



FAST CASTLE, FROM THE SEA.

*From an Original Drawing by H. Bright.*

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

## CHAPTER III.

# THE BORDER COUNTIES.

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### FASTCASTLE.



THE coast of Berwickshire, which includes the districts of the Merse, Lauderdale, and Lammermuir, displays bold, rugged, and perpendicular precipices of considerable height, and is almost inaccessible, except at Eyemouth and Coldingham Bay, and a few other places, where a sandy level beach occurs among rocks, forming creeks available to fishing-boats, and formerly the haunts of smugglers. Every mariner of the German Ocean knows the conspicuous promontory of St. Abb's Head, a huge isolated mass of trap rock, rising precipitously to nearly three hundred feet above the tide, and traditionally deriving its name from Ebba, the daughter of Ethelfred, the Saxon King of Northumberland in the ninth century, who was shipwrecked on the coast, and erected a chapel on this headland in gratitude for her preservation. Three miles north-west is Fastcastle, on the verge of a stupendous peninsulated rock overlooking the ocean—a memorial of feudal ages, inaccessible on all sides, except by a narrow path only a few feet wide, and on each side defended by precipices. This part of the coast forms the parochial district of Coldingham, which abounds with interesting memorials of antiquity.<sup>1</sup>

Fastcastle is approached by the narrow path or neck of land already mentioned, which is cut down almost to the level of the sea. Over this deep excavation was thrown a drawbridge, rendering the peninsular rock on which the ruins are perched apparently impregnable. The date of the erection is not mentioned, and it is simply stated that Fastcastle was a fortress belonging to the family of Home. Sir Alexander Home of that Ilk, father of the first Lord Home, obtained a charter of the bailiary of Coldingham, in which it is situated, in 1442. The stronghold had been long previously erected, and in 1410 was garrisoned by an English party under an officer named Thomas Holden, who had for a considerable time infested the interior by their depredations, which induced Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beil, a son of George, tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, to attempt their expulsion with one hundred followers. He was successful, and captured the governor. In 1503 the Princess Margaret of England first halted at Fastcastle in her progress from the English Border to Edinburgh, to become the consort of James IV. The English, after the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, took Fastcastle, and left a garrison, who were expelled by stratagem in 1548.<sup>2</sup> The then captain or governor had ordered the peasantry to supply him with provisions on a certain day. They were punctual at the time appointed, and removing the stores from their horses, proceeded with them on their shoulders.

<sup>1</sup> These antiquities are detailed in the "History of Coldingham Priory, by Alexander Allan Carr," 8vo. Berwick, 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots, by Lord Herries, 4to. printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, pp. 21, 24.



They were allowed to pass the drawbridge, when they laid down the provisions, and suddenly attacked the keepers, whom they killed. Hastily approaching the stronghold, they obtained possession before the garrison could be assembled, and were soon reinforced by others from without, who were familiar with the design. In 1567, Sir Nicolas Throgmorton described Fastcastle as "fitter to lodge prisoners than folks at liberty."

Fastcastle was considered so strong in 1570, by its situation, that Sir William Drury sent 2000 men to invest the Fortress, which was then garrisoned by only ten persons. This movement was to punish Alexander, fifth Lord Home, who had joined the supporters of Queen Mary in 1569, and whose residence at Home Castle had been secured before they advanced to Fastcastle, the "next principal place" belonging to him. Lord Home was not, however, the proprietor. Sir Patrick Home or Hume, of Fastcastle, married Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Niel Montgomery of Lainshaw, third son of Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton. Two daughters, named Elizabeth and Alison, were the issue, and the former married Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig before 1536. In a justiciary trial, which occurred that year, the sisters are designated the heiresses of Fastcastle, and as their husbands appeared for their own interest, it is evident that their father was not alive.<sup>1</sup>

The marriage of Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig to Elizabeth Home of Fastcastle explains the manner in which the stronghold was the property of Robert Logan of Restalrig, who was intimately connected with the celebrated Govrie Conspiracy. That unprincipled person was the representative of an ancient family who had long been superiors of the town of Leith, and who possessed valuable estates in the immediate vicinity, the greatest part of which he had squandered by his dissolute habits. He was still proprietor of Fastcastle, which was of the utmost importance to him, as it was then one of the most impregnable places in the kingdom, and capable of defence successfully by a very few desperate men, who could only be compelled to surrender by famine. Logan resided occasionally in a more convenient tenement in the vicinity, reserving Fastcastle for his desperate emergencies. The turbulent Francis, Earl of Bothwell, was always certain of a safe retreat in the stronghold, when keenly pursued by the King's troops or the officers of justice, and was much encouraged by Logan in all his dangerous enterprises. About 1594, while he was sheltering Bothwell in defiance of James VI. and the Privy Council, his pecuniary circumstances were in such a condition that he often ordered some villains in his service to assault and rob, and, if necessary, to murder any one whom they met in possession of money or goods. Those hirelings of an infamous master lurked in the vicinity of Fastcastle, and attacked all from whom they expected to obtain plunder, carrying their nefarious gains to Logan, while he contrived not to appear as connected with them. On the 13th of July, 1594, Logan was denounced a rebel, and outlawed for not appearing before the King and Privy Council to answer a charge at the instance of Robert Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, who, in a journey to Berwick on the 2d of April, was robbed by two of his servants of 950*l.*, and "maist cruellie and barbarouslie invadit and pursewit of his lyfe, hurt and woundit in the heid," and otherwise savagely maltreated.<sup>2</sup>

Francis, Earl of Bothwell, was addicted to necromancy, which was the common belief of the times; and it is previously stated, that while James VI. was returning with his Queen from Denmark he trafficked with witches to raise a storm and drown the King. Bothwell was encouraged in his propensities to magic by Logan, who pretended or believed that a considerable treasure was concealed in the "dom-daniel," or principal tower of Fastcastle, every attempt to discover which by mattock and spade had been unsuccessful, and the buried treasure could only be obtained by the exercise of the "Black Art." The Earl, to whom the imputation of sorcery was alleged wherever he went, of course failed to discover the hidden gold and silver, and Logan resolved to apply to higher authority to conduct the search. This was the celebrated John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of Logarithms, who was thoroughly imbued with astrology, alchymy, and the most enthusiastic notions on the occult recesses and properties of the precious metals. Only a month after his outlawry in 1594, for the robbery committed by his two servants, for whose conduct he was responsible, Logan entered into a contract with Napier, the original of which is still preserved in the hand-writing of the

<sup>1</sup> On the 16th of October, 1536, three persons were criminally prosecuted for "oppression done" to Elizabeth and Alison Hume, heiresses of Fastcastle, and to their husbands Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig and Sir Walter Ogilvie of Dunlugus, by wantonly filling up a mill-dam in the adjoining parish of Hutton, and committing other

aggressions.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 179. In this curious Work numerous instances are produced of the lawless state of the Border Counties.

<sup>2</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. pp. 335, 336.





DRYBURGH ABBEY

*From an Original Drawing by J. Dobson*

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latter, with the exception of Logan's signature, setting forth that as divers old reports existed that a "soun of monie and poiss," or "pose," was concealed within the "Place" of Fastcastle, which had hitherto escaped the most diligent search, Napier was to "do his utter and exact diligence to search and seek out, and by all craft and knowledge either find the same, or make it sure that no such thing has been there." Napier's reward was to be the third part of the recovered treasure, which was to be paid by "just weight and balance," and if no "pose" was found, his remuneration for his trouble was left solely to the generosity of Logan. Aware, however, of the character of his employer, the philosopher carefully stipulated in the contract for a safe-conduct when he returned with his "third" of the treasure to Merchiston, lest he should be robbed by Logan's own domestics, or injured in person by their violence.<sup>1</sup>

It is needless to observe that no treasure was discovered, and Napier obtained no payment for the exercise of his "art." It is not certain that he proceeded to the wild and dreary stronghold of Fastcastle, to associate for a time with the wild Earl of Bothwell and the dissolute Logan of Restalrig, and it is supposed that the conditions were not fulfilled. The philosopher probably suspected that he would be plundered or cheated by the outlawed Logan, whose acquaintance he abjured, and in a lease which he granted of certain lands in 1596 he expressly stipulated that no person of the name of Logan should be allowed to be a tenant.

Logan next engaged with the Earl of Gowrie in the conspiracy in 1600 to seize James VI., and seclude him from assistance and intercourse in the dungeons of Fastcastle. The first scene in that celebrated plot refers to Logan's craving for money, either by supernatural or sinister methods. The entire organisation of the Gowrie Conspiracy can be traced to Logan under his own hand; and in a letter to the Earl of Gowrie, dated in July 1600, he alludes to the plans he had projected to convey the Earl and all his associates by sea to Fastcastle, and specially requests Gowrie to visit before harvest his stronghold, in which he had protected Bothwell in his greatest extremities in defiance of the King and Council. It was proposed to force James VI. into a boat in readiness at the bottom of the garden of Gowrie House at Perth, and thence conduct him by sea to Fastcastle, in which he was to await the disposal of Queen Elizabeth or of the conspirators. Logan's connexion with this daring plot was not known till nine years after his death, when the correspondence between him and the Earl of Gowrie was discovered in the possession of George Sprott, a notary at Eyemouth, who had stolen the documents from Logan's confidential servant, John Bour, who figures as "Laird Bour," to whom the letters had been entrusted. Sprott was tried and executed. Logan was condemned for high treason, and his bones were brought into the Justiciary Court for that purpose.

The ruins of Fastcastle consist of a tower surrounded by flanking walls, which render the pile a prominent object either from sea or land, and contain no architectural decorations. These ruins are often visited by strangers, both on their "own account, and for the splendid view from the hill immediately above, which presents the boundless extent of the German Ocean, the fertile shores of Fife and the Lothians, the distant hills of Stirling and Perth shires, the numerous vessels passing and repassing, the rugged shores and towering rock of St. Abb's Head—all forming a scene so vast and diversified—so near and so remote—that the imagination can add nothing to its splendour."<sup>2</sup>

## DRYBURGH ABBEY.

In the parish of Mertoun, which is the south-west part of the county of Berwick, and nearly four miles from Melrose, are the venerable ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, on the north side of the Tweed, in a verdant sequestered plain, almost encircled by one of the finest windings of the river. The ruins are so densely obscured by trees and shrubs, and the foliage of wood and plantations, that it is difficult to ascertain the original dimensions or extent of the Abbey. It is stated by a competent authority, in reference to the fragments of Dryburgh—"Everywhere you behold the usurpation of nature over art. In one roofless apartment a fine spruce and holly are flourishing in the rubbish; in others the walls are completely covered with ivy; even on

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. 4to. pp. 220, 221.

<sup>2</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Berwickshire, p. 235.

the top of some of the arches trees have sprung up to a considerable growth, and these, clustering with the aspiring pinnacles, add character to the Gothic pile. These aged trees on the summits of the walls are the surest records of the antiquity of its destruction."<sup>1</sup> Thus situated amid river, rock, and mountain scenery, and the lawn in front environed by fruit and forest trees, the aspect of the ruins is impressive, the reddish walls mingling with the foliage, and not impaired, like the Abbeys of Kelso and Jedburgh, by the vicinity of common dwellings.

Dryburgh, as the name is assumed to imply, signifying the "sacred grove of oaks," or the "settlement of the Druids," is the alleged scene of Pagan rites, and some vestiges have been discovered on an adjacent mound known as the Bass Hill, on which David eleventh Earl of Buchan placed an outrageous colossal statue of Sir William Wallace. The locality, peculiarly inviting to religious seclusion, was in the sixth century the domicile of a community of Christian missionaries, and one of them, named Modan, revered after his death as a saint, was elected their superior, A.D. 522. This early settlement, the origin of which is obscure, is supposed to have been destroyed by Saxon invaders, who landed in Yorkshire about A.P. 547. The erection of Dryburgh Abbey, of which the present ruins are the remains, though fragments of an earlier style of architecture are evident, was commenced in 1150 on the site of the first locality. David I. is the reputed founder, but Hugh de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale, and his wife Beatrix Beauchamp, were the real benefactors. It is probable that David I. in his charter, in which he asserts that he was the founder, merely so designates himself as sanctioning the pious donation.<sup>2</sup> Of this Hugh de Morville, the ancestor of an extinct family, whose uncle was one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, it is stated that he came from Burg in Cumberland, and that he secured the favour of David I., who encouraged persons of rank and enterprise to settle in Scotland, and appointed him Lord High Constable—an office which descended hereditarily through a succession of male and female heirs.<sup>3</sup> He died in 1162, and was succeeded in his office and extensive territorial property by his son Richard de Morville, who married Avicia de Lancaster, a zealous patroness of the monks of Melrose. Their son William died, apparently without issue, in 1169, and their daughter Helena married Roland, Lord of Galloway, transferring the wealth and feudatories of her ancestors to that family.<sup>4</sup>

The monks of Dryburgh were of the Premonstratensian Order, commonly designated White Canons from their dress. They were a colony from the Abbey of Alnwick, and were invited into Scotland by David I. Dryburgh Abbey, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded on St. Martin's Day, or the 10th of November, 1150, and at the same time the cemetery was consecrated, to prevent the "intrusion or haunting of demons." The Abbey was first occupied by the monks on the 13th of December, 1152, when a portion of the buildings was completed. A succession of twenty-four Abbots, from Roger, elected on the 13th of December, 1152, to David Finlayson in 1509, is recorded.<sup>5</sup> It appears, however, that Andrew Liddesdale was the last actual Abbot, and that Finlayson, who was canon-regular of Dryburgh and rector of Gulane, was merely titular. After his decease or resignation his successors were designated Commendators. The first was Andrew Forman, a noted pluralist in his day, successively Bishop of Moray and Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was appointed about 1512, and retained the office till 1515. The next was James Ogilvie, canon of Aberdeen, who obtained the Commendatorship as a recompense for the loss of that See, to which he was nominated by the Regent Arran.<sup>6</sup> The third was David Hamilton, Bishop of Argyll, an illegitimate brother of the Regent Arran. He was Commendator on the 4th of December, 1522, and either died or resigned in less than a year from that date.

In the midst of the destructive warfare perpetrated by the Earl of Surrey on the Borders, the benefice of Dryburgh was granted to the Earl of Lennox, who appointed James Stewart, canon of Glasgow, to be Commendator under him. Stewart was soon involved in a quarrel with the Haliburtons, neighbours and tenants of the Abbey, which was terminated for a time by the marriage of his daughter to Walter, eldest son

<sup>1</sup> Description of the Ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, in Morton's "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale," 4to. p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> David I. records of himself in the charter, "*Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Dryburghe quam fundavi.*" Lord Hailes assumes that he merely laid the foundation stone, as his father Malcolm III. did of Durham Cathedral.—Annals of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 97. The charter is confirmed by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Andrew, Bishop of Caithness.—"*Carta Foundationis Davidis I. Regis,*" from Sir James Balfour's volume of Transcripts preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at

Edinburgh, and inserted in "*Liber S. Mariæ de Dryburgh,*" 4to. 1847, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. lxi.

<sup>3</sup> Beatson's Political Index, vol. iii. p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 503, 504.

<sup>5</sup> Liber S. Mariæ de Dryburgh, Preface, p. x-xx.; Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 295-298.

<sup>6</sup> Ogilvie, who was a son of Ogilvie of Boyne, and Rector of Kinkell, is designated "my Lord Dryburgh" on the 12th of September, 1515, and "Commendator" on the 2d of August, 1517. He died at Paris on the 30th of May, 1518.



of David Haliburton of Mertoun, in 1536.<sup>1</sup> On the 27th of June, 1537, the Commendator Stewart signed a declaration in favour of Walter Haliburton and his spouse in reference to the lands of Nether Shielfield, and on the 3d of September, 1538, his father obtained a charter of certain lands, which was subscribed by "Abbot James, the Sub-Prior, and fifteen Canons of the Abbey."<sup>2</sup> The offspring of the above marriage was an only daughter named Elizabeth, and as she was her father's heiress, the Haliburtons resolved to secure the property by marrying her to one of her cousins, which was prevented by the Commendator, who united her to Alexander Erskine, his own relation, a brother of Erskine of Balgony, from which alliance descended the Erskines of Shielfield, of whom, it is curious to know, were Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, the celebrated founders of the first Secession from the Presbyterian Establishment in 1733. The Commendator's superintendence of the matrimonial affairs of his family revived the feud with the Haliburtons, which only terminated with the dissolution of the Abbey.

Thomas Erskine was the fifth Commendator in 1541, and the benefice was possessed by his relatives almost without interruption until the absolute grant of it in 1604, as part of the temporal lordship of Cardross, to John, seventh Earl of Mar, of the family of Erskine, and first Lord Cardross. This Commendator Erskine received a foraying visit from the English in November 1544, when they pillaged and burnt the Abbey, with the exception of the church. They admit that they "found great substance of corn, and got very much spoilage and insight geir, and brought away one hundred nolt, sixty nags, and one hundred sheep."<sup>3</sup> The valiant Commendator retaliated in 1545 by an inroad across the English Border, burning the village of Horncliffe in Northumberland, and committing similar ravages in other localities, from which he was expelled by the garrisons of Berwick and Norham, assisted by the inhabitants. The Abbey never recovered this assault, and the residences of the Canons were only partially rebuilt.

John was Commendator in 1554, but whether his surname was Stewart or Erskine is uncertain. The Earl of Buchan, describing Dryburgh in a letter dated 1791, says—"Of this Abbey my noble and truly excellent ancestor John Erskine,<sup>4</sup> afterwards Regent of Scotland, was Commendator during the lifetime of his elder brothers Robert and Thomas."<sup>5</sup> In opposition to the Earl of Buchan's statement it is asserted that the name of the Commendator was Stewart—that he was the cousin of the unfortunate Lord Darnley—and that "his armorial bearings are on the walls of the Abbey above the private entrance into the cloisters of the monks who had overstayed their time."<sup>6</sup> As none of the charters granted by the Commendator John contain his family name, and as he is also erroneously designated the uncle of Lord Darnley,<sup>7</sup> and brother of his father Matthew Earl of Lennox, the presumption is that he was of the Erskine family, and that the Earl of Buchan's statement is correct. David Erskine, Commendator of Inchmahome, illegitimate son of Robert, Master of Erskine, was Commendator of Dryburgh in September 1559, when he granted a charter in favour of Alexander Erskine and Elizabeth Haliburton his spouse, with consent of the Convent.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Instrument of Declaration by James Stewart, Abbot of Dryburgh, in favour of Walter Haliburton and Agnes Stewart his spouse, relative to the lands of Nether Shielfield, dated 27th June, 1537."—*Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, p. 279. In the "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale" (p. 301) this lady is erroneously designated Elizabeth. The Haliburtons had been long connected with Dryburgh Abbey. A document is in possession of Lord Polwarth in Mertoun House, which is a "tack" or lease by Walter, Abbot of Dryburgh, to a "worshipful squear, William Haliburton of Mertoun, and Jonet his spouse, of the plew-lands of Butcheroits," dated at Dryburgh, 16th November, 1465.—*Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, p. 278. In 1535, when the claims of the Haliburtons were for a time adjusted by the arbitration of James V., who decided that they should possess the disputed lands, they were enjoined to be "good servants to the Abbot, likeas they and their predecessors were to him and his predecessors, and he a good master to them."

<sup>2</sup> Their names are Andrew Conelson, Sub-Prior, Andrew Purves, George Haliburton, Patrick Purves, John Rutherford, Andrew Crossnop, John Turnbull, John Chatto, John Balcaske, George Paterson, William Wilson, Stephen Ballantyne, Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, John Simson, Robert Mill, James Jameson. In 1546 George Haliburton was the Sub-Prior, and in 1554 and 1562 Robert Anderson. In 1581 only three of the above-mentioned Canons were alive—Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, Robert Mill, and James Jameson.—*Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, pp. 286, 289, 291, 302, 316.

<sup>3</sup> Cotton MSS. quoted in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 301. The leaders of this "raid" were Sir George Bowes, Sir Brian Layton, Harry Ewry, John Carr, Captain of Wark, Thomas Beaumont, George Sowly, and Launcelot Carleton. Their "companies" consisted of seven hundred men, by whom they assailed the peaceful Commendator and the secluded Canons. Dryburgh is described as a "pretty town, and well builded." The "town" has disappeared.

<sup>4</sup> John fifth Lord Erskine, and sixth Earl of Mar of the surname of Erskine. This was Regent Mar, who succeeded the Earl of Lennox in that office, and was the third son of John fourth Lord. He died at Stirling on the 29th of October, 1572, broken-hearted by the factious and unprincipled conduct of his opponents. Robert, Master of Erskine, the eldest son, had an illegitimate son, who was Commendator of Dryburgh in 1580.

<sup>5</sup> Robert, the eldest brother, fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and Thomas, the next brother, died in 1551, from which it is assumed that the Regent Mar was acting as Commendator at those dates.

<sup>6</sup> *Annals and Antiquities of Dryburgh Abbey*, by Sir David Erskine of Dryburgh, 1828, p. 27. The armorial bearings, however, may be those of the Commendator Stewart, whose daughter married Walter Haliburton of Mertoun.

<sup>7</sup> Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 302.

<sup>8</sup> The Members of Dryburgh Abbey who subscribed this charter with the Commendator in 1559, were—Robert Anderson, Sub-Prior, Patrick Purves, John Rutherford, John Chatto, Andrew Corsnop,

At the Reformation, the Abbey, like other religious houses, was annexed to the Crown, with a life-rent reservation in favour of the Commendator David Erskine and other possessors of the residences and precincts. Erskine, who was an adherent of the Regent Moray, and an enemy of Queen Mary, is represented as "an exceeding modest, honest, shame-faced," or diffident man, and was one of the "friends of the House of Erskine" mentioned in the Act of Parliament in 1572, appointing the Earl of Mar to be the custodier of James VI. He was connected with the "Raid of Ruthven," for which he was found guilty of high treason, and his estates were confiscated, with those of his associates, on the 21st of August, 1584. The Commendator retired for safety to Berwick.<sup>1</sup> While he was in exile a person named William is mentioned as Commendator.<sup>2</sup> His tenure was brief, as in December, 1584, the sentence against the Earl of Mar and his friends was reversed, and they were restored to their honours, offices, and estates. David Erskine resumed his office of Commendator, and in 1600 granted a lease for nineteen years of the teinds of the "Mains" of Mertoun in favour of Ralph Erskine.<sup>3</sup> The document is signed by himself at Cardross, witnessed by four of his "servitours," and the reason for granting it without the usual "consent of the Convent" is, that "all the Convent are now deceased."<sup>4</sup> The Convent was extinct, and the Commendator was far advanced in life. The erection of the temporal lordship and barony of Cardross, which included Dryburgh Abbey, in favour of John seventh Earl of Mar, in 1604, reserved to the Commendator all the rents and emoluments, and he continued to grant leases of the teinds of the benefice. One of his last official acts was a "tack," signed individually as "David Commendator of Dryburgh," to Robert Home of Carolside for nineteen years, of teinds in Lauderdale, dated 30th May, 1608, about fifty years after the first lease signed by him, and it is "with consent of the Convent"—a declaration refuting his deliberate statement in his lease dated 1600, that the said convent "were all deceased." The grant of this lease was followed by the demission of the Commendator, after possessing the benefice fifty years. On the next day it is stated that the Commendator had resigned in favour of his kinsman Henry Erskine, second son of John, seventh Earl of Mar, by his Countess Lady Mary Stuart, second daughter of Esme first Duke of Lennox. David Erskine, the last representative of the Premonstratensian Canons of Dryburgh, died on the 28th of May, 1611, and his widow, Margaret Haldane, designated Lady Dryburgh, on the 13th of January, 1618. It is presumed that a son, the apparent heir in 1560, predeceased his parents, which may explain the demission of the aged Commendator in favour of the son of the Earl of Mar. On the 31st of May, 1608, King James granted a "Deed of Provision" to Henry Erskine, constituting him for life "undoubted" Commendator of Dryburgh and Prior of Inchmahome, with a vote in Parliament. His brother Alexander at the same time obtained the Abbey of Cambuskenneth near Stirling, and this titular "Abbot" was also a colonel.

It is impossible, in this limited narrative, to detail minutely the ingenious contrivances by which the Erskines obtained possession of Dryburgh Abbey. Their legal proceedings, which had no reference to the public advantage, are instances of the most flagrant selfishness, and of the personal "favouritism" of the monarch. The King, on the 27th of March, 1604, had erected the Abbeys of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, and the Priory of Inchmahome, into the lordship and barony of Cardross, in favour of the Earl of Mar, the father of Henry Erskine, that the Earl "might the better provide for his younger sons whom he had by the Lady Mary Stuart, of whom the King took great care." The Earl resigned the title of Lord Cardross to his son Henry Erskine, who was styled "Fiar of Cardross," in a crown charter dated 29th March, 1628, and to his heirs male, reserving his own life-rent. This first Lord Cardross died in that year, and his son David succeeded as second Lord at the death of his grandfather the Earl in 1634. Henry, third Lord, sold the portion of the Barony of Cardross, known as the Abbacy of Dryburgh, to Sir Patrick Scott, younger, of Ancrum, in 1682, and this included the ruins of the Abbey. Sir Patrick Scott sold his purchase in 1700 to Thomas Haliburton of New Mains, Advocate, whose ancestor in 1572 erected the mansion now designated Dryburgh Abbey on a feu from the Convent in 1560, and which he repaired and altered in 1682. Robert Haliburton, the grand-uncle of Sir Walter Scott, who writes bitterly of him as a "weak silly man, who engaged in trade, for which

Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, John Simson, Robert Mill, James Jameson, William Wilson. Those unfortunate persons appear to have been completely under the control of the Haliburtons, yet their official signatures were necessary.

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, 8vo. 1842, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 381.

The annua. payment was to be 48*l.*, "guid and usual money of this realm."

<sup>4</sup> Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, p. 316. They were reduced to three in 1581, and were Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, Robert Mill, and James Jameson; and as they signed a lease granted by the Commendator James Stewart in 1537, they must have been very aged men at their decease.



he had neither stock nor talents, and became bankrupt," having no male heirs, sold the estate of Dryburgh in 1767 to Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Tod, of the East India Company's service, for 5500*l.*,—not merely 3000*l.*, as stated by Sir Walter Scott. The estate was sold by Colonel Tod's trustees to David, sixth Earl of Buchan of the family of Erskine, who thus acquired the property of his ancestors.<sup>1</sup> The Earl entailed the estate in 1810, and his illegitimate son David, created a knight of the Guelphic Order by William IV., succeeded at his death in 1829. This gentleman died without issue in 1837.<sup>2</sup> Henry David, nephew and successor of Earl David as seventh Earl of Buchan, then became proprietor.<sup>3</sup>

The possessions of the Canons of Dryburgh Abbey were extensive. In addition to the chapels, tithes, offerings, and other grants enumerated in the foundation charter of David I., the Canons possessed churches, pasturages for cattle and sheep, and estates in the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Haddington, Selkirk, Dumfries, Lanark, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Fife, the town and vicinity of Berwick-on-Tweed, and in other districts, the names of the localities in which cannot now be identified. David I. exempted them from tolls and customs, and granted a right to cut timber from the royal forests. In 1242 David, Bishop of St. Andrews, as a recompense for the hospitality of the Canons, the liabilities they had incurred in the erection of their monastery, and other expenses, allowed to them the revenues of the churches of which they were patrons in his diocese, on the condition that one of their community, approved by himself and his successors, performed in each parish the duties of vicar. In 1561 the revenues of Dryburgh Abbey were estimated at 912*l.* Scots in money, exclusive of payments of agricultural and other produce, but it is impossible to ascertain the real rental.<sup>4</sup> In the Taxation of the Tithes of Scottish benefices in aid of the Crusades about 1290, the rental is stated to be 2277*l.* The Chartulary contains records of the pecuniary resources of the Abbey, in the sixteenth and following centuries.<sup>5</sup>

The Canons of Dryburgh are not eulogised by the credulous Dempster for their literary attainments. This may have resulted from the rule of their order, which prohibited schools in its monasteries, though one appears to have been in the Abbey, and the lay members were merely required to recite the appointed services. Yet Dempster cannot resist introducing one of the Canons, named Patrick, as a particularly dis-

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Buchan made the so-called Dryburgh Abbey his usual residence in 1787, and his lordship is entitled to praise for renovating the ruins of the real Abbey and improving the vicinity. The Earl's description of the Abbey is in Grose's "Antiquities of Scotland" (vol. i. pp. 101-109), with two views, the one sketched in 1787, and the other in 1789; and he wrote an account of the Abbey, which is printed in the fourth volume of "The Bee" under the signature of "Albanicus."

<sup>2</sup> "Sir David was the natural son of the above eccentric Earl of Buchan, who, on his death in 1829, bequeathed to him for life the whole of his unentailed estates, the principal being Dryburgh, which became his permanent residence after the death of the Earl. The Earl of Buchan has succeeded to an income of 1800*l.* per annum, and the romantic domain of Dryburgh, by the demise of his cousin Sir David. The fruit-garden at Dryburgh is one of the most extensive in Scotland, and its produce has been sent to Edinburgh."—Gentleman's Magazine, 1837, vol. viii. p. 652; Annual Register, 1837, p. 213. Sir David Erskine was locally known as the author of some very extravagant and ranting attempts at Tragedies, founded on events in Scottish history. His father, the "eccentric" Earl, erected on a rising ground near the Tweed the circular temple ornamented with statues of the Muses, surmounted by a bust of Thomson, the Poet of "The Seasons," and farther up the bank, in 1814, a colossal red sandstone statue of Sir William Wallace, twenty feet high, sculptured at the expense of the same nobleman, and occupying such an elevated situation, that, in the opinion of Mr. Chambers—"Wallace, frowning towards England, is visible even from Berwick, a distance of more than thirty miles. On a pedestal is a poetical encomium on the 'peerless Knight of Elderslie.'" The Earl also erected a chain or wire suspension bridge over the Tweed in 1818, at a ford near the Abbey. After standing twenty years, a severe storm rendered this bridge a ruin.

<sup>3</sup> Dryburgh is partitioned into two estates, with separate mansions to each, situated near the Abbey. This resulted from two of the feus of the lands granted by the Abbot and Convent before the Reformation. The estate and the residence called Dryburgh Abbey, on the south side of the ruins, are the property, as stated above, of the Earl of

Buchan, and this portion includes the ruins and a great part of the church lands. "The other portion of the estate of Dryburgh, with the mansion also adjacent to and on the north side of the ruins of the Abbey, now belongs to Charles Riddell, Esq. The original house, which was called the Mantle House, was built by Alexander Erskine, the founder of the Shielfield family, in 1559, on ground feued from the Commendator. This house was occupied by the Erskines of Shielfield, as their family residence, they being also portioners in Dryburgh, for a period of two hundred and thirty-four years, till the year 1793, when they sold it, along with their lands at Dryburgh, to Mr. Riddell, who pulled it down, and replaced it with the present mansion."—Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, 4to. 1847, Preface, p. xxxi.

<sup>4</sup> "Money, 912*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; wheat, 2 chalders; bear, 21 chalders, 8 bolls; meal, 25 chalders, 12 bolls; oats, 4 chalders."—Harleian MS. quoted in "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale," p. 311. In 1567 an order was issued, enjoining the third of the revenues of all benefices to be paid for the maintenance of the Protestant ministers, and the third part of Dryburgh Abbey amounted to 304*l.*; wheat, 10½ bolls; bear, 8 chalders, 2½ bolls; meal, 7 chalders, 10½ bolls; oats, 1 chalders, 5½ bolls. In 1587 the King's third of the Abbey was 266*l.*—Ibid p. 311. The rental in that year, according to the Earl of Buchan's statement, was 1044*l.* money; and in barley, wheat, oats, and meal, 53 chalders, 5 bolls, 10 firlots, 10½ pecks. The revenue of the Abbey was much dilapidated after the Reformation, yet, considering the value of grain and money, and the lands cultivated by the tenants and servants of the Canons, which consisted of about four hundred acres of the best soil in the kingdom, the annual income would be equal to upwards of 1600*l.* sterling—an ample support for an Abbey which seldom contained fifty monks, though scarcely proportioned to the splendid edifice they inhabited.—Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 107, 108. In the Books of Assignment and Superplus in 1594 the revenue is rated at 914*l.*, and amounting with the payments of agricultural produce to 1044*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*—Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, folio, Appendix, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, pp. 329-365.

tinguished orator, philosopher, and theologian, who was a member of the convent in 1322, when Edward II. in his retreat burnt the Abbey, and who, it is farther alleged, wrote a poem on this devastation, which he addressed to King Robert Bruce and the superiors of religious houses. The acquirements of Canon Patrick are very doubtful, but it is certain that Bruce contributed liberally to the restoration of the Abbey. In that century, however, lived Ralph Strode, the friend of Chaucer, who in his younger years devoted himself to literary pursuits at Dryburgh, and was sent to Oxford at the expense of a successor of Bruce.

The only remains of Dryburgh Abbey are the Chapter-House, St. Modan's Chapel, and the adjoining passages, which are vaulted and entire. The Chapter-House is forty-seven feet long, twenty-three feet broad, and twenty feet in height. At the east end are five Early English Gothic windows, and at the west end is a large circular-headed centre window, with a small one on each side, the interior displaying a series of intersected arches. The ruins exhibit distinct styles of arches, in the massive Roman with its square sides, the Saxon, the Norman, and the Early English Gothic. The Chapter-House and the dwellings of the monks are supposed to have been more ancient than the church, which was in the cross form, and divided into three parts by two colonnaded arches. St. Mary's Aisle, a portion of the north transept, of beautiful Early English Gothic, finely contrasts with the western door of the church, which is a splendid Norman arch. The church, the cloisters, chapter-house, and other apartments, are on different levels. The cloisters form a square, in front of which, near the west door, is a passage into the quadrangle, and into gloomy apartments.

St. Mary's Aisle, on the north transept of Dryburgh Abbey, will ever be hallowed, as containing the remains of Sir Walter Scott, in the family sepulchre of his maternal ancestors the Haliburtons of New Mains. The author of "Marmion" and "Waverley" has recorded his connexion with the Haliburtons by the marriage, in 1728, of Robert Scott of Sandyknowe, his grandfather, to Barbara, third daughter of Thomas Haliburton previously mentioned. After severely reflecting on the improvidence of his grand-uncle, at whose decease without encumbrance of debt the estate would have been inherited by his father, who was inclined to purchase the property, and deploring the loss of this only chance of recovering it, Sir Walter mournfully writes—"And thus we have nothing left of Dryburgh, although my father's maternal inheritance, but the right of stretching our bones, where mine may perhaps be laid before any eye but my own glances over these pages."<sup>1</sup> Such was indeed the fact, and he reposes with his maternal ancestors amid the dust of the once powerful De Morvilles, and the Abbots and Monks, in the vale he loved, and over the history and traditions of which he has thrown an enduring charm. Sir Walter Scott was interred in St. Mary's Aisle of Dryburgh Abbey on the 26th of September, 1832, close to the grave of Lady Scott, whose remains were deposited under his own superintendence in 1826. On the 4th of May, 1847, Colonel Sir Walter Scott, the successor of his father in the now extinct Baronetcy, was entombed beside his parents. Neglect or violence may annihilate Dryburgh and Abbotsford, but the Author of "Waverley" will ever be remembered with enthusiastic veneration.

## MELROSE ABBEY.

THE beautiful Vale of Melrose was in remote times the bed of a lake, enclosed by the Eildon Hills on the south, and the Gattonside heights on the north. The Tweed entered this ancient lake through a narrow inlet crossed by the present Melrose Bridge, and debouched at Tweed-wood. After the lake disappeared, the river long traversed the south side of the Vale, on the Gattonside-haugh, which is now on the north side of the river, and this former channel is distinctly traced near the hamlet of Newstead. As the alteration occurred at a comparatively recent period, a strong embankment prevents the river from resuming its former course, and again traversing the verdant meadow called the "Wheel," where a deep pool rendered dangerous by an eddy was noted as having been crossed on one occasion by the famous Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee.

Three miles below the present Melrose is a peninsula almost encircled by the Tweed, and the only access is from the south. This peninsula, so to call it, rises to a gentle eminence in the centre, and its



sloping banks remarkably contrast with the opposite side of the river, where the ground is high and rocky, covered with wild shrubs, and protected by woods. The vicinity was anciently a dense forest surrounding this peninsula, or open space of green surface, from which it obtained the name of *Mailros*.<sup>1</sup>

The inviting seclusion of this locality, now known as Old Melrose, and its strong natural defences by the Tweed, attracted a colony of missionary ecclesiastics from the Culdee Monastery of Iona, who in the seventh century selected it as one of their settlements on the Scottish Border. *Mailros* and *Coldingham* in Berwickshire were the chief seats of those primitive teachers of religion in the south and east of Scotland, to which, according to the Venerable Bede, they were invited by Oswald, an alleged Anglo-Saxon King of Northumberland, whose dominions extended from the Humber to the Frith of Forth, and who was converted to Christianity while a compulsory resident, occasioned by family misfortunes, among the Scots or Picts. The dates of this movement are variously assigned as occurring in the seventh century, but the origin of this reputed monarch's intercourse with the remote island of St. Columba or Iona is not recorded. The story is based on obscure and uncertain tradition, and it is narrated that Oswald was successful in his pious request. He founded an episcopal see and a monastery on *Lindisfarne*, now known as Holy Island, on the Northumbrian coast, and Aidan, one of the missionary fraternity, was nominated the first Bishop and Abbot. As Aidan was ignorant of the Saxon language, and could preach only in his native Celtic, King Oswald acted as his interpreter, which proves that the monarch's attainments as a linguist were of some advantage, and twelve Saxon youths were trained by Aidan for the pastoral office, who became his fellow-labourers. Communities of priests or monks were located in various parts of the country to instruct the natives, and one was founded at Old Melrose—the "bare promontory" on the Tweed.

The first Abbot of Old Melrose was Eata, one of the twelve Saxon disciples of Bishop Aidan, and the Prior was Boisil, whose name designates the adjacent parish of St. Boswell's, and who is said to have been peculiarly noted for his sanctity. Aidan died in A.D. 651, about which time the fraternity at Old Melrose were joined by Cuthbert, a young shepherd from the banks of the Leader, which enters the Tweed above Old Melrose, and who was afterwards the renowned St. Cuthbert. It is alleged that this shepherd saw the soul of Bishop Aidan conveyed in glory to heaven by a company of angels, and this miraculous vision induced him to become a member of the community of Old Melrose. He was instructed in his novitiate by St. Boisil, and it is gravely narrated that the copy of the Scriptures used by that devout Prior was long preserved, with other relics of him, uninjured by time, in Durham Cathedral.

St. Cuthbert succeeded his patron St. Boisil as Prior of Old Melrose. This was in accordance with the last request of St. Boisil, who had acted as Abbot while Eata was establishing a monastery at Ripon in Yorkshire, assisted by a colony from the Tweed. The missionaries returned to Old Melrose in A.D. 661, and Eata resumed his office of Abbot. St. Boisil died in A.D. 664, and his successor St. Cuthbert resigned the office of Prior in that year, when he was appointed Prior of *Lindisfarne* by Eata, who was the Abbot of that monastery, and was evidently a noted pluralist in his own way. Such an illustrious person as St. Cuthbert was not likely to be neglected, and his name designates many parish churches. He appears in the Roman Calendar with St. Boisil, and in the two succeeding centuries other members of Old Melrose obtained the honour of canonization; yet it is a pleasing tradition that this secluded promontory on the Tweed was the scene of the solitude, meditations, and prayers of St. Cuthbert, the youthful shepherd of Leader Water.

It would be tedious in this sketch to narrate the rigid penances and devotions of an enthusiast named Dryethelme, who connected himself with this old Culdee monastery about the time of the death of St. Cuthbert. The motive of his retirement is related by Bede, on the authority of a priest of Melrose named Englis, who alleged that his informant was the redoubtable Dryethelme himself; and that devotee, who sometimes encountered with ferocity those who denied his veracity and ridiculed his disclosures, was apparently fond of telling his own story. The recorded Abbots of Old Melrose are St. Odunald, commemorated on the 26th of June, St. Ethelwald, and his successor St. Thuvuian. The Monastery, which was probably an edifice of wood, was burnt, in A.D. 839, by Kenneth, King of the Scots, who after his conquest of the Picts repeatedly invaded the Saxon territories. The dwellings, however, were restored before A.D. 875,

<sup>1</sup> The name *Mailros* is said to be a compound of *mull* or *moel*, which in Celtic means *bare*, and *ros*, a *promontory*. This appropriately describes the natural grassy verdure of the locality.

when the Monastery was honoured as one of the funeral resting-stations of St. Cuthbert, the removal of which from Lindisfarne was caused by an invasion of the Danes. When the body of the Saint, which was believed to possess the faculty of extraordinary preservation, was again to travel in charge of seven monks of Lindisfarne, those reverend fathers were miraculously relieved for a number of miles. The body, according to the tradition, floated down the Tweed in a "stone" coffin, to the outlet of Till Water, some miles below Coldstream on the Durham side, where it stopped of its own accord. A chapel was built near the spot on which the Saint was landed, and the stone coffin was also preserved as an evidence of this miraculous voyage.

The brethren of Old Melrose refused to acknowledge Malcolm III. as their sovereign, and they were compelled to leave their settlement in 1075. This is the last event connected with the Culdee foundation on the "bare promontory," the alleged "greatness and renown" of which are now traditions. After the disappearance of the Monastery, a chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert is mentioned as the resort of pilgrims. It was a dependency of the Priory of Coldingham, from which it was detached in 1136 by David I., who granted it to the monastery of his own foundation. This chapel was destroyed by the English in the reign of King Robert Bruce. It was held in such veneration that Symon, Bishop of Galloway, announced an "indulgence" of forty days to all who either visited the site, or contributed to rebuild the fabric "lately burnt by the English." Pope Martin V. in the following century granted to all pilgrims and donors a remission of penance on the Festival of St. Cuthbert, and other specified holidays and observances in Lent, for seven years. The Girthgate was the approach to the chapel, and this ancient road is said to have possessed the privilege of sanctuary. The site of St. Cuthbert's chapel is still remembered as the "Chapel Knoll," and in the Tweed are the "Monks' Ford" and an eddy known as the "Holy Wheel." The Culdee convent was protected on the south by a wall built across the promontory, the foundations of which were visible in 1743.

The magnificent Monastery or Abbey of Melrose, three miles up the Tweed, was founded by David I. in 1136 for Cistercian Monks, at a hamlet then called Fordel, and now Melrose. This little baronial burgh is delightfully situated on the south side of the Tweed, near the base of the Eildon Hills—the Tremontium of the Romans, but in reality one mountain divided into three peaks or summits, which was believed to have been achieved in one night by demons at the command of the renowned wizard Michael Scott. This legend is unfortunate in its origin, as the highest eminence was a military station of the Romans, and a more appropriate position could not have been selected in the Border districts. The view from the summits includes the Vale of the Tweed, and the long mountain range bounding the picturesque scenery on the north to the distant heights of Lammermuir, Soutra, and Yarrow; and on the south is the richly cultivated Teviotdale. The Cheviots stretch towards the west, and in the eastern extremity are seen three small conical eminences, one of which is Flodden.

The site of the devotions of the Abbot Eata, St. Boisil, St. Cuthbert, the recluse Dryethelme, and other devout personages, had been desolate three centuries, and was merely represented by St. Cuthbert's chapel, when, in 1136, exactly five centuries after the foundation of the Culdee convent at Old Melrose, the pious David I. induced a colony of Cistercian Monks from Rievaulx in Yorkshire to settle in Scotland. This was their first appearance in the kingdom; and, not inclined to interfere with St. Cuthbert's chapel and its pilgrims, they selected the village of Fordel, in the vicinity of the Tweed, as the locality of their church and monastery, in the finest part of the Vale between the Eildon and Gattonside Hills, and adopting the designation of the convent of their extinct Culdee predecessors. They commenced the erection of their church in the spring of 1136, and the fabric, dedicated to the Virgin, was consecrated in the summer of 1146.<sup>1</sup> This structure was completely destroyed or made a ruin by Edward II. in 1332, while returning from one of his last invasions, in which the religious houses of the Scottish Borders were most severely injured. Those violent aggressions were retaliated by King Robert Bruce, who sanctioned the rebuilding of the

<sup>1</sup> The date of the foundation of Melrose Abbey is recorded in the monkish distich—

"Anno milleno centeno terquoque deno  
Et sexto Christi Melrose fundita fuisti."

In Wynton's "Chronykil," edited by David Macpherson (8vo. 1795,

vol. i. p. 298), under date 1136, the Prior of St. Serf in Lochleven quaintly rhymes—

"A thousand and a hundyr yhere  
De sext and threttyd to that clere,  
Of the King Dawy's set purpos  
Wes fowndyt the Abbey of Melros."



present edifice, and may be considered its second founder. The Abbey was commenced in the era of Gothic architecture, when the Decorated Style supplanted the Early English, and the existing ruin is the most beautiful of all the churches of the Middle-Pointed Style, which prevailed from the end of the thirteenth century to the Reformation. The restoration of Melrose Abbey was the ardent desire of Bruce on his death-bed. In 1326, the year in which the present edifice was commenced, he promoted the erection by granting to the Abbot and Monks all the feudal casualties and crown issues of Teviotdale, until these amounted to 2000*l.*—a sum said now to be equivalent to upwards of 50,000*l.* sterling. The “Good Sir James of Douglas” was appointed steward and warden of this munificent donation; and Bruce, in his sick chamber at Cardross on the Clyde, on the 11th of May, 1329, dictated a letter to his son and successor David II., in which he insists that the grant is to be literally fulfilled, and that “all love, honour, and privilege, be rendered to the Monastery of Melrose.” Bruce died on the 7th of June that year, and his heart, which was reconveyed from Spain in its transit to the Holy Land, was deposited in Melrose Abbey by his nephew Randolph, Earl of Moray.<sup>1</sup> The erection proceeded slowly, and the grant was renewed in 1370 by David II., from which it is evident that little of the Teviotdale donation had been received. The full amount had not been secured in 1399, yet a considerable part of the edifice must have been erected previous to that year, and the expenses derived from other sources.

It is thus apparent that the existing fabric of Melrose Abbey church is of the time of King Robert Bruce, and not of the founder David I., of whose edifice scarcely a vestige can be identified. The Convent had increased in affluence before the death of Bruce.<sup>2</sup> This is proved by upwards of one hundred charters, from the time of David I. to the decease of the hero of Bannockburn.<sup>3</sup> The ancient muniments, preserved in the archives of the Earls of Morton, seem to have been acquired by the Crown at the general annexation of ecclesiastical lands in 1560.<sup>4</sup> The nobility imitated the example of the monarchs, and ample donations enriched the favoured Monastery of St. Mary.

No authentic account is preserved of the succession of Abbots. The names of the first twenty are recorded in the Chronicle of Melrose, which ends in 1264, and no regular list after that year is preserved.<sup>5</sup> The first Abbot was Richard, and the last-mentioned in the Chronicle is Patrick of Selkirk. Abbot Richard is alleged to have been a man of piety and learning, yet unpopular for his peculiarities of temper, and his excessive severity of discipline. He was removed in 1148 by William, Abbot of the parent Abbey of Rievaulx, after presiding twelve years. The church of the Monastery, which was ten years in progress of erection, was dedicated on Sunday the 28th of July, 1146.

The second and probably the most famous Abbot of Melrose was Waltheof, or Waldeve, from Rievaulx Abbey, who was elected in 1148. He was the younger son of Simon De St. Litz, Earl of Northampton,

<sup>1</sup> A letter of King Robert Bruce to his son David II. announces that he wished his heart to be deposited in Melrose Abbey. Sir Walter Scott observes, that “the resolution to send it to Palestine, under the charge of Douglas, must have been adopted betwixt the 11th of May, the date of the letter, and the 7th of June of the same year, when Bruce died, or we must suppose that the commission of Douglas extended not only to taking Bruce’s heart to Palestine, but to bring it back to its final place of deposit in Melrose Abbey.”—Notes to “The Abbot.”

<sup>2</sup> Among the charters allowing certain indulgences to the Monks of Melrose is one granted by Bruce at Aberbrothock on the 10th of January, in the twelfth year of his reign (1318), entitled “Carta de Pittancia Centum Librarum Abbati et Conventui de Melross,” assigning, out of the customs of Berwick, and, failing them, out of the customs of Edinburgh or Haddington, the sum of 100*l.*, payable at the terms of Whit-Sunday and Martinmas, to furnish the monks with a daily mess of rice boiled with milk, almonds, pease, or other pulse, to amend their common fare, to be called the *King’s Mess*. It is declared that should any monk, from some honest apology, want appetite or inclination to eat of the King’s Mess, his share was to be placed on the table with those of his brethren, and afterwards carried to the gate, and distributed to the poor—“neither is it our pleasure that the dinner which is or ought to be served up to the said monks according to their ancient rule, should be diminished in quantity, or rendered inferior in quality, on account of our Mess, so furnished as aforesaid.” The same charter enjoins the Abbot and Monks to clothe fifteen poor men annually at

the Feast of St. Martin in winter, and to feed them on the same day, presenting to each of them four ells of large or broad or six ells of narrow cloth, and to each also a new pair of shoes or sandals; and if the monks fail in these engagements, or any of them, the fault was to be redeemed by a double performance of the omission before the next festival of St. Martin, at the sight of the chief forester of Etterick.”—Sir Walter Scott’s Notes to “The Monastery.”

<sup>3</sup> It is appropriately observed—“Of the ancient Register of the great Cistercian House of Melrose only a fragment has been preserved, but to make up for this we have the original charters of the Abbey from the time of St. David downwards, for the most part as fresh as the day they were written, and with the seals of the royal, princely, and noble grantors appended, each enclosed in a little rudely-sewed linen bag, exactly as it was protected in the Treasury of the Abbey.”—Quarterly Review, 1843, vol. lxxii. p. 383. Some interesting details connected with Melrose and many of the cathedral churches and religious houses are also in the Quarterly Review, June 1849.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, 4to. 1837, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, vol. i. Preface, pp. v. vi.

<sup>5</sup> The “*Chronica de Mailros*,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB in 1835, from the original MS. in the Cottonian Library, commences in A.D. 731, and concludes in 1264. Mr. Stevenson, the editor, alleges that a distinguished rank must be assigned to the Chronicle of Melrose, as illustrating the early history of Scotland, superior to the “*Chronicles Sancte Crucis*,” or Chronicle of Holyrood at Edinburgh.

whose Countess was Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland. The Lady Matilda, who inherited the Earldom of Huntingdon from her mother Judith, niece of William the Conqueror, married as her second husband David I., the reputed, and not the real founder, then designated Prince of Cumberland. Many extraordinary stories are related by the legendary writers of Abbot Waltheof, who after his death was venerated as a saint, and who was a special favourite of his royal stepfather. His alleged miracles are detailed by Tyna the Cellarer, who is his biographer.<sup>1</sup> It was believed that he supported some thousands of the peasantry three months during a severe famine, by merely pronouncing a benediction on the granaries belonging to the monks at their farms of Eildon and Gattonside. Yet Waltheof, like other great men, was often harassed by personal contests and strivings with his spiritual enemies.<sup>2</sup> He was elected Bishop of St. Andrews in 1159, and a deputation of the clergy, with some of the principal nobility, repaired to Melrose to conduct him to the seat of the Primacy, but he refused the proffered elevation.<sup>3</sup> Waltheof continued Abbot till his death, which occurred on the 1st of August that year.<sup>4</sup> He was interred at the entrance to the chapter-house, in a spot which he selected, and his obsequies were performed by Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, assisted by four Abbots, and ecclesiastics of different religious Orders. He is still remembered in the Vale of the Tweed by the rather undignified name of St. Waudie.

The miraculous gifts of Waltheof were exercised after his death, and the Cisterians of Melrose profited by the legends they industriously circulated.<sup>5</sup> William, the third Abbot, was elected on the 27th of November, 1159, and seems to have discountenanced the miraculous reputation of his predecessor, and thereby incurred the resentment of Joceline the Prior, and the monks, whose accusations of harshness induced him to resign in April 1170. Prior Joceline appears to have been indebted for his election to the zeal with which he defended the beatification of his deceased friend and patron Abbot Waltheof. As Joceline believed that the dead bodies of holy persons, who at their death were immediately admitted into glory, were not liable to decay like those of other individuals, he resolved to ascertain the sanctity of Waltheof. He replaced the former stone covering over the Abbot's grave by polished marble, and invited an assemblage of ecclesiastics to witness the ceremonial of renewing the sepulchre. On the 1st of May, 1171, Ingelram, Bishop of Glasgow, four Abbots, a number of monks, and all the brethren of Melrose, met in the chapter-house. The grave of Waltheof was opened, and though he had been dead twelve years, they were delighted to perceive that the body was as entire as on the day of inhumation. The Abbot, contrary to the rules of the Cisterian Order, had been enclosed in a wax cloth, and this was the only article observed to be completely reduced to dust. After various rites and discussions, it was resolved that

<sup>1</sup> On one occasion, in a season of famine, when the monks, at Waltheof's suggestion, agreed to share their daily allowance of bread with the hungry, the loaves were no sooner cut in two than each half became entire. One day Walter the Hospitaller, whose office was to attend to strangers, placed food before some guests who had arrived, and they had scarcely sat down to the entertainment when another party were ushered into the Refectory. Although the repast was only sufficient for the first comers, yet after all had partaken no diminution was observed, till one of the company directed their attention to this miraculous occurrence in the midst of the repast, and the decrease immediately commenced. Three persons one evening knocked at the Abbey gate, and were admitted to the lodge for the night. After their devotions, they were summoned to supper under the care of Walter, and they had scarcely seated themselves when one of the strangers was missing, who could not be found, yet no person had been observed to depart. This mysterious stranger announced himself in a dream to the Hospitaller to be an angel, who had been appointed to watch over the Monastery, and to inform him that the alms and prayers of the Community, and especially of Abbot Waltheof, were accepted, and ascended into heaven like the odours of sweet incense. On the Eve of the Epiphany, while the Abbot and monks were chanting in the choir, the former had a vision of the Virgin, the infant Saviour, and the Three Kings of Cologne, or Wise Men of the East, preceded by a star, on their way to offer gifts. At early matins on Easter-Day he had a vision of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ.—*Annales Cistercienses*, in *Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 208, 209.

<sup>2</sup> This was the more extraordinary, as Waltheof was once honoured with a letter from the Virgin, which was delivered to him by an angel,

and announced his decease. The holy Abbot kneeling read the letter, which was thus expressed—"Know that thy prayer is heard, and between the two Feasts of John the Baptist thou shalt come to us to live for ever. Prepare thyself. Farewell."

<sup>3</sup> The Abbot of the present Abbey of Rievaulx was on a visit to Melrose when the deputation arrived, and endeavoured to persuade Waltheof to accept the Primacy. The Abbot pointed to the entrance of his chapter-house, and said—"I have put off my coat, and how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, and how shall I defile them?" This was after he had received the "letter" from heaven, and intimated that he had laid aside all earthly cares to prepare for death.—*Scotichronicon Joannis Forduni*, folio, 1759, vol. i. pp. 340, 341.

<sup>4</sup> Nicolas, the King's Chancellor, who happened to be at Rome on some business of state, had a vision of Paradise on the day before Waltheof's death, and among other wonders saw the holy Abbot of Melrose conducted to the celestial gate by an angel. A voice within demanded who they were, and the angel replied—"Waltheof of Melrose is here!" "He cannot enter to-day," answered the keeper; "let him come to-morrow, when he shall have put off his earthly toils."

<sup>5</sup> Walter, a lay brother, who was sick in the hospital, was restored to health by Abbot Waltheof, who appeared to him in a vision, and informed him that he was a partaker of the joys of heaven. Henry, another lay brother, beheld Waltheof, with St. Benedict, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, carried through the air, each in a splendid litter, and was miraculously told that they were proceeding to Kinloss Abbey, to rescue from persecuting fiends the soul of one of the monks who was to be defunct on the following day. Such are specimens of the curious legends of Old Melrose.





MELROSE ABBEY, FROM THE SOUTH

*Engraving drawn by J. Robert Scott*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

Waltheof's corpse should remain in the same grave until they procured the sanction of the whole Cistercian Order, and a confirmation from the Pope, for its enshrinement in a stately tomb within the Abbey church. Abbot Joceline was elected Bishop of Glasgow in 1174, and his successor was Lawrence, one of the monks, who was elected on the 14th of May, 1175. Joceline founded a house for the entertainment of pilgrims resorting to Melrose at Hassindean on the Teviot. Abbot Lawrence died in 1178, and was succeeded by Ernald, who was installed by Bishop Joceline in 1179. About this time occurred the disputes between the Convent and Richard de Moreville, and the inhabitants of Wedale, or Stow, on the rights of forest and pasture in the district between the Leader and the Gala. The controversy was decided by William the Lion at Haddington in 1180, in favour of the monks.

In the time of Patrick of Selkirk, the last Abbot recorded in the Chronicle of Melrose, the wars of the succession to the Crown were long ruinous to Melrose. In 1291 Edward I., as feudal master of Scotland, granted a letter of protection to this Abbot and the Convent for one year, which he renewed annually till 1296, when John Baliol, acting by the advice of Abbot Patrick, as was alleged, and in concert with others, endeavoured to resist the encroachments of the English monarch. Edward I. in consequence seized all the possessions of the Abbey, which were restored on the 2d of September, after the Abbot had rendered homage to the English King at Berwick. Yet the Monks were not secured from hostile aggressions, though Edward I. had confirmed their charters, with permission to cut down forty oaks in the Forest of Selkirk to repair their farm-houses and cottages which had been burnt and demolished in the war. One event indicates the harassed condition of the Abbey. In 1303, Hugh, afterwards Lord Audley, was lodged in the Convent with sixty men-at-arms. Comyn, the then Regent, forced the gate in the night, and killed several of the English. Sir Thomas Grey fled across the bridge, and obtained shelter in a house, from which he escaped incrementation by surrendering himself.

The Abbot of Melrose in 1310 was William Fogo, who had various transactions in subsequent years with Edward II. for the protection of the Convent. He held the office in 1322, when the fabric founded by David I. was entirely destroyed by the English. Edward II. intended to lodge in the Abbey on his march southward from Edinburgh, and sent three hundred men-at-arms to prepare for his accommodation. Having been informed of the advance of the English, Douglas anticipated them by occupying the Abbey, and when they arrived he rushed out suddenly, killed a great number, and compelled the remainder to fall back on their main army. The signal of their approach was intimated to Douglas by a monk on horseback armed with a spear, and the attack commenced near the wall of the Abbey. Edward II., who was sufficiently irritated by his previous losses and misfortunes, was furious at this assault, which he resented in a most summary manner. William de Peebles, the Prior, was killed in the dormitory, as were also an infirm monk and two lay brothers, and many of the Monks were severely wounded. The Abbey was pillaged, and reduced to a desolate ruin. The silver pix was seized, and the Host in it thrown contemptuously on the high altar by men who believed the efficacy and acknowledged the power of the consecrated materials.

It is probable that the ruins were entirely removed, as every vestige of David I.'s Abbey, the scene of the devotions of Waltheof, has disappeared. In 1326, under the auspices of King Robert Bruce, and assisted by his munificent benefactions, the Monks commenced the present fabric in a style of such magnificence as to impress and delight the beholder, and rank the edifice as one of the most perfect remains of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. The church was finished in 1336, in the form of the cross of St. John of Jerusalem. The last repair of Melrose Abbey in its entire state was in the reign of James IV. Thomas of Soltra is the supposed Abbot at the restoration of the edifice in 1336.

Melrose Abbey was seriously dilapidated in 1385 by the English under Richard II., who rested one night in the Convent, and next morning ordered the building to be burnt, to revenge the alleged slaughter of some of his soldiers who remained after his army advanced towards Edinburgh. He made some reparation for this injury in October 1389, by granting to the Monks a reduction of two shillings of duty on each sack of wool, to the number of one thousand, which they exported from Berwick, and he allowed them to trade in Cumberland and Northumberland.

The subsequent Abbots of Melrose are not prominent in history.<sup>1</sup> It is conjectured that a nephew of

<sup>1</sup> David Benyn, or Binning, was Abbot in 1409; John Fogo, one of the monks, and confessor to James I., in 1425; Richard Lundie in 1422; Andrew Hunter, confessor to James II. and Lord High Treasurer from 1449 to 1455, was Abbot in 1448; William was Abbot in 1460; Richard in 1473 and 1476; John Fraser in 1485, when he was promoted to the Bishopric of Ross; Barnard, from 1490 to 1499; William,



Archbishop James Beaton of St. Andrews was Abbot after 1510, and the office was vacant in 1525, when a competition for it was terminated by the appointment of Andrew Durie, brother of George Durie, last Abbot of Dunfermline before the Reformation. His opponent was John Maxwell, Abbot of Dundrennan, a brother, probably illegitimate, of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell, and who was patronised by the Princess Margaret, Queen-Dowager of James IV., on the condition that she was to receive 1000*l.* Scots annually out of the revenues of the Abbey. The Queen had quarrelled with her second husband, Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, who was desirous to obtain Melrose for his brother William, Prior of Coldingham, and corresponded with Cardinal Wolsey to exert his influence with the Pope, assuring the Cardinal that he would defray all expenses. The Queen-Dowager procured a divorce from the Earl of Angus in March 1526, but she had previously written in January to her brother Henry VIII., and to Cardinal Wolsey, urgently soliciting them to secure the appointment to Maxwell, specially mentioning the yearly sum she was to receive as her chief object, and declaring that it was of importance in her pecuniary circumstances. The Queen-Dowager also wrote in the name of her son James V., then under age, to the same effect. Durie, however, was successful, having been strongly recommended to Pope Clement VII. in a letter purporting to be sent from James V., which was annulled by an Act of Parliament in 1526, when the King, still a minor, was made to disclaim all knowledge of the application in favour of Durie, and to sanction the recommendation of Maxwell. This was followed by a "ratification" of all the previous statutes in Maxwell's favour "contrair Mr. Andro Dury," whose appointment was nevertheless confirmed in September 1527.

Abbot Durie retained his office till 1535, when James V., who scrupled not to appropriate to himself some of the wealthiest benefices, secured the administration of the revenues, and constituted himself "bailie" or factor of the Abbey. The King procured the absolute resignation of Durie in 1541, and conferred the benefice on James Stewart, an infant illegitimate son by Elizabeth Shaw, appropriating the revenues in his name. This child was appointed Abbot or Commendator of Melrose and Kelso, and he retained those benefices till his death in 1558. Durie, who also died that year, obtained an annual pension of one thousand merks out of the fruits of the benefice; and he was also nominated Bishop of Galloway. He seems to have retained the title of Abbot. Including Durie, the succession of Abbots was thirty-four. Michael Balfour, Secretary of State from 1496 to 1516, is also designated Abbot of Melrose.

James V. died in December 1542, and in 1544 the English under Sir Brian Latun and Sir Ralph Evre considerably injured the church and the buildings of the Abbey, defacing the tombs of the Douglas family, which was avenged on Ancrum Muir in 1545. In September of the same 1544, Melrose Abbey and the other Border Religious Houses were reduced to ruins by the English under the Earl of Hertford, in his first expedition into Scotland, when the whole of Teviotdale and the Merse was ravaged. This devastation finished Melrose Abbey, and its restoration was prevented by the Reformation.

At the death of the illegitimate son of James V. in 1558, Cardinal Guise was appointed Commendator by his sister the Queen-Dowager. He held the benefice a very short time, and probably never derived any pecuniary advantage from the Abbey, as the revenues of this and other religious houses were seized by the Reformers in the name of the Government in 1559. The whole of the ecclesiastical property was annexed to the Crown in 1560, and a statute was enacted to prevent any alienation. In 1564 a Commendator named Michael is mentioned, who was summoned to Parliament in each of the three following years. The property of Melrose Abbey was granted by Queen Mary in 1566 to the notorious Earl of Bothwell, and his forfeiture in 1567 again placed the Crown in possession. In 1568 the title of Commendator, with the rental, was obtained by James Douglas, second son of Sir William Douglas of Lochleven by the mother of the Regent Moray. He collected all the original records which he could discover of the rights and property of the Monastery. This person nevertheless demolished some parts of the Abbey, and appropriated the stones to the erection of a residence in the town, which has the date 1590, and his own and his wife's names over one of the windows. In 1618 the

son of Sir Walter Scott of Howpasley in 1506, and Robert, in 1510. Abbot Benyn, or Binning, excommunicated John Haig of Bemersyde and his servants for alleged depredations and oppressions committed on the lands and cattle of the Abbey at Redpath. Abbot John Fogo was a determined opponent to the opinions of Wickliffe, and is said to have been one of the principal actors in the condemnation of Paul Craw, or Crawler, a Bohemian physician, who propagated the opinions of John Huss, and was burnt at St. Andrews in 1433—the first who suffered for

the Reformed doctrines in Scotland. The armorial bearings of Abbot Andrew Hunter are carved on a buttress of the church, and display two croziers in saltier, and two hunting horns, with a rose in chief, and a mallet or mell in base—a punning device, formerly the arms of the Abbey. The initials A. H. are on the right and left of the shield, which is supported by mermaids.—Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 236, 237.

nave was constituted the parish church, and a vault of rude masonry was constructed over a part of the fallen roof, the stones of which were procured from other parts of the ruinous fabric. Many years afterwards the Abbey furnished materials for the erection of a vile prison, and for repairing the sluices of mills. Numbers of the stone images which filled richly carved niches in the walls, buttresses, and pinnacles, were destroyed in 1649, by the fanaticism of the Covenanters.<sup>1</sup> In 1695 the remains of a lofty building were demolished, and Melrose fell into obscurity for upwards of a century. The honour of reviving the public interest in this grand fabric was appropriately reserved to Sir Walter Scott, who, in 1822, exerted himself to prevent the further decay and abstraction of the walls.<sup>2</sup>

The subsequent disposal of the patrimony of Melrose, after the acquisition of the Commendatorship by James Douglas, may be briefly stated. In 1587, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, petitioned the Parliament to obtain the property of the Abbey granted by Queen Mary to his guilty uncle, and his application was sanctioned in 1592, with sundry exceptions, and particularly "the Abbacie of Melrose pertaining in property to James Douglas the Commendatour."<sup>3</sup> In the same Parliament a "ratification" was granted to Archibald Douglas, son of the Commendator, of a pension for life of "sex monkis portionis furth of the Abbay of Melros, and of the superplus of the third thereof," as a recognition of his father's services. It is conjectured that Archibald Douglas sold this pension to Mr. John Hamilton, who is designated Commendator of Melrose, and who demitted the Abbey to Thomas, Earl of Melrose. Some unexplained proceedings in connexion with the transfer of the property afterwards occur, as a liberal allowance for life was assigned to James Douglas, styled Commendator, when, on the 28th of August, 1609, Sir John Ramsay, created Viscount Haddington in 1606, who killed the Earl of Gowrie's brother in Gowrie House, the brother of George first Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie, obtained a chartered grant on the 17th of June, 1609, of certain lands and baronies belonging to the Abbey, which were constituted the "Lordship" of Melrose. Sir Thomas Hamilton, created Earl of Melrose in 1619, and Earl of Haddington in 1627, acquired the lands and baronies of the Abbey, and in his charter are many additional exceptions of property and feudal superiorities which had been transferred to other parties.<sup>4</sup> One of them was Walter, first Earl of Buccleuch, some of whose ancestors had been hereditary bailies of the Abbey under the Abbots. The now Ducal Family of Buccleuch subsequently purchased the other lands included in the Lordship.<sup>5</sup> At the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1747, Lady Isabella Scott, second daughter of Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth by her second husband Lord Cornwallis, received 1200*l.* as a compensation for her right to the bailery of Melrose.

At the annexation of the religious houses to the Crown in 1560, only eleven monks and three portioners are mentioned as the community of Melrose, to each of whom was granted an allowance of twenty merks annually, with the addition of four bolls of wheat, and three chalders of barley and meal to the Monks. John

<sup>1</sup> In Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiae," published in 1593, are drawings of the south side and east end of Melrose Abbey, and the whole of the niches on the buttresses are filled with statues, amounting to twenty-nine. He similarly decorates eight niches of the door and fifteen niches above the splendid window of the south transept.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that Melrose Abbey was almost unknown as an object of ecclesiastical and architectural interest until the publication of Sir Walter Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" in 1805, which induced many to resort thither, who soon made the grey ruins celebrated throughout the world. The prominent figure assigned to this renowned fabric in "The Monastery," and in its sequel "The Abbot," by the same author, published in 1820, imparted additional fascinations to the poetical descriptions of him who celebrated "St. David's ruined pile," though in reality the erection of King Robert Bruce, the second founder. The erection of ABBOTSFORD, only three miles distant, the seat of the mighty Minstrel, farther increased the attractions; and Melrose, Dryburgh, and Abbotsford, are annually the resorts of "pilgrimages" of a different description from those to the Culdee Monastery of Old Melrose, and to the Cistercian shrine of St. Mary in the olden time, and much more numerous than those devotees who were entertained by the ancient monks. Many of the carvings and other ornamental designs of the grand Monument at Edinburgh, erected in honour of Sir Walter Scott, are adaptations from Melrose Abbey. In reference to Sir Walter's exertions to preserve the ruins, Mr. Lockhart says, under date 1822:—"During April, May, and June of this year,

Scott's thoughts were much occupied with a plan for securing Melrose Abbey against the progress of decay, which had been making itself manifest to an alarming extent, and to which he had often before directed the attention of the Buccleuch Family. Even in writing to persons who had never seen Melrose, he could not help touching on this business, for he wrote as he spoke, out of the fulness of his heart. The young Duke readily concurred with his guardians in allowing the Poet to direct such repairs as might seem to him adequate, and the result was extremely satisfactory to all the habitual worshippers of these classical ruins." In a letter to Lord Montague, the uncle of the Duke of Buccleuch, written in 1823, Sir Walter says—"Melrose is looking excellently well. I begin to think, taking off the old roof would have hurt it, at least externally, by diminishing its effect on the eye. The lowering the roofs of the aisles has had a most excellent effect."—Lockhart's "Life of Sir Walter Scott," 8vo. 1837, vol. v. pp. 178, 275.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. pp. 595, 596.

<sup>4</sup> Ratification in favour of the Earl of Melros of his Infetment of Melros, with a new Dissolution, 4th August, 1621.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iv. pp. 641-644.

<sup>5</sup> The ancestors of the Buccleuch Family were liberal benefactors of Melrose Abbey, of which their descendants are now the proprietors. On the 28th of May, 1415, Robert Scott, of Murdiston and Rinkleburn, now Buccleuch, granted to the Monks the lands of Hinkery in Etterick Forest.—Liber Sancte Marie de Melrose.



Watson, Dean of the Chapter, conformed to the Reformation. Nothing is recorded of the other Monks, whose number had been purposely reduced to increase the revenues paid to the Crown.

The annual income of the possessions of Melrose Abbey is variously stated, and probably cannot now be ascertained, on account of the numerous alienations, for some time previous to the Reformation, of church lands for an elusory rent or price, and the leases of tithes granted by the Abbots to "friendly tenants." In 1556 the money rents are rated at 1578*l.*, and this income was increased by sales of produce to 2291*l.*, in which the rental of the valuable Ayrshire property of the Abbey was not included.<sup>1</sup> At the commencement of that year's account twelve Monks were the only inmates of the Monastery, who were increased to sixteen by novices, and their joint sustentation is charged at 275*l.* Small fees are allowed to the "officiaris" or bailiffs of their properties in different districts, and fees to the "vicar pensioners" and curate of three parishes. In 1561 the revenue was estimated at 1758*l.* Scots money.<sup>2</sup> In the Books of the Collectors and of "Superplus" for 1562 and 1563 the rental is stated as 1144*l.* and 1060*l.*<sup>3</sup> But the yearly revenue in money and the payments in kind belonging to Melrose Abbey scarcely indicate its wealth. The Monks were extensive cattle proprietors, in addition to their landed possessions.<sup>4</sup> It is evident "from the nature of the country, and perhaps from the imperfect state of agriculture, that the revenues of the Abbey were chiefly derived from the pasturage of cattle and sheep. Of the latter the number was much greater than has hitherto been believed; and the minute and careful arrangements for their folds, their attendants, and the separation of their pastures, show how early the attention to this kind of stock commenced in the district now distinguished by the perfection to which it has now arrived. The high value set upon pasturage, whether for sheep or cattle, is shown by its frequent clashing with the rights of game and the forest, and by the strict prohibitions against tillage within the bounds of forests and pasture ranges."<sup>5</sup> The Monks of Melrose also directed their attention as early as the reign of Alexander II. to the rearing and improving of horses. Roger Avenel, Lord of Eskdale, possessed a stud in that valley, and Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, previous to his departure to the Holy Land, sold to the Abbey in 1247 his stud in Lauderdale for the sum of one hundred merks sterling.<sup>6</sup>

The landed estates belonging to Melrose Abbey were most extensive, and the tenantry of course very numerous, in the counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, Dumfries, Ayr, Lanark, Selkirk, Peebles, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Perth. They possessed tenements in a number of towns and villages. They also acquired the patronage of parish churches, with the lands and tithes, and the Monks appear both as landowners and as rectors, assuming this position from the grants of the lay lords who could not retain possession, or from pious motives conveyed their rights to the Monastery. The "incidental mention of the condition of the Abbey itself at different times strongly illustrates the history of the district. At one time great and prosperous, accumulating property, procuring privileges, commanding the support of the most powerful, and proudly contending against the slightest encroachments; at another impoverished and ruined by continual wars, and obliged to seek protection from the foreign invader; in either situation it reflects faithfully the political condition of the country."<sup>7</sup>

In 1533 a general Chapter of Cisteaux enjoined the revival of the discipline of the Cistercian Order, and a

<sup>1</sup> In 1556 the payments in kind, in addition to the money, were—Wheat, 18 chalders, 15 bolls, 1 firloft, 1½ peck; barley, 84 chalders, 13 bolls, 1½ peck; oatmeal, 14 chalders, 19 bolls, 1 firloft, 3 pecks; oats, 78 chalders, 3 firlofts, 1½ peck; pease, 12 bolls; capons, 124; poultry, 755; peats, 344 loads; butter, 105 stones; lambs, 459; wool, 31 stones, of which 22 stones were sold for 15*l.* 8*s.*, or 1*l.* per stone; cheese, 33 stones; salt, 4 chalders. The "fishing of the watters and hay of the medoes delivered to the formissing of my Lord's (Abbot) hous and his servants."—*Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, vol. i. Preface, p. xxvii. In 1561 the payments in kind were considerably diminished.

<sup>2</sup> Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Keith's *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, folio, Appendix, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> The Monks of Melrose possessed at one time 104 superior horses, 54 first-rate mares, 265 wild animals in their woods, 39 foals three years old, 150 foals two years old, 270 stags and deer, 1167 ploughing oxen, 3544 cows, 87 bulls, 407 stots three years old, 1376 domestic animals, 1125 stirks or bullocks between one and two years old, 11,963 calves, 8215 common sheep, 344 wether sheep, 8044 mutton sheep, 5900 hogs, and 22,520 sheep for wool.—"Summa Animalium Monasterii de Melros Temporibus Antiquis," from Father Hay's MS. Collection of Charters, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at

Edinburgh, printed in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 279. From the Earls of Dunbar and March the Monks obtained a grant of pasturage for three flocks of wedders, 500 each flock, in Haddingtonshire. Elena de Moreville and her son Roland of Galloway donated pasturage for 700 ewes, with their followers of two years, one bull, 40 oxen, eight horses, and four swine, to be fed with their own cattle in the Kilncho district of Peeblesshire. In Wedale, or Stow parish, Melrose Abbey possessed pasturage for 500 sheep and 140 cattle; and on Primside the monks had right of pasturage for 400 sheep.—*Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, vol. i. Preface, pp. xiv. xv.

<sup>5</sup> In a very early grant by Waldeve Earl of Dunbar, of pasturage on Lammernir, it is expressly provided that moveable folds, and lodges for the shepherds, shall accompany the flocks of the Abbey, to avoid any permanent building or settlement. Richard de Moreville, the Great Constable, and his son William, granted to the monks of Melrose a site in Wedale for a cowhouse or sheepfold, in which a fire might be kindled to warm the shepherds, and also a hay-shed, within the verge of the Forest, on the condition that no other habitations were to be erected, and the shepherds were to reside in wattled cots for shelter while attending their flocks.—*Liber Sancte Marie de Melrose*, Preface.

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Sancte Marie de Melrose*, Preface, vol. i. pp. xiv. xv.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. xxvii. xxviii. xxxi.

commissioner was appointed to visit their Monasteries in Scotland. This functionary reported that the principal faults were infringements of the rule which prohibited the Monks to acquire and retain any private property. It was found that they enjoyed pensions and allowances of food and clothing, and each cultivated a garden for his own use and pleasure. Those indulgences, to the annoyance of the Monks, were in future to be discontinued. In 1534 Abbot Andrew Durie was charged, under penalty of deposition, to enforce strictly the rules of the Order, and to punish every refractory Monk, after a warning of twenty days, with excommunication. The brethren, in a delegated meeting at Edinburgh, prepared a memorial, alleging that they only possessed what the Abbot permitted, and requested that further proceedings might be referred to a general Chapter of the Order. This was sanctioned with certain temporary restrictions. And this was one of the last feeble efforts to revive useless and obsolete practices, which overwhelmed the Monastic Orders with ridicule, at the period of the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

The cloisters, offices, and other buildings of the Monastery, were on the north side of the church, towards the Tweed, and were enclosed by a high wall about a mile in circuit, which protected residences erected by private individuals, all of which are completely erased. The number of Monks varied at different periods from sixty to one hundred, with an equal number of lay brethren. They received annually for their support sixty bolls of wheat, and three hundred casks of ale; for the service of the mass, eighteen casks of wine; for the entertainment of strangers, thirty bolls of wheat, forty casks of ale, and twenty of wine; and other allowances in money were liberal.

The ruins of Melrose Abbey have been so often described, that minute details in this narrative are unnecessary, and the fabric must be personally inspected by those who are fond of grand architectural designs and beautifully sculptured fanciful decorations. From the centre of the Latin or Jerusalem Cross rises a square tower eighty-four feet high, of which only the west side remains, resting on a lofty pointed arch, and the summit terminated in a stone balustrade with quatrefoil rails, under which appears in bas-relief a frieze of roses. As the west end of the nave has entirely disappeared, the length of that part of the church cannot be precisely ascertained. From the extremity of the existing edifice to the back of the altar end, the measurement is 251 feet, the length of the transept 115 feet, and the breadth of the nave 69 feet within the walls.<sup>2</sup> The most entire parts of the ruins are the south transept window and door, on which are numbers of niches, canopies, and tabernacles, the corbels which supported the statues carved with grotesque figures, representing cowed monks, nuns, and hideous faces of musicians playing on instruments. The decorated work of Melrose Abbey and the whole masonry, especially the east end, can scarcely be excelled. The north transept is roofless, and the tracery of one of its windows represents a crown of thorns. On the west side are statues of St. Peter and St. Paul in two elevated niches. Beneath is a door of Saxon architecture, leading into a low vaulted apartment traditionally called the Wax Cellar. A small door on the west side of the south transept, which displays a portion of the original ribbed and groined roof, opens to a staircase winding to the top by seventy-four steps, and leading to galleries in the south side of the nave. Near this door is a stone with a quaint inscription, recording that John Murdo had the superintendence of the masonry of this and other churches.<sup>3</sup> Over the same door is a carved shield, displaying compasses and fleurs-de-lys, with an inscription partly obliterated.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Cisterians of Melrose were included in the satirical ballad, in which it is alleged,—

The Monks of Melrose made guid kail  
On Friday, when they fasted;  
Nor wanted they guid beef and ale  
As lang's their neighbours' lasted."

Dempster, in his "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," asserts that many of the Abbots and Monks of Melrose were noted for literary productions, which no one ever saw, and it is almost certain never existed.

<sup>2</sup> Description of the Ruins of Melrose Abbey, by George Smith, Architect, in Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 260. Another estimate is as follows:—"The nave is in length 258 feet, and in breadth 79 feet; and at the distance of fifty feet from the eastern extremity it is intercepted at right angles by the transept, which is in length 130 feet, and in breadth 44 feet. To the west of the transept are two magnificent rows of pillars, ranged along the north and south sides of the nave, which form two passages leading into the interior, where it is most spacious, of the intersection of the transept and nave.

The passage on the north side is bounded by a blind wal.; that on the south, which is broader and more magnificent, opens into a long series of aisles, intended, perhaps, to serve as confessionals, private chapels, or baptisteries, each highly ornamented, and terminated by a splendid Gothic window."—Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> This inscription, which has been often copied, is arranged as follows, without any date:—

John : Murdo : sum : tym : callit :  
was : I : born : in : Parysse :  
certainly : and : had : in : keping :  
al : mason : werk : of : Santan :  
droys : y<sup>e</sup> : bye : kirk : of : Glas  
gu : Melros : and : Paslay : of :  
Nyddesdayll : and : of : Galway :  
Pray : to : God : and : Mari : baith :  
and : sweet : Sanct : John : to : keep : this : haly : kirk :  
fra : skaith.

Probably a similar inscription was sculptured in all the churches superintended by John Murdo.

<sup>4</sup> The compasses evidently indicate the profession, and the fleurs-



The prominent architectural ability in Melrose Abbey is the structure of the east or altar window, which displays the most elaborate and fascinating decorations. This magnificent oriel, which is fortunately entire, is thirty-seven feet high and sixteen feet broad, divided by four slender mullions eight inches thick, and, instead of waving at the top, are in the perpendicular style. Around the pointed arch of this window is a range of niches containing mutilated statues.<sup>1</sup> The upper part is interwoven with most beautiful, rich, and graceful tracery, and is one of the finest specimens of Gothic architecture to be found. The original fretted and sculptured stone roof covers the east end of the chancel, and the external walls are profusely ornamented with niches, sixty-eight in number, adorned by exquisitely carved canopies, and some of the niches still containing statues. The east end and the south transept are the most adorned with sculpture, and the latter is now the principal entrance to the church. The door by which the aged monk, in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," led William of Deloraine to the alleged grave of the Wizard, Sir Michael Scott, after conducting him through the cloister, is most beautifully constructed, and the pilasters on each side are so nicely chiselled, that a straw can penetrate the interstices between the leaves and stalks. But it would require too much space to detail the beauty, grandeur, and antiquities of Melrose Abbey, in the church and chapter-house of which Alexander II. and Bishops, Abbots, Barons, Knights, and men of note in their day, were interred. It is truly said of this ornament of the Vale of the Tweed, that "it is extravagantly rich in its imagery, niches, and all sorts of carving by the best hands that Europe could produce at the time."<sup>2</sup> The collection of the charters of Melrose Abbey, printed in 1837 at the expense of the Duke of Buccleuch, "illustrate few of the existing families of the district. The great families who were the earliest benefactors of the Abbey—the Lords of Galloway, Carrick, and March, the Morevilles and Avenels; have long been extinct, and even those who came in their room—the Fitz-Randolphs, De Soulis, Grahams, and Douglasses, have left only a romantic tradition of the mighty power they wielded on the Border."<sup>3</sup>

The memorials of the ancient ecclesiastical inhabitants of Melrose are numerous.<sup>4</sup> Near the south entrance of the Abbey, in the centre of the market-place, is the Cross, a pillar about thirty feet high, and surmounted by the crest of Sir John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington and Lord Ramsay of Melrose. This pillar, which has a most venerable appearance, and is as old as the Abbey, is more fortunate than most of those erections, as it has an endowment of a fourth of an acre in the vicinity for its preservation—the tenure by which the proprietor holds the field. Another Cross was on the road from Darnwick, where the tower of the Abbey is first seen. The sculptured stones in the walls of some of the old houses indicate that the Abbey had been long a common quarry. The romantic village of Darnwick, or Dernock, with its massive and stately square tower, is upwards of a mile from Melrose, on the road to Selkirk and Galashiels, near the south bank of the Tweed, and belonged to the "halidom" of the Abbey. Near Darnwick is the hamlet of Bridgend, a name derived from a bridge erected by David I. as an approach to the Abbey. This bridge consisted of three octangular stone piers which supported planks of wood, and on the centre pier was a gateway under a small tower, which was the residence of the keeper.<sup>5</sup>

de-lys the native country, of this buidler or master-mason. The inscription is a laconic admonition—

Sa gays y<sup>e</sup> compas evyn about,  
Sa truth and laute do bot (without) doute.  
behaulde to y<sup>e</sup> hend q. Johne Murdo.

This means, that as the compass goes round without deviation, so doubtless do truth and loyalty. Look to the end, quoth John Murdo.

<sup>1</sup> The following traditional story is told of these mutilated statues:—"On the eastern window of the church were formerly thirteen effigies, supposed to represent our Saviour and his Apostles. These, harmless and beautiful as they were, happened to provoke the wrath of a praying weaver in Gattonside, who in a moment of inspired zeal went up one night by means of a ladder, and with a hammer and chisel knocked off the heads and limbs of the figures. Next morning he made no scruple to publish the transaction, observing, with a great deal of exultation, to every person whom he met, that he had 'fairly stumpit thae vile Papist dirt noo.' It is some consolation to know

that this monster was treated with the sobriquet of *Stumpie*, and of course carried it with him to his grave."—Picture of Scotland, by Robert Chambers, vol. i. pp. 117, 118. If this exploit of the fanatical Gattonside weaver is true, it must refer to the south transept, and not to the eastern window, which has statues altogether different.

<sup>2</sup> Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Liber Sancte Marie de Melros, vol. i. Preface, p. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> Among the localities are Prior's Wood and Cloister Close, and in the Tweed the Abbot's and the Monk's Fords. St. Mary's, St. William's, St. Helen's, and St. Dunstan's, have been for centuries the designations of the principal spring wells, but St. Cuthbert has been apparently omitted.

<sup>5</sup> A description of this bridge, and a view, with Melrose Abbey in the back-ground, is in Gordon's "Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most of the Counties of Scotland," folio, 1736, pp. 165, 166. Sir Walter Scott connects this old bridge with the incident of the miller and the White Lady of Avenel in "The Monastery." The piers were above water in 1780, and Sir Walter mentions the landlord of the George Inn at Melrose, who told him that he saw a stone taken from the river, an inscription on which purported that