

his family, the loss of the Mid-Lothian lands was the cause of their inveterate hatred to Charles I. The impolitic restitution was of no avail to Francis Stuart, whose dissolute life had involved him in debt. His newly-acquired property was seized by his creditors, and his son or nephew is said to have been a trooper in the Life Guards. As such he is prominent as Sergeant Bothwell in "Old Mortality," in which he is represented as having been killed in the skirmish at Drumclog, though it is known that he acted as captain of cavalry at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. He was so reduced in circumstances as to accept pecuniary assistance on one occasion from the Kirk-Session of Perth, his claim to which in that town is not stated.

Crichton Castle subsequently often changed owners. A person designated Scaton is mentioned as obtaining possession from the creditors of Francis Stuart, and in 1649 the property was acquired by Hepburn of Humbie, who was probably a trustee of those claimants. The local peasantry have perpetuated his territorial name by the undignified appellation of the Castle as "Humbie's Walls." About 1682, the Barony of Crichton was sold to Primrose of Carrington, an ancestor of the Earls of Rosebery, and, in or near 1724, it was purchased by Sir James Justice of Justice Hall. The Barony was next conveyed in trust to a gentleman named Livingstone, who sold it to Pringle of Haining, in 1739, from whom it was purchased by Patrick Ross, whose trustees sold it to Alexander Callender, Esq. He was succeeded by Sir John Callender, with whose heir of entail the Castle now remains. Such is a condensed account of Crichton Castle, which, Sir Walter Scott observes, witnessed many instances of human instability in times when it was proverbially remarked that "in Scotland no family of preponderating distinction usually throve beyond the third generation."

BORTHWICK CASTLE.

Two miles westward from Crichton Castle, and within sight, in the parish of Borthwick, is the huge and massive edifice of Borthwick Castle, on a strip of land formed by the South and North Middleton rivulets, which at their junction are designated the Gore Water, entering the South Esk at the picturesque locality of Shank Point, near Arniston Bridge. Borthwick Castle is one of the most entire and impressive old towers in the district. The fabric is of polished stone, its masonry strong and beautiful, measuring seventy-four feet by sixty-eight feet on the ground storey, and rising ninety feet, exclusive of the battlements, and the watch-tower on the top, which may add twenty feet to the elevation. At the base the walls are thirteen feet thick, and diminished at the top to nine and six feet. The roof is of stone, and is surrounded by an embattled wall, with circular bastions at the corners. The entrance was by an outer stair and drawbridge, now in ruins. This Castle consists of a vaulted sunk or ground storey, two large halls, one above the other, and two ranges of bed-rooms, which are projecting portions as viewed from the west. The interior of the lower hall is forty feet long, and is remarkable for elegance and proportion. Its roof is of considerable height, and still retains memorials of the painted ornaments. In every part may be traced the vestiges of former splendour, when the hall displayed its music gallery, and was adorned with tapestry. The roof of the upper hall is in a decayed condition. A small apartment, unlike the others in dimensions and position, is known as "Queen Mary's Room," and limited as it is in size, the Queen undoubtedly occupied it during the few days she was in the Castle with Bothwell, before the hapless pair finally encountered their miserable destinies. The windows of Borthwick Castle are so constructed, to avoid the danger of exposure to the arrows of besiegers, that a recess in the wall of the tower defends those of the principal apartments, one side of the recess protecting the windows of the other. From the battlements of this huge and strong fortalice a most beautiful view is obtained of the romantic vale of Borthwick, and of the pastoral range of the Lammermuir Hills. With the exception of one side, the Castle is surrounded by water and steep ground. The pile has not been inhabited since the commencement of the eighteenth century.

The name of the Castle and of the parochial district is derived from the family of Borthwick, who changed its former designation of Locherwart after they became proprietors. Sir William Borthwick, created Lord Borthwick before 1458, obtained the royal authority to erect a fortalice on the moat of Locherwart, and to secure the same by walls, gates, and battlements. Such is the reputed origin of Borthwick Castle, and the recumbent statues of this first Lord Borthwick and of his lady, the former in

full armour, are still in the ancient aisle of the parish church. Lord Borthwick was a personage of great abilities, and is conspicuous in many public transactions. He intentionally erected his Castle on the verge of his property, and in reply to this inconvenience he is alleged to have declared that he would press forward. His son William, second Lord, was a man of superior attainments, and was once sent to Rome, and thrice to England, as ambassador. William, third Lord, was often similarly employed, and fell at the battle of Flodden with his neighbour of Crichton Castle. John, ninth Lord, was a decided royalist, adhered faithfully to Charles I., and died without issue in 1672. The title was publicly unclaimed till 1727, and the gentleman who then assumed it voted under protest at several elections of the Scottish Peers, from 1734 to 1762.¹ In the latter year it was adjudged to him by the House of Lords. He died without issue in 1772, and the peerage has since been dormant, though it has two claimants, one of whom is the proprietor of the Castle.

Queen Mary occasionally visited Borthwick Castle, when the Earl of Bothwell was proprietor of Crichton Castle, which made him the neighbour of John fifth Lord Borthwick. On the 7th of October, 1566, when the Queen was informed that Bothwell had been wounded in Liddesdale, she rode to Borthwick, and she was at the Castle on the 6th of June, 1567, accompanied by Bothwell, little more than three weeks after their unhappy marriage. The Queen and her worthless husband were soon compelled to resort to Borthwick Castle from Holyrood, and on the 11th of June the fortalice was surrounded by about a thousand of the insurgent forces under the Earls of Mar and Morton, Lords Home and Lindsay, and other leaders. Bothwell, who was duly informed of their approach, cautiously eluded them, leaving the Queen in the Castle with very few attendants, and in a most unenviable position. She was warned by a special messenger of the disasters which threatened her, and as an interval of nearly two days elapsed after the departure of Bothwell, many of her subsequent calamities might probably have been averted if she had then resolved to separate from her husband. The Queen escaped with difficulty from Borthwick Castle in the disguise of a page, and she fled to Bothwell, who had retired to his Castle of Dunbar. Her route was across the wild and open country by Cakemuir Castle in Cranston parish, in which a room she is said to have occupied is still shown. In that fortalice she was met by some of Bothwell's retainers, who conducted her towards Linton on her way to Dunbar. Her surrender at Carberry Hill soon followed, and Mary and Bothwell never again saw each other.

Cromwell, after his victory at Dunbar, summoned the commander of Borthwick Castle to surrender, and his laconic epistle, dated Edinburgh, 18th November, 1650, is preserved.² The "governor" is supposed to have been John the ninth Lord, who held out his Castle while Cromwell's troops were ravaging the country. Some artillery were brought to reduce the fortalice, and were stationed on elevated ground near the Castle in the vicinity of Currie Wood, a precipitous and finely planted locality abounding with roots of old oak trees covered with moss. Cromwell, whether by accident or private information, directed his artillery against the eastern side of the Castle, the part which was most likely to be soon shattered. The effect of the cannonading is still visible, and various attempts to repair the damage have been unsuccessful. Lord Borthwick at last surrendered and was allowed to retire unmolested, with fifteen days to remove his property.

The former parish church, which was burnt in May 1775, was nearly of the same date with the erection of the original tower of the Castle, and must have been in unison with the structure.³ The

¹ This was Henry, tenth Lord Borthwick, who was served heir-male in general to the first Lord, and who, after obtaining confirmation of his title, claimed precedence as Premier Baron of Scotland. He never was the proprietor of Borthwick Castle, which was purchased by John Borthwick of Crookston, Esq., in the parish of Stow. At the death of John, ninth Lord Borthwick, his nephew, John, eldest son of Robert Dundas of Harviestoun, and grandson of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, was served heir, and obtained the Castle and estate. The property was afterwards successively purchased by Dalrymple of Cousland and Mitchelson of Middleton before it was acquired by Borthwick of Crookston.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 173.

² Cromwell's letter is as follows,—“For the Governor of Borthwick Castle, these :—Sir, I thought fitt to send this trumpett to you, to let

you know, that if you please to walk away with your company, and deliver the house to such as I shall send to receive it, you shall have liberty to carry off your armes and goods, and such other necessaries as you have. You harboured such parties in your house as have basely and inhumanely murdered our men. If you necessitate me to bend my cannon against you, you must expect what I doubt you will not be pleased with. I expect your answer, and rest your servant—O. CROMWELL.”

³ A curious incident occurred in 1547, in connexion with the Castle and the former parish church of Borthwick, which is related by Sir Walter Scott, on the authority of the Consistory Register of St. Andrews. William Langlands, apparitor or macer of the See of St. Andrews, then held by Archbishop Hamilton, was sent with letters of excommunication against the fifth Lord Borthwick, pronounced for



LINLITHGOW PALACE.

From an Original Drawing by J. G. Murdoch Esq.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

ruins are in the cemetery near the present church, the chancel or aisle containing the recumbent statues of the first Lord Borthwick and his lady. Their monument was decorated by several infantine figures, which have disappeared, of their children interred in the building. The portion remaining of the roof of the church is of stone, curiously joined, and in some parts diagonal. The father of Principal Robertson was incumbent of Borthwick, and the Historian was born in the old manse, on the 8th of September, 1721.

Some fragments of Catcune Castle are in a beautiful and retired locality within the grounds of Harviestoun. Arniston House is the chief modern ornament of the district, and is an imposing baronial edifice. The domain contains many splendid old trees, and the banks of the South Esk, which traverse it, are most picturesque and romantic. The family of Dundas of Arniston is of great antiquity. Sir James Dundas was knighted by James V., and some of his descendants are prominently distinguished in the legal profession. The Lord President Dundas, by his second marriage, was the father of the first Viscount Melville. His son became also Lord President, whose son was successively Lord Advocate, Member of Parliament for the county, and Lord Chief Baron of the Scottish Exchequer, from 1803 to his death in 1819.

LINLITHGOW.

THE ancient royal burgh and county town of Linlithgow, sixteen miles west of Edinburgh, and four miles south of the decayed sea-port of Borrowstownness, or Bo'-ness, is only interesting for its historical associations, its ruinous Palace, its old parish church, and its delightful situation on the south side of a lake upwards of a mile in length, and a fourth of a mile at its greatest breadth. It is asserted that the site of the Palace was a Roman station, and it is evident that the locality was not likely to be neglected by those who constructed the celebrated Wall of Antoninus, commonly known as "Graham's Dyke" through this county. The redoubtable King Achaius, if such a monarch ever existed, is gravely recorded as the founder of Linlithgow; and he is said to have erected a cross, which fanciful speculators have designated by abbreviation "King Cay's Cross."¹ The town, now a place of no trade, is chiefly one street with diverging lanes extending along the south side of the lake, close to and below the Palace, and many of the houses are of an antique appearance, the memorials of former prosperity. Linlithgow is exactly such a town as would be supposed to have nestled under the influence of royalty. It is said to have been constituted a royal burgh while a mere hamlet by David I., who appears to have possessed a residence connected with a grange or farm, such as it was in those rude times, and who granted to the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood at Edinburgh all the skins of the sheep and lambs of his demesne of Linlithgow, which was his own exclusive property, and the community rented from him the "firms," or customs and profits. At the demise of Alexander III. in March 1285-6, the burgh was governed by two officials named John Raebuck and John de Mar, who, with ten of the principal inhabitants, were compelled to swear fealty to Edward I. in 1296. The "firms," which had been mortgaged by Alexander III. to Haco, King of Norway, were allowed to become in arrear by the successor of the latter monarch, and two writs were addressed by Edward I. to the Provost of Linlithgow, demanding the payment into his treasury of the sums due to the King of Norway. In 1334 Edward Baliol transferred his alleged right to the lordship, town, and castle to Edward III. of England. The most ancient existing charter is one of Robert II., and those of subsequent monarchs were confirmed by Charles I. in 1633. Edward I. appointed Peter Luband to be keeper of the former peel-tower or fortalice,² on the site of the ruins of the Palace, and in the reign of David II.

the contumacy of certain of his witnesses in a process between him and George Hay of Minzeans. The messenger was ordered to deliver those letters to the curate of Borthwick Church, who was to announce the same at divine service. He found the inmates of the Castle engaged in the licensed sport of acting the "Abbot of Unreason," in which a mimic prelate presided like the "Lord of Misrule" in England. The "Abbot of Unreason" caused the luckless functionary to be dragged to the mill-dam, into which he was plunged. Not satisfied with this immersion, the "Abbot" declared that their visitor had not been sufficiently bathed, and he was laid on his back in the water.

He was then conducted to the church, where the letters of excommunication, written on parchment, were torn, and steeped in a bowl of wine, the contents of which the messenger was compelled to swallow, and he was dismissed by the "Abbot" with the assurance that if any documents of the kind were sent to Borthwick Castle while he was in office, the bearers of them would all "gang the same gait."

¹ History of the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow, by Sir Robert Sibbald, M.D., folio, Edin. 1710, pp. 14, 15.

² Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. i. p. 15.

justiciary courts were ordered to be held in the town, while the English occupied Berwick and Roxburgh.¹ The charter of Robert II., in 1389, granted to the burgesses of Linlithgow the sea-port of Blackness, and a charter of James IV. in 1454 declares that, with certain other burghs, Linlithgow had been entrusted with one of the standard measures of the kingdom.² This is acknowledged as an "ancient privilege concredite to the burgh," in a letter from the Town Council of Edinburgh, dated 26th January, 1580. It is unnecessary to enumerate the subsequent royal charters, all of which were ratified by Charles I., who extended the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and granted the dues of all markets within the limits, which include a mile beyond the town in every direction. A nominal control was long exercised by the burgh over the village of Blackness, as part of the territory of the burgesses, four miles distant, and it is probably still represented in the humble Town Council of the decayed burgh by a delegate who enjoys the distinguished title of the "Bailie of Blackness."³

Edward I. passed the winter of 1301 in the peel-tower, erected by himself, at Linlithgow, after his successful invasion, and before the second truce was concluded with the Scots by the mediation of France, which was to continue till the 30th of November, 1302. The town was then considered of some importance, and was under the tutelary protection of the Archangel Michael.⁴ In subsequent times Linlithgow was a favourite residence of the Scottish monarchs, and the revenues of the Lordship were ample and lucrative.⁵ David II., who succeeded his father, King Robert Bruce, in 1329, leased the then Castle and park of fourteen acres to John Cairns, on condition that he repaired the fortalice. His immediate successors, Robert II. and Robert III., were often occupants of the peel-tower. In 1411 the town was burnt, and in 1424 a similar calamity occurred, which involved the fortalice and the nave of the church. This intimates the commencement of the erection of the Palace, the oldest part of which was reared under the superintendence of Cochrane, a mason by profession, the minion of James III., who created him Earl of Mar—an elevation which terminated at the Bridge of Lauder, where he was ignominiously executed by the indignant nobility. Though the precise date of the erection is unknown, an edifice of some repute must have existed in 1460, when Mary of Gueldres, the Queen of James II., to whom the Lordship of Linlithgow appertained as her dowry, ordered by warrant of the Privy Seal the apartments of David II. to be prepared for the reception of Henry VI., surnamed of Lancaster, who had been compelled to retire from England by his then successful opponent Edward IV.

It is stated that Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, a most unprincipled person of great ability, who, in 1526, treacherously murdered John Stuart, third Earl of Lennox of that family, at Linlithgow Bridge, a roadside hamlet two miles west of the burgh, was the architect of the Palace of Linlithgow.⁶ He was the illegitimate son of James second Lord Hamilton, first Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault, and was the cousin of Lennox. Probably the most remarkable event in the history of the removed fortalice was its seizure by King Robert Bruce, who obtained possession by the contrivance of a rustic named William Binnock, or Binny, in 1311.⁷ The English garrison had at the time a very limited number of sentinels, and no cause of alarm was

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. i. p. 149.

² Linlithgow possessed the standard firloft measure, Edinburgh that of the ell, Perth that of the reel, Stirling that of the jug for liquids, and Lanark that of the pound weight. The Linlithgow firloft of oats and barley contained thirty-one pints Scots, and the firloft of wheat and pease twenty-one and a quarter pints. Those weights and measures of the four Scottish burghs are now merely antiquarian reminiscences.

³ In 1465, during the minority of James III., a crown charter was granted to the burgh of Linlithgow of the mound and rock of Blackness, from St. Ninian's Chapel to the sea on the north, ordaining the royal Castle of Blackness to be destroyed, and the materials to be applied to the construction of a harbour in that part of the Frith of Forth, which was never accomplished.—Local Reports of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Scotland, presented to both Houses of Parliament, folio, Part II. pp. 227, 228.

⁴ The town seal displays on one side the Archangel Michael, with expanded wings, treading on a serpent, and his spear piercing the reptile's head. The arms proper of the burgh allude to an obscure legend of a dog chained to a tree on an islet in the lake, with the motto—"MY FRUIT IS FIDELITY TO GOD AND THE KING." This has probably a reference either to David I. or to Edward I. of England.

⁵ The sources of revenue of the Lordship of Linlithgow are speci-

fied in the "Ratifications" by the Scottish Parliaments of the royal marriages. These, exclusive of the palace, lake, park, and other lands, consisted of the large and small customs or "firms" of the burgh, the fines and escheats of the several courts of justiciary, and of the chamberlain, the sheriff, and the bailies; the wards, reliefs, and marriages within the Lordship; and the patronage of the churches.

⁶ It is related of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, that "for strong and stately houses, being the King's (James V.) Master of Works, and the principal architect of that age, none did equal him for the royal houses, such as the Palaces of Holyroodhouse, Linlithgow, Falkland, and some part of the forework of Stirling Castle."—Memorie of the Somervilles, by James, eleventh Lord Somerville, vol. i. p. 316. The noble author adds that a great part of these edifices was either built or designed by Sir James Hamilton, who was usually designated the "Bastard of Arran," and perished on the scaffold in 1540.

⁷ Annals of Scotland, by Lord Hailes, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 32, 33. The date of 1311 is that of Lord Hailes, and Mr. Tytler narrates the event as occurring in 1312.—History of Scotland, 8vo. 1828, vol. i. pp. 289, 290. The peasant received a grant of lands from Bruce, and his descendants long survived, displaying in their coat-of-arms the hay-wain, and the motto—*VIRTUTE DOLOQUE*.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire, p. 172.

suspected. The peasant concealed eight resolute men in a cart loaded with hay, which he had been employed to deposit in the fortalice. When the gate was opened to admit the vehicle, the adventurers suddenly leaped from the hay, overpowered the guard, and secured the fortalice, which Bruce dismantled; but it was rebuilt in the minority of David II., and part of the west side of the present Palace may be of that erection.

James II. constituted the Lordship of Linlithgow and other lands, amounting to 10,000 crowns, as the dowry of his Queen, Mary of Gueldres, at their marriage in 1449. The Castle or Palace was also the dowry of Margaret of Denmark, Queen of James III., whose alliance was solemnized in 1468. James IV. at his nuptials assigned the Palace, jurisdiction, and privileges, to the Princess Margaret of England, at their marriage in 1503; and James V., who was born in the Palace, made Linlithgow the jointure residence of his successive consorts, Magdalene of France and Mary of Guise. This latter princess seems to have admired the edifice and locality, for when she was first conducted to the Palace, the east side of which had been erected by James IV., she declared that she had never seen such an imposing structure—a compliment which may be ascribed to French politeness, and she resided more frequently at Linlithgow than in any of the other royal palaces. In 1517 the Palace was seized by Stirling of Keir, who had unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate Meldrum of Binns—the “Squire Meldrum” of Sir David Lindsay’s “Satire of the Three Estates.” Stirling of Keir was speedily expelled by Sir Anthony D’Arcy de la Bastie, a French knight, at the time Warden of the East Marches. After the conflict near Linlithgow Bridge hamlet, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart was nominated “Captain” of the Palace.

In 1539 or 1540, Sir David Lindsay’s “Satire of the Three Estates” was represented at Linlithgow before James V., his Queen, the Court, the magistrates, and the inhabitants, who appear to have been gratified with the coarseness and vulgarity of that production. This was probably the first view which Mary of Guise obtained of her jointure residence. Her daughter, Queen Mary, was born in the Palace on the 7th of December, 1542, which is the correct date, while her father James V. was on his death-bed in Falkland Palace, where he died seven days afterwards. A rumour was soon circulated that Mary was a sickly infant, which so much annoyed the widowed Queen-Dowager, that she ordered the nurse to undress the infant in presence of Sir Ralph Sadler, the English Ambassador, who reported to Henry VIII. that she was as “goodly” a child as he had ever seen of her age. Queen Mary’s nurse, at Linlithgow and elsewhere, was Janet Sinclair, the wife of John Kemp, a burgher of Haddington, who was amply rewarded for her services. The Queen appears to have been baptized in the Palace in January 1542–3, and she was removed to Stirling Castle on the 24th of April, 1545, after recovering from the small-pox. In March 1542–3 the Parliament had appointed commissioners to exercise the charge of her person, and Linlithgow Palace and Stirling Castle were sanctioned as the residences of the infant Queen.¹

The reminiscences of Queen Mary connected with Linlithgow are peculiarly interesting. In 1561, after her return from France, she occasionally resorted to her natal Palace. On the 11th of September, that year, she rode thither from Holyrood-house, and remained two days on her first progress to Perth and other towns by Stirling. The Queen and her retinue passed a night in the Palace on the 11th of September, 1562, when on her journey to Aberdeen and Inverness. Mary again slept in the Palace on the 29th of June, 1563; in September she was at Linlithgow; and she inhabited the Palace on the 22d of July, 1564. The Queen removed to Linlithgow on the 26th of March, 1565, and on the 31st she proceeded to Stirling. On the 26th of August, 1566, Mary and her consort Darnley slept in the Palace; and on the 31st of January, 1566–7, when the latter was conveyed from Glasgow in a sickly condition, the Queen rested with him till the 2d of February. This appears to have been her last visit, though she was oftener at Linlithgow than is now stated, for the Palace was always a convenient “half-way house” to Stirling. It is recorded that Mary had a pleasure park and a garden at Linlithgow, yet she seldom remained long in her natal Palace, the grandeur of which had elicited the admiration of her mother.

Some minor events had occurred at Linlithgow before Queen Mary’s arrival from France. Parliaments were held in the Palace on the 1st of October and on the 1st and 15th of December, 1545. A provincial council of the clergy was held in the town in 1552, the chief object of which was to allay the popular ferment in favour of the Reformed doctrines, by affecting to correct acknowledged abuses; but, as usual, no improvement was achieved, and in 1559 the town was visited by the Earl of Argyll, the future Regent

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. pp. 414, 415.

Moray, and John Knox, in their notable march from Perth to Edinburgh by Dumblane and Stirling, when they "purified" the monastic houses and the churches. The Carmelites or White Friars had a convent on the south side of the town, founded by the burgesses in 1290, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the locality of which is still designated the Friars' Brae, where a spring is known as the Friars' Well. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, are also said to have possessed a small establishment. A chapel in honour of St. Ninian was at the West Port, and at St. Magdalene's on the east of the burgh, near Pilgrims' Hill, was an old institution of Lazarites, which had been converted into a place of entertainment for travellers. All those edifices were more or less dilapidated at the perambulatory visitation in 1559, and the only wonder is that the assailants spared the present parish church, which, however, they neglected not to "purify," by destroying the ornaments and images. It is stated, that at the time most of the tenements in the town were the property of the Regent Arran and other persons of rank.

The great event at Linlithgow, after the deposition and flight of Queen Mary, was the assassination of the Regent Moray in the public street by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, on the 23d of January, 1569-70. The "Good Regent," in the opinion of his friends, and the "Bastard Regent," in that of his enemies, was very unpopular at the time. His adherents were numerous and powerful, but his vigorous administration had irritated many, and his alleged ingratitude to Queen Mary, combined with his suspected ambition to seize the crown, increased their resentment. Among others he had exasperated the whole members and retainers of the House of Hamilton by imprisoning their chief, the ex-Regent Arran, Duke of Chatelherault: yet he might have defied them for years, if the despair and revenge of one of them had not accelerated his death, which was accomplished by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. The Regent was returning to Edinburgh from Stirling, whither he had decoyed Maitland of Lethington on the pretence of a conference, and of obtaining his assistance in some state affairs, but in reality to impeach him as one of the conspirators against Darnley, and commit him to prison. In the principal and at that time the only street in Linlithgow, was a tenement belonging to Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, the uncle of Bothwellhaugh, situated about the centre of the town, with a balcony projecting above the narrow thoroughfare. Several lanes or alleys diverged from the street, leading into gardens behind the houses, and the open country on the south. It is said that the entrances of those alleys were carefully filled with furze to intercept an instant pursuit. Hamilton also arranged the interior of the apartment in which he stationed himself, by placing on the floor a large feather bed, that the noise of his feet in walking or leaping might not be heard, and a black cloth was suspended opposite the window to prevent any recognition from the street. His horse stood ready for mounting, and having made other preparations, he deliberately awaited the approach of the Regent.

Moray was aware of the design of Hamilton, of which he had been informed in his progress from Stirling. An attached follower implored him not to ride through the street, and to pass on the south side of the town, promising to conduct him to the very spot where his enemy was concealed. The Regent assented, but was unfortunately prevented by the crowd, which rendered it impossible to alter his course. It is singular, that though he knew the house in which the assassin was lurking, he issued no order for his apprehension. After entering the street he remembered the warning of his danger; he turned with the intention of proceeding on his journey by a road on the south side of the town, but the concourse of spectators now precluded his retreat, and he continued onwards, resolving to ride hastily past the tenement and elude Hamilton's design. The cavalcade advanced through the street, which was rendered difficult of transit, in addition to the crowd, by a number of carts purposely overturned. The Regent was even compelled by the pressure to halt opposite the very house in which Hamilton was waiting for him. The assassin immediately fired, and so skilful was his aim, that the bullet wounded the Regent below the navel, and, passing through his body, killed the horse of George Douglas of Parkhead, his illegitimate brother, who was riding on his left. A cry of horror was raised by the crowd when the Regent was seen to reel in his saddle, and the house was immediately assailed.¹ Moray told his attendants that he was wounded, and, recovering from his surprise, he dismounted, and was able to walk to the Palace. The wound was not considered mortal until the evening, when the Regent prepared for death. He arranged his worldly

¹ The tenement from which the Regent was assassinated long continued an object of interest in Linlithgow. It is replaced by an ordinary dwelling-house, the very reverse of the antique-pointed lodging connected with the murder. The carbine used by Hamilton

is preserved in Hamilton Palace. It is a brass piece of ordinary length, apparently rifled or indented in the barrel, and had a match-lock, for which a modern firelock has been injudiciously substituted.



OLD EDINBURGH, (ASSASSINATION OF REGENT MURRAY)

From an Original Drawing by Geo. W. Allan, Esq.

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

affairs, earnestly recommended the young King to the care of the noblemen present, engaged in religious devotions, and expired at midnight in the thirty-eighth year of his age. It was mentioned to him before his death that he had ruined himself by having spared the life of the assassin, to which he replied with magnanimity—"Your importunities and reflections do not make me repent my clemency."¹ The body was removed to Stirling, thence conveyed by water to Edinburgh, and interred in the Church of St. Giles in that city.

After mortally wounding the Regent, the assassin instantly mounted his horse and fled across the country. He was pursued, and was nearly seized, his horse sinking in a ditch, from which he relieved himself by plunging his dagger into the hind part of the exhausted animal. He rode to the town of Hamilton, and was received with acclamation by his kinsmen. After a brief concealment he escaped to France, where he obtained the patronage of the family of Guise, and never returned to Scotland. He is said to have expressed the utmost contrition for the crime, and died in great mental agony about 1594.²

The English under Sir William Drury pretended to avenge the murder of the Regent Moray. They ravaged all the possessions of the Hamiltons, and marched to Linlithgow, threatening to burn the town for certain "unpardonable offences committed therein." The burgesses were ordered to remove their goods, and all infirm persons, before a specified hour, and Drury announced that the only houses spared would be those of the nobility and official persons. The intercession of the Earl of Morton, and the wailings of the inhabitants, induced the English commander to relent, if he ever was serious in his intention, and he contented himself with dilapidating the Duke of Chatelherault's residence, and carrying the magistrates to Berwick as hostages.³

The burgh seems to have been quiet till the 1st of December, 1585, when a Parliament was held in the Palace, which some affect to consider illegal, though James VI. was present, and the parties who assembled were three titular prelates, eight titular abbots or commendators, the Duke of Lennox, four Earls, nine Barons, and nineteen commissioners from the burghs.⁴ In this "doubtful" Parliament seventy-four Acts were ratified, some of which were most important. On the 31st of October, 1593, a Convention of the Estates met in the Palace.⁵ James VI. and the Privy Council retired to Linlithgow on the 17th of December, 1596, from Edinburgh, where they had been assailed by a riotous mob, and the capital was declared to be a dangerous residence for the sovereign and the administration of justice. Queen Elizabeth interposed, and the King soon returned to Edinburgh on certain conditions, one of which was the payment of a fine, variously stated at 20,000 and 30,000 merks.

On the 10th of December, 1606, a General Assembly of the then Church was convened at Linlithgow.⁶ The proceedings of this meeting excited much polemical controversy, and are narrated with indignation by the Presbyterian writers. James VI. was successful in obtaining a majority to sanction his measures, and the Assembly was adjourned. On the 26th of July, 1608, another General Assembly met at Linlithgow, the members of which were sufficiently pliable to the royal will. In 1617 the King visited Linlithgow on his route to England, and the parish schoolmaster, whose name was Wiseman, chose to exhibit himself in the disguise of a lion, addressing the monarch in miserable rhyme, ironically designating himself "Lithgow's wise schoolmaster."⁷

On the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II., in 1662, the famous Solemn League and Covenant

¹ Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh had been prosecuted in 1558 for "abiding" from the Raid of Lauder, and had been in arms for Queen Mary at the battle of Langside, where he was taken prisoner, forfeited, condemned, and spared from execution by the Regent Moray. He escaped from prison, and as the act of forfeiture was still in operation against him, he was compelled to lurk among his friends, when the alleged cruel treatment of his lady at Woodhouselee, already narrated, made him determined to be revenged.

² The assassination of the Regent Moray, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, is the theme of Sir Walter Scott's fine ballad entitled "Cadyow Castle," inscribed to Lady Anne Hamilton, in which the Duke of Chatelherault is supposed to preside at a hunting entertainment in the forest of Evandale in Clydesdale. The stanzas contain many poetical licenses. The assassin neither saw the Regent "roll in the dust," nor heard him "groan his felon soul," for he fled instantly after he fired the carbine, and he could not have been certain that the Regent, who was able to walk to Linlithgow Palace, was mortally

wounded. Moreover, the name of Hamilton's lady was Isabella, not Margaret, as stated in the ballad, and his own name was James, not David, who was his brother, and was also at the battle of Langside, for which he was forfeited. Three other brothers and one sister are mentioned.—Anderson's *Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*, 4to. pp. 240, 241.

³ The English under Drury at this visitation are accused of burning the Duke of Chatelherault's mansion of Kinneill, near Borrowstonness, the houses of Pardovan, Binnie, and Kincaivil, and the chapel of Livingstone.—Penny's *Historical Account of Linlithgowshire*, 12mo. 1821, pp. 72, 73.

⁴ *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. iii. pp. 373, 374.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. Appendix, p. 43.

⁶ *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Part III. p. 1022.

⁷ *Progresses, Processions, and Festivities of James L.*, by John Nichols, 4to. 1828, vol. iii. p. 326.

was publicly burnt in the town with the most expressive marks of contempt and indignation. The chief actors in this display of loyalty were James Ramsay, minister of the town, and Robert Mylne, then Dean of Guild. The minister, who was afterwards Dean of Glasgow, and successively Bishop of Dunblane and of Ross, had previously acknowledged the Covenant, and rigorously urged it on his parishioners. According to the "*Caledonius Mercurius*," the second newspaper published in Scotland, on the 1st of January, 1661, the swans, which had disappeared from the lake for ten years, and had "scorned to live under usurpers," returned on that day, and "by their extraordinary motions and conceity interweavings of swimming, the country people fancied them revelling at a dance for joy of our glorious Restauration."

The Palace of Linlithgow is a large massive quadrangle in ruins, overlooking the lake on the north side of the town. The date of the rebuilding, after the conflagration in 1424, is uncertain. James V. erected that part of the stately quadrangle known as the Parliament House, and probably the Chapel. James VI. has been unjustly accused of ordering the north side of the square to be "pulled down, and rebuilt after his taste," which taste is said to be "more like that of a burgher than a king, for by lowering the ceilings, and lessening the dimensions of the rooms, he obtained a greater number of them, and an additional storey to the building."¹ This charge is altogether unfounded. On the 6th of September, 1609, the north quarter of the Palace fell, and though some of the walls remained, it was feared that they also would soon follow, and break the Fountain in the centre of the inner court. Two years previously this portion of the Palace was ascertained to be in a dilapidated condition, and yet the officers of the Crown neglected the proper repairs. This is proved by the letter of the first Earl of Linlithgow to James VI. concerning the "falling in of Linlithgow Palace," dated the 6th September, 1607.² The portion rebuilt by James VI. was commenced after his visit to Scotland in 1617, and the King could have no object to increase the number of rooms in an edifice which he never afterwards saw, and his successors were not likely to inhabit. Part of the Palace was indeed repaired for Charles I. in 1633, but the King's arrangements prevented his visit to the old royal burgh. The edifice was entire till 1746, when it was the temporary quarters of General Hawley's dragoons, by whom it was burnt, and it has since become a mass of ruins. The dragoons were quartered in the drawing-room, and the conflagration occurred after the battle of Falkirk, at which they were routed by the Highland Adventurers. This was the portion rebuilt after 1617, and previous to the conflagration had been preserved in substantial repair. The dragoons are accused as willing incendiaries, and it is alleged that they perpetrated the act to revenge the last Jacobite demonstration ever held in the Palace, which was a few months previous, when the Fountain in the court was made to discharge wine in honour of Prince Charles. This Fountain was also demolished by Hawley's dragoons. The burning of the Palace seems to have excited little interest, if the meagre notices in the journals of the time are to be considered as representing public opinion.³

Various "Keepers" of Linlithgow Palace are mentioned from 1540, when William Danielston or Denniston was appointed by James V. with a salary of 50*l.*, "usual money," to be paid in equal portions at Whitsunday and Martinmas, to 1587, when Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, Lord Justice-Clerk, obtained two charters, one to be "Keeper" of the Palace, and the other of the peel, park, and lake, which remained with his family nearly forty years. The office seems to have been next acquired by the noble family of Livingstone. Alexander, seventh Lord Livingstone, was created Earl of Linlithgow in 1600, and he had apartments in the Palace. His son Alexander, second Earl, was appointed "Constable" or "Keeper" in 1627, with the same right to his heirs, and the office was held by his descendants until the attainder of James, fifth Earl of Linlithgow and fourth Earl Callendar, for his connexion with the *Enterprise* of 1715, when his estates, valued at the annual rental of 1296*l.*, were forfeited to the Crown.

Linlithgow Palace has been so often described that any minute details are unnecessary, and indeed the existing ruins must be seen to be properly understood. John Ray, the botanist, visited the burgh in 1661, and saw the "King's Palace built in the manner of a castle—a very good house, as houses go in

¹ Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiv. p. 50.

² *Analecta Scotica*, by James Maidment, Esq., Advocate. 8vo. 1831, vol. i. p. 400, and *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, 8vo. 1844, vol. i. pp. 369, 370.

³ The following are specimens of the mode in which the burning of Linlithgow Palace was announced:—"The ancient Palace of Linlithgow was accidentally burnt to the ground on the 1st of February

(1746). Soldiers were quartered in it, and it was feared they had not been careful of their fires."—*The Scots Magazine* for 1746, p. 48. "On Saturday (February 1, 1746), by some unlucky accident, the fine Palace of Linlithgow was burnt to the ground, and we hear the Magistrates have examined several witnesses to get knowledge of the true cause how that misfortune happened."—*Caledonian Mercury*, Feb. 3, 1746.

Scotland." Arthur Johnston, in his "*Carmen de Limnucho*," which he produces as the Latin for Linlithgow, published in Slezer's "*Theatrum Scotiæ*" in 1693, is most enthusiastic in favour of the old burgh, its lake, meadows, woods, and Palace. Slezer notices the pile as consisting of "four towers, between which the court, the chapel, and the rest of the buildings are extended," having previously stated that the edifice stands "on a little hill towards the middle of the lake, magnificently built of hewn stone," and adding that "in the inner court is a very fine artificial fountain, adorned with several statues and water-works." Another writer, in his notice of the town, says—"Its greatest ornament is the King's house, which stands upon a rising ground that runs almost into the middle of the lake, and looks like an amphitheatre, with something like terrace walks, and a descent from them; but upon the top, where the Castle stands, it is a plain. The court has apartments like towers upon the four corners, and in the midst of it is a stately fountain adorned with several curious statues, the water whereof rises to a good height."¹

The exterior of this large quadrangular edifice, the north side of which is five storeys in height, has a dismal and ungainly appearance, but the inner court is most imposing in its various points, and displays excellent architectural decorations. The principal entrance from the east, which is finely sculptured, was closed by James V., who opened the present access into the inner court from the south, and erected the fortified gateway of the outer court, on which may be traced the royal arms of Scotland, with the collars of the Orders of St. Michael, the Thistle, and the Garter.² In one of the sculptured niches was a statue of Pope Julius II., who presented James V. with the Sword of State. This statue, which was supported by two ecclesiastics, was destroyed by an ignorant zealot, who had been inflamed by a violent denunciation of the Roman Catholic religion in the adjacent parish church.³ Many of the sculptured ornaments are defaced, the Fountain is a heap of rubbish, its statues have disappeared, and the whole pile is a mass of gloomy desolation. The buildings are appropriately said to abound with "places of concealment and out-of-the-way corners."⁴ One apartment is traditionally said to have been the refuge of James III. from his insurgent nobility—a circumstance very improbable. In the corner of the quadrangle, overlooking the lake, is a ruinous turnpike stair, at the top of which is an inaccessible turret, the highest elevation of all the others, and known as "Queen Margaret's Bower," described as sealed with stone. It is said that Queen Margaret, after James IV. marched and fell at Flodden in 1513, often retired to this turret to weep at a disaster which she had in vain attempted to prevent. The apartment of Queen Mary's birth, in which she was seen when an infant by Sir Ralph Sadler, is fifty-one feet in length, twenty-one feet in breadth, and sixteen feet in height. The roof and the windows have long disappeared. The dimensions indicate that it could not be comfortable in the winter season, yet it was probably considered the best room in the Palace. On each side of this apartment is an audience-room or hall, which would now be designated ante-chambers, and the elegant carvings are now obliterated. The dining-room is long and narrow, as is the Chapel, but the Parliament Hall, nearly ninety feet in length, thirty feet wide, and thirty-five feet in height, must have been a grand apartment. The Chapel and Hall were erected by James V. The dimensions of Linlithgow Palace are 175 feet from north to south, and 165 feet from east to west, the whole covering nearly an acre. On the east side were the gardens, and when the adjacent park was covered with wood, the encomium of Sir Walter Scott in "*Marmion*," in connexion with the lake and the delightful scenery, can be readily appreciated.

Immediately adjoining is the parish church, dedicated to St. Michael, the date of the original erection of which is referred to the reign of David I. The length is 187 feet, and the breadth, including the aisles, is 105 feet. On the centre of the west end of this fine old Gothic edifice rises a square tower, which was formerly surmounted by open arches groined to resemble an imperial crown, and now removed from a fear that the weight might injure the fabric. Several of the windows of the church are beautiful, and the structure is in excellent preservation. The exterior was decorated with statues, which were demolished at the Reformation, with the exception of that of St. Michael, which still remains, and evidently escaped by its elevated position. The elegant roof of the chancel was the work of George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld

¹ Chamberlayne's *Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia*, London, 1728, p. 313. Adam de Cardonnel took two delineations of the Palace in 1789, to illustrate his "*Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*," London, 1793; and Francis Grose inserted a view of the edifice, sketched in 1790, in his "*Antiquities of Scotland*," folio, London, 1791.

² Only two Kings of Scotland were Knights of the Garter before 1603, viz. James V. and his grandson James VI.

³ The perpetrator of this atrocity was a blacksmith in the town, and it occurred during the eighteenth century.—Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiv. p. 566.

⁴ *New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire*, p. 177.

from 1484 to his death in January 1514-15. The connexion of this Prelate with Linlithgow is not stated, as he was the son of George Brown, Town-Treasurer of Dunkeld, and the church had been granted by David I. in "free and perpetual alms" to the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews. It is alleged, however, that he was for a time vicar of the parish, and another tradition is that the expense of the roof was imposed on him as a penance.¹ The arms of the See of Dunkeld, and the initials of the Bishop's name, are prominently displayed.

The church of St. Michael at Linlithgow had its fair proportion of endowed altars and chaplaincies, of which no fewer than twenty-one are enumerated, though others now forgotten might have been founded.² The ecclesiastics were unconnected with the "capellarius parochialis," or incumbent of the parish, who had his share of the emoluments; and even the beadle, one of whose duties it was to ring the bell through the town, was not neglected. The endowments, however, were small, and some of the altars were apparently within the limits of the parish, and not in the church.

It is said that James V. ordered a throne and twelve stalls to be erected within the church for himself and the Knights of the Thistle, and that this intention was prevented by his death after the Solway Moss affair. The same story, which has no foundation, is related of Holyrood at Edinburgh. The chief event in the annals of St. Michael's church is the "apparition" which appeared to James IV. shortly before the march to Flodden. On the south side of the edifice is an addition known as St. Catharine's Aisle, said to have been in subsequent times the burial-place of the Earls of Linlithgow.³ James IV. was at vespers in the church, and had retired to this aisle accompanied by his nobility, when a man suddenly presenting himself in an unusual attire, warned the King against the expedition to England. Sir David Lindsay, then a young man, was standing near the King, and narrated the scene which he witnessed to Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, who has recorded it in his quaint and unaffected phraseology.⁴ James IV., in opposition to the advice of his Privy Council, had summoned in August 1513 the whole of his efficient military force to meet on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh within twenty days, for the expedition into England. While the muster was in progress, the King proceeded to Linlithgow Palace, which was the residence at the time of his Queen. He is described as having been in a state of great mental excitement, and he entered the church on this particular occasion to perform his devotions for "good chance and fortune" against Queen Margaret's native country. Having entered St. Catherine's Aisle, the "apparition" pushed through the attendants, loudly demanding to address the King. He was in external aspect about fifty years old, his forehead bald, the side hair yellowish red, and he was arrayed in a blue gown with a belt of linen, and "brotikins," or half-boots, on his feet, which reached near the knee, his hose and other clothes in conformity to his dress, and carrying a large pike-staff. The King was seated at a desk, and was accosted by the "apparition" with no salutation or obeisance. It must be confessed that the language was not dignified, and was rather mystical in its allusions. "Sir King," said the mysterious visitor, stooping to the monarch, "my mother hath sent me to thee, desiring thee not to pass at this time where thou art purposed, for if thou dost, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Farther, she bade thee mell with no women, nor use their counsel, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs, for if thou do so, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame." After this significant warning in reference to the royal amours, the "apparition" disappeared, says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "before the King's eyes, and in presence of all the Lords who were about him for the time," and "could noways be seen or comprehended, but vanished away as if he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen." Sir David Lindsay, and John Inglis the King's Marshal, attempted in vain to secure the intruder. The reality of this event cannot be doubted, but the announcement of the "apparition," that he had been sent by his "mother," is obscure, if the extraordinary address is correctly narrated.

¹ Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiv. p. 568.—It is therein asserted, as a probable cause for the erection of the chancel roof by Bishop Brown, that he often resided in Linlithgow "from his connexion with the Court as Keeper of the Privy Seal;" but the Court was not always present at Linlithgow, and Bishop Brown's name is not in the list of Lord Keepers in Beatson's Political Index (vol. iii. p. 91), in which (p. 91) he is designated Chancellor of the See of Aberdeen. George Crichton, one of his successors, was Lord Keeper in 1526, and it is not apparent that Bishop Brown held any secular appointment, though he might have been some time Deputy-Keeper.

² *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica, or a Memoir towards the Forma-*

tion of a Scottish Monasticon, by a Delver in Antiquity, the production of W. B. Turnbull, Esq., Advocate, 8vo. Edin. 1842, pp. 45-86, in "*Redditus Altarium olim situat infra Parochiam de Linlythgow.*"

³ This statement must be a mistake, if that of Sir Robert Sibbald is correct, which ascribes the erection of another additional chapel, and the porch or gateway adjoining the Palace, to James V. A small aisle on the same side is alleged by Sir Robert Sibbald to have been built by the first Earl of Linlithgow "for a burial-place, where he and the Earls descended from him were buried."

⁴ History of Scotland from February 1436 to March 1565, folio, 1728, p. 111.