



FLESHMARKET CLOSE.
EDINBURGH.

From an Original Drawing by G. Callermole

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

beneath were six tables extending to the north end of the hall. The company included all the nobility and gentlemen of distinction then in Edinburgh, the officers of state, the judges, the law advisers of the crown, and a great many naval and military officers. On this occasion the King first announced to the Lord Provost his elevation to the baronetage, when he drank to "Sir William Arbuthnot, Baronet, and the Corporation of the City of Edinburgh."

Such is an outline of the history of the Parliament House at Edinburgh, interesting on account of its past and present associations.¹ When the many distinguished men are recollected, the ornaments of the bench, the bar, and of literature, who have professionally walked and still tread its beautiful oak floor during the sittings of the Supreme Court, it will ever remain an object of peculiar importance in the Scottish metropolis.

THE CROSS.

"DUN-EDIN'S CROSS," the demolition of which elicited a "minstrel's malison" from Sir Walter Scott,² was a "pillared stone" of some antiquity, upwards of twenty feet high and eighteen inches diameter, sculptured with thistles, and surmounted by a Corinthian capital, on the top of which was an unicorn. This pillar rose from an octagonal building of sixteen feet diameter and about fifteen feet high, at each angle of which was an Ionic pillar supporting a kind of projecting Gothic bastion, and between those columns were arches. Over the arch fronting the High Street, in which was a door opening to a staircase, the only access to the balcony round "the pillared stone" in the centre, were the city arms cut in the shape of a medallion, and over the other arches were sculptured heads of more ancient workmanship. Those heads were in relief, and of fantastic device; one of them armed with a helmet; a second with a wreath resembling a turban; a third had the hair turned upwards from the roots towards the occiput, where the ends stood out like points, and having a twisted staff thrown over the left shoulder. A fourth was that of a woman, with some folds of linen carelessly enveloped.³

The Cross stood on the south of the High Street, a few yards below the entrance into the Parliament Close, and opposite the present Royal Exchange. It is justly described by Sir Walter Scott as "an ancient and curious structure," from the balcony of which the heralds published the Acts of Parliament and proclamations. It is probable that the Cross was first erected in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, when Edinburgh became the seat of the government. The first prominent historical notice connected with the Cross is the visionary proclamation, as if supernatural, which was issued the night before the Scottish army marched to Flodden in 1513, evidently to oppose that fatal expedition. James IV., having appointed the Borough Muir as the rendezvous of his army, had retired to Holyrood, and at midnight of the day on which the artillery was removed, a cry was heard at the Cross, and a proclamation was announced, which the party designated the "Summons of Plotcock, or Pluto," the said Plotcock or Pluto intimating the great enemy of mankind, in accordance with the prevailing belief of the Middle Ages. "This summons," says the quaint writer who narrates the singular incident, "warned all men, both earl, and lord, and baron, and sundrie burgesses within the town, to compear within the space of forty days, before his master, where he should happen him to be for the time, under the pain of disobedience, and so many as were called were designed by their own names. But whether this summons was proclaimed by vain persons,

¹ The Parliament House was too important to be allowed to escape the notice of Dr. Johnson. Boswell took him thither, and also to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates under the hall, and to the Laigh Parliament House, where the records were then kept. Sir Walter Scott says—"It was on this visit to the Parliament House that Mr. Henry Erskine, brother of the Earl of Buchan and Lord Erskine, after being presented to Dr. Johnson by Mr. Boswell, and having made his bow, slipped a shilling into Boswell's hand, whispering that it was for the sight of his *bear*."—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, by J. W. Croker, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275. The Hon. Henry Erskine is already noticed as a distinguished member of the Scottish bar, and his legal pleadings were characterized by remarkable humour. Many are the anecdotes recorded of his wit. An elegant bust of him by Turnerelli was presented to the Faculty of Advocates by Miss Craig of Balluan, and has

been placed in their Library, in which also is Chantrey's beautiful bust of Baron Hume, the nephew of the Historian.

² The passage referred to is in the noble Poem of "Marmion," Canto V. :—

"Dun-Edin's Cross, a pillar'd stone,
Rose on a turret octagon;
(But now is raz'd that monument
Whence royal edict rang,
And voice of Scotland's law was sent
In glorious trumpet clang.
Oh! be his tomb as lead to lead,
Upon its dull destroyer's head!—
A minstrel's malison is said.)"

³ Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 4to. pp. 302, 303.

night-walkers, for their pastime, or if it was a spirit, I cannot tell; but it was shown to me that an indweller of the town, Mr. Richard Lawson, being evil-disposed (unwell), ganging in his gallery stair forment the Cross, hearing this voice, thought marvel what it should be; so cried on his servant to bring him his purse; and took out a crown, and cast it over the stair, saying, 'I appeal from that summons and judgment, and take me to the mercy of God.' Verily he who caused me chronicle this was a sufficient landed gentleman, who was at that time twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and he swore that there was no man that escaped except that one man who appealed from the said summons, and all the lave were perished in the field with the King."¹

On the 6th of October, 1532, the Cross was the scene of a very extraordinary spectacle. This was a sermon, under the pretended inspiration of the Virgin Mary, by a man named John Scott, who, when he delivered the said discourse to a crowded audience on the street, was in a state of complete nudity.² This man, who was evidently insane when he thus exhibited himself at the Cross, had obtained a great reputation for his fasting powers—"the quhilk fasting was be the help of the Virgin Mary." In 1531, after his return from France, Italy, and the Holy Land, bringing with him some date-tree leaves from Jerusalem, and a sack full of stones, which, he alleged, were taken from the pillar to which Christ was bound, he was obliged, by losing an action at law, to retire to the Sanctuary of Holyrood, where he abstained from food several days; and James V., who had been informed of this exploit, ordered him to be committed to David's Tower in the Castle, in which, it is stated, though bread and water were placed beside him, he refrained from eating and drinking thirty-two days.³ When he was set at liberty he became popular among the citizens, to whom he pretended, that by "the help of the Blessed Virgine he could fast, were it never so long."

An exhibition of a very different kind occurred at the Cross about the time of the Reformation. The Sisters of St. Catherine of Sienna near the city pastured some sheep under the charge of a lad, who had the faculty of turning up the white of his eyes in such a manner as to appear blind. This was duly intimated by the pious sisterhood to certain ecclesiastics, who were delighted with the performances of the youth. He was kept in seclusion for a time, during which he was duly prepared for a demonstration which was to astonish the spectators. This was a miracle of a person reputedly blind receiving his sight, and the Chapel of Loretto, near Musselburgh, which was a place of great repute, and a pilgrimage to which was considered by married females in a state of pregnancy to be most beneficial, was selected as the scene. This chapel had been erected some years previous by a Thomas Doughtie, who is described as having been a "captane befor the Turk," and, turning hermit, he set up this chapel at Musselburgh, which he dedicated to Our Lady of Loretto. A platform was erected in front of Doughtie's Chapel; and as it had been publicly announced that a blind man was to be restored to sight on a certain day and hour by the prayers of the "faithful," an immense concourse of the citizens of Edinburgh proceeded to Musselburgh to witness the miracle. It happened that a zealous Roman Catholic lady, the wife of Robert Colville of Cleish in Fife, who was a Protestant, set out, while in a state of pregnancy, for Loretto, or, as it was called, St. Allareit's Chapel, to make her orisons, without the consent of her husband, and carrying the customary offering to the shrine of the Virgin. The gentleman, however, followed rapidly, and arrived in time to be a spectator of the imposture. The miracle was performed after various ceremonies amid the rejoicings of the multitude, who gave the pretended blind man such alms as they could afford. The Laird of Cleish, who was convinced that deceit was practised, contrived to place himself in the way of the man, who was allowed to go among the people soliciting their bounty, and, giving him a larger sum than others, induced the shepherd of the Sisters of Sienna to enter his service. Colville ordered him to ride behind his domestic to Edinburgh, and in the hostelry he extorted, by threats of instant death, the whole story of the miracle, giving the Laird a demonstration by repeating the deception. On the following morning his new master said to him, "This you must do, and I will stand by you with my

¹ History of Scotland, from February 1436 to March 1565, by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, folio, Edin. 1728, pp. 111, 112. An animated description of this extraordinary proclamation is given in Sir Walter Scott's "Marmion," Canto V.

² This singular fact, which is most degrading to the morality even of that semi-barbarous age, is thus noticed by one who was almost a contemporary—"John Scott was brocht nakit to the Croce of Edin-

burgh, quhair he preichit publicklie."—Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. p. 15. Scott had attempted to open an establishment for miracles in the street called the Pleasance without success.

³ Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, 8vo. Edin. 1842, vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

sword in hand. Go with me to the Cross, and in a few words tell the people you never were blind, but that you were hired by the priests to feign yourself to be such, and that no miracle was wrought upon you yesterday. Tell them, therefore, to believe no longer in these erring guides, but to adopt directly the true religion; and when you have so spoken, we will retire down a close opposite the Cross, where my servant will be waiting with two horses in the Cowgate; and, when once mounted, I defy all the priests in Edinburgh to overtake us before we get to Fife." This was done, and the result was most fatal to the reputation of the supporters of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.¹

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Cross rivalled the Castle-hill as the place for the execution of criminals, and of the victims of political dissension and hatred. During the minority of James VI., a permanent gibbet was the companion of "Dun-Edin's pillared stone" for nearly twenty years, and it was only removed when the King effected an apparent reconciliation of his turbulent nobility on the spot. But although not specified in the sentences as one of the usual places of execution till the reign of Queen Mary, when it occurs in the records, it is evident that the Cross enjoyed this unenviable notoriety much earlier as the most public locality in the city. On the 24th of June, 1567, Captain William Blacader was drawn backward in a cart from the Tolbooth to the Cross, and hanged and quartered, as an alleged perpetrator of the murder of Lord Darnley, of which, however, he solemnly declared his innocence; and in January 1567-8, John Hepburn of Bolton, John Hay, younger of Tallo, William Powrie, and George Douglas, four of the undoubted murderers of Darnley, were executed at the Cross. Ormiston of that Ilk was also hanged and quartered at the Cross in 1574 for the same crime. But the most conspicuous personage was the Regent Morton, who was beheaded on the "Maiden" on the 2d of June, 1581, for his concern in the murder of Lord Darnley.² His head was spiked on the Tolbooth, and his body was allowed to lie on the scaffold covered by a miserable cloak till sunset, when it was carried by common porters to the place of interment.³ On the 13th of May, 1586, the Cross was the scene of a very different exhibition. James VI. convened a Parliament in the Tolbooth, and gave a banquet on the occasion in Holyrood, to which he invited his contentious nobility. After causing them to "shake hands togider, and drink ane to ane ither," he made them walk in procession from the Palace, up the Canongate and High Street, to the Cross hand in hand, accompanying them in person, that the citizens might see the reconciliation which the good-natured monarch imagined he had effected.⁴ The Town-Council were as usual compelled to be unwilling parties in this display, by providing the King and the nobility with a sumptuous entertainment at the Cross, and they in vain endeavoured to excuse themselves by alleging the exhausted state of the civic finances. The nobility ate and drank what was produced at the expense of the city, and separated with all their feudal animosities as rancorous as ever.

¹ Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis prope Edinburgum, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1841, pp. lxxvi. lxxvii. lxxix-lxxxiii.

² It has long been traditionally believed that the Regent Morton introduced the *Maiden* into Scotland, and was the first who was executed by the machine. In accordance with this prevalent notion Kelly inserted, in his Collection of Proverbs—"He that invented the Maiden first *hanselled* it." Hume of Godscroft states that Morton took the idea of the Maiden from a similar instrument which he had seen at Halifax in Yorkshire (History of the Douglasses, folio, 1644, p. 376); but that he was not the first to suffer on it is proved by Principal Lee of the University of Edinburgh, in a paper read before the Scottish Antiquarian Society. In this paper an excerpt is given from the books of the Treasurer of the city of Edinburgh, where it appears under date April 3, 1566—"For beiring daillis and puncheons fra the Blackfreris to the Croce with the gibbet and *Madin*, and awaiting thereon, the day when Thomas Scot was justifeit, vij sh. To Andro Gotterson, smyth, for grynding of the *Madin*, v sh." Though Morton was one of the most guilty parties in the murder of Riccio, for which the comparatively humble Thomas Scot was "justifeit," this event was fifteen years before the execution of the Regent. In the ensuing August, Andrew Gotterson gets five shillings "for grynding of the Widow." Are we to understand that the "Maiden" and the "Widow" were once employed as convertible terms for the same instrument? The *Maiden* is now preserved in the Museum of the Antiquarian

Society at Edinburgh, and is a peculiarly rude and clumsy machine, formed of two upright beams, about twelve inches apart, connected at the top and bottom by cross pieces, forming a grooved channel for the rising and falling of the axe—a deep blade loaded with a weight of lead. At four feet from the ground is another cross bar covered deeply with leather, on which the culprit laid his head. A moveable piece, coming down above, enclosed and fixed the neck for the axe, and the head fell into a basket, the hook for suspending which is still fixed in the wood. The body of the criminal is supposed to have been laid along upon a bench or table, the end of which was brought against the two upright beams, at about the same height with the bar for the neck. Of this bench no part has been preserved. It is also to be remarked, that one of the upright beams, having been found greatly decayed, was replaced by another of fresh timber, at the expense of the Society. After 1685, no further notice of it occurs as the "finisher" of the law, and it was set aside after the Revolution. The axe connected with it was long in the city armoury, and the machine was thrown aside as lumber into a room under the Parliament House.

³ See the account of the imprisonment and trial of the Earl of Morton in the History of Edinburgh Castle, p. 29 of the present Work.

⁴ In the "Fortunes of Nigel," Sir Walter Scott makes the King allude to this scene, felicitating himself greatly on the good he had thereby effected. The passage is in excellent keeping with the received idea of James's character and demeanour.

In August 1600, the dead bodies of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, which had been brought to Edinburgh, were suspended at the Cross, and beheaded; and in August 1608, George Sprott, notary in Eyemouth, was executed and quartered for his connexion with the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy. On the 26th of June, 1604, the Cross was the scene of the cruel and horrible punishment of death on the wheel, which was only inflicted when the murder was peculiarly barbarous and unprovoked. The culprit was Robert Weir, servant to John Livingstone of Dunipace, whose daughter murdered her husband, John Kincaid of Warriston, near Edinburgh, on the 1st of July, 1600, with the assistance of the said Weir and two women, one of whom is termed her nurse, for which she was beheaded on the "Maiden," at the Girth Cross near Holyrood, and her nurse and the other female accomplice were burnt the same day on the Castle-hill. Weir, who is said to have been the chief perpetrator, eluded justice for nearly four years. The culprit was literally broken upon the wheel of a common cart.

But the most noted personages publicly executed at the Cross during this part of the reign of James VI. were John seventh Lord Maxwell, and Patrick second Earl of Orkney, whose imprisonment in the Castle is already narrated. After killing Sir James Johnstone in 1608, Lord Maxwell absconded, but ventured to return to Scotland in 1612. He was so closely pursued that he fled to Caithness, whence he intended to obtain a passage to Sweden, but he was betrayed by the Earl of Caithness, who was married to Lady Jane Gordon, his lordship's cousin.¹ His execution took place between three and four in the afternoon, and it is stated that "he died comfortless, having none of the ministrie present to pray for him, or make exhortation to him or the people," the real meaning of which is, that Lord Maxwell was a Roman Catholic. On the 6th of January, 1615, Robert Stewart, illegitimate son of the Earl of Orkney, and five accomplices, suffered at the Cross for rebellion and oppression in Orkney; and it is recorded that the former, then "not exceeding twenty-two years of age, was pitied of the people for his tall stature and comely countenance." His father, who had been attainted and forfeited, was at this time a prisoner in the Castle, and was beheaded for similar offences on the 6th of February, 1615, in the sight of a multitude of spectators.

On the 19th of July, 1644, Sir John Gordon of Haddo was brought from the place of his confinement in St. Giles's Church, and beheaded by the Maiden at the Cross, by order of the Covenanting Estates of Parliament. Captain John Logie was his companion in suffering, and was decapitated before his eyes while he was engaged in his devotions. The only favour he requested from his enemies was to be released from their sentence of excommunication, as it affected the worldly condition of his family, which was granted. He submitted to the fatal stroke of the Maiden when only in his thirty-fourth year—"borne down by the burghs, the ministers of Edinburgh, the Parliament, Argyll, Balmerino, and the Kirk, because he would not subscribe the Covenant."² He was interred, as was also Captain Logie, in the Greyfriars' burying-ground.

Among the several political victims of rank who suffered at the Cross was the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, on the 21st of May, 1650, after many barbarous indignities were heaped upon him, which made him in some degree an object of popular sympathy. The Marquis met his fate in a dress the most splendid he could command, with a copy of the history of his achievements, written in elegant Latin by Bishop Wishart, tied at his neck, and his declarations fixed to his back. The local diarist says that the gibbet was of great height, specially constructed for the occasion, and that the Marquis was suspended on it from two till five o'clock.³

The restoration of Charles II. brought a retaliation against the Covenanters, and one of the first who experienced the vicissitudes of civil dissension was the Marquis of Argyll, who was beheaded at the Cross on the Maiden on the 27th of May, 1661. Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston was also here executed on "ane gallows of extraordinary length" on the 22d of July, 1663. The last person of rank who died as a traitor at the Cross on the Maiden was the Earl of Argyll, son of the Marquis, who in the summer of 1685 made his fatal invasion of Scotland in concert with the Duke of Monmouth's attempt in England. He was executed on the 30th of June, his head spiked on the Tolbooth, and his body interred in the Greyfriars' burying-ground.

The Cross was also the scene of public rejoicings, as its site still is of all proclamations by the heralds, and of parliamentary elections of the members for the city and county. The "pillared stone" was renewed

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 28-53.

² Spalding's History of Troubles, &c., in Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 249, 250.

³ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 12, 13.

in 1617, and it stood till 1756, when the Royal Exchange was finished, and the Magistrates ordered the structure to be removed as an encumbrance to the thoroughfare of the street, leaving a radiated pavement to mark the ground. The pillar is preserved, with a considerable portion of the octagonal structure, at the mansion of Drum,¹ nearly four miles from Edinburgh, on the road to Dalkeith.

THE HIGH STREET.

THE High Street is a continuation of the Lawnmarket, and extends to the Nether-Bow, at the entrance into the Canongate. This wide and spacious street, which is intersected nearly in the centre by the North and South Bridge Streets at the Tron Church, was for centuries the principal street of Edinburgh. Yet it was not long without its deformity, in the shape of a dingy mean building of one storey in height, containing four apartments, about two hundred yards east of the Cross, in the very centre of the street, erected towards the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century, for the accommodation of the Town Guard, under which was a vault known as the "Black Hole." This obnoxious building was removed in 1785, and the veterans of the Town Guard were accommodated in what was then designated the New Assembly Room in the alley afterwards the Commercial Bank Close, much to the annoyance of the inhabitants, who presented a bill of suspension to the Court of Session on the subject, which was refused, on the allegation, on the part of the magistrates, that the Assembly Room was merely designed to be a temporary guard-room; and the "Rats" were soon afterwards removed to their final premises in the ground-floor of the Old Tolbooth.²

The removal of the Town Guard House suggested other improvements in the High Street, and one of these was the levelling of the street. Sir James Hunter Blair, Bart., who was Lord Provost in 1785, induced a majority of the town-council to accede to this project, which was to remove a rise in the centre of the street something resembling a semicircle, and an advertisement was published, announcing that a "contractor" was wanted to "dig and carry away from it about 5000 cubic yards of earth." This was generally understood to mean the reducing of the causeway to a level; but when the work was commenced it assumed a serious aspect, and it was discovered that, to complete the plan, some parts of the street would be lowered upwards of five feet. The proprietors of the houses and shops became alarmed, and a violent municipal quarrel ensued, which was eventually submitted to the decision of the Court of Session. The project, which was carried into effect, and has been repeated several times, originated a number of satirical effusions against the town-council and the parties concerned.

Some of the ancient tenements, which were partly of wood in front, in the street at the Luckenbooths, were pulled down in 1811, and replaced by new houses, but only one was rebuilt on the street side to make it uniform with the modern structure. This renovated "land" is said to have been the residence of Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney. Behind this tenement was a projection having a flat roof, on which, it is traditionally said, Cromwell often surveyed his fleet in the Frith of Forth. The alleys in this quarter from the Lawnmarket eastward to the Royal Exchange are Brown's Close, Byres' Close, Roxburgh Close, the Advocate's Close, Don's Close, and Warriston Close. The four latter are narrow and steep thoroughfares, and the houses of the two former alleys are now removed. The erection of the Royal

¹ Built by James thirteenth Lord Somerville, who died at Drum in 1765.

² The burghal military body popularly known as the "Town Rats," who occupied this building in the middle of the High Street, was long the only one in Great Britain maintained on the same principle. The Town Guard was first raised in 1648, when it consisted of sixty men besides officers. In 1682, it was increased to 108 men, but after that time it fluctuated, and for many years it consisted of three companies, each of one captain, sergeant, corporal, drummer, and twenty-five privates. A few years before 1817, it was reduced to two sergeants, two corporals, two drummers, and twenty-five privates. On the 15th of November that year the Town Guard was disbanded, according to the provisions of the Police Act. Many are the traditional stories of

the Town Guard, of whom the Lord Provost was the official colonel. The men latterly were generally old Highlanders who had served in the regular army. Their tempers were soured by the constant annoyances they received from the boys, whose delight it was to tilt with the "Town Rats," and who, when engaged in *bickers*, or stone fights, which were long common in Edinburgh between the youths of rival schools and of particular streets, made common cause with their opponents in pelting with missiles the enemy sent to disperse them. The costume of the men consisted of long-tailed red coats with blue facings, red breeches, black *leggins*, and a cocked hat. Their arms were the usual military ones, with the addition of a Lochaber axe, which was displayed when on duty as sentinels.

Exchange, which was begun in 1753, and finished in 1761, at the expense of upwards of 30,000*l.*, compelled the removal of three alleys. Immediately west of the Royal Exchange is Writers' Court, in which was Clerihugh's tavern, the resort of the most distinguished citizens during the latter part of the eighteenth century, in which Sir Walter Scott lays the scene of Counsellor Pleydell's¹ exhibition of the revelry of "High Jinks" in GUY MANNERING, to the astonishment of Colonel Mannerling and his companion Dandie Dinmont.

The third flat of the tall tenement at the head of the alley known as the Fleshmarket Close was the residence of Henry Dundas, the first Lord Melville, after he was called to the Scottish Bar in 1763, the windows looking into the alley, not into the street. A few yards distant, opposite the Tron Church, is the low shop, entered by a descending stair from the pavement, in which it is said the signing of the Union was completed at midnight, after the Commissioners were disturbed by the mob, and forced to decamp from the summer-house or arbour in the garden of Moray House. Immediately below is the entrance into Milne Square, a paved court of limited dimensions, formed by very high houses. Hume the historian resided some time in this square, and the occupants of the several storeys were all of the very first rank. The erection of the North Bridge Street caused the destruction of numbers of old houses, and two alleys, one of which was the birth-place of the unfortunate and erratic poet, Robert Ferguson, to whose memory Burns placed a monument in the Canongate burying-ground. The North Bridge, after the commencement, was viewed with dislike by those citizens whose prejudices were inveterate, and Provost Drummond, its active promoter, was by no means popular on account of his notions of bridge-building and town-extension. Many ridiculed the idea of a new city, and were only reconciled to the North Bridge by the specious pretence that it was designed as a more convenient access to Leith than by Leith Wynd or the Canongate. The fall of the side walls and vaults of the south end in August 1769, when five persons were buried in the ruins, confirmed the prejudices of many of the inhabitants.

The south side of the High Street, from the Cross to the Tron Church, has altogether been replaced by modern houses, the removal of the former "lands" having become necessary on account of their decayed condition, while in some cases they were destroyed by fires. But the most interesting memorial of antiquity in this quarter was probably the Black Turnpike, a building which stood near the Tron Church, at the head of an extinct alley called Peebles Wynd, having a wooden front to the High Street, and also a front to the Wynd. It was of great height, extent, and massiveness, and so little was known of the date of its erection, that tradition, not content with the honour that it had been the supposed residence of King Robert Bruce, ascribed it to no less a personage than the redoubtable Kenneth III., who extirpated the Picts. The Black Turnpike, however, could claim no more ancient date than about 1461, when it was built by a burgess of Edinburgh named George Robertson.² In 1567 it was either the property or the town residence of Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar,³ then Provost of the city, and Queen Mary, who had often been his guest at that castle, was confined in it for one night after the flight of Bothwell, and her surrender to the confederated nobility at Carberry Hill near Musselburgh, on Sunday the 15th of June, 1567, when she was conducted a prisoner to the city in the most deplorable condition.⁴ The hapless Queen was thrust into an apartment thirteen feet square and eight feet high, without any female attendant, about eight in the evening. The window looked to the street, and in addition to the insults she had received, when she appeared at it in the morning a banner was presented to her sight, exhibiting the murdered Lord Darnley laid under a tree, her infant son kneeling, and uttering the words—"Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" In agony of distress the Queen exclaimed to the mob on the street—"Good people, either satisfy your cruelty and hatred by taking my wretched life, or rescue me from such inhuman and villanous traitors." A number relented, and were about to take up arms in her favour; but she was removed by the confederated nobility to the Palace of Holyrood, from which she was sent on the following morning to be immured in Lochleven Castle, and this terminated her unhappy reign. The Black Turnpike was demolished in 1788, to complete the plans for the opening of the South Bridge Street and Hunter Square.

¹ Sir Walter Scott's Counsellor Pleydell was Andrew Crosbie, Esq., advocate, a portrait of whom is in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates.

² Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 187, 188.

³ It is, however, stated by a contemporary chronicler, that the

house was then tenanted by James Henderson of Fordel, though it was the property of Sir Simon Preston.—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 115.

⁴ *Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 95.

The Tron Church, as it is always designated, is a prominent building in the High Street. It derives its name from the circumstance that the "Tron," or public weighing beam, formerly stood near it in the street, and was a permanent commodity east of the Town Guard House; but its proper name is "Christ Church," which is intimated by an inscription over the centre door.¹ The edifice was apparently begun in 1637, with another one on the Castle-hill, the erection of which was subsequently abandoned; and though the date 1641 is in the inscription, the work proceeded so slowly on account of the want of money, that it was not finished till 1647. Before the opening of the South Bridge, the front of the building, with its small wooden steeple covered with lead, was alone visible from the street. When that street and Hunter Square were erected, the sides surrounded by houses were rebuilt in unison with the style of the front. It has now an elegant stone spire 160 feet high, erected in 1828, in place of the former wooden one, burnt in 1824, by the ignition of combustibles from the burning tenements in the Parliament Close.

The third alley below the Tron Church and Niddry Street is known as Strichen's Close, and derives its present name from Alexander Fraser of Strichen in Aberdeenshire, a judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Strichen from 1730 till his death in 1775. The old and extensive tenement at the south end of this alley, overlooking the Cowgate, is said to have been the town residence of the Abbot of Melrose before the Reformation, when its gardens, intersected by the Cowgate, stretched up to the back of the Kirk-of-Field inclosure on the site of the University. The house was afterwards possessed by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the celebrated Lord Advocate of Scotland from 1666 to 1687, and again for a short time in 1688, immediately before the Revolution, which deprived him of his office, and he was succeeded by Sir James Steuart, Bart. The original name of the alley was probably the Abbot's Close, and after Sir George Mackenzie became the proprietor it was designated Rosehaugh Close. Lord Strichen was the next occupant of rank. He was descended from Simon fifth Lord Lovat, was the uterine brother of the distinguished soldier John eighteenth Earl of Crawford and fourth Earl of Lindsay, and was allied to the Earls of Moray, Lauderdale, and other noble families.

The most ancient alley is that immediately east of Strichen's Close, and has been for centuries known as the Black Friars' Wynd, formerly the residence of many distinguished persons of rank and situation, but now almost ruinous, and the abode of a most squalid population. The site was granted by Alexander II., in 1230, to the Dominicans, or Black Friars, whose monastery and grounds occupied the present Surgeon Square, Infirmary Street, and the site of the Royal Infirmary. The Black Friars were permitted to erect houses in it, and the alley was long one of the principal thoroughfares from the High Street to the south side of the city, the breadth sufficient to admit the transit of a cart. Of the monastery of the Black Friars, to which it led, and is still a memorial of its existence, little is known, as every vestige of the edifice has disappeared. It is stated that the monastery was founded in 1230, on ground which is designated "mansio regis," the alleged site of an ancient royal residence. The monastery is said to have been destroyed by fire in 1285, and though it was rebuilt in a very limited style, the Provincial Synod was held in its church in 1512 by Cardinal Bagimont, the papal nuncio, when all beneficed ecclesiastics were summoned to produce on oath the annual amount of their incomes, from which was prepared the celebrated "Bagimont's Roll," or the standard for taxing those who applied to the Popes for confirmation of their preferments. In 1562, Queen Mary, by letters patent, granted to the citizens of Edinburgh this monastery and its gardens to found an hospital on its site for the aged poor; but in 1566, the town-council obtained an indemnification for not building the projected institution, authorising the erection of the edifice on the south side of Trinity College Church, and empowering the town-council to feu the grounds of the Black Friars. One of the earliest structures on it was the High School, which was built in 1578, and replaced by a modern edifice, the foundation-stone of which was laid in 1777, amid grand masonic ceremonial, by Sir William Forbes, Bart. This building was occupied as such till 1829, when the magnificent edifice on the Calton Hill was opened for the educational purposes of the institution, the extension of the New Town having rendered its removal necessary from the locality which it had long occupied. A small alley, called the High School Wynd, on the south side of the Cowgate, almost opposite the Black Friars' Wynd, leading up to Surgeon Square and Infirmary Street, still indicates the spot where for upwards of two centuries and a half the youth of Edinburgh received their elementary education. The grounds of the Black

¹ "ÆDEM HANC CHRISTO ET ECCLESIE SACRARUNT CIVES EDINBURGEN. ANNO DOM. MDCXLI." An additional inscription records the destruction of the steeple by fire in 1824.

Friars' Monastery were included within the extension of the city walls after the fatal battle of Flodden in 1513, and a part of those walls still exists behind the Royal Infirmary, in the direction of the suburb of the Pleasance.

The Black Friars' Wynd is connected with several historical incidents, particularly the celebrated riot which occurred in 1520 on the High Street, and known as "Cleanse the Causeway," during the minority of James V., when most outrageous disorders, conflicts, and feuds, were almost daily exhibited in public, occasioned by the animosity and rivalry of the nobility. The Earl of Angus, as head of the House of Douglas, and the Earl of Arran, as in the same position to the House of Hamilton, were the chief opponents. The Regent Duke of Albany was so enraged at the conduct of those noblemen, that he issued a proclamation, strictly prohibiting any gentleman of the name or party of Douglas or Hamilton to be elected Provost. The citizens had become completely alienated from the Earl of Arran on account of the Hamiltons having killed one of the heads of their Incorporated Trades, and were in favour of the Earl of Angus. Taking advantage of the disorders, the Earl of Rothes and Lord Lindsay, who were also at deadly feud, chose to disturb the city by encountering each other on the High Street, and it was with the utmost difficulty that their followers were prevented from committing a dreadful slaughter. This was a prelude to the long-remembered affair of "Cleanse the Causeway." In 1520, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, a near relative of the Earl of Angus, had been re-elected Provost of the city, to which he was first appointed in 1517. A Parliament was to be held in April that year to reconcile the contending parties, and to remedy the national disorders; but the Hamiltons announced that they could not consider themselves safe in a city of which the chief magistrate was a member of the Douglas family. This pretence induced Douglas voluntarily to resign, and Robert Logan of Coatfield, who was considered a neutral person, was promoted to the civic chair. At the time of the assembling of the Parliament, Archbishop James Beaton, then of Glasgow, and the most influential noblemen and gentlemen of the western counties, entered Edinburgh accompanied by an armed force. The Arran faction met in the Archbishop's house at the foot of the Black Friars' Wynd, and it was proposed by that prelate to seize the Earl of Angus and thrust him into prison. This would have been an exploit of some difficulty, as Angus had many adherents in the city; but it was unanimously sanctioned, and it was resolved to close the gates on the following morning, and preclude any assistance from his retainers. The Earl was then in his own residence near the West Bow, in which he was informed of the project of his opponents. He sent his uncle Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, to remonstrate with Archbishop Beaton, and to caution Arran and his friends not to offer any violence. In the meanwhile he put on his armour, summoned his spearmen, and marshalled them in the High Street, seizing the Nether-Bow gate, and causing the entrances to the alleys to be barricaded with carts, barrels, and such lumber as he could procure. He was so popular that the citizens handed weapons to his followers from their windows, and numbers of them espoused his quarrel. The Bishop of Dunkeld proceeded to the Black Friars' Wynd, and found Archbishop Beaton, who had arrayed himself in armour under his ecclesiastical dress, by which it was concealed. He in vain reasoned with the Archbishop, who solemnly declared on his conscience he could not help it, and at the same time striking his breast so violently that the concealed armour sounded, which induced the Bishop to exclaim—"My Lord, methinks your conscience clatters!" The Bishop returned to the Earl of Angus, and informed him that he found the parties in the Archbishop's residence so intent on desperate measures, that all hope of accommodation was unavailing; but the Earl and his spearmen were well prepared in the street. The Hamiltons, led by Sir James Hamilton, who was killed at the very commencement of the affray, violently issued from the Black Friars' Wynd, and a most alarming turmoil ensued. The windows were crowded with spectators, and the shouts, yells, and execrations of the combatants increased the consternation. The Hamiltons were at length driven by Angus down the alley, in which from its narrowness they could offer no resistance. Arran and a relation fought their passage through the assault, and fled into a lane on the north side of the street. At the foot of it they found a collier's horse, which they mounted, and rode through a shallow part of the North Loch, no one pursuing them, and escaping over the ground on which the new city is built. About seventy of the Hamiltons were killed in this fatal street skirmish. Archbishop Beaton, who had taken shelter in the adjoining church of the Black Friars, was dragged from it, and his life was only spared by the interference of the Bishop of Dunkeld. He was allowed to leave the city, and did not consider himself safe until he reached Linlithgow.

This once ruinous alley is interesting as connected with a reminiscence of Queen Mary. The last time

she visited the unfortunate Lord Darnley, then domiciled in the house of the Provost of the Kirk-of-Field, on the night he was murdered, the 9th of February, 1566-7, she walked from and returned to the Palace by the Canongate, High Street, and Black Friars' Wynd, crossing the Cowgate, and proceeding much in the line of the present Infirmary Street. The Queen was escorted by a few female attendants, and lighted torches were carried before her in the alley. This is distinctly mentioned in the depositions by the wretched perpetrators of the murder, who saw the Queen returning by the "Friar Wynd," and it is singular that the appearance of royalty in such a locality, and at a comparatively late hour in a dark winter night, attracted little or no notice of the inhabitants.

The next alley to the Cowgate east of the Black Friars' Wynd is Todrig's Wynd, which derives its present designation from George Todrig, a wealthy citizen in the reign of James VI. It seems to have had no particular name in the time of Queen Mary, as the murderers of Darnley, who also perambulated it on the night she passed up the "Friar Wynd" from the Kirk-of-Field house, speak of it as a "closs beneath the Friar Wynd." George Todrig, who was apparently a goldsmith, was second bailie, or magistrate, of Edinburgh in 1592 and 1596. The large tenement in the Cowgate at the foot of the alley, which is mentioned more particularly in the subsequent traditionary notices of that street, was the property of George Heriot, and was bequeathed by him for his intended Hospital; but an inspection of it by Dr. Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester, and by the magistrates and ministers of the city, induced them wisely to pronounce it utterly unfit for the purpose.¹

This part of the High Street was long considered so genteel and aristocratic that in its alleys were most of the episcopal chapels, which were attended chiefly by the higher classes. Gray's, or the Mint Close, contained a most select number of respectable and even titled inhabitants, and is still the cleanest and best alley in the Old Town. About the middle, on the east side, is the house, with a garden behind, which belonged to the Earls of Selkirk, and more recently occupied by Dr. Daniel Rutherford, professor of botany in the University, maternal uncle of Sir Walter Scott, who spent much of his boyhood in it when attending the High School. Near the Cowgate end is Elphinstone's Court, formed by a stately tenement of four storeys, built in 1679, in the second of which resided for some time Alexander Wedderburn, Esq., Advocate, and afterwards of the English Bar, appointed Solicitor-General in 1771, Attorney-General in 1778, elevated to the bench as Lord Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas in 1780, when he was created Lord Loughborough, and in 1793 became Lord Chancellor. Nearly opposite to Elphinstone's Court is the entrance to the Mint, which was removed from the Canongate, and the buildings of which, forming a quadrangle, have been long used as workshops. On the north side is a once imposing mansion, entered by a flight of steps, and above the door are inscribed the initial letters C. R. II., GOD SAVE THE KING, with the date 1674. This house, which was possessed before the Union by the Master of the Mint, and was life-rented by him as long after that event as his office was recognised, was at one time occupied about the middle of the eighteenth century by Eleanor Dowager Countess of Stair, widow of the soldier and statesman John second Earl of Stair. The celebrated Dr. William Cullen, one of the most accomplished physicians who ever appeared in Scotland, inhabited this house, in which all his family were born, and he died in it in February 1790.

Hyndford's Close, the alley below the Mint Close, probably derived its name from one of the Earls of Hyndford—a peerage extinct since the death of Andrew sixth Earl in 1817. The second storey of the first entry in this alley, the windows of which look into the Mint Close, was the town residence of Sir William Maxwell, Bart., of Monreith in Wigtonshire, and in it was born and educated his second daughter Jane, who married Alexander fourth Duke of Gordon, and was the mother of George fifth and last Duke of Gordon, Lord Alexander Gordon, the Duchesses of Richmond, Manchester, and Bedford, the Marchioness of Cornwallis, and Lady Madelina Sinclair, afterwards Palmer. Sir William Maxwell predeceased Lady Maxwell, who was a daughter of Blair of Blair, and had three sons and three daughters; of whom Catherine, the eldest, married John Fordyce, Esq., of Ayton; the second became the celebrated Duchess of Gordon; and Eglantine, the third, married Sir Thomas Wallace, Bart., of Craigie. Those ladies were brought up in the most homely manner, if it be true that Miss Eglantine was often sent to the public well called the Fountain Well, on the opposite side of the street, with the tea-kettle for water, and the future Duchess of Gordon was occasionally seen on

¹ Memoir of George Heriot with the History of the Hospital founded by him in Edinburgh, by William Steven, D.D. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1845, p. 55.

the back of a pig in the High Street, her sister Eglantine striking the animal behind with a stick.¹ It is stated that the future Duchess and Miss Eglantine had a peculiar liking to ride on the pigs belonging to a stabler in St. Mary's Wynd, and watched the animals as they were let loose from the yard to roam in the High Street during the day. Hyndford's Close was also the residence of some of the Balcarras family. Sir Walter Scott, when a boy of six or seven years of age, recollected Lady Anne Lindsay, afterwards Barnard, the authoress of the ballad "Auld Robin Gray," living in this alley. "I remember," he says in a letter written to her nearly fifty years afterwards, "all the locale of Hyndford's Close perfectly, even to the Indian screen, with Harlequin and Columbine, and the harpsichord, though I never had the pleasure to hear Lady Anne play on it. I suppose the Close, once too clean to soil the hem of your Ladyship's garment, is now a resort for the lowest mechanics; and so wears the world away. It is, to be sure, more picturesque to lament the desolations of towers on hills and haughs, than the degradation of an Edinburgh close; but I cannot help thinking on the simple and cosy retreats where worth and talent, and elegance to boot, were often nestled, and which are now the resort of misery, filth, poverty, and vice."

Two alleys intervene between Hyndford's Close and Tweeddale Court, which is entered by a narrow passage from the street under the front tenement, and at the south end of it is the former residence of the Marquises of Tweeddale—at least of John fourth Marquis, the last Secretary of State for Scotland, and the last Extraordinary Lord of Session, who died in December 1762, and for some years afterwards the town mansion of the members of that family. The house is extensive, and contains several large and commodious apartments. It was evidently erected shortly after the Revolution, and it is noticed by De Foe, who mentions the then fine garden behind, which was entered by an arched gateway still seen in the Cowgate. Tweeddale House has been successively a bank, a military clothing manufactory, a paper warehouse, and a printing and publishing establishment. While occupied by the British Linen Banking Company, a most atrocious murder was perpetrated in the passage leading to the Court from the street, at five in the afternoon of Thursday the 13th of November, 1806. The porter or messenger of the Bank had walked from Leith with a bag, containing large and small notes of various banks to the amount of 4392*l.*,² and he had advanced a few yards into the passage towards the Bank, when a person stationed in the dark entrance to a common stair stabbed him, seized the bag, and fled with its contents. Though a reward of 500 guineas was offered, the house of every suspected person searched, parties sent to watch the roads leading out of the city, and several individuals apprehended, the murderer escaped, and is to this day unknown. One notorious offender, who was several years afterwards tried and sentenced to death for another crime, was generally accused or suspected. His capital punishment was remitted, and he died in the city prison on the Calton Hill.

The alley east of Tweeddale Court, which terminates those on the south side of the High Street, is known by the ludicrous designation of the World's End Close. Those on the north side below the North Bridge Street present nothing peculiarly interesting. The only tenement of historical importance is the house, fast hastening to complete decay, of John Knox at the Fountain Well and corner of the Nether-Bow. This is the oldest stone building in the locality, as it is known to have been inhabited before the Reformation by George Durie, Abbot of Dunfermline. Knox was lodged in it by the magistrates when he was appointed minister of Edinburgh in 1560 under the new system, and in October 1561 some alterations were ordered at their expense, to "make ane warme studye of dailes to the minister Johne Knox within his house above the hall of the same."³

The High Street has been the scene of many encounters and riots in former times. The affair of "Cleanse the Causeway" has already been noticed. This was succeeded by the murder of Maclellan of Bombie, an ancestor of the now extinct Lords of Kirkcudbright, which was perpetrated in the High Street on the 11th of July, 1526, by his neighbours Douglas of Drumlanrig and Gordon of Lochinvar, who were apparently too powerful to be brought to account for the crime. On the afternoon of the 24th of November, 1567, the Lairds of Airth and Wemyss with their followers had a bloody skirmish, in which numbers were hurt, and this riot elicited a proclamation on the 27th, forbidding any to carry guns or pistols except the King's Guard and soldiers.⁴ The Earl of Montrose fought a combat with Sir James Sandilands at the Tron, on the 19th of January, 1593, to avenge the death of his cousin John Graham, who with Sir Alexander Stewart had

¹ Traditions of Edinburgh, by R. Chambers, vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

² Scots Magazine for 1806, p. 885. In the Gentleman's Magazine the sum is 4380*l.*

³ Knox, it is said, often addressed the people from a window in this house.

⁴ Birrel's Diary, p. 13.

been killed at the foot of Leith Wynd on the 14th February, 1593.¹ Four of the Earl's followers were slain on this occasion.

This part of the High Street was the scene of a deadly rencontre on the 17th of June, 1605, between David Lindsay, younger of Edzell and of Glensk, and Wishart of Pittarrow, whose sister or relative the former had married. The quarrel probably originated in some family difference, which apparently the heads of the respective parties could not prevent, and the city authorities were evidently unable to repress the combat. The fight, according to one authority,² continued from nine in the evening till eleven; but it is also stated that it lasted from the former hour till two in the morning before they were separated.³ One of Pittarrow's men was killed, or rather suffocated in the crowd, and many on both sides were wounded. The two principal combatants were summoned to appear before the Privy Council on the following day, and they were committed to Edinburgh Castle, from which the elder Wishart of Pittarrow and his son were ordered to Blackness, and Lindsay of Edzell to Dunbarton. This quarrel was preliminary to another fight in the High Street on the 5th of July, 1607, which was attended with fatal consequences to Sir Alexander Lindsay, first Lord Spynie. Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, a judge in the Supreme Court under the title of Lord Edzell, the father of Alexander Lindsay, was involved in this disastrous affair. Lord Spynie and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, an ancestor of the Dukes and Marquises of Queensberry, happened to be present; and as the former was nearly related to both the combatants, he ran in between them, to separate them and their followers, and attempt a reconciliation, when he received several wounds, of which he died on the 16th of July.

On the 14th of July, 1608, Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, styled Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald in right of his wife Elizabeth, only child and heir of William, Master of Carlyle, who died before his father Michael fourth Lord, was killed on the High Street, a short distance below the Cross, by Captain William Stewart, the nephew of that so-called Captain James Stewart, created Earl of Arran, whom Sir James Douglas himself had murdered for his concern in bringing his uncle the Regent Morton to the block. Stewart met Sir James Douglas accidentally between six and seven in the morning, and ran him through the body, which caused instant death. As few persons were on the street at that early hour, the murderer escaped. Douglas of Torthorwald was interred in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, where a flat tombstone with an inscription, between the ruins of two pillars in the north aisle, marks his grave.⁴

The High Street was terminated on the east by the Nether-Bow Port, which is described as a "beautiful gate erected in 1606, a short distance east of a former one built in 1571."⁵ It was an edifice of two storeys, surmounted by a spire, on which was a public clock. In 1650, when Cromwell's army was in the vicinity of the city, several pieces of artillery were mounted on this Port, some ornamental decorations were removed, and all the houses in the adjoining street of St. Mary's Wynd were demolished, to prevent the English obtaining any shelter.⁶ In February 1652, the royal arms on the Nether-Bow were destroyed by order of the Commissioners of the English Parliament, who were then sitting at Dalkeith. After the celebrated Porteous Mob in 1736, a bill was passed in the House of Lords, ordering, among other marks of displeasure, the demolition of the gate, but the utmost interest was employed in the House of Commons to defeat the bill, and the gate was allowed to remain. This building, with its tower and spire, was removed in 1764, and every vestige of it has disappeared. Allan Ramsay gives an amusing account of the obstruction caused by the Nether-Bow Port to the ingress of those whose carousals in the Canongate detained them till after the hour for locking the large gate and the wicket for foot-passengers, and their altercations with the keeper, whom they had to bribe into submission, or return to the scene of their nocturnal carousals.

TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH, TRINITY HOSPITAL, AND VICINITY.

THE ecclesiastical edifice in Edinburgh next in antiquity to St. Giles's Church is the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, locally designated the "College Kirk," erected in the low ground at the foot or north

Birrel's Diary, pp. 29, 34.

² Ibid. p. 64.

³ Sir James Balfour's Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 7.

⁴ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 65, 68.

⁵ Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 140.

⁶ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 24.

end of Leith Wynd, immediately under the rocky precipices of the Calton Hill, and founded by Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James II., in 1462, for a provost, eight prebendaries, and two singing-boys. The structure is one of the best Gothic order, though it was never finished, and consists of only the choir and transepts. On one of the buttresses the arms of Gueldres are displayed as quartered with those of Scotland. The original entrance, which displays fine masonry in the decorations, is by an elegant door, under a stately archway on the south side, into the choir, lighted from the east by three high lancet windows. The clere windows are supported by flying buttresses.

The royal foundress in her charter expressly states that she designed the edifice for "the praise and honour of the Holy Trinity, of the ever blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, of St. Ninian the Confessor, of all the saints and elect of God," and a variety of other pious enumerations, with the consent of her consort James II., who had been slain at Roxburgh Castle.¹ The deed sets forth the duties of the provost, prebendaries, and singing-boys, with great minuteness, evincing the attention then bestowed on the formalities of divine service.² As the ecclesiastics were to be connected with the adjoining Trinity Hospital, also originated by Mary of Gueldres, the constitutions have a special reference to that endowment.³ To provide funds, a religious house on Soltra Hill, founded by Malcolm IV. in 1164, and the superiority of most of the barony of Soltra, in the now united parishes of Fala and Soltra, were annexed.

Mary of Gueldres died on the 16th of November, 1463, in the flower of her age, with a splendid character for prudence and abilities, and was interred in an aisle on the north side of the church. For nearly one hundred years the ceremonials enjoined in the deed of foundation were duly performed by the prebendaries. Sir Edward Bonkle was the first provost, and the members of the chapter continued to derive their revenues from the Soltra Hills, and places enumerated in the city of Edinburgh, town of Leith, and in the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Peebles, Haddington, Berwick, and Fife. In 1559, at the outbreak of the Reformation, a band of zealots arrived in Edinburgh from Stirling, and finding that the civic authorities had anticipated them in securing the valuable property of the churches and religious houses, they plundered the houses of the prebendaries,⁴ and destroyed the altars in Trinity College church. In 1567, after the deposition of Queen Mary, the Regent Moray assigned the church, and all the property connected with it, to Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, Provost of Edinburgh.⁵ The revenue then amounted to the annual sum of 362*l.* Scots. Sir Simon conferred the edifice on the magistrates and town-council, and the locality of the fabric was long designated the "north-east parish of Edinburgh" both in Episcopal and Presbyterian times. It appears, however, that notwithstanding Sir Simon Preston's gift, the provost of the church had a claim on the revenues, and the town-council had to arrange the matter by consenting to pay him three hundred merks, and an annuity of 160*l.* Scots. This agreement was effected in 1585, when Robert Pont was provost;⁶ and by a confirmatory charter of James VI., in December 1587, the magistrates restored the Trinity Hospital, which originally belonged to the foundation, and is mentioned in the altered regulations after the Reformation, as in a ruinous state.⁷

¹ James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh Castle in 1460.

² The whole is detailed in the long document presented to Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, and confirmed by him at St. Andrews, 1st April, 1462, in the twenty-fifth year of his consecration.—Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 207-210.

³ The following curious clause has an evident allusion to the morals of the ecclesiastics of that age;—"If any of the said prebendaries shall keep a concubine or *fire-maker*, and shall not dismiss her after being thrice admonished by the provost, his prebend shall be adjudged vacant, and conferred on another, by consent of the ordinary, as aforesaid." The prebendaries, after reading mass, were to repair to the tomb of the foundress with hyssop, and there chant the prayer *De profundis*, with that of the faithful, and make an exhortation to excite the people to obedience. Matins were ordered to begin at five in the morning from Whitsunday to the festival of St. Michael, and during the remainder of the year at six in the morning. At the conclusion of matins the weekly mass was to be celebrated at the altar of the Blessed Virgin according to the table for worship, and mass was to be said weekly in the chapel of the Hospital, for the benefit of the infirm poor therein, at nine in the morning. The royal foundress also enjoined that the provost and prebendaries were, during their lifetime,

to observe an anniversary for James II. her husband; and after her own demise, on the days of her and the king's obits, they were to sing and celebrate his and her anniversaries in all time coming for their ancestors, children, and successors, as also the obit of the Bishop of St. Andrews after his decease.

⁴ This is stated on the authority of the celebrated John Lesley, Bishop of Ross (*De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, 4to. Rome, 1588, pp. 508, 509). His words are—"Denique Trinitatis Sanctæ Collegium, ac Præbendariorum ædificia ultimo dejiciunt, ne qua possit bonis piisque viris spes melioris rerum successus aliquando effulgere."

⁵ "It would rather seem that the grant had been given to Sir Simon *qua* Provost."—Correspondent of Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24th August, 1844.

⁶ Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24th August, 1844.

⁷ The following articles are enumerated as the property of the "Kirk-Session" of Trinity College parish:—1. A silver font and ewer, gifted in 1633 by John Trotter. 2. Four large silver cups or bowls on stalks, two large silver plates or basins, and two large silver flagons or stoups, presented by some "honest indwellers" in 1632, 1633, 1693, and 1698. The inscriptions on the cups and flagons are passages from the New Testament, and the names of the donors.

The last provost of Trinity College church was Robert Pont, already mentioned, who contrived to monopolise with it the incumbency of St. Cutlibert's church and the office of a judge in the Court of Session. He was born in Culross in 1527, and educated at St. Leonard's College in the University of St. Andrews, where he early allied himself to John Knox and his party, and he is noticed as an "elder" in the kirk-session records of that city in 1559. Pont took an active part in the polemical discussions of the age, especially in the contests of James VI. with the Presbyterians; yet he was not averse to the titular episcopate; and though in 1587 the General Assembly would not sanction his appointment to the bishopric of Caithness, his name was in a subsequent year first on the list of those who were intended for the qualified prelacies. He died on the 8th of May, 1606, and was interred within the former St. Cutlibert's church, in which a monument was erected to his memory, with an epitaph partly in questionable Latin, and in doggerel English rhyme.¹

The original Trinity Hospital stood on the east side of the foot of Leith Wynd, opposite the church, but the fate of the bedesmen at the Reformation is unknown. When the town-council obtained possession of the property, the hospital was so ruinous that it was demolished, and the houses of the provost and prebendaries immediately south of the church were repaired, and appropriated to the reception of decayed burgesses of the city, their widows and unmarried children, not under fifty years of age.² Before the demolition of the Hospital in 1845, forty old persons of both sexes were boarded, lodged, and clothed in the house, and upwards of one hundred were out-pensioners. The west side of the arch of the North British Railway over Leith Wynd occupies a part of its site.

A short distance north-west of the site of Trinity College church, near an alley called St. Ninian's Row, or the Salt-Bracket, between Waterloo Place and Leith Street, stood Dingwall's Castle, as it was called, almost on the site of the north-west termination of Waterloo Place towards the Register House. This edifice, whatever were its architectural pretensions and appearance—for every vestige of it had disappeared long before the commencement of the new city—was built or inhabited by John Dingwall, provost of Trinity College church in 1526, and one of the first fifteen judges in the Scottish Supreme Court at its institution in 1532. St. Ninian's Chapel, a small edifice which has long since disappeared, gave its name to St. Ninian's Row. The blundering of Maitland respecting another ancient structure is most extraordinary. He states that opposite Trinity College, "towards the south, is the Hospital of St. Thomas, which I shall elsewhere describe." This indicates that the Hospital was in or near the street known as Paul's Work, on the south side of which the oldest house, one of two storeys and attics, has the date of 1619;³ and yet Maitland forgot that he had previously placed the Hospital of St. Thomas a little northward of the Girth Cross, which was at the foot of the Canongate, opposite the former entrance to the outer court-yard of the Palace, near the Watergate. This is at least one-third of a mile "east" from, instead of "opposite" to, and "south of," Trinity College church.⁴ The exact site of the Hospital of St. Thomas is not ascertained; but assuming that the locality was near the Girth Cross, it was probably on the ground occupied by a once excellent and large house of two storeys, resting on a ground storey of closed piazzas, a short distance north of the Watergate. On a window in the centre of that tenement is the date 1623. Maitland has evidently mistaken this tenement for the Hospital of Our Lady, founded in 1479 by Thomas Spens, Bishop of Aberdeen, and the house in Paul's Work probably occupies its site. Bishop Spens died in 1480, and was interred in Trinity College church. The Hospital of Our Lady seems never to have been established, on account of the poverty of the endowment, which was only 12*l.* sterling annually; and it is

¹ The inscription is in Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 178, 179.

² History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 212.

³ This tenement, which is of hewn stone in front, must have been considered rather elegant in its time. The ground storey is converted into workshops, and the upper storey is occupied by very poor people. This upper storey is entered by an outside stair from the street, and the door is in the centre. On the top of a window, on one side of the door, are the date 1619, and the inscription—"GOD BLES THIS WARK;" and above the window, on the other side, are carved roses and thistles in rude outline, and a castellated edifice, which is part of the arms of the city of Edinburgh. Adjoining is a tenement of three storeys erected on the walls of what is evidently a remnant of a former ancient structure.

⁴ In the Records of the City of Edinburgh are some notices of Trinity College Church and Hospital. "Nov. 14, 1587.—Fyndis it

expedient that ane door be stricken through the town wall to serve for access to the Trinitie College and Hospital, and that at the foot of Halkerston's Wynd, als weil for the lieges."—"Jan. 24. To big up with dry stanes the new made zett at the Trinitie College, and the expences thairoff shall be allowed."—"March 26, 1589. Stones given from Paul's Work to repair Trinity College Kirk."—"April 28, 1592. Fyndis it expedient that the door be opynit in the town wall at the Trinitie College, that ane passage may be had thairthrow to the sermons in the said College."—"May 29, 1629. Grantis to Hendrie Harper, induring the Council's will, the house under the visiting-house, at the west end of the College Kirk, without payment of any maill."—"August 26, 1657. The Council dispones to the Trinity Hospital that little piece of waste ground at the south-west neuck of the College yard dyke, at the check of the yett (gate) forgainst the foot of Halkerston's Wynd."—Edinburgh Town-Council Records, vols. viii. ix. xix.

stated that it was converted by the magistrates at the Reformation into a work-house, the civic authorities bestowing on it the title of "Paul's Work,"¹ which the street still retains. The Town-Council engaged some men from Holland to instruct boys and girls in the manufacture of coarse woollen stuffs; but though it was supported by charitable donations, the experiment was unsuccessful, and the tenement with some additional buildings erected for the purpose, was sold to private individuals. Numbers of Cromwell's sick soldiers were quartered in Paul's Work in 1650, when he compelled the citizens to "collect money for providing honest entertainment" to the wounded of his army.²

Near Trinity College church was one of the city gates, called St. Andrew's Port, which is mentioned in a criminal trial in 1550.³ On the west side of Leith Wynd is a part of the town wall, of considerable height. The date of this wall, and the state of Leith Wynd, will be inferred from an act of the Scottish Parliament of the 14th of March, 1540, in the reign of James V., concerning the "reparations" within the town of Edinburgh. It is curious to observe, that the framers of that act considered it quite unnecessary to ascertain whether the parties interested had sufficient funds at their disposal to enable them to rebuild the denounced houses, and they were in the most arbitrary manner compelled to dispose of their property if they neglected to comply within the time specified. And as the east side of Leith Wynd belonged to the abbot and convent of Holyrood as superiors, the magistrates of the Canongate were ordered to act similarly in regard to the houses in that quarter.⁴

The street under the precipices of the Calton Hill, long forming a distinct suburb leading into the fields on the east and north of Trinity College church, was anciently known as the "Beggars' Row."⁵ It was divided into the Low and High Calton, the latter consisting of the houses built close to the rocks of the Calton Hill. The erection of the Regent Bridge and Waterloo Place was the first invasion of the Low and High Calton by modern improvement. A large plain edifice, which the Wesleyan Methodists had erected as a chapel, was levelled to the ground in 1816; and in 1845 a similar fate befell a square edifice close to the north-west corner of Trinity College church. This was Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, erected and endowed by Willielma, second and posthumous daughter of Maxwell of Preston, sister of Mary Countess of Sutherland, and widow of John Lord Glenorchy. Her ladyship, who died in George Square, in 1786, was interred in the chapel, and her remains were removed before the demolition of the building. The former Orphan Hospital, a large edifice with a plain spire, between Lady Glenorchy's Chapel and the North Bridge, was also taken down in 1845. The works of the North British Railway have so completely altered the appearance of this locality, that its inhabitants of a former generation would be so much astonished as almost to question its identity. The precipices of the Calton Hill are the only marks by which this once densely populated locality is known.

THE COWGATE AND GRASSMARKET.

FEW persons ever imagine that the Cowgate was the first "new town" of Edinburgh, and the very statement may be received with incredulity; yet that the Cowgate was the first enlargement of the city is actually the fact.⁶ After the battle of Flodden, when the citizens fully expected that the English would

¹ Arnot's History of Edinburgh, 4to. pp. 247, 248.

² Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 23.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 351.

⁴ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 374. Maitland erroneously assigns the year 1520 as the date, but no Parliament was held that year.

⁵ Gordon of Rothiemay designates it "*Niniani Suburbium, seu Mendicorum Platea*," in his Bird's Eye View, 1647. It is stated that St. Ninian's Row was constituted a part of the county of Stirling.

⁶ It has been alleged that the whole extent of the Cowgate was formerly a lake, but this is contradicted by historical facts. The following notices, in the Edinburgh newspapers of November 1844, are interesting as reminiscences of the Cowgate. "For some months past excavations have been making near the Cowgate for the foundation of a suite of court-rooms to accommodate the Lords Ordinary. The buildings run south from the present buildings constituting our

courts of law, and the south wall verges on the spot where many of our readers will remember the Back Stairs ascending of yore. In the space cleared by the workmen a fragment of the first wall of the city, built about 1460, has been laid bare. About the end of September 1844, some much more *recherché* discoveries were made by the workmen. South from the fragment of the wall, and directly so from the present buildings for the First and Second Divisions of the Court of Session (adjoining the Parliament House), fourteen feet below the surface of the earth, was found a range of strong wooden coffins, lying close beside each other, and containing human remains. These coffins were straight in the sides, but had lids rising into a ridge in the centre. About the same time, ten or twelve yards west from that spot, and also beyond the line of the city wall, the workmen found, imbedded in the ground, eighteen feet below the level of the present Cowgate, a common shaped barrel of a large size, six feet high, resting on one end, and eighteen inches deep into a stratum of blue clay, with

enter Scotland and advance to Edinburgh, the city wall was extended so far on the south as to include the Cowgate, Grassmarket, a considerable portion of the grounds of Highriggs, the property of Sir James Lawson, on part of which George Heriot's Hospital is erected; the garden of the Grey Friars, previously noticed; and the fields eastward towards the Cowgate Port and the Pleasance, now occupied by streets, and by the University, the Royal Infirmary, and Surgeon Square, the last of which is the site of the church and monastery of the Black Friars. A considerable portion of this wall, or a wall of a subsequent erection, exists near the south-west end of the Grassmarket and east end of the West Port, in the steep alley called the Vennel, inclosing the west side of George Heriot's Hospital grounds, and behind the Royal Infirmary along Drummond Street to the Pleasance.

The Cowgate communicates directly with the Grassmarket,¹ and including that locality and the West Port, the extent of the line of street is about a mile. The Port, or gate, stood at the east end, close to the foot of St. Mary's Wynd and the Pleasance, and was partly on the site of the large and elegant edifice, resting on piazzas and arches, erected as one of the district schools of George Heriot's Hospital. Like other localities in the old city the appearance of much of the Cowgate is considerably altered by the erection of the South and George IV. Bridges, the rebuilding of the old houses, and the general aspect of squalidness and poverty which prevails in a street long the abode of noblemen, judges, and genteel families.

Close to the Mint, and forming the front to the street, at the foot of South Gray's Close, between that alley and Todrig's Wynd, is the large substantial stone edifice formerly the property of George Heriot, and intended by him for his Hospital. The principal entrance to this tall and massive structure is from the Cowgate, and above the door is the inscription—"BE MERCIFUL TO ME, O GOD, 1574." A large square tower of substantial ashlar work projects into the street, the want of windows in which imparts a heavy appearance. In May, 1590, the Danish ambassadors and other persons of distinction in their suite, who consisted of about two hundred and twenty persons, in the train of the consort of James VI., were entertained at the expense of the city in this tenement. On the first storey is a large hall in which the banquet was held. This hall was the council-room of the Mint, and is entered by a lobby of considerable height with a carved oak ceiling. The upper storeys, which are gained by a curious stair, were formerly the residences of the subordinate officers of that establishment.

Bishop Gawin Douglas, at the time of the street riot of "Cleanse the Causeway," appears to have resided in an alley in the vicinity now designated Robertson's Close. The corner tenement at the foot of the Blackfriars' Wynd is already mentioned as containing a turreted remnant of the mansion of Archbishop James Beaton, uncle and predecessor of the celebrated Cardinal Beaton in the primacy of St. Andrews. In July 1528, James V. inhabited the house for a few days. Proceeding upwards, west of the South Bridge arch and Blair Street, is a large tenement six storeys high, known as the Meal Market. Sir David Home of Crossrig, one of the judges of the Court of Session nominated by William III. after the Revolution, resided near this locality, and he made a narrow escape with his life from a conflagration which occurred on the night of the 3d of February, 1700.²

a massive stone beside it, leading to the presumption that it had been a barrel kept for the purpose of gathering rain from the heavens, having a stone step to enable any one to get to its top, and take out a supply of its contents. The staves of this barrel are for the most part fresh and sound. Still farther to the west, near the barrel, and at about the same depth, was found a copper dish or basin, about eighteen inches diameter, and six deep, having the rim slightly everted. There can be little doubt that all these things have lain for several centuries undisturbed. The bodies would be a portion of those interred in St. Giles's church-yard, which was abandoned in the sixteenth century. The barrel and dish must have been part of the *curta supellex* of a citizen of still earlier age. The Cowgate existed in 1470, however much earlier, and it was for some ages the residence of the great. So large a copper dish could only belong to a person of some distinction. But the most curious inference from these discoveries is as to the gradual rise of the level of the street in the course of time. Some years ago a street was found twelve feet below the present causeway of the Cowgate, near its eastern extremity, and here we find household articles seated still lower. This, however, is common

in all ancient cities, in consequence of the want of police regulations in the Middle Ages. Refuse and rubbish were laid on the street, and not being removed, soon became trodden, and thus raised the soil. Even pavements were thus lost sight of. Fresh accumulations continually taking place, the ground rose of course, and in time the bases of buildings were accommodated to the new level." Many interesting memorials of former times have been occasionally found in the Cowgate.

¹ Gordon of Rothiemay, in 1647, dignifies the Cowgate with the Latinised appellation of *Platea Bovina*, and the Grassmarket is the *Platea Fori Equini!*

² Lord Crossrig had a wooden leg, and in a letter from Forbes of Culloden to his brother, which contains an account of the fire, he says—"Many rueful spectacles, such as Crossrig naked with a child under his oxtar, hopping for his life." The same distinguished eyewitness says—"There are burnt, by the easiest computation, betwixt 300 and 400 families; all the pride of Edinburgh is sunk; from the Cowgate to the High Street all is burnt, and hardly one stone left upon another. The Commissioner, President of Parliament, President

In this part of the Cowgate was some property belonging to the Church of St. Giles. Thomas Cameron, in a charter dated 31st January, 1498, made a donation to a chaplain, at St. Catherine's altar in that church, of his "tenement in the Cowgate, on the south side thereof, betwixt the Bishop of Dunkeld's land on the east, and William Rappilowe's on the west, the common street on the north, and the gate that leads to the Kirk-of-Field on the south." In the neighbourhood was also an old religious house, supposed to have been the "College of Priests," mentioned by John Alesse in his curious description of Edinburgh, in which he describes the Cowgate in the most magniloquent phraseology.¹ Here was the first printing-house established in Scotland by Walter Chapman and Andrew Millar in 1508; and the former, in 1528, granted his house in the street for the maintenance of an altar in the Chapel of the Holy Rood on the Cowgate side of the then churchyard of St. Giles. This house is described as near the chapel.

The riot which the introduction of the Scottish Liturgy caused in 1637 was concerted in the Cowgate. A meeting was held in the house of a person named Nicolas Balfour, which was attended by the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Glencairn, Loudon, and Traquair, Lords Lorn, Lindsay, Balmerino, and others, the ministers Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant, and a number of the leading Presbyterians. On this occasion they instructed some females of the lower orders to "give the first affront to the Book," by commencing an uproar in St. Giles's church when the service commenced, assuring them that the business would soon be taken out of their hands by men stationed for the purpose, some of whom would be disguised in female attire. The details of the Solemn League and Covenant were also finally discussed in the Cowgate on the 27th of February, 1638, the day before that document was made public in the Greyfriars' church and burying-ground. On the day following the subscription of the Covenant, the Earl of Rothes and Loudon, Lord Lindsay, and others of their party, attended the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate, in which nearly three hundred Presbyterian preachers from the country were assembled, exclusive of delegates from the burghs. All the persons present signed the Covenant that night.² The Tailors' Hall exhibits the date over the doorway of 1644, when it was either repaired or rebuilt. From after 1727 till upwards of 1753, this edifice was occupied as a theatre, to the great annoyance of the city ministers, whose denunciations only made it more prosperous.

The "Back Stairs," now removed, were an old access from the Cowgate to the Parliament Square. West from this, near and on the site of George IV. Bridge, were many curious tenements, one of which was popularly known as the "Twelve Apostles." One of these was a court of buildings, the site now occupied by the groined arches of the bridge, by which access was gained to the half-demolished Merchant Street and the Candlemaker Row. The modern name of this court was Merchant Court; and in the middle of the eighteenth century, a portion of those buildings was used as the Excise Office, before that establishment was removed, in 1772, to Chessels' Court in the Canongate. Tradition alleged that the house was the residence of the French embassy in the time of Queen Mary, but it is certain that it was the town-house of Thomas, first Earl of Haddington, whose sobriquet of "Tam o' the Cowgate" was conferred on him by James VI. His lordship, it is said, rented the house from Macgill of Rankellour in Fife. When James VI. was in Edinburgh, in 1617, he dined with the Earl, who was very rich, in the house. The Earl died at his seat of Tynninghame, in Haddingtonshire, in 1637, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, after filling the highest legal offices, and acquiring most extensive and valuable landed property.

On the west side of the bridge, and south side of the street, is the small plain edifice called the Magdalen Chapel, the property of the Incorporation of Hammermen. In front, over the entrance, rises a square tower four storeys high, battlemented at the top, and surmounted by a wooden spire. The inscription over the

of the Session, the Bank, most of the lords', lawyers', and clerks' (houses) were all burnt, and many good and great families. It is said by Sir John Cochrane and Jordanhill that there is more rent burnt in this fire than the whole city of Glasgow will amount to. The Parliament House very hardly escaped; all registers confounded; clerks' chambers and processes in such a confusion that the Lords and Officers of State are just now met at Ross's tavern, in order to adjourning of the Session, by reason of the disorder. These Babels, of ten and fourteen storeys high, are down to the ground, and their fall is very terrible. The Fish Market, and all from the Cowgate to Pitt Street's Close, burnt; the Exchange, vaults, and coal-cellars under the Parliament Close, are still burning."—Duncan Forbes to his brother

Colonel Forbes, dated Edinburgh, 6th February, 1700, in the "Cul-loden Papers," 4to. London, 1815, p. 27. This indicates that the great conflagration at Edinburgh in 1700 involved the former lofty tenements of the Parliament Square, the predecessors of those burnt in 1824. The old Meal Market is immediately behind the Parliament Square.

¹ "Sicut et Via Vaccarum, in qua habitant patricii et senatores urbis, et in qua sunt principum regni palatia, ubi nihil est humile aut rusticum, sed omnia magnifica."

² The Earl of Rothes' Relation of Proceedings concerning the Kirk of Scotland, from August 1637 to July 1638, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1830, p. 79.

doorway intimates that it was erected by Michael Macquhan, and Janet Rhynd his wife, whose tomb is shown in the floor, in 1553.¹ The little edifice is lighted from the south, and the windows were originally filled with stained glass, some pieces of which still remain. At the top of one window are the arms of Mary of Guise, Queen Mary's mother, then Regent of Scotland, and the arms of the founder and his wife are also seen. In the lower panes, only one of the small figures of the Apostles, supposed to represent St. Bartholomew, has escaped the spoliation. Various General Assemblies during the reign of James VI., were held in the Magdalen Chapel, and it was thither that the headless body of the Earl of Argyll was carried, after his execution in 1661, to lie till his friends removed it to the family vault at Kilmun in Argyllshire.

The large tenement at the head of the Cowgate and entrance into the Grassmarket, called "Maclellan's Land,"² looking up the Candlemaker Row, is chiefly remarkable as the residence for a short time of the father of Lord Brougham. When he came first to Edinburgh, he was recommended to lodge with Mrs. Syme, the widow of Mr. Syme, minister of Alloa, and sister of Principal Robertson the Historian. This lady kept a boarding establishment in the second storey of the tenement. Mr. Brougham formed an attachment to Miss Eleanor Syme, her daughter, and married her in this house in 1778. He continued to reside with his mother-in-law till he removed to the corner house of North St. David Street and St. Andrew Square, in which Lord Brougham was born in 1779.³ Henry Mackenzie, the celebrated author of the "Man of Feeling," was born in one of the storeys of this Cowgate tenement.

On the south-east corner of the Grassmarket, at the foot of the Candlemaker Row, and opposite the West Bow, was a monastery of Grey Friars, of which nothing is now known, and not a vestige remains.⁴ The fact of their existence as a religious house in Edinburgh is solely originally preserved in the name of the adjoining cemetery, which was their garden. Some memorials of former religious foundations occur in the names of several alleys in the West Port, such as the Lady Wynd,⁵ the Chapel Wynd, and St. Cuthbert's Close; and the residence of royalty in the Castle is still indicated by the name of the locality immediately under the Fortress, entered on the north side of the Grassmarket, which is known as the

¹ Michael Macquhan left 700*l.* Scots for this charitable foundation, which was erected on the site of an old ruinous hospital called *Maison Dieu*. Several persons promised to contribute to Macquhan's bequest, but their money was never forthcoming, and his widow added 2000*l.* Scots to his donation for an hospital and chapel to accommodate a chaplain and seven poor men, endowing it also with a perpetual annuity of 138 merks Scots. By her deed of settlement in 1547, the building was placed under the control of the Incorporated Hammermen. Her husband is described as "greatly affected with a grievous distemper, and oppressed by age."—Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 89.

² A tenement a short distance below, and the first west of the Bridge, is said to have been built by Sir Thomas Hope, the celebrated Covenanted Lord Advocate in the reign of Charles I. "If the house near Cowgate head, north syde that street, was built by Sir Thomas Hope (as is supposed), the inscription upon one of the lintall stones supports this etymologie, for the anagram is *Aut Hospes Humo*, and has all the letters of Sir Thomas Houpe. The other lintall-stone has only the initials T. H., and the inscription is of no farther design (than) *Tecum Habita*. The date (is) 1616, when the house was built."—Coltness Collections, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, 4to. 1842, p. 16.

³ Lord Brougham's father afterwards resided constantly in Edinburgh, where he died in 1810, and was buried in the churchyard of Restalrig, near the city, where a plain monument is erected to his memory.

⁴ If we are to credit the continuator of Wadding, the Monastery of the Grey Friars at Edinburgh was a most splendid edifice, and their gardens were considered truly beautiful. Their Monastery, moreover, according to this foreign historian of the monks, was a seminary of instruction, and fifty or sixty priests were constantly resident—a statement utterly incredible, and too important to have been overlooked by local writers if such had been the fact. Maitland (History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 189), on the authority of Hope's Minor Practicks (c. 16, sec. 2), after mentioning that the Franciscans or Grey Friars were invited into Scotland by James I., who had resolved to erect and endow public schools for the instruction of his subjects,

thus proceeds—"The Vicar-General of the Order sent him Cornelius of Zurick Zee, a Dutchman of great reputation, with divers of his brethren, for whom the Edinburghers built a house of such magnificence, that Cornelius refused to accept of the priority; but being at last prevailed on by the Bishop of St. Andrews, he settled a community therein, who taught both divinity and philosophy till the demolition of their monastery, anno 1559." The continuator of Wadding thus records the account of the monastery of the Grey Friars at Edinburgh, as written by John Hay, an Observantine, Franciscan, or Grey Friar, at Cologne, in 1586, to Father Francis Gonzaga, Superior-General of the Order—"Et tam notabiliter structuris et ædificiis, ac hortorum amenitate ornatam, ut non habitacula pauperum, sed magnatum viderentur, quæ cum ille mundi contemtor P. Cornelius non acceptaret, affirmans ordinis fundatorem in testamento reliquisse, quod fratres libenter maneremus in domibus, et ecclesiis pauperulis et derelictis." We have next the statement of Pope Pius II. (Æneas Silvius) and the Scottish Primate, the illustrious James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, overcoming the scruples of the reluctant Cornelius of Zurick Zee and his brethren, and inducing them to take possession of the monastery—Waddingi (R. P. Lucas) *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, ab anno 1554, usque ad annum 1564, continuati a F. Josepho Maria de Ancona, folio, Romæ, 1745, tom. xix. pp. 126, 127. Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James II., when she landed at Leith in 1449, is said to have been first conducted to the Monastery of the Grey Friars at Edinburgh (Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 431), but other authorities allege that she rode direct to the Abbey of Holyrood.

⁵ George Paton, in a letter to Lieutenant (afterwards General) Hutton, dated Edinburgh, 2d October, 1789, says—"I can assure you that near half a century ago I have been within the walls of an old chappell near to the West Port here, below the Castle, at the south-east corner of the tilting-ground. It was named the *Mary Chappel*, and a lane leading to it from the high (main) street west to the different roads to the country retains the name of the *Lady Wynd*."—Appendix to "Liber Conventus S. Katherine Scensis prope Edinburgum," printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 74.

King's Stables. The gate of the West Port stood at the west end of the Grassmarket, and was erected in 1514. Though the gate has long disappeared, its name is applied to the entire street.

The extension of the city, and the change in mercantile transactions, have now rendered the Grassmarket of little importance to the purposes of trade. The antique tenements of the street, many of them tall and massive, present an imposing aspect; and, in common with other quarters of the Old City, the locality abounds with narrow alleys. At the east end, the former place of execution, on which the scaffold was erected, is still marked on the pavement of the causeway; and on the south side several of the houses at one time displayed iron crosses, intimating that they were "Temple lands," or the property of the Knights Templars. The principal access to George Heriot's Hospital was long by a very steep narrow street on the south side of the Grassmarket, called unaccountably Heriot's Bridge.¹

GREYFRIARS' CEMETERY.—SIGNING OF THE COVENANT.

WHEN it was resolved to abandon the churchyard of St. Giles, the Town-Council, after 1561, converted the garden of the Grey Friars, south-east of the Grassmarket, into a common cemetery for the citizens, and it received the designation of its former possessors. It appears, however, that St. Giles's churchyard continued for some time afterwards the recognised place of interment, for John Knox was buried in it on Wednesday, the 26th of November, 1570; but the Reformer was probably among the last who were inhumed in that locality, and his friend George Buchanan was interred in the Greyfriars' burying-ground in the beginning of October 1582. This intimates that the then newly-formed cemetery had superseded the old one. A monument with an inscription is said to have marked Buchanan's grave, but the existence of such a memorial is doubtful, and the spot in which his remains were deposited is forgotten.

The Grey Friars of Edinburgh had as little connexion with the two parish churches subsequently erected, known by their name, as with the cemetery. The first church, called the Old Greyfriars, was begun in 1612, and at its west end was a tower, surmounted by a small spire or steeple, which was unprovided with a bell till 1631, when the Town-Council ordered the one formerly used in the Tron Church to be removed to it, and a new bell was provided for the latter place of worship. Unfortunately, the civic authorities made the steeple a depot for gunpowder, and in May 1718, an explosion destroyed a considerable portion of the edifice. The increasing population of the city rendering additional accommodation necessary, the injury done to the church was repaired, and the adjoining church, or New Greyfriars, was commenced in 1719, and opened in 1721.² The two churches, though in a kind of Gothic form, were utterly destitute of any architectural pretensions, of rude masonry, and not particularly inviting in the interior. The principal entrance to both edifices was under a porch on the north side, above which were two session-rooms or vestries, and in that belonging to the New Greyfriars was a table once the property of John Knox. In this state both churches continued till the morning of Sunday the 19th of January, 1845, when a conflagration, occasioned by the overheating of the flue of a stove, broke out in the Old Greyfriars' Church, which completely destroyed that edifice. The adjoining church was also considerably injured, though the fire was prevented from effecting its utter destruction. The communion-plate and some other articles were saved, but John Knox's table was consumed. The New Greyfriars' Church was internally repaired in 1846.

¹ The public entrance to Heriot's Hospital is now by an elegant gateway on the south.

² The ground on the east, now covered by the Candlemaker Row, Brown Square, and the adjacent localities near Bristo Port, or gate, anciently belonged to the Prioress and Sisters of the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna on the west side of Newington. The appropriation of this ground is by no means creditable to the civic functionaries at the time of the Reformation. They procured the feu of the croft of land within the walls of the city at the Greyfriars' or Bristo Port, on the condition of paying annually for the support of Beatrix Blackater, one of the Sisters, then an aged and very poor woman, eight bolls of wheat and six bolls of bear; but they most unjustly

refused to implement the feu, though the father of Beatrix had "dotit" this very property to Dame Christian Bellenden, the prioress, and the Convent, for her support. This conduct produced an order from Queen Mary in favour of Beatrix Blackater and her just rights in February 1563, but it is uncertain whether the dignitaries of the city obeyed the royal command; and it is well observed, that it is deplorable to know that they endeavoured to defraud a poor old woman of a wretched pittance arising out of the gift of her father, merely because she adhered to the religion of her ancestors.—Preface to "Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis prope Edinburgum," printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. pp. iii. xxxiii. xxxiv.



THE SIGNING OF THE COVENANT IN EDINBURGH

From an Original Drawing by G. Cattermole.

JOHN S. MURDOCH LONDON

Various monuments built into the walls of the outside of both churches escaped injury. Among those on the south side of the New Greyfriars are tablets with inscriptions to the memory of Dr. Hugh Blair, M'Laurin the mathematician, and Allan Ramsay.¹ The oldest is that of James Borthwick of Stow, of the family of Crookston, who first separated the professions of barber and surgeon, which up to the seventeenth century were practised by the same individuals.

The National Covenant was signed on the last day of February, or first day of March, 1638, probably on both days, in the Old Greyfriars' Church. It appears that doubts and perplexities marked the preliminary discussions on the Covenant, some arguing that it was illegal, others that it went too far, and others that they were not exactly prepared to receive it as binding them by an oath. Having adjusted all their disputes, they met in the church in the afternoon. Alexander Henderson commenced the proceedings with prayer, and the Covenant, a "fair parchment above an ell square," was next read by Johnstone of Warriston. Those from the southern and western counties who had any doubts, were ordered to go to the west end of the church, where Lord Loudon and Mr. David Dickson acted as expositors; and those from the north of the Frith of Forth, and from the counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Haddington, were ordered to wait on the Earl of Rothes and Henderson in the east end, for the same purpose. About four o'clock the leaders among the nobility subscribed, and after them the small barons or lairds. The signing of the Covenant continued till eight in the evening. John thirteenth Earl of Sutherland was the first who affixed his name, and the second is said to have been Sir Andrew Murray of Balvaird, minister of Abdie in Fife, who had been knighted by Charles I., at his coronation in 1633, and was created Lord Balvaird by the same monarch in 1641—an honour censured by a Covenanting General Assembly, in which he was ordered not to assume "improper titles." The Covenant was then carried out to the burying-ground, spread on the grave-stones, and signed by as many as could approach. It is stated that hundreds not only added to their names the words "till death," but actually cut themselves, and subscribed it with their blood. Every part of the parchment sheet was crowded with names, the margins were scrawled over, and at last many were obliged to be content with affixing their initials. While this was in progress, many wept, others shouted aloud for joy. A general oath, in addition to one which they swore at subscription, was then administered, to which they assented by tumultuously holding up their hands, and the crowd retired. On the following day their leaders met in the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate.

The cemetery of the Greyfriars, the only one in the city under the control of the magistrates and Town-Council, contains the graves and monuments of many eminent individuals. A narrow part of it, in which are the tombs of private families, between the west wall of the Charity Workhouse and the east wall of George Heriot's Hospital, is designated the Inner Greyfriars' churchyard, and is separated from the main portion of the cemetery by a wall, in which is an open iron gate.² In this most dismal enclosure nearly four hundred of the insurgents who were taken prisoners at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, on the 22d of June, 1679, were confined for nearly five months, and suffered great privations. The Duke of Monmouth liberated as many of the captive Covenanters as had subscribed a bond that they would comport themselves peaceably for the future; but the above-mentioned four hundred would not acknowledge the document, and drew upon themselves an amount of misery beyond description, though the whole of them would have been at once released if they had guaranteed by their signature that they would never again take arms against the Government. The Privy-Council ordered them to be watched by twenty-four sentinels during the night, and eight during the day; and so strict was to be the vigilance exercised, that if any of the prisoners escaped, the sentinels were solemnly assured they must "cast the dice, and answer body for body for the fugitives without

¹ The monumental slab to Allan Ramsay merely mentions the dates of his birth and death, and that he was interred in the cemetery. The following doggerel rhyme is also inscribed, which is scarcely consistent with the decorum of a Presbyterian cemetery:—

"Though here you're buried, worthy ALLAN,
We'll ne'er forget you, canty callan;
For while your soul lives in the sky,
Your GENTLE SHEPHERD ne'er will die."

² The tomb or burying-place of the Bertrams of Singleside, on the

occasion of the funeral of Miss Margaret Bertram, is graphically described by Sir Walter Scott in "Guy Mannering," who describes Colonel Mannering as domiciled in the George Inn at Bristol Port—a well-known hostelry in Sir Walter Scott's juvenile days. The said burying-place "was a square enclosure guarded on one side by a veteran angel without a nose, and having only one wing, who had the merit of maintaining his post for a century; while his comrade cherub, who had stood sentinel on the corresponding pedestal, lay a broken trunk among the hemlock, burdock, and nettles, which grew in gigantic luxuriance around the mausoleum."

any exception." The soldiers kept guard in the south-west angle of the cemetery. Notwithstanding the care of the sentinels, it is stated that "of these four hundred who remained in the enclosure it was reckoned about a hundred got out, some one way, some another, without any direct compliance. Divers had interest made for them by their friends among the councillors. Some by climbing over the walls of the churchyard with the hazard of their lives, and others, by changing their clothes in the night-time, and, especially after their huts were put up, got out in women's clothes."¹ About two hundred and fifty were eventually shipped for transportation to Barbadoes, but the vessel was wrecked near one of the Orkney Islands, and many of them perished.

On all sides of the enclosing walls of the Greyfriars' cemetery are numbers of old stone monuments of stately construction and beautiful carving. It is said that not a few of them were brought from St. Giles's churchyard, and erected in their present positions. Those tombs are chiefly on the east and west walls of the cemetery, and some of them are altar tombs, on which are details of the obituary of persons very different from those whose epitaphs were first inscribed. Numbers of them are also injured so much by time and the action of the weather, that it is impossible to ascertain the inscriptions.

One of the most conspicuous tombs on the south side of the cemetery is that of Sir George Mackenzie, the celebrated Lord Advocate of Scotland in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., whose political career terminated at the Revolution, and who died at St. James's on the 2d of May, 1691. Sir George Mackenzie erected this tomb at his own expense during his lifetime, and it is a very elegant mausoleum, of a circular form, lighted from the vaulted roof by small iron-grated apertures, and entered by a door on the north. The body of Sir George was brought from Westminster, and his funeral was one of unusual pomp. He lay several days in state in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, and his remains were conveyed to this tomb by a procession, consisting of the Privy-Council, the nobility, the Lord Provost and Town-Council, the judges of the Court of Session, the College of Justice, the Royal College of Physicians, the University, and many others.² The Covenanters assailed his memory as the "Bloodthirsty Advocate," and his tomb was long an object of dread to the boys, who believed that if a straw were thrust in under the door, it would be covered with gore when pulled out. Yet in this tomb it is stated that a young man, condemned to death for burglary, and who effected his escape from the Old Tolbooth a few days before his execution, contrived to live about six weeks. He had effected an entrance to the tomb, and as he had been educated in the neighbouring Heriot's Hospital, he managed to inform the boys there of his perilous situation. They faithfully kept his secret, furnished him with food which they secreted from their own meals, and visited him often during the night in his singular retreat, at the hazard of severe punishment, and of seeing "ghosts," especially that of the reputed persecutor himself.³ The youth in this way succeeded in eluding justice, and it was afterwards known that he had escaped abroad.

The tomb of Principal Robertson the Historian, who died on the 11th of June, 1793, is in the south-west corner of the cemetery. Close to the Principal's tomb is the larger one of the celebrated architects, the Adams, ancestors of the family of Adam of Blair-Adam in the county of Kinross. In this quarter is also the monument to Alexander Henderson, the leading Covenanting preacher who died in August 1646, some days after his return from Newcastle, where he had a controversial discussion with Charles I. This monument, which was erected by George Henderson, his nephew, is a very homely square pedestal surmounted by an urn, with Latin inscriptions on the east and north sides, and English and Latin verses on the west and south sides. It was originally in the form of an obelisk, which was demolished after the Restoration, with others of the leading Covenanters, and replaced as it now exists after the Revolution. Wodrow alleges that, in June or July 1662, the Earl of Middleton, Lord High Commissioner, procured an order from the Parliament to erase the inscriptions on Henderson's monument. Sir George Mackenzie says that the Committee of Estates, who met in August 1660, merely enjoined the inscriptions to be defaced on Henderson's monument.⁴

The monument to George Heriot, the father of the founder of the Hospital, is in the lower part of

¹ Wodrow's History, folio, Edin. 1722, vol. ii. pp. 78, 80.

² The Latin inscription on his tomb is in Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 194. It must be in the interior of the mausoleum.

³ Reekiana, or Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh, by Robert Chambers, 12mo. 1833, pp. 168-172.

⁴ Sir George Mackenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, 4to. p. 17.

the cemetery, on the east side, close to the wall,¹ and contains the family armorial bearings, several sculptured ornaments, a Latin inscription, partly in verse, his initials, with several other inscriptions to persons unconnected with his family. The elder George Heriot was also a goldsmith in Edinburgh, of wealth and consideration, who filled some of the most responsible civic offices, and his name often occurs in the rolls of the Scottish Parliaments and Conventions of Estates as commissioner for Edinburgh. His influence as a citizen was such, that he and three others were selected to proceed to Linlithgow, and endeavour to pacify James VI., who had withdrawn thither, and threatened vengeance on Edinburgh for the insult he had received from the excited mob in December 1596. The elder George Heriot died at Edinburgh in 1610, in the seventieth year of his age. His portrait, taken in his fiftieth year, is preserved in the Hospital.

A short distance north of this tomb, still lower down in the declivity of the cemetery, and built on the same east wall, is a monument which is held in great veneration by those who admire the principles and proceedings of the Covenanting Presbyterians in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and which, indeed, must be regarded with interest by all, even of the opposite party, whose opinions do not render them insensible to the sufferings of conscientious and upright men. It is popularly known as the "Martyrs' Tomb;" and, besides a long rhythmical inscription regarding those buried here, their enemies and persecutors, and the cause in which they suffered, the stone bears the following memorial:—"From May 27th, 1661, that the Noble Marquis of Argyll suffered, to the 17th February, 1688, that Mr. James Renwick suffered, were executed at Edinburgh about one hundred of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, noble martyrs for Jesus Christ. The most of them lie here." The date of the erection of this tomb, which stands in that part of the cemetery in which executed criminals were usually interred, is not known with certainty; but it must have been shortly after the Revolution.

Among the many eminent men of their time interred in the Greyfriars' cemetery may be mentioned William Cowper, successively minister of Bothkennar in Stirlingshire, and of Perth, consecrated Bishop of Galloway in 1612, and appointed Dean of the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, where he officiated till his death in 1619, in his fifty-third year;² Clement Little, advocate, founder of the Library of the University of Edinburgh; Gilbert Primrose, principal surgeon to James VI., brother of the immediate ancestor of the Earls of Rosebery, and father of the learned Gilbert Primrose, D.D., chaplain at Bourdeaux, afterwards of the French church in London, also chaplain in ordinary to James VI. and Charles I., and installed canon of Windsor in 1628; and Edward and Alexander Henryson, lawyers of great repute in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Several judges of the Court of Session, and many persons of rank, were also inhumed in this celebrated scene of the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, though most of the tombs and enclosed places of sepulture are connected with private families and with the citizens. A monument a few yards south of the principal gate into the cemetery at the south end of George IV. Bridge, and built close to the wall of a tenement on the street, commemorates John Milne, royal master-mason of his family, who died in December 1667, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. On the base of this structure it is recorded that this John Milne was by descent from "father with sons sixth master-mason to a royal race of seven successive kings," and on the pillars supporting the pediment are rhyming inscriptions, which, as on other tombs, sufficiently prove that the poets of the Greyfriars' cemetery were not under the inspiration of the Muses, though amply inclined to adulation. In

¹ In the Register of the Town-Council of Edinburgh (fol. 52, b. vol. xii.) is the following entry, dated 30th November, 1611—"Graunts and gives licence to George and David Heriot, sones to umquhile George Heriot, goldsmith, to big ane tomb in the Grey Friars' kirk-yard." The George Heriot here mentioned was the founder of the Hospital, and David was his half-brother. The inscription on the elder Heriot's tomb is as follows:—

VIATOR, QVI SAPI8 VNDE SIES, QVIDQVE SIS FVTVRVS, HINC NOSCE :
 VITA MIHI MORTIS, MORS VITE, JANVA FACTA EST ;
 SOLA ET MORS MORTIS VIVERE POSSE DEDIT.
 ERGO QVISQVIS ADHVC MORTALI VESCERIS AVRA,
 DVM LICET, VT POSSIS VIVERE DISCE MORI.
 1610. G. H.

It appears that David Heriot died about the date of the erection of the tomb. Mr. James Lawtie, who was George Heriot's factor in Scot-

land, in his "compt" of the latter's "moneyes," under date 1611, mentions that he, and "umquhill" David Heriot, and William Cockie, had the charge of the erection of the tomb—that he paid "to John Simsone, mason, for bigging of the tombe, v^c (500) merkes, and to William Cockie, for gilting of the tombe, xxx lib."—Memoir of George Heriot, with the History of the Hospital founded by him, by William Steven, D.D., 12mo. 1845, pp. 2, 3. This latter statement intimates that it was then the common practice to gild the inscriptions and ornaments of tombs in the cemetery, which would impart to them a very imposing aspect.

² Bishop Cowper's grave is marked by a flat stone containing a Latin inscription considerably defaced by the weather, close to the south wall of the New Greyfriars' church. He was interred here at his own request on the 18th of February, the third day after his death, and Archbishop Spottiswoode preached the funeral sermon in the Old Greyfriars' church, the only one of the two edifices then built.

the lower part of the burying-ground, on the north, close to the entrance near the Cowgate, and enclosed within a wall, is a very elegant tomb, displaying the figure of an individual the size of life, finely sculptured, in the costume of his time, standing under a projecting pediment. A monument with an inscription is also mentioned in honour of the great Marquis of Montrose, but this was probably erected at the expense of some Cavalier admirers as an opposition to the Earl of Argyll; for Montrose, as formerly stated, was interred in St. Giles's Church. Maitland inserts a list of the principal monuments in this cemetery previous to 1755, with translations of the Latin inscriptions, but he omits any notice of their precise locality, which renders identification of most of them impossible at the present time.

GEORGE HERIOT'S HOSPITAL.

IMMEDIATELY west of the Greyfriars' cemetery, within beautifully ornamented grounds, is Heriot's Hospital, which Sir Walter Scott, who has immortalized the founder in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, justly observes, is "one of the proudest ornaments of Edinburgh, equally distinguished for the purposes of the institution and the excellence of the administration." George Heriot, whose father's tomb in the adjoining cemetery is already mentioned, was a descendant of the Heriots of Trabroun, in the parish of Gladsmuir, county of Haddington, an ancient family, whose patrimonial estate, of about four hundred acres, had been acquired by John Heriot from Archibald Earl of Douglas, and the charter to which was confirmed by James I. of Scotland in 1425, in the nineteenth year of his reign, when this John Heriot is mentioned as the son of James Heriot of Niddry-Marischal, whom the Earl of Douglas designates his "confederate." The Heriots of Trabroun were connected with some of the first nobility and gentry, one of whom was Sir Thomas Hamilton, first Earl of Haddington, known as "Tam o' the Cowgate;" but probably their greatest distinction was the circumstance that an Agnes Heriot was the mother of George Buchanan.

The elder Heriot by his first wife, whose name was Elizabeth Balderstone, had George, the founder of the Hospital, another son, and a daughter; and by Christian Blair, his second wife, he had three sons and four daughters. Little is known of the youthful years of George Heriot, except that he was early apprenticed to his father's trade—that in January, 1586, he formed a matrimonial connexion with Christian, daughter of the deceased Simon Marjoribanks, merchant in Edinburgh, at which period his own and his bride's patrimony amounted to 214*l.* sterling—that he was from the outset fortunate in trade—and that his success was the result of persevering and honourable industry. Heriot's residence was in an alley called the Fishmarket Close, though an old tenement at the east end of the Meadows of Hope Park, removed in 1845, was alleged to have been his "country-house," and his first shop or booth was at "Our Lady's Steps" of St. Giles's church.

In this shop, and in one which, as has been already stated, he subsequently occupied on the west end of the church, and where he was often visited on business by James VI., he was most extensively engaged as the principal goldsmith and money-lender in the City. Heriot soon obtained the favour and patronage of James, to whose consort he was declared goldsmith in 1597, the appointment being publicly announced at the Cross by sound of trumpet, and he was also appointed jeweller to the King four years afterwards.

The accession of James VI. to the English throne caused the removal of the Court, and seriously affected the interests of many who depended on the presence of the sovereign. Heriot, therefore, soon transferred himself to London, and his residence is mentioned as "foreanent the New Exchange." Soon afterwards his wife died, but no particulars are preserved of this lady and their children. It is known, however, that two sons of the marriage perished at sea on their passage from London to Scotland. In 1608, five years after the death of his first wife, Heriot went to his native city increased in wealth and reputation, and married Alison Primrose, eldest daughter of the celebrated lawyer, James Primrose, Clerk of the Privy Council, and grandfather of the first Earl of Rosebery. It may be noticed that Heriot was at the time forty-five, and his bride only sixteen—that she was the eldest of nineteen children—and that he received only two thousand merks as her dowry, engaging on his own personal responsibility to add twenty thousand merks for the mutual advantage of himself and his youthful wife, to purchase property or annual-rents. He returned to London with his bride,

and was engaged in many important transactions with the King and Queen in money affairs. In 1612 Heriot was again a widower, his young wife having died in the twentieth year of her age, on the 16th of April.¹ His feelings on this domestic bereavement are recorded by himself two months after it occurred, when he wrote—"She cannot be too much lamented who could not be too much loved." Heriot had no issue by this marriage, though he had subsequently two illegitimate daughters, for whom before his death he amply provided. He died in the sixtieth year of his age, on the 12th of February, 1623-4 (predeceasing his royal master and patron little more than one year), and was interred in the former parish church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields; but whatever tribute was erected to his memory disappeared when the present edifice was erected in 1712. A portrait of Heriot was painted by Paul Vansomer, a favourite Court artist of considerable repute. This portrait was brought to Edinburgh by Sir John Hay of Barro, Lord Clerk Register, and from it the stone statue of Heriot, in the costume of his time, which adorns the north side of the interior of the quadrangle, was sculptured; but the portrait of the founder preserved in the Governors' room in the Hospital is a copy of that of Vansomer by George Scougall, a Scottish artist of the same century. In the Hospital is another portrait of Heriot when in his twenty-sixth year—an original, taken in 1589, and presented in 1807 to the Governors by David Earl of Buchan, with the portrait of the founder's father.

During the latter years of his life Heriot maintained a considerable epistolary intercourse on his affairs in Scotland with his relatives Adam and James Lawtie, the latter of whom was professionally an advocate. His correspondence with those gentlemen is chiefly connected with the purchase of landed property in the vicinity of Edinburgh.² In the "Disposition and Assignation" of his property, dated the 3d of September, 1623, Heriot first mentions his wish to found an hospital in his "mother city" of Edinburgh, as a "seminary of orphans,"³ in "imitation of the public, pious, and religious work founded within the city of London called Christ's Hospital there," for "educating, nursing, and upbringing of youth who are poor orphans, and fatherless children of decayed burgesses and freemen of the said burgh, destitute and left without means."⁴ Heriot in his last will and testament, dated 10th December, 1623, bequeathed various sums to his relatives and other parties specifically mentioned, and his copyhold estate at Roehampton in Surrey, and his house property in London, to certain "loving friends," whom he appointed his executors.⁵ He also nominated Walter Balcanquall, D.D., Master of the Savoy,⁶ James Maxwell of his Majesty's bed-chamber, and Walter Alexander, gentleman usher to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., as "overseers" and "supervisors" of his will. Heriot directed that the surplus of his estate shall go to the "Provost, magistrates, town-council, and Established ministers of the city of Edinburgh, for founding and erecting an hospital, and for purchasing lands to belong in perpetuity to the institution, for the maintenance, relief,

¹ Heriot erected an elegant monument over the remains of his youthful wife in St. Gregory's Church, London—an edifice destroyed by the ever-memorable fire in 1666, and the site of which now forms part of St. Paul's Churchyard. The inscription on her tomb, in quaint Latin, is inserted by Stowe in his "Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster," edited by Strype, folio, London, vol. i. p. 238.

² Memoir of George Heriot, by William Steven, D.D., pp. 17-32.

³ Dr. Steven, who has printed this document, appropriately observes, in reference to the non-designation of his projected Hospital, "Heriot, with great modesty, leaves the *naming* of his Hospital to those whom he might appoint to carry his intentions into effect."—Ibid. p. 30.

⁴ "For the wealth which God has given me," says Heriot, in the Fortunes of Nigel, "it shall not want inheritors while there are orphan lads in Auld Reekie."

⁵ "Robert Johnstone, LL.D., gentleman, William Terrie, goldsmith, and Gideon de Laune, apothecary, all of London."—Dr. Steven's Memoir, pp. 44, 45. Dr. Robert Johnstone, a cadet of the Johnstones of Newbie in Dumfriesshire, was a native of Edinburgh, who settled in London, where he resided during the greater part of his life, and followed some branch of the legal avocation, though his inclinations were literary, which is evident from his large folio volume in Latin on the history of Great Britain, France, and Germany, from 1572 to 1628, published at Amsterdam in 1655. Dr. Johnstone bequeathed 18,000 merks to the Trinity College Hospital at Edinburgh in 1639.

⁶ Dr. Balcanquall, who subsequently came under the excommunicating ban of the Glasgow General Assembly in 1638, and was particularly obnoxious to the Covenanters, was born at Edinburgh in 1586. Walter Balcanquall, his father, who died in Edinburgh in 1616, had been one of the ministers of the City nearly forty-three years, and had frequent collisions with James VI. Dr. Balcanquall took the degree of Master of Arts at the University of his native city, and two years afterwards, with a view of entering the Church of England, he went to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he was admitted a Fellow. In 1618 he was incorporated at Oxford as Bachelor of Divinity. James I. appointed him one of his chaplains, and Master of the Savoy, which latter he resigned when he proceeded to the Synod of Dort, to which he was sent by the King, after he had received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Oxford. At his return he was re-appointed to the Savoy, and with other ecclesiastical preferment he was promoted to the Deanery of Rochester in March 1624, and in 1639 to the Deanery of Durham, by Charles I., whom he accompanied into Scotland. In the latter year he wrote in the name of the King the well-known work entitled, "A Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland." This production increased the indignation of the King's enemies against him, and he was declared an incendiary. He became involved in the troubles of his royal master, and he died December 25, 1645, at Chirk Castle in North Wales, the seat of his friend Sir Thomas Myddleton.

bringing up, and educating, as far as the means will allow, of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh." This Hospital was to be governed by statutes framed either by himself or by Dr. Balcanquall. The Town-Council and the City ministers were to be perpetual Governors, and in case of mal-administration or non-performance by the said Governors, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Lord President of the College of Justice, and the Lord Advocate, were to investigate the truth of the allegations, and if proved, the funds were to be transferred for the support of poor scholars in the University of St. Andrews. By a codicil Heriot ratified his will, with instructions to Dr. Balcanquall respecting his intended Hospital; and after bequeathing additional legacies to certain individuals, he ordered that ten exhibitioners or bursars in the University of Edinburgh, unconnected with his Hospital, should receive such an annual sum as the funds of his charity would admit, at the discretion of the Governors.¹

When Heriot's bequest to the City was officially intimated to the Town-Council and the City clergy, his will and codicil having been proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 16th of February, 1623, they immediately sent Sir John Hay, advocate, then Town-Clerk, to London, to receive the funds. They were opposed by Franchischetta Heriot, the only child of his brother Patrick, who had settled at Genoa, and married an Italian lady. Heriot's niece came with her husband to London, and after repeated interviews with the executors, she ratified her uncle's bequest on receiving 4000 merks Scots as a final compensation. It is erroneously stated by Maitland that Heriot bequeathed 43,608*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* sterling for the erection and maintenance of his Hospital,² for this is nearly the double of the sum actually received, which was 23,625*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.* sterling.³ It was not likely that such a bequest would be allowed to be transferred to St. Andrews, and though the executors had considerable difficulties to encounter in England in realising the estate, the Governors, in July 1626, commenced their operations in the then vicinity of Edinburgh by purchasing a large portion of the estate of Broughton from Thomas Fleming, with the lands of Middledrum and Three Riggs, for 33,600 merks, and the lands of Lochflatt, and superiority of the same, for 18,500 merks. The next duty was the edifice for the accommodation of the inmates. The tenement at the Mint between the foot of Todrig's Wynd and Gray's Close, already mentioned as Heriot's property, and intended by him for the Hospital, was inspected by Dr. Walter Balcanquall, who came to Edinburgh for the purpose in 1627, and the Magistrates and Clergy unanimously concluded with him that the edifice was unsuitable from its situation for the purpose. They resolved to erect the Hospital on an elevated and open site, and selected a field on the south side of the Grassmarket, which the Town-Council had recently acquired from Sir George Touris of Inverleith. This field, in which the Hospital is erected, consisting of eight and a half acres, was purchased for 7000 merks. It was part of the High Riggs, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the property of Sir James Lawson, one of the first judges of the Court of Session, bounded on the east by the cemetery of the Greyfriars' gardens, and extending westward to the city wall.

On the 13th of July the Governors ordered wood to be brought from Norway for the edifice, and on that same day Dr. Balcanquall presented the "Book of Statutes," consisting of twenty-three chapters or heads,⁴ subscribed and sealed, which was unanimously accepted by the Governors for themselves and their successors. About this time James Heriot, a step-brother of the founder, and who is said to have been jeweller to the Court, made an ineffectual attempt to secure the right of patronage. In the spring of 1628, the edifice was commenced by the appointment of William Wallace as master-mason, and Andrew Davidson as overseer, and on the 1st day of July that year the foundation-stone was laid after a sermon on the occasion. The celebrated Inigo Jones is the reputed architect, and though his name is not in the records of the Hospital, his claim to be considered and acknowledged as such is universally admitted. It is traditionally said that Inigo Jones presented the plan to Dr. Balcanquall, with whom he was intimately acquainted. The stones were

¹ These bursaries are held for four years, and each amounts to 20*l.* per annum.

² Maitland's Hist. of Edin. p. 439. "It has been truly observed that Maitland's blunder, caused by his inadvertently taking some of the calculations in *sterling* instead of *Scottish* money, has been the cause of many murmurings against the Governors, as well as of spiring up lawsuits against them."—History of G. Heriot's Hospital, pp. 52, 53.

³ History of George Heriot's Hospital, by Dr. Steven, p. 53. This was the result of the investigation of the Lord President Blair, when employed by the Governors as counsel in 1765, in the early part of his professional career.

⁴ This includes the last chapter, which is a solemn appeal to the Governors.

procured from Ravelston, Cragleith, and Cragmillar, the lime from Kirkliston and Westhouses, and the timber from Dalkeith. Some of the stone and wood carvers were foreigners, and it appears from the Treasurer's book of disbursements, as curiously illustrative of the condition of society at the time in Scotland, that numbers of the labourers were females.¹

William Wallace, the master-mason, or practical architect of the edifice, died in 1631, and was succeeded by William Ayton, of an ancient family in Fife, a portrait of whom is preserved in the Hospital. Archbishop Laud, who had witnessed the progress of the structure in 1633, when in Edinburgh at the coronation of Charles I., assiduously interested himself in the affairs of the Hospital, and his influence with the King enabled him to render essential services, which are gratefully acknowledged by Dr. Johnstone. The Archbishop's letters to the Governors are preserved.

While the erection of the Hospital was in progress, the Governors, in 1634, purchased additional eighteen acres of the lands of Broughton for 4121*l.* Scots, and fifteen acres of the barony of Restalrig for 7500 merks. In 1636, the Governors obtained possession of the whole of the now valuable barony of Broughton, which had anciently belonged to the Canons of Holyrood, and subsequently was acquired by Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, who in 1587 surrendered the lands to the Crown in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden, Lord Justice Clerk; and his grandson, Sir William Bellenden, disposed of the estate in 1627 to Robert first Earl of Roxburghe, by whom it was sold to Charles I. in 1630 for 280,000 merks, or 11,527*l.* sterling. The money, however, was never paid by the King, who, as a security, mortgaged the property to the Earl. In July 1636, the King, with consent of his Exchequer and the Earl, contracted and agreed with the Governors for the purchase of the barony, promising a parliamentary ratification, which he fulfilled in 1640. The sum of 10,000*l.* sterling was allowed by the Governors to the Crown and the Earl, with the sum of 500*l.* sterling for "assurances under-written of the sum of 5000*l.* sterling, promittit by his Majestie, in contentation of the debts and sums due by his Majestie to the said Hospital."² The Governors also became proprietors of the Canonmills, which they acquired from the Earl of Roxburghe. They appointed a bailie of the regality and barony of Broughton, who held courts under the auspices of the Hospital for upwards of a century after 1640, for the trial of offences committed within the barony, and who occasionally pronounced sentence on capital crimes.

All the unemployed capital was vested by the Governors in the purchase of land in the vicinity of the City, and from 26th December, 1639, to the 14th of May, 1649, their purchases were most extensive, scarcely allowing an acre to be offered for sale without acquiring the ground in perpetuity for the Hospital. Those lands, it appears from the records of the institution, were chiefly additional portions of the barony of Broughton and of the barony of Restalrig, including the eastern portion of the Calton Hill, the north side of the Gallowlee on Leith Walk, and other localities. Between the interval of the dates above mentioned, the Governors obtained possession of at least one hundred and forty acres of the ground on which the New City is built, for which they paid 89,949 merks Scots, in addition to the sum of 14,000*l.* Scots. Property in the vicinity of the Hospital, to render the access easy from the Grassmarket, was also purchased; and without further enumeration it may be stated, that the whole of the ground on which the New City is built, from the lands of Coates on the west, where the fine quadrangular fabric of Donaldson's Hospital is erected, to near Pilrig Street on the north-east, and from Prince's Street on the south to Bangholm Bower on the north, including the entire barony of Broughton, and the lands of Warriston and Drumsheugh, is the property of the Hospital. The Governors are also superiors of the east side of the Calton Hill, of the ground more than half way to Leith on the south side of Leith Walk, and of a large tract of the southern suburbs of the City extending to Newington.

Nevertheless, the erection of the Hospital proceeded slowly, and after nine years, in 1639, the workmen were dismissed "for a time" on account of the civil commotions, and "in regard that the Treasurer can get none of the annuals paid." This intimates that the tenants were almost ruined by the war between Charles I. and the Covenanters; and another hindrance to the "perfyting" of the edifice was the payment

¹ History of George Heriot's Hospital, by Dr. Steven, pp. 60, 61.

² The Magistrates obtained a liberal share of the advantages of this purchase for a comparatively small sum. As representing the community, they agreed to pay for the superiority of the Canongate, North Leith, that portion of the barony of Broughton on the south

side of the Water of Leith, and the suburb of the Pleasance, only 200*l.* sterling, and 300*l.* for one part of the "assurance" of the 500*l.* above mentioned.—History of George Heriot's Hospital, by Dr. Steven, p. 76.

for all the materials from the annual revenue. Meanwhile, by the death of Dr. Johnstone at London in 1639, the Governors obtained his bequest of 1000*l.* sterling "to buy gowns, stockings, shirts, and clothes, to the poor children in Mr. Heriot's Hospital," and the interest of 100*l.* to the schoolmaster. The edifice was almost finished in 1650, when, after the battle of Dunbar, it was possessed by Cromwell for his sick and wounded soldiers. Twelve months afterwards he claimed a right to the entire income, on the pretence that though the founder was a Scotsman, he was a naturalised Englishman, and had acquired his fortune in England. Cromwell also preferred a charge against the Governors of perverting Heriot's intentions, and applying the rents to other purposes than those sanctioned by him, but this unscrupulous seizure of the property went no farther than the mere threat. In 1658, at the request of a committee of the Governors, General Monk vacated the Hospital, on the condition that they provided accommodation for his soldiers elsewhere, which was obtained in the Canongate, at a rental of six hundred merks. The Hospital was soon afterwards completed at the alleged expense of 30,000*l.* or 7000*l.* more than the sum received by the Governors from Heriot's executors; but during the twenty years occupied in the erection, the interest of the sum considerably accumulated. On the 11th of April, 1659, thirty boys were admitted, and on the 27th of June that year the Hospital was "dedicated in a very soleme maner, when the hail Magistrates of Edinburgh were present."¹ The celebrated Covenanted preacher, Mr. Robert Douglas, then senior minister of the city, who had crowned Charles II. in the Abbey of Scone, delivered a sermon in the adjoining Greyfriars' Church,² when all connected with the institution were present, and for his "extraordinary pains" in preparing this first anniversary sermon in memory of Heriot, which was afterwards printed, Mr. Douglas was allowed one hundred merks Scots, a sum which has been paid in money sterling to each of the City ministers, whose duty it is to preach the anniversary sermon in rotation. The founder is commemorated on the first Monday in June, when the masters and boys attend the New Greyfriars' Church, their ordinary place of worship.³

The Hospital is a magnificent quadrangular edifice of three storeys and attics, with projecting turrets at the external angles, and a square tower over the entrance double the height of the building, and surmounted by a cupola. Over the windows are pediments, some of which are pointed and others semicircular, or open in the centre. The entrance doorway is ornamented with coupled Doric columns of rich entablature broken by grotesque Gothic sculpture. Above the archway are twisted Corinthian columns, and the centre front displays very elegant and minute mason-work. The interior of the quadrangle, which is about thirty-two yards in length by thirty yards in breadth, presents piazzas on the north and east sides, and towers at the four angles, in which are stairs to the several storeys. The windows on three of the sides have pilasters and regular sculptured ornaments over them, and on the north or entrance side the upper row of windows contain niches with busts. The statue of the founder, a fine specimen of art, is immediately above the splendid and massive archway. On the south side is the chapel, with large Gothic stained-glass windows, the entrance-door displaying small coupled Corinthian columns, with a semicircular pediment over each pair. Another peculiarity of the edifice is, that the external ornaments of upwards of two hundred windows it contains are all different, and yet it is difficult to perceive at first this device of the architect.⁴ On the east side, under the piazzas, is a fine well, connected with which a pleasing love-anecdote is recorded.⁵ In conclusion it may be remarked,

¹ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 241.

² This was in the division of the edifice known as the "Old Greyfriars."

³ George Heriot's Day, as his anniversary is locally designated, was also long held as a prominent celebration or festival in Edinburgh. The statue of the founder was elegantly decorated with flowers by the "Auld Callants"—a sobriquet assumed by or applied to those who had been educated in the Hospital, and the Grassmarket approach to the edifice presented all the characteristics of a country fair, with numerous stalls for the sale of sweetmeats, &c. This external observance of George Heriot's Day has been relinquished, the statue of the founder placidly occupies its niche in the northern side of the quadrangle, and the sermon is now the only commemoration.

⁴ Sir Thomas Telford, quoted by Dr. Steven, thus expresses himself respecting the architecture of Heriot's Hospital—"We know of no other instance in the works of a man of acknowledged talent where the operation of changing styles is so evident. In the chapel windows, although the general outlines are fine Gothic, the mouldings are Roman. In the entrance archways, although the principal members

are Roman, the pinnacles, trusses, and minute sculptures, partake of the Gothic. The outlines of the whole design have evidently been modelled on the latter style of the baronial castellated dwelling. It forms one of the most magnificent features of this singular city (Edinburgh), and is a splendid monument of the munificence of one of its citizens."—Brewster's Edin. Encyc., vol. vi. p. 500.

⁵ "I have heard that James Steuart, when exercising his agility near where Heriot's Hospital was then building, and in jumping across a draw-well, now the covert well in the middle of the square (his mistress was by accident walking at some little distance), in this youthful frolick his hat struck on the pulley of the well, and dropt into the pit. He escaped, as was said, in great danger, and Anna, hearing of this accident, in surprise fainted away. They made some innocent mirth after, and she was by this discovered to be James Steuart's sweetheart. By this name a mistress was then called."—Coltness Collections, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, 4to. 1842, p. 17. The heroine of this anecdote was Anna Hope, niece of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate, who is previously mentioned in connexion with Scottish affairs in the reign of Charles I. James

that the institution is conducted in such a manner as if the founder was alive, and superintending its affairs. The boys and domestics wear his family livery, and on the very buttons of their clothes are his initials, which are also prominently carved on the massive gateway, and throughout the edifice. Several articles of furniture said to have belonged to George Heriot are preserved in the Hospital.

In 1695 the number of boys in the Hospital was one hundred and thirty, and this was subsequently increased to a total of one hundred and eighty, exclusive of the head-master's family and the domestics. Sundry donations and legacies have been acquired by the institution, and its annual income for many years so much exceeded the expenditure, that the Governors were puzzled as to the disposal of their wealth in accordance with the specified purposes of the founder. Some years ago, therefore, they obtained an Act of Parliament, authorising them to erect from the surplus revenues a number of elementary schools throughout the city for educating the children of poor burgesses and freemen, and also those generally of poor citizens and inhabitants. In 1878 numerous schools were in operation, including infant-schools, also under the patronage of the Governors.¹

SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF EDINBURGH.

THIS extensive portion of the city, now included in the Parliamentary boundary, though long without the royalty, is designated the "Southern Districts," or locally the "South Side," and was exempted from several burghal taxations. Previous to 1770, the greater part of the ground now occupied by streets and squares, displayed fields, gardens, and orchards, with only a few straggling houses in the street called the Cross-causeway, and the almost isolated village of the Causewayside, a curious old street extending south-east of the Meadows, on the west of the elegant modern suburb of Newington. In the Southern Districts may also be included the barony of Easter and Wester Portsburgh, still governed by its resident magistrates, superintended by a baron-bailie nominated by the Town-Council of the city from among their own number.

The chief public edifices of interest in this part of Edinburgh are the University, the Royal College of Surgeons, and the Royal Infirmary. James VI. has the ostensible credit of founding the University in 1582; and if the granting of the charter is considered sufficient for such an honour, the royal claim is indisputable. But without detracting from the King's connexion with an institution for the success of which he was really zealous, and enjoined the seminary to be designated in future the "College of King James," yet in truth he never gave a shilling towards its endowment, for the best of all reasons, that his exchequer was always woefully deficient. The actual originator was Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney immediately before the Reformation, who bequeathed to the Town-Council one thousand merks for the erection of a college in the city. After Bishop Reid, the corporation may be considered the founders, and they have been at all times, as patrons of most of the professorships, sedulously careful of the reputation of their own celebrated University. The distinguished men who have filled its chairs are well known to the world, and require no enumeration.

Steuart referred to here, was second son of James Steuart of Allanton; he was knighted, became Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1649 and 1659, and was a zealous Covenanter.

¹ The example of George Heriot in subsequent times found benevolent imitators, whose zeal and bequests have made Edinburgh conspicuous for such institutions. The more recent are JOHN WATSON'S HOSPITAL, for the support and education of poor boys and girls, erected near the Dean Bridge; DONALDSON'S HOSPITAL for the same purpose, a magnificent Elizabethan edifice from a design by Mr. Playfair, founded in 1847, about a mile west from Prince's Street; and the endowment of Sir William Fettes, Bart., at one time Lord Provost of the city, who died without issue, and left a large fortune for educational purposes, and for maintaining the inmates a specified number of years. The institutions, however, which may be said to have more immediately succeeded Heriot's Hospital are the following:—Opposite that Hospital, on the south and adjoining the Meadows, is GEORGE WATSON'S HOSPITAL—a large oblong edifice of no architectural taste, from the centre of which rises an elevation, surmounted by a small

spire, having a ship on the summit as the emblem of merchandise. The north front is extensive, and the centre is richly ornamented with armorial bearings elaborately sculptured in stone. George Watson, the founder, was born at Edinburgh about 1650, served an apprenticeship to a merchant in the city, and died unmarried in April 1723, leaving 12,000*l.* to erect this hospital, for the maintenance and education of the sons and grandsons of decayed merchants in Edinburgh. In 1779 the annual revenue was about 1700*l.* per annum, and in 1847 it amounted to upwards of 5000*l.*—The MERCHANT MAIDEN HOSPITAL, an elegant edifice overlooking the Meadows and Bruntsfield Links, was founded by the Company of Merchants, and Mrs. Mary Erskine, or Hair, widow of James Hair, druggist in Edinburgh, in 1695, and was incorporated in 1707. The annual revenue is about 5000*l.*—A kindred institution, though not so abundant in funds, is the TRADES' MAIDEN HOSPITAL in Argyll Square—a plain edifice, founded by the Incorporation of Trades or Craftsmen, and the same Mrs. Mary Erskine, or Hair, in 1704, and incorporated in 1707. There are several other institutions for similar objects.

The University for nearly two centuries consisted of a series of mean buildings of various heights, forming a square on elevated ground south of the Cowgate.¹ In 1768 a memorial was prepared, in which the rebuilding of the seminary on the site of the old tenements in a style worthy of the advancing and contemplated improvements of the city, was zealously recommended. The American War frustrated the prosecution of the design till 1785, when a letter on the subject to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, was published. Considerable sums were collected, the Town-Council as patrons, and other associations, subscribing liberally; some of the old edifices were removed; and the foundation-stone of the present quadrangle was laid on the 16th of November, 1789, Dr. Robertson being then Principal, whose name is conspicuous in the inscription above the grand entrance or gateway. The want of funds, however, prevented the Town-Council from proceeding farther with the new edifice than the erection of the front and the north-east portion. The sum of 10,000*l.* was granted by Government for several years, and the University was thus completed in its present state. It is a large and elegant quadrangular pile, the situation of which, however, is obscured by proximity to streets and surrounding houses. The front, which is towards the east, and contains the only entrance, extends 255 feet; the west is of similar length, and the north and south sides are 358 feet. The three gateways (the centre one of which is the grand approach into the quadrangle) are ornamented by four splendid Doric columns, each hewn out of one enormous solid stone, and supporting an elegant portico. The north, west, and south sides of the exterior, are plain, but the interior of the quadrangle is grand, and deservedly admired. The original design was by Robert Adam, and was generally followed during the progress of the edifice, until the alterations of Mr. Playfair were adopted. The Library, the principal apartment of which is one of the most splendid in Great Britain, occupies the greater part of the south side; the Museum is the centre building of the west side; and the other portions of the quadrangle contain the Anatomical Museum, the Theological Library, and lecture-rooms. In 1878 the number of Professors in the various Faculties, as they are designated, of Literature, Law, Medicine, and Theology, constituting the *Senatus Academicus*, was thirty-five, and the foundation bursaries were thirty-four, enjoyed by ninety students, with a total of students, 1400. The Library, which was founded by Clement Little, advocate, and commissary in Edinburgh, a cadet of the family of Little Libberton in the vicinity, has been augmented by donations, benefactions, and by a sum annually paid by Government as a compensation for the privilege of Stationers' Hall. It contains many rare works and curious documents, and the Museum is particularly rich in natural history, containing specimens of upwards of three thousand British and foreign birds.

A short distance south-east of the University, in Nicolson Street, is the Royal College of Surgeons, a splendid edifice of Ionic architecture, with a beautiful portico, erected at the expense of 20,000*l.* The Pathological Museum is peculiarly valuable, and contains a vast number of preparations for advancing surgical science. The Royal Infirmary, east of the University, is a very complete establishment: the main building is a plain edifice of four storeys and attics, 240 feet in length, with two projecting wings, each seventy feet. The centre front is elaborately ornamented, displaying a rusticated basement supporting four three-quarter columns and two pilasters of the Ionic order. In a niche above the principal entrance, is a statue of George II. in Roman costume.

In connexion with historical associations, the site of the University is memorable as the locality of the Kirk-of-Field, the scene of the murder of Lord Darnley, previously mentioned in the History of Holyrood Palace. The house of the Provost of the church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, in which this atrocity was

¹ The north gate was at the head of the College Wynd, and was ornamented by a tower of great strength, and not inelegant, about twelve feet square and six storeys high. This gate was built in 1637, under the direction of Mr. John Jossie, merchant, and College Treasurer, the first who filled that now obsolete office, but the steeple was not finished till 1686, at the expense of a gentleman named Thomas Burnet; and its different small apartments, entered by a turnpike stair leading to a pavilion roof, formed a part of the house of the Professor of Greek. Immediately over the gate were the city arms without the usual supporters, and higher up between two windows were the arms of Thomas Burnet. Another citizen, named John Trotter, built at his own expense two chambers next the steeple, and Robert Ellis added two, which were the chief apartments in the Professor of Greek's house. The residence of the Professor of Hebrew was also in a corner at the

head of the College Wynd, and was chiefly erected by a legacy procured by Mr. Jossie from Dr. Robert Johnstone, who, in addition to his benefaction to Heriot's Hospital, bequeathed 1000*l.* sterling to the University for the benefit of eight bursars to be presented by the Town-Council. The first portions of the former buildings demolished, were those residences, the gate and tower, and the houses of the upper and under janitors, at the north-west corner, near the head of the Horse Wynd. The former house of the Professor of Divinity on the north-east corner, was at the same time removed. The Professorship of Divinity was augmented by the munificent bequest of 40,000 merks by Bartholomew Somerville, in 1639, and 6000 merks for the purchase of Sir James Skene's house and garden for the residence of the Professor. The garden was a part of the present street in front of the University, on a line with the South Bridge.—*Scots Magazine*, 1790, p. 163.

perpetrated, was on the site of the present South College Street, near the ground on which the south-east angle of the University is built. The church, commonly designated the Kirk-of-Field, was probably founded about 1230, the assigned date of the adjoining monastery of the Black Friars, and the establishment consisted of a provost and ten prebendaries, whose houses were between the Potterrow and the Pleasance. An alley near the entrance to the Potterrow from South College Street, was known as the "Thief Row," and on the east side, leading to sundry houses called the "Milk Row, were "Our Lady's Steps." The house of the Provost, who was in league with Bothwell, was an edifice so humble and uninviting, that the selection of it for the reception of the sick consort of a Queen, excited general surprise. It was of limited dimensions, two storeys high, with a turnpike or spiral stair behind. In the upper storey were a chamber and closet, in which the unfortunate Darnley, covered with small-pox, was deposited in a travelling bed, and attended by the Queen's own physician. Mary frequently visited him, and she slept in the under storey repeatedly before the night of the murder. The gunpowder was brought from Bothwell's residence near the Holyrood in boxes on the back of a "naig," and it was received at the Blackfriars' Wynd gate in the Cowgate by his accomplices, who carried it in sacks to the room under Darnley's chamber, which had been often occupied by the Queen. After Mary left her husband on that eventful night, the sacks of gunpowder were emptied on the floor of that room by Bothwell's miscreants, and the murder was perpetrated by the explosion of the house, about two in the morning.

The modern street on the north side of the University, designated North College Street, is interesting as the birth-place of Sir Walter Scott, but the house itself in which he was born was removed for the erection of the University. It stood almost opposite the alley to the Cowgate known as the College Wynd, and was a tenement of three storeys, the third of which only was occupied by Sir Walter's father, who afterwards removed from that house to the west side of George Square, where the youthful years of his illustrious son were passed.

About half a mile south-east of the University is the suburb of St. Leonard's, opposite Salisbury Crags, and leading into the royal parks. It terminates the road known as the Dumbiedykes, and is immortalized in the Heart of Mid-Lothian as the residence of "douce David Deans" and his daughters, one of whom was the "Lily of St. Leonard's." The chapel or oratory of St. Leonard has disappeared, as has also an old religious erection at the modern suburb of Newington. In that quarter a few walls indicate the site of the Nunnery of St. Catherine of Sienna, or the "Sisters of the Sheens;" but the chapel of St. Roque, nearly a mile westward, became commemorated by the name of a modern villa on its grounds near the base of Blackford Hill.

THE CANONGATE.

THE motto on the arms of the ancient burghs of the Canongate is "SIC ITUR AD ASTRA," which is painted conspicuously on its prison; but if any locality of an ancient city ever had a right to adopt the motto of the noble family of Bruce, Scottish Earls of Elgin, which is "FUMUS," that locality is the Canongate of Edinburgh¹

¹ The author of "Peter's Letters" (vol. i. pp. 26, 35) thus introduces the Canongate in the peregrination of Dr. Peter Morris with his friend Mr. Wastle from the domicile of the latter in the Lawnmarket:—"From his own house the way thither lies straight down the only great street of the Old Town—a street by far the most expressive in its character of any I have ever seen in Britain. The sombre shadow cast by those huge houses of which it is composed, and the streams of faint light cutting the darkness here and there, where the entrance to some fantastic alley pierces the sable mass of building—the strange projectings, recedings, and windings—the roofs, the stairs, the windows, all so luxuriating in the endless variety of carved-work—the fading and moulding coats-of-arms, helmets, crests, coronets, supporters, mantles, and pavilions—all these testimonials of forgotten pride, mingled so profusely with the placards of old-clothesmen, and every ensign of plebeian wretchedness, it is not possible to imagine more speaking emblems of the decay of a royal

city, or a more appropriate avenue to a deserted palace. My friend was at home in every nook of this labyrinth. I believe he could more easily tell in what particular house of the Canongate any given lord or baron dwelt two hundred years ago, than he could in what street of the new city his descendant of the present day is to be found."—Dr. Peter Morris in his next letter thus writes to his friend the Rev. David Williams respecting the enthusiasm of Mr. Wastle:—"I believe that had I given myself up entirely to the direction of my friend the laird, I should have known, up to this hour, very little about any part of Edinburgh more modern than the Canongate, and perhaps heard as little about any worthies she has produced since the murder of Archbishop Sharp. He seemed to consider it a matter of course that, morning after morning, the whole of my time ought to be spent in examining the structure of those gloomy tenements in wynds and closes which had in the old time been honoured with the residence of the haughty Scottish barons, or the French ambassadors and generals,

—comparing its present with its past condition. If the legend narrating the miraculous foundation of Holyrood House is to be credited,¹ the greater part of the ground on which the Canongate is built was in the reign of David I. a forest, in which deer and other animals of the chase abounded, and luxuriant trees and bushes afforded them ample shelter. The entire locality was royal hunting-ground, in which the ancient Scottish kings, when they resided in the Castle, recreated themselves with the sports of the field. The Canons, it is stated, were empowered to settle here a village, and from them the street was called the Canongate. The immunities which the Canons and their villagers enjoyed from David I.'s grant, soon raised up a town, which extended from the Abbey to the Nether-Bow Port of Edinburgh.²

The street of the Canongate from the Nether-Bow to the court-yard of Holyrood Palace is a steep descent of one-third of a mile, and, like the High Street, has an ample number of diverging alleys on both sides. The north-west boundary of this old suburban burgh at the Nether-Bow is the steep street descending to the north, called Leith Wynd, and extending south is St. Mary's Wynd,³ which derives its name from a nunnery dedicated to St. Mary of Placentia, founded in the twelfth century.⁴ This convent is said to have stood at the north-east corner of the Cowgate, and gave its name to the meanly built street extending upwards of half a mile farther south, in the direction of St. Leonard's and the Dalkeith road; the said Placentia having been for centuries corrupted into "Pleasance," the name of the street. One-half of the houses in St. Mary's Wynd were demolished in August, 1650, when Cromwell and the English army were encamped near the city; and the reason assigned is that "the enemy could have no shelter there," and that the citizens might have "free pass to their cannon which they had mounted upon the Nether Bow."⁵

With the exception of St. John's Close, none of the numerous alleys have ecclesiastical designations, but are known for the most part by their former principal residents, or by some local peculiarity.⁶ The erection of the Palace of Holyrood close to the monastery, considerably influenced the future aspect of the burgh, which became the Court end of the city, and previous to the Union was inhabited by many of the nobility, gentry, and persons of rank and distinction. Many intimations occur in old Scottish songs and ballads of these high-bred denizens of the Canongate, and especially of its fair inhabitants.⁷ Almost every close contained the mansion of some noble family: houses now resigned to the lower classes, but whose high projecting gables and quaint ornamental carvings still attest their antiquity and their old honours, were then the residence of earl and of baron. And often in the olden time, from the once squalid windows of the lofty

their constant visitors. In vain did I assure him that houses of exactly the same sort were to be seen in abundance in the city of London, and that even I myself had been wearied of counting the *fleurs-de-lis* carved on every roof and chimney-piece of a green-grocer's habitation in Mincing-Lane. Of such food, in his estimation, there could be no satiety; every *land* had its coat-of-arms, and every quartering called up to his memory the whole history of some unfortunate amour, or still more unfortunate marriage."

¹ Ante, p. 44.

² Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 584, 753.—This introduces us to the extraordinary statement that the ancient name of the Canongate was *Herbergare*. Lord Hailes assailed Maitland for assuming that the verb *herbergare*, which occurs in David I.'s foundation charter of the monastery of Holyrood, was the ancient name of the Canongate; but it is rightly observed, that "in this instance Maitland only adopted an interpretation of the charter which appears from the legendary history of the monastery, as well as from certain judicial proceedings in the reign of Mary, to have been received with implicit credulity."—Extracts from "Proceedings in the cause Robert Commendator and the convent of Halyrudhous against the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh," Bannatyne Miscellany, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 12, 27–31. The verb *herbergare* literally signifies *domum construere, edificare, reedificare, suppellectili instruere*. The etymology of the word, and the authorities, are cited in Dufresne's "Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis," folio, Paris, 1733, tom. iii. p. 1105. See also the observations in the Preface to "Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edinburgh. xviii.—xlvi.

³ No part of St. Mary's Wynd is within the burgh or parish of the Canongate. Although the Canongate is the general designation, St. Mary's Wynd and all the alleys eastward down to the site of St. John's

Cross, near the Canongate entrance to St. John Street, are within the ancient royalty of the city of Edinburgh, and now form part of what is called the Old Church of St. Giles's parish. The parish of Canongate commences at St. John Street, but on the north-west side the boundary is Leith Wynd. The limits on the north and south are the streets called the North and South Back of Canongate, the former in the hollow between the burgh and the Calton Hill, and the latter on the level ground between the burgh and the parks at the base of Salisbury Crags, where the road known as the Dumbiedykes is entered. The parish of the Canongate includes the Palace and Sanctuary of Holyrood, the royal parks, Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat.

⁴ "At Edinburgh there was a poor nunnery in Saint Marie Wynd, which we have mentioned in the Chartular of St. Giles."—Father Hay's "Scotia Sacra," MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, p. 213.

⁵ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 24.

⁶ Such as the *Old Fleshmarket Close*, the *High School Close*, *Middlecommon Close*, and *Shoemakers' Close*, on the north side of the street; and the *Plainstone Close*, the *Playhouse Close*, *Old Playhouse Close*, and the *Bakehouse Close*, on the south side.

⁷ The tragic ballad of Mary Hamilton, which Sir Walter Scott alleges is the same story as that which John Knox relates of an amour between Queen Mary's French apothecary and one of her female attendants, thus speaks of the unfortunate heroine:—

"When she gaed up through the Nether-Bow Port,
She lauch'd loud laughters three;
But when that she cam down again,
The tear stood in her e'e.
As she gaed down the Canongate,
The Canongate sae free,
Monie a lady look'd over her window,
Weeping for sweet Marie."

houses that lined the then courtly Canongate, bent forth the noblest and the fairest of Scotland's daughters—at times to hail the royal cavalcade as it swept up the long ascent—and too often, in those days of anarchy and feud, to mark the passage to execution of some noble victim: to weep for the gallant Montrose—to look in pity on his bitter rival Argyle.

Although many of the houses of the Canongate are of comparatively modern erection, the burgh still retains numbers of antique tenements, several of which are older than Queen Mary's reign, and rapidly hastening to decay. The accession of James VI. to the crown of England, which occasioned the removal of the Court from Holyrood, was the first blow to the importance of the burgh founded by David I.'s canons, and after the Union in 1707 the locality sank into neglect.¹ The opening of the new road along the Calton Hill in 1817, which rendered the Canongate no longer the principal approach to the Old Town from the east, at last completed its depression.

In the third alley below St. Mary's Wynd was formerly one of the principal hostelries in Edinburgh, known as the White Horse Inn, and the singularly constructed tenement is entered by an outside stair. Dr. Johnson, accompanied by Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, brother of Lord Chancellor Eldon, arrived at the White Horse on Saturday the 17th of August, 1773, and wrote in it his laconic note to Boswell—"Mr. Johnson sends his compliments to Mr. Boswell, being just arrived at Boyd's," which was the name of the landlord. The habits of the waiter, and the dirty condition of the inn, soon excited the rage of the Doctor, who, when Boswell made his appearance, was in a towering passion. Lord Stowell, says Boswell, "told me that before I came in, the Doctor had unluckily had a bad specimen of Scottish cleanliness. He then drank no fermented liquor. He asked to have his lemonade made sweeter, upon which the waiter, with his greasy fingers, lifted a lump of sugar and put it into it. The Doctor in indignation threw it out of the window. Scott (Lord Stowell)² said he was afraid he would have knocked the waiter down." It is stated that a room in the White Horse was often the scene of runaway English marriages,³ and the hostelry had its due proportion of bacchanalian and convivial parties before it was annihilated by the fashionable hotels of the New Town.

A short distance down the street, on the north or opposite side, was a tenement of four storeys, known as the "Morocco Land," with a small statue of a Moor in front, fixed into a kind of stone pulpit. Some curious traditions are still preserved respecting the erection of this tenement, and the black personage represented. A circle in the causeway below, on the south side of the street, indicates the site of St. John's Cross. Nearly opposite to this memorial of a former age is the alley called the Playhouse Close, in which was erected the first licensed theatre in Scotland. This fact sufficiently proves the gentility of the inhabitants of the Canongate. It was begun in August 1746, by Mr. Lacy Ryan of Covent Garden, but was not opened under the royal license till the 9th of December, 1767, though dramatic representations were given in it during that interval—Home's tragedy of "Douglas" having been first performed on its boards on the 14th of December, 1756. The second storey of the front tenement under which St. John Street is entered was the domicile of Mrs. Jane Telfer, widow of Alexander Telfer, Esq., of Scotstown and Symington, the sister of Smollett, who, when he revisited Scotland in June 1766, resided in it for some time. On the opposite side of the street is a mean-

¹ Allan Ramsay, in his "Elegy on Luckie Wood," thus alludes to the Canongate and the "sorrowful Union:"—

"On, Canigait, puir elrich hole,
What loss, what crosses does thou thole!
London and Death gars thee look droll,
And hing thy head;
Wow, but thou hast e'en a cauld coal
To blaw indeed!"

² "The house," says Lord Stowell, "was kept by a woman, and she was called *Luckie*, which it seems is synonymous to *Goody* in England. I at first thought the appellation very inappropriate, and that *Unlucky* would have been better, for Dr. Johnson had a mind to throw the waiter, as well as the lemonade, out of the window."—Boswell's Life of Johnson, edited by John Wilson Croker, 8vo. London 1831, vol. ii. pp. 259, 260. Sir Walter Scott says of the White Horse—"It continued a place from which *coaches* used to start, till the end of the eighteenth century. It was a base hovel." The inns or hostelries of Edinburgh at the time when *hotels* were unknown, are described by

Arnot in 1779, "as mean buildings, their apartments dirty and dismal; and if the waiters happen to be out of the way, a stranger will perhaps be shocked with the novelty of being shown into a room by a dirty sun-burnt wench without shoes or stockings." Whatever may have been its disadvantages, the White Horse seems to have been much resorted to by strangers visiting Edinburgh.

³ Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh, by Robert Chambers, 12mo. 1833, pp. 228, 229.—According to Mr. Robert Chambers—"James Boyd, the keeper of this inn, was addicted much to horse-racing, and his victories on the turf, or rather on Leith Sands, are frequently chronicled in the journals of that day. It is said that he was at one time on the brink of ruin, when he was saved by a lucky run with a white horse, which in gratitude he kept idle all the rest of its life, besides setting up its portrait as his sign. He eventually retired from this 'dirty and dismal' inn, with a fortune of several thousand pounds; and as a curious note upon the impression which its slovenliness conveyed to Dr. Johnson, we may mention, what we learn from unquestionable authority, that at the time of his giving up the house he possessed *napery* to the value of five hundred pounds."

looking tenement, which is said to have been the house of General Dalryell of Binns, a ruthless persecutor of the Covenanters in the reign of Charles II. New Street, on the same side, a few yards distant westward, was formerly inhabited by persons of opulence. In the house at the head of it a garden-plot, the front of which is filled by some shops, resided Henry Home, Lord Kames, the author of numerous valuable works, who died in December 1782, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., Lord Hailes, the great restorer of Scottish history, who died in November 1792, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, resided many years in New Street.¹

The large and antique mansion, called Moray House, formerly the town residence of the Earls of Moray, was conspicuous in this part of the south side of the Canongate. This house is erroneously asserted to have been built and occupied by the Regent Moray, although the style of the architecture indicates a subsequent date. Moray House was erected in 1618 by James second Earl of Moray, the elder son of James, son of Sir James Stewart of Doune, by Lady Elizabeth Stuart, elder daughter of the Regent, who by that marriage was styled Earl of Moray, as the husband of Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Moray in her own right. James Stewart of Doune is known as the "Bonnie Earl of Moray," the alleged favourite of James VI.'s consort, Anne of Denmark. He was murdered by his inveterate enemy, the Earl of Huntly, among the rocks near his seat of Donibristle, in Fife, in February 1591-2; yet it is a curious illustration of the manners and spirit of the age, that the Earl of Moray, who erected Moray House, was not only reconciled to his father's murderer, but actually married Lady Anne Gordon, his daughter.

Moray House was occupied by Cromwell in October 1648, during his first visit to Edinburgh, after routing the forces of the Duke of Hamilton. It is stated that he resided in the "house of Lady Home, in the Canongate,"² which is apparently an intimation that it was a different house; but it must be observed that James Earl of Moray married Lady Margaret Home, elder daughter of Alexander first Earl of Home, and co-heiress with her sister Anne Duchess of Lauderdale of her brother James second Earl. This Earl of Moray, who died in March 1653, retired to the country during the Civil Wars; his countess, Lady Margaret, resided in the mansion when in Edinburgh. As it respects Cromwell, while he was at Seton House, the seat of the Earl of Winton, we are told—"Next day, Wednesday, 4th October, 1648, come certain dignitaries of the Argyll or Whiggamore party, and escort him honourably into Edinburgh—'to the Earl of Murrie's house in the Canongate'—(so in good Edinburgh Scotch do the old pamphlets spell it)—'where a strong guard'—an English guard—'is appointed to keep constant watch at the gate: and all manner of Earls, and persons of Whiggamore quality, come to visit the Lieutenant-General, and even certain clergy come, who have a leaning that way.' There is no doubt but the Lieutenant-General did lodge in Moray House. Guthry, seeming to contradict this old pamphlet, turns out to confirm it—On Thursday, the 5th of October, 1648, came 'the Lord Provost (Sir James Stewart) to pay his respects at Moray House'—came 'old Sir William Dick'—an old Provost, nearly ruined by his well-affected loans of money in these wars—'and made an oration in name of the rest'—came many persons, and quality carriages, making Moray House a busy place that day—'of which I hope a good fruit will appear.'"³

The next incident connected with Moray House, is a melancholy instance of political hatred. In the north-west part of the edifice were two fine apartments, the larger of which opened by three windows upon a stone balcony overlooking the street, and enclosed by an iron railing.⁴ On the 13th of May, 1650, Lady Mary, eldest daughter of James third Earl of Moray, already mentioned, married Lord Horn, afterwards ninth Earl of Argyll, and it is stated that the "wedding-feast stood" in Moray House.⁵ Five days afterwards, the Marquis of Montrose, the rival of Argyll, was brought from Leith by order of the Covenanting Committee of Estates. He was received with every mark of indignity at the Watergate near Holyrood House, his hat

¹ About halfway down the street, in the house numbered 23, formerly possessed by Mr. Ruthven, engineer.

² Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, p. 298. The Bishop says—"Those that haunted him most were, besides the Marquis of Argyll, Loudon the Chancellor, the Earl of Lothian, the Lords Arbuthnot, Elcho, and [Balfour of] Burleigh; and of ministers, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. James Guthry. What passed among them came not to be known infallibly, but it was talked very loud that he did communicate to them his design in reference to the King, and had their assent thereto."

³ Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations, 8vo. London, 1845, vol. i. pp. 375, 378.

⁴ This balcony was originally railed, but it was long a bare projection till 1842, when the iron railing was placed on it a few days before the progress of Queen Victoria up the Canongate and High Street to the Castle.

⁵ Lamont's Chronicle of Fife from 1649 to 1672, 4to. Edin. 1810, p. 20.



MURRAY HOUSE, CANONGATE.

From an Original Drawing by J. Nash.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

taken from him by the executioner, and he was placed on an elevated seat in a cart drawn by a horse, on which rode that functionary. In this condition he was conveyed up the Canongate to the Tolbooth. When he passed Moray House, his inveterate enemy the Marquis of Argyll, and his Marchioness Lady Margaret Douglas, a daughter of the seventh Earl of Morton, witnessed with unfeeling exultation from this balcony the insults he was enduring; and the Marchioness is accused of spitting upon Montrose as he passed—the whole marriage party appearing, and mocking his misfortunes.¹

Cromwell again occupied Moray House when in Edinburgh in 1650 and 1651, and in 1654 Alexander, fourth Earl, was fined 3500*l.* by the Protector's "act of grace and indemnity." This nobleman, who died on the 1st of November, 1700, at Donibristle, was Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament which met on the 29th of April, 1686. At the period of the Union, and some time before that event, James, fourth Earl of Findlater and first Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor, resided in Moray House, which was the scene of many confidential discussions connected with that treaty. After 1753, the mansion was leased by the Linen Company of Scotland, who carried on their business, and also banking in it for many years, which obtained for it the local designation of the "Linen Hall." Subsequently, before 1845, it was inhabited by a private family, and in 1847 the interior was altered for a normal school. Moray House was said to be entailed,² but a public advertisement, announcing it for sale, which appeared in the commencement of 1846, contradicted this assertion;³ and, perhaps, this may still be an open question.

An old tenement, a few yards below Moray House, is alleged to have been a residence of the noble family of Gordon, and said to have been the Mint, or "cunzie house," in the reign of Queen Mary.⁴ The first Marquis of Huntly, already noticed⁵ as the murderer of the "Bonnie" Earl of Moray, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in December 1635, on a charge of abetting sundry outrages between the Gordons and Crichton of Frendraught, whose lands were plundered and his cattle carried away by the former. After an imprisonment of several weeks, the Marquis was permitted to remove to his house in the Canongate, where he became seriously unwell. He was anxious to return to his own castle in the North, and he was conveyed on a bed within his chariot; but he got no farther than Dundee, where he died on the 13th of June, 1636, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Lady Henrietta, daughter of the celebrated General Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, and Dowager of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, resided in the family house in the Canongate in 1753.⁶ This house was apparently the residence of the previous Duchess of Gordon, mother of the second Duke, before she removed to a villa in the suburb on the north of Holyrood Palace, known as the Abbey Hill. This Duchess was Lady Elizabeth Howard, second daughter of Henry,

¹ "They caused the cart to be stopt for some time before the Earl of Moray's house, where, by an unparalleled baseness, Argyll, with the chief men of his cabal, who never durst look Montrose in the face while he had his sword in hand, appeared then in the windows and balcony, in order merely to feed their sight with a spectacle which struck horror into all good men; but Montrose astonished them with his looks, and his resolution confounded them."—History of the Troubles in Great Britain, from 1633 to 1650, by Robert Monteth of Salmonet, folio, Lond. 1735, pp. 512, 513.

² Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh, by Robert Chambers, p. 244.

³ In the centre of the grass terrace behind Moray House is a stately thorn-tree, which is said to have been planted by Queen Mary, but the date of the erection of the mansion refutes this tradition. The garden consists of a series of antique terraces, in the lower part of which is the small summer-house wherein the Commissioners for the Union commenced signing the treaty, and were only prevented from completing that ceremony by the enraged mob, whose violence compelled them to select a place less likely to be suspected. The garden sufficiently indicates its former elegance—with its hewn-stone terraces, its decayed fountain, its bowling-green, and the old fruit-trees, which impart an aspect of grandeur to this deserted residence of a Scottish nobleman. The original building displays little external ornament. Above the windows occurs a profusion of coronets and the initial letter M; and above the middle window, opening upon the balcony, is a lozenge shield displaying the arms of the Earl of Moray. The mansion, as mentioned in the text, was transformed into a normal school in 1847, and entirely altered in the interior.

⁴ It is a mean-looking edifice, having sage inscriptions above the

entrance. One is—CONSTANTI PECTORI RES MORTALIUM UMBRA; and another—UT TU LINGUÆ TUÆ SIC EGO MEAR; AURIUM DOMINUS SUM.

⁵ See the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work.

⁶ Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 156. Previous to the marriage of Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, the family of Gordon had adhered to the Roman Catholic religion. Though the Duke continued to profess that religion, the Duchess educated her four sons and seven daughters in the principles of the Church of England, of which she was a zealous member, and she was in 1735 rewarded by George II. with an annual pension of 1000*l.* for the better support of herself and children. Her Grace survived the Duke thirty-two years, and died at Prestonhall, an estate which she had purchased for 8877*l.* in 1738, upwards of four miles south of Dalkeith, on the 11th of October, 1760. Her eldest son, Cosmo George, succeeded as second Duke: her third son was Lord Lewis Gordon, conspicuous in the Enterprise of 1745, who escaped abroad after the battle of Culloden, and was attainted in 1746; and her fourth son was Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland from 1789 till he resigned that office to Sir Ralph Abercrombie in June 1798. Lord Adam, who resided some years in Holyrood Palace, died at his seat of The Burn in the parish of Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, in August 1801, and was interred beside his wife, Jane, Dowager of James, second Duke of Atholl, in the churchyard of Inveresk, near Musselburgh, where a monument is erected to their memory. His Lordship was Governor of Edinburgh Castle at the time of his death, in which he was succeeded by his grand-nephew, George, fifth and last Duke of Gordon, and last Governor of the Castle previous to the Act of Parliament which annexed that appointment *ex officio* to the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland.

Duke of Norfolk, by Lady Anne Somerset, daughter of Edward, second Marquis of Worcester.¹ Her Grace survived the Duke sixteen years, and died at the Abbey Hill on the 16th of July, 1732. She occasioned considerable excitement in 1711, by sending to the Dean and Faculty of Advocates a silver medal, with a head of the Chevalier St. George on one side, and on the other the British Islands, with the word "REDDITE." The Dean presented the medal at a meeting of the Faculty, and a discussion ensued on the propriety of accepting it, when it was carried by sixty-three to twelve to receive the medal, and to return thanks to the Duchess. Two advocates waited upon her Grace, and expressed their hope that she would soon have occasion to compliment the Faculty with another medal in honour of the "Restoration." According to Wodrow, the Duchess, after her removal to the Abbey Hill, made her house a seminary for instructing young persons in her religious and political principles. Under date 1728 he writes—"I am told that the Duchess of Gordon, a most active zealous Papist, is now gone out of the Canongate, and taken a house betwixt and Leith, which is just turned a seminary for corrupting of youth, especially young girls. She keeps a dispensatory, and distributes medicines gratis, and has got in a great many poor gentlemen's children."²

Almost opposite, on the north side of the street, are the Burgh Jail and Court Room—a building erected in the reign of James VI., having a projecting clock and a small spire, and the motto and arms of the Canongate conspicuous on the walls,³ fixed to the lower part of which is a stone pillar upwards of twelve feet high. This antique edifice is externally in front of a neat appearance, but the interior of the prison department is in very bad condition, and the rooms occupied by the compulsory inmates are small, inconvenient, and ascended by narrow stairs. Immediately adjoining is the parish church—a plain edifice in the form of a cross, which some local writers absurdly allege was so constructed to please James II., though all the connexion of that unfortunate monarch with it was to sanction the money for its erection. The King's letter to that effect is dated Windsor, 28th June, 1687. In it he states that the church of Holyrood House was to be fitted up for the meetings and installations of the Knights of the Thistle, and also for the performance of divine service when he and his household happened to be in Edinburgh. This, of course, was to be according to the Roman Catholic ritual. The parishioners were enjoined to resort to Lady Yester's church for divine service until an edifice was built in a convenient part of the burgh, out of the money donated by Thomas Moodie, merchant, in 1649, for the erection of a church in the Grassmarket—a design which was abandoned on account of the inconvenience of the locality.⁴

The Town-Council received 34,000 merks from Moodie's donation, which had greatly increased by the accumulation of interest, and they employed an architect and builder to plan and erect the Canongate church, after paying 9000 merks for the site, and the ground required for the cemetery. The architect added some "decorations" to the edifice, which he was not compelled by the contract to display, such as the portico in front, and probably the deer's head surmounted by a cross between the antlers, which figures on the top of the front of the church, in allusion to the heraldic arms of the Canongate.⁵

¹ Author of "A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions as at present I can call to mind to have tried and perfected," dated 1655, and printed in 1663—and father of Henry third Marquis and first Duke of Beaufort.

² Wodrow's *Analecta*, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, 4to. 1843, vol. iii. pp. 522, 523.

³ Immediately over an archway is also the inscription—"PATRLE ET POSTERIS, 1591." Above the arms and motto of the Canongate are inscribed—"J. R. G. JUSTITIA ET PIETAS VALIDE SUNT PRINCIPIS ARCES."

⁴ Lady Yester's, one of the parish churches of the city of Edinburgh, was founded by, or originated with, Lady Margaret Ker, third daughter of Mark first Earl of Lothian, who married James seventh Lord Hay of Yester, by whom she had two sons and one daughter. Her elder son succeeded as eighth Lord Hay of Yester, was elevated to the dignity of Earl of Tweeddale in 1646, and had in 1633 and 1637 been conspicuous for his opposition to the act for "Regulating the Apparel of Churchmen," and the introduction of the Scottish Liturgy. His Lordship was the father of John second Earl and first Marquis of Tweeddale. Lady Yester's husband died in 1609, and her Ladyship married Sir Andrew Ker, only son of Andrew Ker of Fernihirst, who died in December 1628, leaving no issue. Lady Yester died on the 15th of March, 1647, in the seventy-fifth year of her age, leaving to the Town-Council of Edinburgh 10,000 merks to found a church, and

5000 merks for the endowment of the minister; but as those sums were required for the building, her ladyship granted 1000 merks annually out of her jointure, till the sum of 12,000 merks was paid. The church was erected at the south-west corner of the High School Wynd, near the Blackfriars' Wynd and Cowgate, in Infirmary Street, and a few yards east of the present Lady Yester's church, which was built in 1803.

⁵ In the surrounding cemetery several distinguished persons are interred. Close to the east end of the jail, and next to the street, is the tomb of George Drummond, Esq., one of the greatest promoters of the improvements of Edinburgh, the founder of the North Bridge and the Royal Infirmary, six times Lord Provost of the city, who died on the 4th of November, 1766, in the eightieth year of his age. A few yards north of Provost Drummond's tomb is a small monumental pillar indicating the grave of the Right Rev. Robert Keith, Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, author of the "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland" from the commencement of the Reformation till 1567, and the "Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops," who died on the 20th of January, 1757, in his seventy-eighth year. In the immediate vicinity is the tombstone erected by Robert Burns at the grave of his brother-poet in misfortune, Robert Ferguson, who terminated a brief and dissipated life on the 16th of October, 1774, in his twenty-fourth year. The tomb of Dugald Stewart, who died at Edinburgh on the 11th of June, 1828, in his seventy-fifth year, is in

Between the Canongate church and the Palace of Holyrood were several mansions, the designations of which indicated the rank of the former proprietors or residents. At the end of a narrow alley called Monroe Close, stood Panmure House. Whether it was ever inhabited by the Earls of Panmure, the fourth of whom, William, was attainted for his connexion with the *Enterprise* of 1715, is uncertain; but in 1753 it was the property of his nephew, William Maule, created Earl of Panmure in the peerage of Ireland, who died in 1787. In an advertisement in May 1753,¹ announcing that the house was to be let, it is described as "a very good convenient lodging, pleasantly situated amidst gardens on the north side of the Canongate, a little below the church, and lately possessed by the Countess of Aberdeen, all enclosed within a handsome court-yard."² Dr. Adam Smith occupied Panmure House after 1778, and he resided in it with his cousin, Miss Jenny Douglas, a spinster, who superintended his domestic affairs till his death in 1790.

On the opposite side of the street is Milton Lodge or House, enclosed by a wall from the street, built by Andrew Fletcher of Milton, nephew of Fletcher of Saltoun, and Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland from 1735 to 1748, when he resigned, though he retained his seat on the bench as a judge in the Court of Session till his death in 1766.³ In Reid's Court, opposite, resided Thomas, seventh Earl of Haddington, James, seventh Earl of Lauderdale, and the learned, ingenious, and eccentric James Burnctt, Esq., a judge in the Court of Session, by the title of Lord Monboddo, from 1767 till his death in 1799, the author of the celebrated work on the "Origin and Progress of Language," in which he alleges that "the human race were originally gifted with tails." Farther down the street is Whiteford House, and near it stood the town residence of the Earls of Winton, the fifth of whom was attainted for his connexion with the *Enterprise* of 1715. Below this locality is the house in which Dr. Alexander Rose, the deprived Lord Bishop of Edinburgh at the Revolution, died in 1720—the last survivor of all the Scottish prelates who were possessed of sees before that event.

The most conspicuous structure in this part of the Canongate is Queensberry House, a large edifice, erected, with the exception of the upper storey, by William, third Earl and first Duke of Queensberry, as his town residence, and which, with the surrounding ground, was included within the county of Dumfries in 1706 for some political purpose. This nobleman, who exercised the chief power in Scotland during the latter part of the reign of Charles II., built also the magnificent seat of Drumlanrig Castle, in Dumfriesshire, after he was deprived of all his offices for not concurring with the project of James II., in 1686, to remove the penal acts against the Roman Catholics. His Grace died in Queensberry House in 1695, and the mansion was inhabited by his son and successor James, the second Duke, the last Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, and as such chiefly instrumental in effecting the Union with England. The last occasional residents were his son Charles, third Duke, who was born in the mansion; and his Duchess, Lady Catherine Hyde, daughter of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, and cousin-german of Queens Mary and Anne, who patronised the poet Gay. The Duke died in 1778, upwards of twelve months after the Duchess, but the mansion was often inhabited by other noblemen during his lifetime.⁴ The celebrated Earl of Stair died in it in May 1747, and the last Duke of Douglas, who resided in it some time during his latter years, also died in it in July 1761.

the lower part of the cemetery, and is a strongly-built arched structure. Adam Smith, the celebrated author of the "Wealth of Nations," who died in his sixty-eighth year, is also interred in the Canongate churchyard, near the gateway on the west side. Here, also, is a family tomb of the noble family of Mackenzie, Earls of Cromarty, so created in 1703. Isabel, daughter of Sir William Gordon of Invergordon, Bart., countess of George third Earl, who was attainted and condemned, though the capital sentence was remitted, for his connexion with the *Enterprise* of 1745, was interred here in 1769; and in 1789 their eldest son, Lord Macleod, the last of that ennobled family, also connected with the *Enterprise* of 1745, to which he pled guilty, and entreated the mercy of George III. on the 20th of December, 1746, pardoned, and created Count Cromarty, and made Commandant of the Order of the Sword by Gustavus III. King of Sweden, in 1778, into whose service he entered, was laid in this tomb. Some eminent Italian musicians, noticed by Alexander Campbell in his "Journey through Scotland," were interred in the Canongate cemetery; and Campbell himself was added to the number of ingenious men whose ashes are within its precincts, in May 1824.

¹ Edinburgh Evening Courant, May 21, 1753. The files of this journal contained many curious notices of the state of Edinburgh during the eighteenth century.

² Lady Anne Gordon, third daughter of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, who was the third Countess of William, second Earl of Aberdeen. His Lordship died in March 1746, in the seventieth year of his age, and the Countess, by whom he had three sons and one daughter, survived him till 1790. The Hon. Alexander Gordon, the third son, was a judge in the Court of Session, from 1788 till his death in 1792, by the title of Lord Rockville.

³ Milton House, after many transformations, was in 1847 occupied as the Edinburgh Maternity Hospital, having been for some years previously tenanted as a Roman Catholic seminary, by some ladies called "Sisters of Charity."

⁴ The arrival or departure of the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry in Edinburgh was always duly chronicled in the newspapers of the day. Thus, in the Edinburgh Evening Courant of Monday, 3d September, 1753,—“Friday last, their Graces, the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, arrived at their lodgings in the Canongate from Drumlanrig.” *Ibid.*—Thursday, 13th September, 1753,—“Yesterday, their Graces, the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, set out from their house in the Canongate for Drumlanrig.” *Ibid.*—July 23d, 1754,—“Sunday night the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry arrived at his Grace's house in the Canongate from Drumlanrig.”

His Grace, however, occupied the half of the edifice; and the Earl of Glasgow, who was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly from 1764 to 1772, rented the other half. William, fourth and last Duke of Queensberry, who died at London in 1810, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and who inherited the Scottish dukedom in 1778,¹ allowed the mansion rent-free to Sir James Montgomery, Bart., of Stanhope, successively Solicitor-General of Scotland, Lord Advocate, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1803. Queensberry House was eventually sold to William Aitchison, Esq., of Drummore, near Musselburgh, who intended to make it a distillery, and who realised almost as much as he disbursed by the public sale of the marble decorations and other ornaments. The purchaser in turn sold the property to Government for a much greater sum than he paid for it, and the extensive, heavy, and sombre-looking structure was made an infantry barrack for some time in 1811.²

Some curious reminiscences are recorded of the former proprietors of Queensberry House. The Covenanters believed that the first Duke possessed the "black art," and could transfer himself to any distant place whenever he pleased. His Grace is prominent as a "persecutor" in the "instances of God's judgments" at the end of a book well known in Scotland, entitled "The Scots Worthies," in which it is stated that he died of "morbus pediculosus," though it is ascertained that he died at Edinburgh of fever. It is also asserted in that veritable production, that on the day and hour of his decease a Scottish seaman saw the figure of his Grace in a coach drawn by six horses driving furiously towards the crater of Mount *Ætna*, while a voice thundered forth—"Make way for the Duke of Drumlanrig!" His Duchess, Lady Isabel Douglas, sixth daughter of William first Marquis of Douglas, frequently resided at Queensberry House when the Duke was at Sanquhar Castle; for it is said that he slept only one night in Drumlanrig Castle, because, having become unwell during that night, he nearly died for want of attendance—the immense size of that edifice preventing his domestics from hearing his call for assistance. The Duke was a most determined enemy to "hill-men and beggars," as he termed the Covenanters, and the last years of his life were occupied in keeping Mr. William Veitch, a noted "hill-man," or field preacher, out of the parish church of Peebles after the Revolution, in which he eventually succeeded by a most zealous litigation.

The second Duke resided constantly in Queensberry House when in Edinburgh as Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament. Many of the preliminary details connected with the Union were arranged within its walls, and for his services in securing that great measure he received a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, was vested with the whole patronage of Scotland, and was created a British peer by the titles of Duke of Dover, Marquis of Beverley, and Earl of Ripon. This nobleman, by his Duchess Mary, fourth daughter of Lord Clifford, eldest son of Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington and Cork, had four sons, the third of whom succeeded as third Duke, and three daughters, the second of whom, Lady Jane, married Francis Earl of Dalkeith, afterwards Duke of Buccleuch, and was the grandmother of Henry Duke of Buccleuch, who

¹ This nobleman, whose extraordinary predilections obtained for him an unenviable notoriety in his day even when he was far advanced in life, was the third Earl of March, and was the only offspring of William second Earl and Lady Anne Hamilton, eldest daughter of John Earl of Selkirk and Rutherglen, or Ruglen, Countess of Ruglen in her own right at the death of her father in 1744. The third Earl of March succeeded his father in 1731, and became also Earl of Ruglen at the death of his mother in 1748. Charles third Duke of Queensberry, and second Duke of Dover, had two sons who predeceased him, and at his death in 1778, the British dukedom of Dover and the Scottish earldom of Solway became extinct; but the Scottish dukedom of Queensberry, with most extensive estates in England and Scotland, devolved on his cousin the Earl of March. At the death of this the last Duke of Queensberry, who was unmarried, his British title of Baron Douglas of Ambresbury in Wiltshire, created in 1786, became extinct, as also the Scottish titles of Earl of Ruglen and Viscount Ricecarton; but the titles of Duke of Queensberry, Marquis of Dumfriesshire, Earl of Drumlanrig and Sanquhar, Viscount of Nith, Torthorwald, and Ross, Lord Douglas of Kinmonth, Middelbie, and Dornock, and the extensive property of Drumlanrig in Dumfriesshire, devolved on Henry Duke of Buccleuch, the heir of line, whose successors are now Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry. The titles of Marquis and Earl of Queensberry, Viscount of Drumlanrig, and Baron Douglas of Hawick, with the baronies of Tinwald, Torthorwald, and other estates, devolved to Sir Charles Douglas of Kelhead, Bart., the heir male; and the titles

of Earl of March, Viscount of Peebles, and Lord Douglas of Neidpath, Lyne, and Mannor, devolved to the Earl of Wemyss as heir of Lord William Douglas, created Earl of March in 1697, second son of William first Duke of Queensberry, who received from his father the Castle of Neidpath, and very extensive property in Peeblesshire, purchased from the Tweeddale family, and now inherited by the Earl of Wemyss. The Earls of Wemyss are descended from Lady Anne Douglas, only daughter of the first Duke of Queensberry, who married David Lord Elcho, afterwards third Earl of Wemyss. Her brother, the first Earl of March, married Lady Jane Hay, daughter of the first Marquis of Tweeddale, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. With the exception of the eldest son, who succeeded as second Earl, and was the father of the third Earl of March and last Duke of Queensberry, they all died unmarried. By the marriage contract, the first Earl of March settled all his estates in Peeblesshire on the heirs male of his body, with remainder to the heirs male of the bodies of his father, and brother, the second Duke, failing whom to his sister, who married Lord Elcho, and the heirs male of her body, with other remainders. The English property of Ambresbury was acquired by Lord Douglas of Douglas, the surviving twin son of the celebrated Lady James Douglas and Sir John Stewart of Grantully, Bart., in virtue of a settlement made by the third Duke of Queensberry.

² Queensberry House was, in 1847, and for some years previous, used as the Edinburgh House of Refuge and Night Refuge, for which the size rendered it most commodious.

succeeded, in 1810, as heir of entail to the dukedom of Queensberry. Tradition records a dreadful event which occurred in Queensberry House. The eldest son of the second Duke died an infant, and the second son, who became Earl of Drumlanrig, was unfortunately insane. It is stated that when the family resided in Queensberry House, the Earl was always confined in a ground apartment in the western wing of the mansion, the windows of which were darkened by boards, to prevent him looking out, or any one recognising him. On the day the Union was passed, the man whose duty it was to attend the Earl resorted among the excited crowd to the Parliament Close, leaving only the Earl and a little kitchen boy in the house, the latter engaged in turning a spit on which a joint of meat was roasting. The youth broke out of his apartment, and attracted, in his wanderings through the house, by the savoury odour from the kitchen, he proceeded thither, killed the boy, and spitted his body, which he had half roasted before he was discovered. It was long believed that the Duke ordered his unhappy son to be suffocated, but it is said that he survived his father many years, though the titles devolved to Charles his younger brother, and that he died in England.

Charles third Duke resided in Queensberry House when in Edinburgh, which was seldom for any length of time. He is already mentioned as the patron of the poet Gay, who resided both here and at Drumlanrig, and while in Edinburgh was a frequent visitor of Allan Ramsay, at his bookseller's shop in the tenement subsequently known as Creech's Land near the Cross. The Duchess, Lady Catharine Hyde, is said to have been insane, though she was the theme of poetical effusions by Gay, Prior, and Pope, and she had a particular aversion to the then prevailing Scottish tastes and manners. His elder son, Charles Earl of Drumlanrig, had betrothed himself to a lady, but the alliance was not considered sufficiently dignified, and he was married at Hopetoun to Lady Elizabeth Hope, eldest daughter of John second Earl of Hopetoun. Though the lady was amiable, and the Earl of Drumlanrig was ardently attached to her, his previous contract rendered them most unhappy, and they were often seen weeping together. At last, in 1754, when in his thirty-second year, during a journey to London, he shot himself near Bawtry in Yorkshire, with one of his own pistols, while riding in a coach with his Countess, preceding that in which were the Duke and Duchess, and his only brother. It was given out that the pistol was accidentally discharged, and the Countess of Drumlanrig, who never recovered the shock, died of grief in 1756.

Such were some of the former denizens of the Canongate, or rather town residents and proprietors, when in Edinburgh. A short distance below Queensberry House, and on the same side, opposite the Watergate, stood Lothian Hut, a neat little modern edifice within a small court, erected by one of the Marquises of Lothian. It was occupied many years by Dugald Stewart, who accommodated in it pupils from all parts of the kingdom, among whom may be mentioned the then Lord Henry Petty, who succeeded his half-brother in 1809 as third Marquis of Lansdowne, and his cousin as fourth Earl of Kerry in 1818, and subsequently filled the offices of Secretary of State for the Home Department, and Lord President of the Council.

Almost opposite, in the centre of the street, on the boundary of the precincts of the Sanctuary, stood the Girth Cross of Holyrood, the site of which is marked in the causeway. This was often one of the usual places of execution, and was, as already noticed, the scene of the decapitation, on the 5th of July, 1600, of Jean, daughter of John Livingstone of Dunipace, related to some of the first families in Scotland, the wife of John Kincaid of Warriston, near Edinburgh, whom, with the assistance of her nurse, a former man-servant of her father, and a female, she was accused of murdering, although from her own confession the man-servant was the actual perpetrator by the instigation of the nurse, who declared she would commit the murder herself if he refused. Her punishment, by the intercession of her relatives, was changed from burning, after strangulation, to decapitation by the Maiden. Although she was only twenty-one years of age, it is stated that "in the whole way, as she went to the place of execution, she behaved herself so cheerfully, as if she had been going to her wedding, and not to her death." When she came to the scaffold and was carried up to it, she looked at the Maiden, which she had never before seen, with "two longsomes looks," and she repeated her confession of the crime at each of the four corners of the scaffold. After concluding her devotional exercises, one of her relatives presented a cloth to cover her face, to fasten which she took a pin out of her mouth. She laid her neck on the cross-beam, and the executioner from behind pulled out her feet, that her neck might be elongated, and more readily receive the stroke of the axe; but she drew in her limbs twice, endeavouring to rest herself on her knees. During this preliminary, she continued in earnest and audible

praying ejaculations.¹ It appears from the details that Lady Warriston's husband was considerably older than herself, and their marriage was the reverse of a love-match. During the short space which intervened between her sentence and the execution, Lady Warriston contrived to become as great a saint as this world ever produced; she went to the scaffold with a demeanour more like a martyr than a criminal; she incessantly uttered pious exclamations; and declared that she was confident of everlasting happiness. The few spectators of her decapitation at the Girth Cross, instead of cherishing horror for her crime, were zealous admirers of her saintly conduct, and ardently treasured every devout word she spoke. Mr. James Balfour, one of the then ministers of Edinburgh, and colleague of the noted Mr. Robert Bruce, is supposed from internal evidence to have written an account of her "conversion," and from his narrative it would appear that her fate was a matter of envy rather than of justice.²

A short distance to the north-west of the Girth Cross were the chapel and alms-house of St. Thomas, which Maitland places opposite Trinity College Church, at the foot of Leith Wynd, "to the south." This small religious and charitable institution, which has long been removed, was founded by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, a successor in that see of the celebrated Gawin Douglas, who died in 1522. The charter of foundation is dated 1541, about three years before Bishop Crichton's death. Little is known of the subsequent history of this Hospital, which Maitland describes in 1753 as "very ruinous." The magistrates of the Canongate purchased the property, with consent of David Crichton of Lngton, the patron, in 1617, to be occupied as the burgh poor-house. They rebuilt or repaired the tenement in that year, and in their wisdom displayed the figures of two old cripples, a man and a woman, under which was the inscription—"Helpe here the poore, as ze wald God did zon. June 19, 1617." This tenement and other property connected with the foundation have long passed into other hands, and the existence of St. Thomas's Chapel and Hospital is now a mere tradition.³

Some memorials of the former official inhabitants of the precincts of Holyrood, and of the amusements of royalty, still exist near the Palace. Between the site of Lothian Hunt and the street called the Horse Wynd, is a space known as the Chancellor's Court, and on the east side of the street, at the Watergate, is the Tennis Court, which has been burnt and rebuilt since Maitland's time. It derives its name from the game fashionable throughout Europe in the seventeenth century. Here was the first theatrical performance after the Reformation in 1599, when Queen Elizabeth, at the request of James VI., sent a company of actors who were licensed by the King, to the great annoyance of the Presbyterian ministers, who in vain anathematised the Thespian visitors. In 1680 the Duke of York brought a part of his own company to amuse him during his exile in Scotland, and in Queen Anne's reign concerts were given in the Tennis Court conjoined with theatrical representations. Robert Bellenden, Abbot of Holyrood, had a house, the site of which is now occupied by a modern building, on the north-west of the Palace; and the garden behind, generally now mentioned as the north garden of the Palace, in which was an antique sun-dial, called Queen Mary's, was connected with this property. At a corner of this garden, close on the street called the Abbey Hill, is a small inhabited building, which is traditionally said to have been Queen Mary's Bath.

¹ The youth and beauty of Lady Warriston have made her the compassionated heroine of several popular ballads, which are still sung in various parts of Scotland. See Jameson's Ballads, vol. i. p. 109; Kinloch's Ancient Scottish Ballads, p. 49; Buchan's Ballads, vol. i. p. 56; Chambers's Scottish Ballads, p. 129-133.

² This very curious tractate, which was privately printed in small quarto (Edinburgh, 1827) from a paper preserved among Wodrow's MSS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., is entitled—"A Worthy and Notable Memorial of the Great Work of Mercy which God wrought in the Conversion of Jean

Livingston, Lady Warristoun, who was apprehended for the vile and horrible murder of her own husband, John Kincaid, committed on Tuesday, July 1, 1600, for which she was executed on Saturday following, containing an account of her obstinacy, earnest repentance, and her turning to God; of the odd speeches she used during her imprisonment, of her great and marvellous constancy, and of her behaviour, and manner of her death. Observed by one who was a seer and hearer of what was spoken." This production is a melancholy specimen of the fanaticism of the time.

³ Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 154, 155, 156.



EDINBURGH, FROM CRAIGLEITH QUARRY.

From an Original Drawing by W. L. Litch.

JOHN W. MERRILL & CO. LONDON.