so completely lost sight of, for nearly a hundred years, that their recovery at last was the result of accident. In November 1794, a royal warrant was issued to certain noblemen and officers of state to open the Crown-room, in which the Regalia had been placed, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it contained any records. These gentlemen reported, as the result of their search, that the only article in the apartment was a large chest of oak wood, six feet three inches long, two feet six and a half inches wide, and two feet six and a half inches deep, fastened by two iron locks, for which no keys could be discovered, which "probably might contain the Regalia of Scotland; but they were doubtful of the propriety of causing the same to be forced open," and "in the meantime left it shut, as before, till his Majesty's further pleasure be known." The Crown-room, secured with additional fastenings, was again left to silence, and the fate of the Regalia remained for upwards of twenty years more as uncertain as ever. At length, however, curiosity was excited, and a royal commission having been appointed to investigate the subject, on the 4th of February, 1818, ten of the Commissioners proceeded to the Fortress and opened the chest.¹ This moment must have been one of deep interest, and the national enthusiasm was widely excited by the successful result of the search. "The Regalia," we are told, "were discovered lying at the bottom covered with linen cloths, exactly as they had been left in the year 1707, about one hundred and ten years since they had been surrendered by William ninth Earl Marischal to the custody of the Earl of Glasgow, Treasurer-Depute of Scotland. There was found in the chest with the Regalia a silver rod or mace, topped with a globe, apparently deposited there by the Earl of Glasgow, and which proves to be the mace of office peculiar to the Treasurer of Scotland. It is mentioned in the discharge granted by the Privy Council to Sir Patrick Murray in 1621."²

The Regalia of Scotland consist of the royal crown, the sceptre, and the sword of state. Part of the crown is conjectured to be as ancient as the reign of Robert Bruce, previous to whose coronation the former crown, whatever was its form or value, was carried off by the English in 1296, and was never returned; but as it now appears it was, according to Lord Fountainhall, "casten of new by James V." which, it is observed, we "must understand in the limited sense of an alteration in the form by the addition of the arches, not an actual remoulding of the whole substance of the crown." The sceptre, about thirty-three inches long, was made in the reign of James V., as appears from that monarch's initials under the figures of three saints placed on the top; and it is conjectured to be of Parisian workmanship, of the same date with the alteration of the crown, and probably made during James V.'s visit to Paris in 1536. The sword of state was presented by Pope Julius II. to James IV. in 1507, accompanied by a consecrated hat; and both were delivered with great solemnity in the Abbey Church of Holyrood by the Papal Legate, and by James Hepburn, Abbot of Dunfermline, Lord High Treasurer, afterwards Bishop of Moray. The sculpture on the handle, and the filagree work covering the sheath, are peculiarly elegant; the devices interwoven with the chasing are the Papal tiara and the keys of St. Peter, and the foliage of oak-leaves and acorns is the personal device of Pope Julius II. The sword is about five feet in length, of which the handle and pommel occupy fifteen inches; the sword-belt is in the possession of the descendants of Ogilvy of Barras, the defender of Dunotter Castle at the time the Regalia were deposited there. The numerous pearls in the Regalia are supposed to be the productions of Scotland.

The Rod of the Lord High Treasurer is about thirty inches in length, having a glass globe at the top. In the Crown-room are several other interesting and valuable memorials, such as the golden collar of the Order of the Garter sent by Queen Elizabeth to James VI.; the Badge representing St. George and the Dragon; the Badge of the Order of the Thistle, having a figure of St. Andrew on the one side, and of Anne of Denmark on the other, set with diamonds; and the ruby ring set with diamonds, worn by Charles I. at his

village."—History of the Partition of the Lennox, by Mark Napier, Esq., 8vo. Edin. 1835, p. 189. A house at the south-east end of the Esplanade still exhibits, inserted in its gable-wall, a cannon-ball discharged from the Half-Moon Battery during this affair; another was lodged in front of a house in the West Bow, now removed.

¹ Sir Walter Scott was one of these Commissioners, and interested himself warmly in the task confided to him.

² Papers relative to the Regalia of Scotland, printed for the BAN-NATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1820, pp. 50, 51, and 99-103.



VIEW OF EDINBURGH FROM THE CASTLE.

From an Original Drawing by D. Roberts, R.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON.

coronation in the Chapel-royal of Holyrood in 1633. These jewels were bequeathed by Cardinal York to George III., and were deposited in the Crown-room by command of his late Majesty.

The visits of royal and distinguished persons to Edinburgh Castle are the only incidents now to be noticed. The first Prince of the House of Hanover who visited the Fortress, with probably the exception of the Duke of Cumberland in 1746, was the late Duke of Gloucester, in 1795. The late Emperor, then the Archduke Nicholas, of Russia, visited the Castle in 1816; in the previous year the Archdukes John and Louis, and in 1818, the Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, honoured it with their presence. George IV. during his visit to Scotland in 1822, proceeded on the 22d of September from Holyrood to the Castle, and surveyed with deep interest from its battlements the fair city lying beneath, and the rich and varied scenery around. Exactly twenty years later her present Majesty and her royal consort stood within these venerable walls; and of this visit, unquestionably the most interesting event in the modern history of the Fortress, the reader may find a most lively and graphic description in Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland in 1842. In 1844, Frederick Crown Prince of Denmark, Frederick Augustus King of Saxony, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, respectively visited the Castle; and in May, 1845, Prince Henry, third son of William II. King of the Netherlands. There have been numerous visits of Royal persons since the above dates.

The Castle is entered from the esplanade already mentioned as the Castle-hill, which in former times was one of the places of execution in Edinburgh, and the scene of many a burning of witches. The outer works were barriers of palisades, and a large gate with a drawbridge and dry ditch; the access to the interior is by a steep road winding under the Half-Moon Battery. Within the first gate, which is of great strength, are the water reservoir and a guard-room, flanked on each side by mounted batteries; the second gate, further up, is an archway under a plain building formerly used as a state prison, and in the centre is a portcullis. A few yards beyond this is a steep ascent by steps to the Half-Moon Battery and the old part of the Fortress; at the foot of these steps is the main-guard, directly opposite the Argyll Battery, overlooking Princes Street and the new city; and immediately west of this Battery is a series of plain edifices, erected for the accommodation of gun-carriages, implements of artillery, and military stores. A sloping pathway leads to the powder-magazine, the only structure in the Fortress which is bomb-proof, the armoury or arsenals, capable of containing 30,000 stand of arms, and the grand store-room. Here is also the Governor's house, inhabited by the Fort-major, and adjoining is the Ordnance-office; above this is a large barrack, capable of accommodating a thousand men. Between this and the west side of the buildings of the quadrangle is a military prison, and from this quarter the road is carried under an open gateway to the Half-Moon Battery, the Chapel, and the Bomb Battery, on which is placed the huge old cannon already mentioned as Mons Meg, formed of bars of iron bound together with iron hoops, and believed to be of the fifteenth century. Immediately adjoining these batteries is the quadrangle, in which are the former royal apartments where James VI. was born, the ancient Parliament Hall, the Crown-room, and other buildings of a more ordinary description.

The views from Edinburgh Castle in every direction are magnificent. Stretching on the east to the German Ocean, and on the west as far as Stirling and the nearer Highlands; on the north embracing the whole extent of the Firth of Forth, the Fifeshire hills, and the lofty summits of the Grampians; while on the south the view is closed in by the picturesque chain of the Pentlands and the Soutra range,—description is baffled by the extent and variety of the scenery embraced within these ample limits. In the more immediate vicinity of the Fortress, the dark and rugged masses of the old town, grandly backed by Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crag, with the fair expanse of the modern city, terminated at one extremity by the towers and monuments of the Calton Hill, and on the other by the soft and richly wooded eminences of Corstorphine, form a scene which it is equally impossible adequately to describe. Here the unavailing labours of the pen may well give place to those happier efforts of the pencil, which in the present work render description almost superfluous.