

SCOTLAND



PICTURESQUE  
HISTORICAL DESCRIPTIVE.





EDINBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE GRASSMARKET.

*From an Original Drawing by W. L. Litch*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

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PICTURESQUE:  
HISTORICAL: DESCRIPTIVE.



ENTRANCE TO ROSLIN CHAPEL.

*From an Original Drawing by J. Roberts R.A.*

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# SCOTLAND:

PICTURESQUE; HISTORICAL; DESCRIPTIVE.

BEING A SERIES OF VIEWS OF

*EDINBURGH AND ITS ENVIRONS;*

THE

**M**OUNTAINS, **G**LENS, **L**OCHS, **S**EA-COASTS,

AND THE

Palaces, Castles, and Ecclesiastical Buildings of Scotland,

CONSISTING OF OVER

SEVENTY CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS,

*FROM ORIGINAL AND COPYRIGHT DRAWINGS,*

BY

SIR WILLIAM ALLAN, F.R.S.A.  
CLARKSON STANFIELD, R.A.  
GEORGE CATTERMOLE.  
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HORATIO MACCULLOCH, R.S.A.  
D. O. HILL, R.A.  
W. SIMPSON, R.A.  
&c., &c.

ACCOMPANIED BY

*Descriptive, Historical, Antiquarian, and Anecdotal Notices of the Principal Scenes and Events Illustrated.*

By JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A.

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McGREADY, THOMSON AND NIVEN,  
38, JOHN STREET, GLASGOW;

And at MELBOURNE, SYDNEY, ADELAIDE, and DUNEDIN.

## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HERE are few countries whose historical and other associations present greater interest than Scotland. Only three centuries ago it was, as a nation, almost in the same category as was England in the days of the Saxons. Rival chiefs or clans were constantly promoting civil war, or fighting among themselves. The reign of the unfortunate Queen Mary affords some of the most painful incidents that can be found in the history of any nation. In the course of events, however, at the commencement of the last century, the Union between England and Scotland was effected, and from that date the progress of North Britain in commerce, the arts and sciences, and manufactures has been unparalleled. Scotland, in fact, at the present day, by the enterprise, perseverance, and energy of her inhabitants, stands foremost in civilised life. Perhaps the truth is not exceeded if we remark, that there is not a spot where civilisation has taken root throughout the world, that a Scotchman may not be found exercising his peculiar *per-fervidum* in promoting general progress.

Until very recently the tourist knew little of the beauties of the country, and still less of its historical associations. To describe these and other objects of interest is the purpose of the following pages. Fifty years ago, a journey to Edinburgh was, in every respect, as serious an undertaking as one to Egypt is at the present day. But the extension of the railway system to the *Ultima Thule*, and the example set by her Majesty, have led tourists of all classes to acquaint themselves with the romantic scenery of Scotland, in place of a resort to Germany and Switzerland, as was formerly the case.

Scotland may be practically considered as consisting of three principal regions. In a line south of Edinburgh, drawn to Dumfries, and near Carlisle, the scenery partakes much of the character of the North of England. The Cheviot Hills introduce to the higher system of mountain ranges in the north. In this portion, agriculture, the rearing of sheep and cattle, are the chief occupation of the inhabitants. Within the central zone the leading historical incidents of Scotland have occurred, the capital, Edinburgh, having been their centre. This also includes Stirling, Glasgow, Falkirk, &c.; and here coal, lead, and iron mining, textile and chemical manufactures, have attained the highest position. The Clyde and the Forth, connected by a canal, become the veins or arteries of immense commercial activity.

North of this the great mountain ranges commence, with the magnificent lochs of sea and fresh water, that indent the whole of the western portion of Scotland. In the Grampian range is Ben Nevis, having a height of 4,370 feet, and Ben Macdhui, said to be 4,390 feet high. In some of these mountains there are ravines from 1,000 to 1,500 feet in perpendicular depth. Still further north is a range extending from the Atlantic to the German Ocean, one of the highest hills being Ben Wyvis, 3,720 feet. In the West Highlands, the scenery from the mouth of the Clyde is of the most romantic description, the Isle of Arran affording a kind of microcosm of their topography and geology. The inland lakes or lochs, such as Lomond, Katrine, Awe, Ness, Leven, &c., afford every variety of scenery, while those running in from the sea are scarcely inferior in beauty; as, for example, Lochs Fyne and Long. In these districts we need scarcely remind our readers that shooting and fishing are carried on, and afford some of the strongest inducements for the visit of the tourist. Deer-stalking is reserved for the more northerly districts, as Sutherlandshire and neighbouring counties.

Scotland is rich in its archæology. Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Palace still remain as monuments of history. The same may be said of Stirling Castle, and the ruins of Linlithgow and other palaces. As regards cathedrals, those of Glasgow and Elgin are magnificent specimens of ecclesiastical architecture. Among abbeys, those of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Roslin Chapel are too well known to require further than the mere mention. The style of these, and their ornamentation, present some curious features of study, in an ethnological point of view, when we contrast them with the character of the Celts, little emerged from a state of barbarism at the period of the erection of such buildings. It is singular, indeed, that the soft, flowing lines of Scott, and the tender, or at times forcible poetry of Burns, should have emanated from a people which even now retain, in some places, traces of the feudal system.

Such are some outlines of various interesting matters described in minute detail in this Work. With respect to the Illustrations, they afford lively pictures of what the intended tourist may expect to realise on visiting Scotland. On the other hand, those who are familiar with that country will be enabled to reproduce in the mind a constantly-recurring sense of pleasure.

# LIST OF PLATES,

AND

## DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THEM.

	PAGE		PAGE
EDINBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE GRASSMARKET; after a Drawing by W. L. LEITCH . . . . .	1	"PRENTICE PILLAR," ROSLIN CHAPEL; after LEITCH	185
VIEW OF EDINBURGH, FROM THE CASTLE; after a Drawing by DAVID ROBERTS, R.A. . . . .	43	CRICHTON CASTLE; after CRESWICK . . . . .	168
HOLYROOD PALACE, FROM THE SOUTH-EASTERN SIDE OF THE CALTON HILL; Drawn by J. D. HARDING . . . . .	51	BORTHWICK CASTLE; after CATTERMOLE . . . . .	171
QUEEN MARY'S BED-CHAMBER, HOLYROOD; after a Drawing by G. CATTERMOLE . . . . .	58	LINLITHGOW PALACE; after ROBERTS . . . . .	173
ASSEMBLY HALL, CASTLE HILL; after a Drawing by W. L. LEITCH . . . . .	75	OLD LINLITHGOW (ASSASSINATION OF REGENT MORAY); after a Picture by Sir WILLIAM ALLAN, P.R.S.A.	176
WEST BOW; after CATTERMOLE . . . . .	77	BARNBOUGLE CASTLE; after STANFIELD, from a Sketch by LEITCH . . . . .	181
FOOT OF THE WEST BOW do. do. . . . .	79	THE FIELD OF PRESTONPANS (DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER); after a Picture by Sir WILLIAM ALLAN, P.R.S.A. . . . .	188
HIGH STREET, FROM HEAD OF WEST BOW, LAWN. MARKET . . . . .	80	TANTALON CASTLE; after a Picture by C. STANFIELD, R.A., the Property of CHARLES MCGIBBON, Esq., Edinburgh . . . . .	189
DOWIE'S TAVERN, LIBERTON'S WYND, LAWNMARKET; after CATTERMOLE . . . . .	82	THE BASS ROCK; after a Picture by C. STANFIELD, R.A., in the possession of WILLIAM WILSON, Esq., Banknoch . . . . .	192
FLESHMARKET CLOSE; after CATTERMOLE . . . . .	100	DUNBAR; after a Picture by C. STANFIELD, R.A. . . . .	195
GREYFRIAR'S CHURCHYARD—SIGNING OF THE COVENANT; after CATTERMOLE . . . . .	118	FAST CASTLE; after a Picture by H. BRIGHT . . . . .	199
MORAY HOUSE, CANONGATE; after J. NASH . . . . .	132	DRYBURGH ABBEY; after a Drawing by J. DOBBIN . . . . .	201
EDINBURGH, FROM CRAIGLEITH QUARRY; after LEITCH . . . . .	138	MELROSE ABBEY, FROM THE SOUTH; after a Drawing by ROBERTS . . . . .	210
NATIONAL MONUMENT, CALTON HILL; Drawn by J. D. HARDING . . . . .	140	MELROSE ABBEY, FROM THE EAST do. do. . . . .	218
EDINBURGH, FROM THE CALTON HILL; after DAVID ROBERTS, R.A. . . . .	142	KELSO ABBEY; after a Drawing by ROBERTS . . . . .	217
THE BACK OF OLD LEITH PIER; after STANFIELD	144	JEDBURGH ABBEY; Drawn by T. PARKER . . . . .	225
EDINBURGH, FROM THE FRITH OF FORTH; after STANFIELD, from a Sketch by LEITCH . . . . .	151	NEWARK CASTLE, ON THE YARROW; after a Drawing by CATTERMOLE . . . . .	230
CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE; after ROBERTS . . . . .	155	GILNOCKIE TOWER; after a Drawing by CATTERMOLE . . . . .	237
ROSLIN CASTLE; Drawn J. D. HARDING . . . . .	159	CULZEAN CASTLE; after a Drawing by W. L. LEITCH . . . . .	239
ENTRANCE TO ROSLIN CHAPEL; after ROBERTS; Title Page . . . . .	164	DUNURE CASTLE, COAST OF AYRSHIRE; after a Picture by J. D. HARDING . . . . .	240
		AILSA CRAIG; after a Picture by C. STANFIELD, R.A., in the possession of WILLIAM WILSON, Esq., Banknoch . . . . .	241
		ROTHESAY CASTLE, ISLAND OF BUTE; after a Picture by GEORGE STANFIELD . . . . .	243

LIST OF PLATES, AND DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THEM.

	PAGE		PAGE
DUNBARTON, DUNBARTONSHIRE; after LEITCH . . . . .	245	FALL OF THE TUMMEL; after a Drawing by J. D. HARDING, in the possession of WILLIAM WILSON, Esq., Banknoch, Denny . . . . .	273
VIEW OF LOCH LOMOND, FROM THE SOUTH; after a Picture by HORATIO MACCULLOCH, R.S.A., in the possession of WILLIAM WILSON, Esq., of Banknoch, Denny . . . . .	247	LOCH KATRINE; after a Picture by HORATIO MACCULLOCH, R.S.A. . . . .	274
KILCHURN CASTLE; after a Drawing by W. L. LEITCH . . . . .	250	THE DOUNE; after J. DOBBIN . . . . .	274
ISLE OF STAFFA; after a Drawing by W. A. NESFIELD . . . . .	251	DUNFERMLINE ABBEY; after a Picture by D. O. HILL, R.S.A. . . . .	275
GLASGOW (ST. MUNGO'S) CATHEDRAL—EXTERIOR; after a Drawing by DAVID ROBERTS, R.A. . . . .	253	ST. ANDREWS; after H. GASTINEAU . . . . .	277
GLASGOW (ST. MUNGO'S) CATHEDRAL—INTERIOR; after JOSEPH NASH . . . . .	256	OLAMMIS CASTLE, FORFARSHIRE; after CATTERMOLE . . . . .	282
CASTLE CAMPBELL; after CRESWICK . . . . .	259	CORRA LINN, FALLS OF THE CLYDE; after HOUSTON . . . . .	282
FALKLAND PALACE, GRAND ENTRANCE TO; after D. ROBERTS, R.A., . . . . .	262	BOTHWELL CASTLE; after S. PROUT . . . . .	283
BALMORAL . . . . .	269	VIEW OF THE CLYDE FROM ABOVE ERSKINE FERRY; after W. L. LEITCH . . . . .	283
GLEN SANNOX, BUTESHIRE; after J. HOUSTON, R.S.A. . . . .	270	DUNDERAWE CASTLE; after a Drawing by COMLEY FIELDING, in the possession of D. C. RAIT, Esq., Glasgow . . . . .	283
VIEW FROM THE SUMMIT OF GOATFELL, LOOKING TOWARDS THE GRAMPIAN RANGE; after J. D. HARDING . . . . .	270	LOCH LEVEN, FROM BALLACHULISH; after a Picture by T. CRESWICK, A.R.A. . . . .	284
ELGIN CATHEDRAL; after a Picture by DAVID ROBERTS, R.A. . . . .	270	GLENCOE; from the Picture by HORATIO MACCULLOCH, R.S.A., in the possession of WILLIAM DENISTOUN, Esq. . . . .	284
DUNBLANE CATHEDRAL, PERTHSHIRE; after CATTERMOLE . . . . .	272	LOCH ECK; after a Picture by HORATIO MACCULLOCH, in the possession of THOMAS AUCHTERLONIE, Esq., Glasgow . . . . .	284
GLEN FALLOCH; after G. F. ROBSON . . . . .	272	STIRLING CASTLE; after G. ROBSON . . . . .	285
BENMORE, PERTHSHIRE; after W. L. LEITCH . . . . .	273	VIEW OF THE COAST OF SLEAT, ISLE OF SKYE; after a Picture by HORATIO MACCULLOCH, in the possession of WILLIAM WILSON, Esq., of Banknoch, Denny . . . . .	285



## CHAPTER I.

# EDINBURGH.

### History of the Castle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers' Caledonia, 4to. vol. ii. p. 556.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 37, 38.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 205, 206.

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

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

This Earl of Douglas died of fever, at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, in 1439, and was succeeded by his son William, the sixth Earl and third Duke. The power of the House of Douglas was at the time most formidable, and the Earl appeared in public with a retinue of followers more like an independent prince than a subject. Chancellor Crichton, irritated at this conduct, resolved to cut off the Earl and his brother David; who, with Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld,<sup>3</sup> a faithful adherent of the family, were accordingly inveigled into Edinburgh Castle by promises and flattery, and after a treacherous entertainment, which was succeeded by a pretended trial of short duration, were beheaded within the Fortress on the 24th of November, 1440.<sup>4</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> The fate of the Earl of Douglas, then only in his seventeenth year, is thus lamented in the fragment preserved by Home of Godscroft

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

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

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

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

After the famous Raid of Lauder<sup>2</sup> in 1482, when the nobility opposed James III., and executed his favourites, the King was brought back from that town to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he was kept as a kind of state prisoner. He was treated with respect, however, and the royal authority was carefully maintained; but he was vigilantly attended by some of the Peers, to observe his conduct and prevent his escape, till he should give sufficient security not to revenge the death of his favourites, to which he evinced obstinate repugnance. It is curious to know that James III. was delivered from his duration in the Castle after the Raid of Lauder by his brother, the Duke of Albany, at whose escape from the Fortress, as already related, he was so much irritated. This appears to have been effected about the end of September 1482, and Albany, who had returned from France and England, having obtained a pardon from the King, was received into such apparent favour that the royal brothers are said to have shared for some time one bed and the same table.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

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

other favourites were also with the army. On the morning after their encampment at Lauder, the Peers held a secret council in the Church, and in the course of the debate Lord Grey introduced this fable:—"The mice," he said, "consulted as to the mode of deliverance from their common enemy the cat, and agreed that a bell should be suspended from the neck of their foe, to notify its approach and their danger; but what mouse would have the courage to fasten the bell?" "I shall bell the cat!" exclaimed Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, commonly called the *Great Earl*, and this saying procured for him the sobriquet of *Bell-the-Cat*. It was resolved that the King should be placed under restraint in the Castle of Edinburgh, and all his favourites hanged over the bridge of Lauder. Cochrane, ignorant of their designs, left the royal presence, splendidly attired and attended by three hundred men, to attend the council. He commanded a retainer to knock at the door of the church, and when Sir Robert Douglass of Lochleven, who guarded the passage, inquired his name, he replied—"Tis I, the Earl of Mar." He was then admitted, and the Earl of Angus advancing to him, pulled a gold chain from his neck, exclaiming—"A rope will become thee better!" while Douglas of Lochleven seized his hunting-horn, observing that he had been too long a hunter of mischief. More astonished than alarmed, Cochrane asked—"My Lords, is it jest or earnest?" He was answered—"It is good earnest, and so shalt thou find it, for thou and thy accomplices have too long abused our Prince's favour; but no longer expect such advantage, for thou and thy followers shall now reap the deserved reward." They sent a few of their number to amuse the King, and immediately hanged Cochrane and the other favourites, including a gentleman named Preston, over the bridge of Lauder, sparing only John Ramsay of Balmain, a youth who firmly clasped the King's person. The bridge at Lauder over the Leader occupied the site of the present one, and the house in which James III. was placed under restraint after this bold deed was standing in 1810. The church in which the conference was held, was removed when John Duke of Lauderdale made the additions to Thiristano Castle.

<sup>3</sup> Pinkerton's History of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 115.

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

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

Lord Home<sup>7</sup> joined the party of Queen Margaret, who had married the Earl of Angus, and zealously supported the English interest against Albany, for which the Queen and Angus, among other advantages, agreed to pay him

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 110.

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

<sup>5</sup> Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, grandson and successor of Earl Archibald styled *Bell-the-Cat*. He married Queen Margaret in 1514, and the issue was Lady Margaret Douglas, who became the countess of Matthew fourth Earl of Lennox, and mother of the unfortunate Lord Darnley. The Earl of Angus was divorced by Queen Margaret in 1520.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. pp. 187-190.

<sup>4</sup> Annales of Scotland, vol. i. p. 268.

So says Calderwood in his *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, Wodrow Society's edition, 8vo. Edin. 1842, vol. i. p. 112; but no such marriage is narrated in the Peerage accounts. It is expressly stated by Lumsden of Tullikerne, in his *Genealogy of the Family of Forbes*, written in 1680, and printed at Inverness, 8vo. 1810, pp. 11, 18, that the Master of Forbes married "Elizabeth Lyon, daughter to the Lord Glames, who was falsely murdered in Edinburgh, as is notable known," by which it would appear that Lady Glamis was his mother-in-law, yet her daughter is alleged to have married Ross of Craigie. The Master of Forbes was, however, related to the Douglas family. His great-great-grandfather Sir Alexander Forbes, created Lord Forbes before 1442, married Lady Elizabeth Douglas, only daughter of George Earl of Angus, and grand-daughter of King Robert II., by whom he had issue two sons, the elder of whom succeeded him, and three daughters.

<sup>6</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 183-187.

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

James V., of whom it is said that "he had a solemn vow that no one should be spared that was suspected of heresy, though he were his own son," witnessed from the Castle the execution of five persons on the 1st of March, 1538-9.<sup>3</sup> The unfortunate individuals, who were first strangled and then burnt on the Castle-hill, were John Keillor, a Dominican or Black Friar, John Beveridge of the same order, Duncan Simpson, a priest from Stirling, Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar in the county of Clackmannan, and a gentleman of Stirling named Robert Forrester, a notary by profession. The general charge against them all, of which they were found guilty, was, that they were "heresiarchs, or chief heretiks, and teachers of beresie." They had been imprisoned in the Castle previous to their trial.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Piteairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 229.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. Part I. p. 338.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> This passage occurs in the octavo edition of Lindsay of Pitcottie's History of Scotland, p. 511; but it is not in the folio edition published at Edinburgh in 1728, p. 198.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I, pp. 310, 353-355.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> The church here spoken of was the ancient one which is de-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, 8vo. Edin. 1843, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 302.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> See the subsequent part of this narrative for further notice of Sir William Drury, who was conspicuous in the transaction of the time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill, London, folio, 1683, pp. 69, 70, and the same, printed from the original MS. for the BANNA-TYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1827, pp. 158, 159.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 176.

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

till the 7th of March, when she returned to Edinburgh, and received in the Castle a letter of condolence from Queen Elizabeth, which was delivered by the English ambassador Killigrew. The Queen again went to Seton House on the 9th, but she seems to have returned to Edinburgh on the following day, or on the 11th; and on the 19th of March the infant Prince was conveyed from the Castle to Stirling, in which Fortress he was delivered in trust to the Earl of Mar till he should attain the age of seventeen years. Previous to her unfortunate marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, soon after the murder of Darnley, Lord Erskine was induced by the Queen to surrender the Fortress, which he did on the 19th of March, 1566-7, when he received a discharge from the Queen and Privy Council for himself, and as successor of his father, and his deputies and servants, of their "intromission" with the Castle, which was ratified by the Parliament on the 16th of April, 1567.<sup>1</sup> Mary's object in this was to confer the command of the Fortress on the profligate and unprincipled Bothwell, and she actually appointed him on the 19th of March, 1566 7, three weeks before his mock trial for the murder of Darnley. Mary's subsequent calamities, and Bothwell's expulsion and forfeiture, rendered his tenure of brief duration, and probably his command was merely nominal; for it is stated, that in March 1566-7, after the infant Prince was sent to the Earl of Mar at Stirling, the Queen consigned the Castle to Sir William Cockburn of Skirling, Knight, who "keipit the samin till the 22d of Apryl, and then Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, Knight, Laird of Burghley, was made Captane thairof."<sup>2</sup> It subsequently appears, however, that the latter was appointed substitute for Bothwell. After Bothwell's extraordinary seizure of Queen Mary's person, not unwillingly, it is evident, on her part, between Kirkliston and Edinburgh, and her conveyance to Dunbar Castle, it was rumoured in Edinburgh that he had forcibly committed violence towards her. The city gates were ordered to be shut, the inhabitants ran to arms, and the artillery of the Castle was fired. On the 6th of May, the third day after his divorce from his countess, Lady Jane Gordon, Bothwell brought Queen Mary from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and at his arrival we are told that the "artailzarie of the Castell shot maist magnificentlie." The Queen entered the City by the West Port, and rode through the Grassmarket and up the West Bow to the Castle, Bothwell on foot leading the horse by the bridle. On the 8th of May a proclamation was issued at the Palace of Holyrood, announcing that the Queen intended to marry Bothwell, and on the same night Balfour was constituted Captain and Governor of the Castle. On the 11th, the day before her infatuated marriage, the Queen and Bothwell removed from the Castle to the Palace.<sup>3</sup> This was, apparently, the last time Queen Mary was in the Fortress. Immediately before her surrender at Carbery Hill, near Musselburgh, to the confederated nobility, Sir James Balfour deserted the Earl's interest, which he was too sagacious not to see was utterly corrupted with money, and he was "so dealt withall, that the matter came to talking, whereby he was suddely ruined; and we are told that randerit the Castell in their hands, to the prejudice of the prince and his maister who placed him there."<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 647.

<sup>2</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences in Scotland since the Death of James IV. till the year 1573, 4to. 1833, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 110, 111.

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

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

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

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

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

Maitland of Lethington was committed a prisoner to the Castle in 1568–9, before the assassination of the Regent Moray by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, at Linlithgow, in January 1569–70. On the 14th of February he was brought from the Castle to the Tolbooth, in which the Privy Council met, and he "made ane perfect oration, whereuntil he lamented the death and murthir of my Lord Regent, and made his purgation of the horrible cryme, wherefore, as he alleged, he was put in captivity." He was declared innocent, and set at liberty.<sup>4</sup> He seems to have returned to the Castle of his own accord, for on the 28th of May, 1578, he left the Fortress to attend a convention at Dunkeld.<sup>5</sup> On the last day of March 1570, Lord Herries was liberated from the Castle, in which he had been imprisoned from April 1569.<sup>6</sup> It appears that after the battle of Langside, which decided the fate of Queen Mary, many of the chief prisoners were committed to the Castle; for on the 17th of April the Privy Council ordered the Duke of Chatelherault, the Master of Herries, and others in custody in the Fortress, to be discharged.<sup>7</sup> Among the minor incidents which occurred at that time, is one of an extraordinary pursuit on horseback from Bathgate, nineteen miles distant, to the Castle. Robert Hepburn, second son of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, was at that town, and the Lairds of Applegarth and Carmichael, with some of the Earl of Morton's servants, having information of his movements, and anxious to apprehend him, as he was alleged to have been concerned in the murder of Darnley and of the Regent Moray, endeavoured to seize him. He instantly mounted his horse and fled to Edinburgh, followed by his pursuers at full speed. He entered the outer gate of the Fortress, into which he was admitted by Kirkaldy, on the 7th of September, when almost within the grasp of his enemies. The chronicler of the time considers his escape wonderful—he, "ryding upon ane broun naig, could never have space to change of the same upon his led horse, but continuallie raid till he came to the Castle foresaid, while his pursuers not only changed horse, but also did cast from them saddels and other geir to make light for pursewing of him." The same authority adds that the Regent Lennox and Morton were enraged at Kirkaldy for receiving Hepburn; yet two days afterwards he was delivered to the Regent, on the condition that nothing was to be charged against him except Darnley's and the Regent Moray's murder.<sup>8</sup>

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Knox's "Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland," p. 82. Sir James Balfour was most prominent in many of the eventful transactions of the reign of Queen Mary and the early part of the reign of James VI., during the Regencies of Moray, Lennox, Mar and Morton. He was the father of Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh, created Lord Balfour of Burleigh in 1600—a peerage attained in the person

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

<sup>4</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, &c. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 178.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. pp. 170, 171.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 167.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. pp. 180, 187.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville, 8vo. Edin., printed for the Wodrow SOCIETY, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 198, 199.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 100.

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 4to. 1770, p. 32.

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

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

Sir William Kirkaldy was well aware of the application for assistance to Queen Elizabeth, yet notwithstanding his gloomy position, his courage was unbroken, and Maitland of Lethington was sanguine. They both flattered themselves that the parsimony of the English Queen would never submit to the expense of sending an army and battering-train to Scotland; and they confidently expected assistance from France, and that in the meantime the walls of the Fortress would completely defy the besiegers.<sup>1</sup> For several weeks these assumptions appeared to be realized, and Elizabeth, who dreaded a war with France, was hesitating in her resolutions at the very moment that Cecil<sup>2</sup> had convinced her of the necessity of sending her forces into Scotland. She represented to her privy council the great expense, difficulty, and hazard of the siege, and urged that the Regent Morton ought to be able to conclude it without her aid. Killigrew, her ambassador at Edinburgh, became alarmed at this indecision, and announced in the most emphatic manner to Cecil, that if the assistance was refused they should lose Scotland, which would be certainly united in a league with France. He entreated Cecil to represent to the Queen, in the most energetic language, the absolute necessity of securing her influence in Scotland, which could be achieved at no very great expense, and concluded his letter by saying—"God's will be done. For mine own part, if this Castle be not recovered, and that with expedition, I see, methinks, the beginning of sorrows, and her Majesty's peaceable reign hitherto decaying, as it were in post, which God of his mercy defend!"<sup>3</sup>

These representations had the desired effect, and orders were sent to Sir William Drury, who was to command the enterprise, to be ready at a moment's notice for the march of the army and the transport of the artillery. This general had been in Edinburgh some weeks before the commencement of the siege on some real or feigned business, and had been imprudently allowed by Kirkaldy to visit him in the Castle, which enabled him to examine the defences and the points of attack. This accounts for the skill evinced by the besiegers in planting their batteries. Another offer of terms was made to the "Castillians," as Queen's Mary's party were now designated, by the Earl of Rothes: but it led to no result, and Kirkaldy and Maitland declared that, though deserted by every friend, they would retain the Fortress to the utmost extremity. As such was their determination, the English force under Sir William Drury, consisting of one thousand soldiers and three hundred pioneers, entered Edinburgh from Berwick on the 25th of April, 1573.<sup>4</sup> They were joined by seven hundred soldiers of the Regent, and the English train arrived by sea at Leith about the same time. On the 17th of May the batteries were completed, and five pieces of artillery were placed on each. One was erected on the Castle-hill, opposite the outer fortification called the "Spur," a second battery was constructed in the now Greyfriars' churchyard, a third at the West Port, a fourth near the west end of

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 76.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> The eldest son of Cecil, by Mary, daughter of Peter Cheke, Esq.,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Regent Morton constituted George Douglas of Parkhead governor of the Castle,<sup>7</sup> and immediately

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Thiune's Continuation of Holinshed, edit. 1586, vol. ii. p. 411.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Kirkaldy and Maitland to Cecil Lord Burghley, MS. Letter,

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

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, printed for the Wodrow Society, pp. 35, 36; *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 335; *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 40.

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

James VI. made his public entry into Edinburgh, in the end of September 1579, by the West Port, passing through the Grassmarket, and arriving at the Palace of Holyrood by the West Bow, Lawnmarket, High Street, and the Canongate, amid great pomp, firing of the Castle artillery, and loud acclamations of "Welcome to the King!"<sup>4</sup> The Castle was an occasional residence of James after he assumed the government, but it was still for the most part used as a state prison; and one of its most conspicuous inmates at this time was Francis Stuart, the turbulent Earl of Bothwell,<sup>5</sup> who considered it expedient to "enter into ward," or else was committed a prisoner to the Fortress, in 1590, on a curious charge of conspiring the death of the King, by the assistance of some East Lothian witches, during his matrimonial expedition to Denmark. Bothwell, however, soon became tired of restraint, and succeeded in escaping by the agency of a gentleman named Lauder, who happened to be the captain of the watch, and who fled with him. This revived the former prosecution, and on the 25th of June, 1591, sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him at the Cross of Edinburgh, though he was subsequently acquitted of the charge of witchcraft. His chief partisans at one period were the Earls of Angus<sup>6</sup> and Argyll, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch his stepson, Sir William Stewart of Houston, and Sir James Johnstone of Johnstone, afterwards noticed. The two Earls and Sir James Johnstone were apprehended and committed to the Castle, from which they contrived to "break ward," and escaped. On the 19th of January, 1590-1, Angus M'Connell, or Macdonald, of Dunyveg in Isla, and Lachlan Maclean of Duart, were prosecuted, in their absence, for high treason, murder, fire-raising, oppression, and other crimes, before the High Court of Justiciary, and were ordered to be imprisoned in the Castle "until his Majesty's will should be declared."<sup>7</sup> Donald Gorm Macdonald<sup>8</sup> of Sleat, in the island of Skye, was also committed to the Fortress.

About this period, and for some time afterwards, the Castle received several important state prisoners connected with the confederacy known as the "Spanish Blanks."<sup>9</sup> George fourth Earl of Huntly, one of the prominent leaders in the plot, was imprisoned there; but his confinement was almost nominal, for the King visited and dined with him, permitted his Countess<sup>10</sup> and servants to have free access to him, and sent to him

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, pp. 178, 179.

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

<sup>6</sup> William tenth Earl of Angus, son of William ninth Earl and his

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

<sup>7</sup> Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. pp. 224-230.

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

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

<sup>10</sup> Lady Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of Esme first Duke of Lennox.

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

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

In 1609, Sir James Elphinstone, some time Secretary of State for Scotland, and Lord President of the Court of Session, created Lord Balmerino in 1603, was committed a prisoner to the Castle on the charge of treasonably corresponding with Pope Clement VIII. in the King's name. Lord Balmerino was conveyed to Leith on the 5th of December, and removed to the Fortress, whence he was taken to Falkland in Fife, brought to trial at St. Andrews on the 10th of March, 1609, pleaded guilty, and was ordered to be detained a prisoner in Falkland till the King's pleasure was known, with a significant intimation that he might as well prepare for the worst.<sup>5</sup> While the prosecution of Lord Balmerino was in progress, John seventh Lord Maxwell and Sir James Macdonald of Isla<sup>6</sup> were prisoners in the Castle, the former for the murder of Sir James Johnstone, chief of the Johnstones, and the latter for misdemeanours in Argyleshire and the Isles. During their imprisonment an intimacy was formed between these gentlemen, and they determined together to achieve their liberty. For this purpose Lord Maxwell convened several of the guards in the apartment of Sir James Macdonald, and after an intoxicating carousal locked them up in the room. Both he and Macdonald, though the latter was trammelled by his fetters, accompanied by Robert Maxwell of the Tower, then violently assaulted the keepers of the gates, leaving for dead the warder of the inner gate and his wife. So far they had succeeded; but one of the soldiers now gave the alarm from a window of the Fortress on the south side, looking towards the West Port, which roused the inhabitants of that locality. Lord Maxwell escaped,<sup>7</sup> and Sir James Macdonald also got out of the Castle, but he injured himself by scaling a wall on the south side of the Castle-hill, and was finally arrested by some of the denizens of the West Port. He had crept to a dunghill, in which he

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 5-10.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> The Castle of Dalkeith occupied the site of the present Dalkeith House.

<sup>5</sup> Sir James Balfour's Annals of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 386-388.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 240-243.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. pp. 254-260.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 260.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 12, 19, 22, 24, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. vi. p. 255.

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

<sup>5</sup> *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. vi. p. 425.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 481.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 20, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Balfour's Annales, vol. iv. p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vi. pp. 522, 523.

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

<sup>6</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vi. p. 531.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. vol. vi. pp. 539, 540.

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

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

<sup>9</sup> "Summondis against Colonell Archibald Strauchan, Walter

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 220-231.

<sup>3</sup> *Scots Magazine*, 1745, p. 612.

<sup>4</sup> Nicoll's *Diary*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 216, 217.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 290. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 293, 294. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 334, 335.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell, printed for the ABBOTS-

FORD CLUB, p. 234. The external appearance of the Castle at the time is ascertained from the almost contemporary publication of Slezer, one of whose views is that of the Fortress overlooking the esplanade, which was then completely open, and is represented as sufficiently rocky. The Half-Moon Battery, and the adjacent edifice in which James VI. was born, are delineated as they now exist; but the flag-staff, which has now long been erected on that battery, is seen on the battlemented top of the adjoining tenement overlooking the old city. The Fortress was entered by a drawbridge, forming a flight of steps in the centre of a lower fortification, defended by artillery, which extended beneath the Half-Moon Battery, and is superseded by the present batteries on each side of the drawbridge and portcullis. The strength of the ordinary garrison of Edinburgh is detailed in a statement of the daily pay of officers and men in 1684. "Captain, 8s.; lieutenant, 4s.; ensign, 3s.; three sergeants, 1s. 6d. each, 4s. 6d.; three gunners, do.; three corporals, 1s. each, 3s.; two drummers, 1s. each, 2s.; scrivener, 2s.; chaplain, 2s.; surgeon, 2s.; one hundred and eight sentinels at 6d. each, 2l. 14s.; gunsmith, 10l. sterling quarterly, or 2s. 4½d. For coal and candle to the said garrison yearly, 20l. sterling." The whole expenses each day amounted to 4l. 11s. 4½d. See "Establishment for the Pay of his Majesty's standing Forces in his ancient Kingdom of Scotland, according to 28 days in each month, and 13 months in the year." Printed in the "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," vol. iii. Part I. p. 70, from the original document, a large sheet of vellum preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, subscribed by Charles II., and countersigned by the Secretary of State.

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

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Immortalised in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, as the residence of Richie Moniplies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Leven and Melville Papers, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. xi. p. 160.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

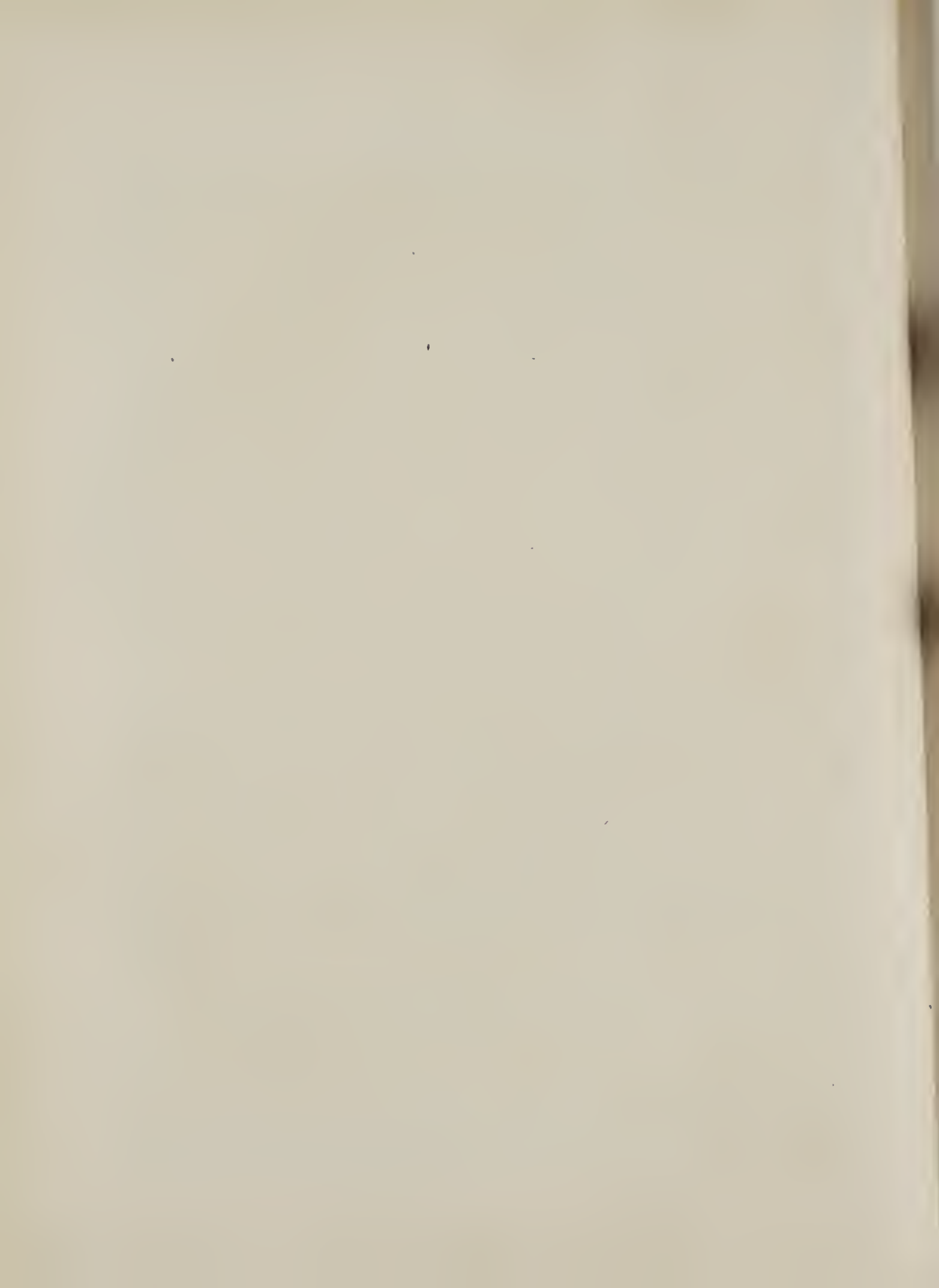
The Rod of the Lord High Treasurer is about thirty inches in length, having a glass globe at the top. In the Crown-room are several other interesting and valuable memorials, such as the golden collar of the Order of the Garter sent by Queen Elizabeth to James VI.; the Badge representing St. George and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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Papers relative to the Regalia of Scotland, printed for the BAN-  
NATYKE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1829, pp. 50, 51, and 90-103.







VIEW OF EDINBURGH FROM THE CASTLE  
From the original Drawing by W. Roberts R.S.A.

JOHN C. MURDOCH LOND N



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

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

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

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

## The Abbey and Palace of Holyrood.

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

Of all the benefactors of the ancient Church of Scotland, David I., or St. David, as he is also termed, is the most conspicuous. His name is transmitted to posterity as the founder of several splendid religious houses, prominently noticed in the sequel of this work, and of which one of the most celebrated was the Abbey of Holyrood. According to the legend, this monastery was founded on the spot where David was miraculously preserved from the furious attack of a deer; the narration of which circumstance by Bellenden, in his translation of Boethius, is most likely one of those mixtures of fable and reality which so frequently derive their existence from what was in itself a very simple event. It is entitled—"How Kying David past to the hunters on the Croce Day<sup>1</sup> in hervest, how he was dung fra his hors be aue wyld hart, and how he foundit the Abbay of Halyrudhous be myracle of the Holy Crocc." In the fourth year of his reign, according to this legend, David I., on Rood Day, or the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, after the celebration of mass, yielded to the request of some young nobles, against the advice of his confessor Alwin, and a hunting party proceeded eastward of the Castle, near the base of Salisbury Crags. David and his attendants were soon separated in the forest, and as he approached the base of the hill, a deer suddenly appeared, and ran with great violence towards him. The King's horse was so alarmed as to become unmanageable, and the hart threw him to the ground, severely wounded on the thigh. While David threw out his arms to save himself from the stroke of the infuriated animal, a piece of the true Cross which he possessed in a crucifix (though, according to Father Hay, on this occasion it marvellously slipped into his hand), caused the stag to disappear or vanish

<sup>1</sup> The festival of the Holy Cross is celebrated on the 14th of September.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 131, 132, 133. Father Hay, however, states that the sum was 5000 merks—"quinq̄ millia marc̄arum."—Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis, Preface, p. xxii.

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

the monastery was rendered more salubrious, and he surrounded the cemetery with a brick wall. Helias was succeeded by Henry, who was consecrated Bishop of Galloway in 1253, after the death of Gilbert, Bishop of that see, though he was not consecrated till 1255.<sup>1</sup> Ralf, or Radulph, was appointed Abbot on the removal of Henry to the see of Galloway. On the 14th of January, 1155, in the reign of Alexander III., an assembly was held at Holyrood, in which the King, with advice of his magnates, settled a dispute between David de Loucher, sheriff of Perth, and the Abbey of Dunfermline.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Dempster, however, designates him "Alexander Montgomerius,

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

<sup>5</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, folio, vol. iii. p. 1022.

<sup>6</sup> Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 123-127.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> A contemporary chronicler thus records the coronation of the youthful sovereign.—"1438, Wes the coronacioun of King James the Secund, with the red scheik (cheek), callit James with the fyr in the face, he beand bet sax years auld and ane half, in the Abbay of Holyrudhous, quhair new his hanys lyes."—Chronicle at the end of Winton MS. cited in "Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis," Preface, p. xlix.

<sup>3</sup> Abbot Crawford was a son of Sir William Crawford of Haining,

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> From the 3d of March, 1501-2, to the 3d of September that year, he received several sums, amounting in all to 319l. 9s. 2d. Payments of larger sums to Logie are entered in the Accounts for 1502, 1503, and 1504. Other artisans were employed during those years in the erection or embellishment of the New Palace, which then received the designation of Holyrood-house, as distinct from, though closely connected with, the Abbey of Holyrood. The progress of the erection of the Palace in 1504 is ascertained from various documents. On the 10th of September that year is "a precept maid to Maister Leonard Logy for his gude and thankful service done and to be done to the Kingis Hienes, and speciallie for his diligent and grete labour maid be him in the bigging of the Palace beside the Abhay of the Haly Croce, of the soume of fourty poundis of the usual money of the realme, to be paid to him of the Kingis cofferis yerlie for all the dayis of his life, or quhill he be benefitt of ane hundereth merks." The chimneys of the Palace were finished in 1504, and the tower is noticed as completed in 1505.—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, Preface, pp. vi. vii. viii.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Apparently Edward Stuart, who was Bishop of Orkney in 1510, Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, John Fraser, Bishop of Ross, James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, and George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Foreman, already mentioned, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, Preface, pp. lxxi. lxxii.





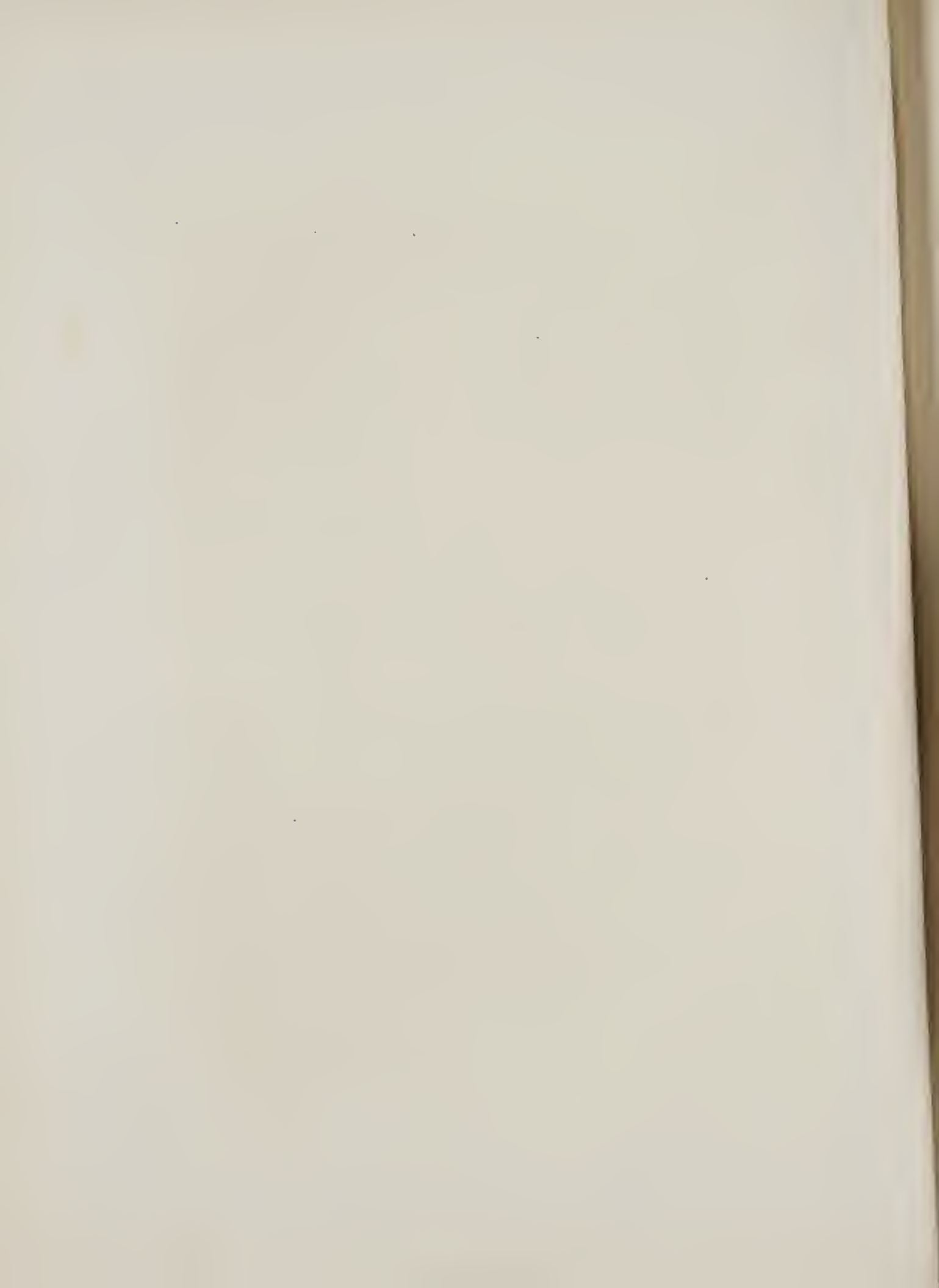




HOLYROOD PALACE

*After an original Drawing by J. G. Murray*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



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

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

The second Queen of James V., Mary of Guise, the mother of Queen Mary, was married to the Scottish King in the cathedral church of St. Andrews in June 1538. Mary of Guise appears to have been seldom at Holyrood; the Palace of Linlithgow, her jointure, having been her favourite residence. This princess, however, was crowned in the Abbey Church, of which some notices occur in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts.<sup>1</sup> After the willing rout of his army on the shore of the Solway Frith, James V. avoided Holyrood on his return, and proceeded to Falkland, where he expired on the 14th of December, 1542.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Those payments were estimated at 442 bolls of wheat, 640 bolls of bere, 500 bolls of oats, 200 capons, two dozen of hens, two dozen of salmon, twelve loads of salt, and a number of swine. The Canons of Holyrood had right of fattening their hogs in the extensive tracts now forming the finely cultivated parish of Duddingstone, between Arthur's Seat and the Frith of Forth. See the rental of Holyrood Abbey in Keith's "History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland," folio, Appendix, p. 186. It is therein stated that the mouey amounted to 292*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Scots.

<sup>2</sup> Hardwicke's Miscellaneous State Papers, Ho. London, 1778, vol. i. p. 176; Cecil to Throgmorton, 26th August, 1561.

ABBEEY AND PALACE OF HOLYROOD.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> See p. 16 of the present Work.

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

<sup>3</sup> Raudolph to Cecil, 7th September, 1561, in Bishop Keith's

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the sitting of this Parliament a sermon was preached by Knox in St. Giles' Church, in which he alluded in the most forcible language to the Queen's rumoured marriage. This was soon communicated to Mary, and Knox was again summoned to her presence. Lord Ochiltree<sup>2</sup> and some of his friends accompanied Knox to the Palace; but John Erskine of Dun, the "Superintendent of Angus and Mearns" under the new system, was the only person admitted with him into the Queen's cabinet. As soon as Mary saw Knox, she exclaimed, weeping, and in great excitement—"Never was prince handled as I am. I have borne with you," she said to Knox, "in all your rigorous manner of speaking both against myself and against my nneles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whenever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once avenged." The reply of Knox increased the Queen's anger, and she indignantly asked—"What have you to do with my marriage?" This elicited a definition from Knox of his vocation to preach faith and repentance, and his imperative necessity to teach the nobility and commonwealth their duty. The Queen again asked—"What have ye to do with my marriage, or what are ye in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, Madam," was the stern reply; "and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me, how abject soever I may be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same." Erskine of Dun here attempted to soothe the Queen by some complimentary allusions to her personal beauty, the excellence of her disposition, and the admiration expressed for her by all the princes of Europe, who were rivals to gain her favour. Knox stood immovable, and his coolness increased Mary's anger. He urged his conscientious motives, which further offended the Queen, who ordered him to leave the cabinet and remain in the antechamber till her pleasure was intimated. Lord John Stuart, Commendator of Coldingham,<sup>3</sup> joined the Queen and Erskine of Dun in the cabinet, in which they remained nearly an hour. During this space, Knox, who was attended by Lord Ochiltree, delivered a religious admonition to the ladies. He retired, accompanied by Erskine, to his residence at the Netber-Bow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 543, entitled—"For Stancheing and Suppressing of Tumults within Burrowis."

<sup>2</sup> *Diurnal of Occurents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 77.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

and one hundred and sixty men were in the court. Mary was in that portion of the Palace consisting of the north-west towers, in the upper storeys of which are the apartments known by her name. These are reached by the staircase entered from the piazzas in the interior of the north side of the quadrangle, and also by a narrow spiral stair on the north side of the Palace, near the western door of the Chapel-Royal. By this private stair the conspirators were admitted to Darnley's apartments on the first storey. About seven o'clock in the evening the Queen was at supper in a very small room or closet, and with her were the Countess of Argyll and the Commendator of Holyrood-house, her illegitimate sister and brother, Beaton of Criech, master of the royal household, Arthur Erskine, who commanded her guard, and Riccio. Darnley ascended the above private staircase communicating with the Queen's bed-chamber, as if to join the Queen at supper, and threw up the arras which concealed its opening in the wall. One writer<sup>1</sup> alleges, that Riccio was sitting at a side-table, according to his custom while waiting, when the assassins entered; and another,<sup>2</sup> that he sat at the table with the Queen. Be this as it may, the closet is so small that the distinction of attitude could be scarcely perceptible. A minute had scarcely elapsed after Darnley went into the closet, when Lord Ruthven, a man of tall stature, and eased in complete armour, abruptly intruded on the party. His features were so sunk and pale from disease, his appearance so repulsive, and his voice so hollow, that the Queen started in terror, and commanded him instantly to leave the closet, while her guests and attendants sat paralysed at his sudden invasion. It is stated that Ruthven, when he entered, merely wished to "speak" to Riccio; but Mary suspected violence, and Ruthven's refusal to depart alarmed the Italian, who crept behind the Queen. An explanation was then demanded from Darnley, who affected ignorance, while he scowled fiercely at the victim. The light of torches now glared in the outer-room, or bed-chamber, a confused noise of voices and weapons was heard, and instantly George Douglas,<sup>3</sup> Ker of Fawdonside, and others, crowded into the closet, which must have been completely filled, and the wonder is that so limited an apartment could contain so many persons. Ruthven drew his dagger, fiercely exclaiming to the Queen—"No harm is intended to you, Madam, but only to that villain." He made an effort to seize Riccio, who sheltered himself behind the Queen, and according to some accounts, almost clasped her in his arms in a state of distraction, shouting in a foreign accent—"Justice! justice! save my life, Madam, save my life!"

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Crawford's *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History*, p. 194.

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

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

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







QUEEN MARY'S BEND-CHAMBER, HOLLYHOLM

*From the Original Drawing by G. Callender.*

JOHN. MURDOCH LONDON



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

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

Mary does not appear to have been often a resident in the Palace till after the birth of her son James VI., in Edinburgh Castle, on the 19th of June, 1566.<sup>3</sup> She was occasionally at Holyrood in August and September that year; and, on the 29th of the latter month, Darnley arrived at the Palace about ten in the evening, but he peremptorily refused to enter unless the Earls of Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, and some of the officers of state, who were within, should depart. The Queen condescended to wait on him, and conducted him to her own apartments, where he remained with her during the night.<sup>4</sup> On the following day the Privy Council met in the Queen's apartments, and argued with Darnley respecting the folly of the design which he had formed to leave the kingdom; and the Queen took him by the hand entreating him to say whether she had ever offended him. He confessed that she had never given him any cause of complaint, but he abruptly retired from the Privy Council, saying to her—"Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space;" and to the Privy Council—"Adieu, gentlemen." This was the last time Darnley was in Holyrood, from which he immediately proceeded to his father at Glasgow.

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> See the *History of the Castle* in the present Work, p. 17.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Craig was "bruted" in the General Assembly on the 30th of December, 1567, for proclaiming the bans of the Queen and Bothwell, and was ordered to "give in his purgation in writing," which he produced on the 6th of July, 1569, to the then General Assembly, and it was unanimously pronounced satisfactory—that he had "done the duty of one faithful minister."—*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1830, Part I., pp. 114, 115, 144.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Nec viduas lætis eadem, nec virginis opta  
Tempora; quo nupsit, non diuturna fuit:  
Hæc quoque do causâ, si te proverbia tangunt,  
Mense malas Mato uubere vulgus ait."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the DANNA-TYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I., pp. 163, 167, 168.

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> See the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work, p. 29.

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

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

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

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

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

occurred on the 27th of December.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland, vol. i. Part II., pp. 294-298.

<sup>1</sup> Birrel's Diary, pp. 46, 47.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. Appendix, pp. 208-237, 239-244.

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> The order of this procession, with the parties present, is given by Sir James Balfour in his minute and interesting account of the coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood, in his "Annales," vol. iv. pp. 380-389.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Balfour states, that when the ceremonial was con-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the Lords of Session, dated at Greenwich, 19th May, 1634. Bishop Bellenden, however, was refractory, or perceived that it was impossible to fulfil the King's orders, and was soon out of favour with the Court. The correspondence with him on the subject was chiefly carried on by Archbishop Laud, and became at last conciliatory in reference to those whom the English primate describes as having "obeyed or disobeyed his Majesty's commands in receiving the communion in the Chapel-Royal." On the 12th of January, 1635, Archbishop Laud again wrote to Bishop Bellenden about the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. He mentions Edward Kellie, who in November, 1629, had been appointed to an official situation in the Chapel-Royal by writ under the Privy Seal. The English primate states that the next time he saw the Earl of Traquair he would converse with him about the "gentlemen of the Chapel," and "one Edward Kellie." In a postscript the Archbishop says that he had seen the Earl, who assured him that Kellie had been paid.



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

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

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

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

In 1679 the Duke of York, afterwards James II., visited Edinburgh, occupied the Palace, and was magnificently entertained by the Magistrates. While at Holyrood, the Duke became unpopular by his encouragement of the drama and other amusements, to which the citizens were generally opposed. The Prince again arrived at the Palace in 1680, as a kind of exile from the English court on account of his religious principles, accompanied by his Duchess, and his daughter the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. The "Duke's Walk," the common appellation of one of the royal parks at the base of Arthur's Seat, east of the Palace, was so called because it was the ordinary promenade of the Duke and his family. The former foot-path is now superseded by the fine carriage-drive leading round Arthur's Seat and the base of Salisbury Crags, begun in 1844.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the Union, the Palace was deserted, and the Chapel-Royal was allowed to continue a ruin till 1758, when it was ordered to be repaired at the expense of the Exchequer. The edifice was most absurdly and injudiciously allowed to be covered with flag-stones, the weight of which was too heavy to be supported by the old dilapidated walls, and on the 2d of December, 1768, about mid-day, a part of the roof and walls fell into the interior, bringing down more of the edifice on the following night. The admired Gothic pillars and ornaments on the north side of the church, were destroyed, and the sepulchral vaults and monuments were greatly injured by the rubbish. The ruins were removed from the interior in 1776. At that time the bodies of James V. and some others were in their coffins in the royal vault, and the head of Queen Magdalene is described by an eye-witness<sup>3</sup> as "entire, and even beautiful." Within three years afterwards, according to the same authority, the coffins, the head of Queen Magdalene, and the skull of Darnley, were stolen, and the thigh-bones of the latter only remained, showing the tallness of his stature. The royal vault, which is in the south-east angle of the church, and is a most repulsive-looking cell half under ground, now contains

<sup>1</sup> Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh in 1689, 4to. 1828, printed for the BANSATYNE CLUB, pp. 16-19.

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, p. 255.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Edinburgh: the Old City.



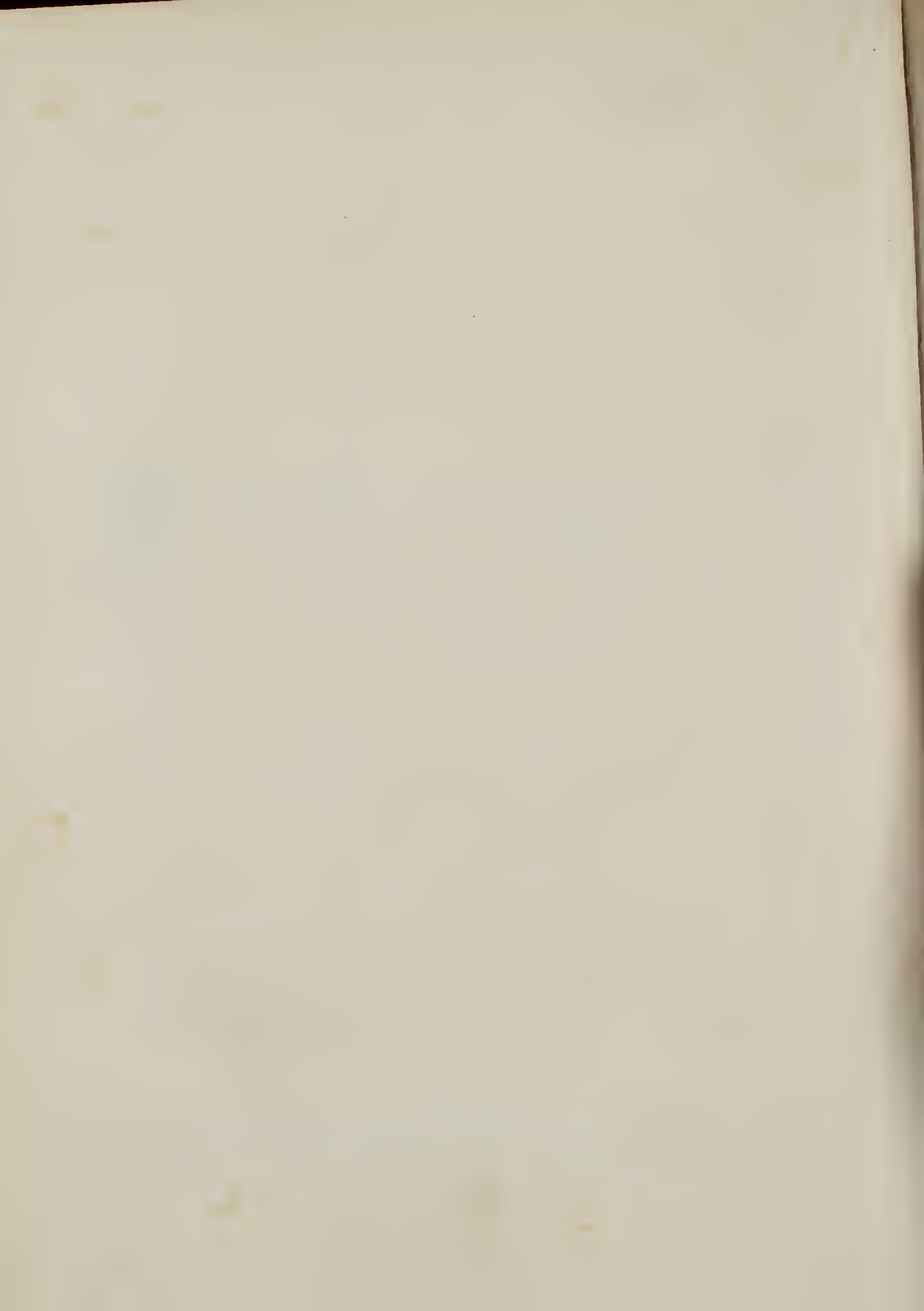
IN the situation and appearance of the "Old Town" of Edinburgh are displayed various peculiar features, and the architecture of many of the existing tenements denotes the former intercourse of the citizens with the Continent. The information, however, which we have as to the ancient state of the city is limited, and its history, previous to the foundation of the Abbey of Holyrood by David I., like its origin, is altogether unknown. For a considerable period after that event, the town was merely a small village built on the ridge sloping eastward from the Castle. The huge, massive, and lofty abodes of the inhabitants extended in that direction only as far as the Nether-Bow gate, at the termination of the High Street, which was the boundary of the burgh; and part of the old city wall still forms the west side of the steep alley or street known as Leith Wynd. Between the Nether-Bow and the Abbey of Holyrood were few or no houses previous to the foundation of that monastery, and this is confirmed by the charter of David I., which permitted the canons regular of Holyrood to erect a burgh of regality on the ground between their abbey and the town. This was the commencement of the Canongate, of which the abbot and canons were the superiors. The city was also for centuries surrounded by lakes and swamps, which procured for it the appellation of "Isleburgh" by the French in the sixteenth century. On its north side, and towards the west, lying immediately beneath the precipices of the Castle Rock, was the North Loch, the bed of which at the present day forms the Princes' Street Gardens, and, like many other once solitary and romantic spots, is now traversed by a railway.<sup>1</sup> On the south was the Borough Loch, which covered the present Hope Park Meadows, and was long the resort of snipes and other wild-fowl.

The first extension of the city was the Cowgate, which was long a suburb, the houses on each side being placed amid gardens now covered by decayed tenements, and abounding with numerous alleys. The first fortified wall of Edinburgh, erected about 1450, included only the Lawnmarket and High Street on the south; but in little more than half a century the Cowgate had been built, and as it was considered of sufficient importance to require defence after the fatal battle of Flodden in 1513, this suburb and the Grassmarket were included within the second wall, of which some portions in the streets further south and west still exist. Froissart states that in 1384-5, when a French force arrived to assist Robert III. against the English, the city contained four thousand houses; but this is a gross exaggeration, and is of no more authority than the number of fine castles he pretends to have seen in the vicinity. After the atrocious assassination of James I. at Perth, in February 1436-7, Edinburgh became the Scottish metropolis, and succeeding sovereigns, especially James III., conferred many privileges on the citizens. In the reign of James IV. the town was increased by the erection of wooden houses, the materials of which were obtained from the forest called the Borough Muir, on the south

<sup>1</sup> Previous to the fortifying of the city in the middle of the fifteenth century the bed of the North Loch was a dry ravine. The gardens of David I. under the Castle rock, such as they were, occupied part of the ground; and Bower mentions a grand tournament held on it in 1296, under the auspices of the queen of Robert III., at which Prince David, her eldest son, presided. After the lake was formed as a defence of the city on the north, it extended east of St. Cuthbert's parish church, from the base of the Castle rock, near the ruinous Well-House Tower, erroneously designated *Wallace's Tower*, to the

line of the North Bridge, at which was a sluice for discharging the water. A ford in the lake is mentioned at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Town-Council kept swans and ducks in the North Loch, and several tenements on its south bank had servitudes of boats, which latterly were most convenient for introducing smuggled goods into the city. The lake was partly drained in 1763, previous to the erection of the North Bridge and the construction of the Earthen Mound, but the ground lay waste and marshy till 1816 and 1825, when it was enclosed, and partly laid out in pleasure-grounds.









NEW ASSEMBLY HALL.  
EDINBURGH

*From an Original Drawing by W. L. Letch*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



of the then Borough Loch. In 1478, when the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., encamped the English army at Restalrig, Edinburgh is described as populous and wealthy. Taylor, the Water-Poet, notices the High Street, in 1615, as the "fairest and goodliest street that ever his eyes bebold." Dr. Johnson merely observes of the Scottish metropolis, when on his journey to the Hebrides, in 1773, that it is "a city too well known to admit description." Boswell, however, records his admission, that "the breadth of the street, and the loftiness of the buildings, made a noble appearance." This was only a few years before the following description of the then town was published by a most competent authority, who says—"Placed upon the ridge of a hill, it admits of but one good street running from east to west, and even this is tolerably accessible only from one quarter. The lanes leading to the north and south, by reason of their steepness, narrowness, and darkness, can only be considered as so many unavoidable nuisances. Many families, sometimes no less than ten or a dozen, are obliged to live overhead of each other in the same building, where to all other inconveniences is added that of a common stair, which is in effect no other than an upright street."<sup>1</sup>

When the citizens were crowded together in the towering tenements, entered by those "upright streets," the common stairs, and in the steep and narrow lanes of the High Street, the Canongate, and the Cowgate, the town was entered by six gates, locally designated "Ports." The Nether-Bow Port on the east is already noticed as leading directly into the Canongate; south from this, at the junction of St. Mary's Wynd and the Pleasance, was a gate at the east end of the Cowgate; and on the north, at the termination of Leith Wynd, near Trinity College Church, was St. Andrew's Port. A more modern gate was the North Port, at the east end of the North Loch, leading to the fields on which the new city is erected, and to a straggling hamlet called Multrie's Hill. On the south-west were the Potterow and Bristo Ports, and immediately under the south base of the Castle rock, at the west end of the Grassmarket, was the West Port. An internal gate was in the West Bow. All those ancient erections have long disappeared. The hamlet of Multrie's Hill was removed for the erection of the General Register House at the east end of Princes' Street, and no vestiges remain of St. Ninian's Chapel in the vicinity, and of a building called Dingwall's Castle, which probably derived its name from John Dingwall, one of the first judges of the Court of Session, and Provost of Trinity College Church at the Reformation. The ancient road on the north side of the North Loch, which had no hedges or fences of any kind, known as the Long Gate or Row, is the present line of Princes' Street. It is traditionally said that the magistrates on one occasion, before 1750, offered to an inhabitant of the Canonmills a perpetual feu of all the ground between Multrie's Hill and the Gallowlee, half-a-mile distant on the left of the road to Leith, for a merely nominal feu-duty, but, as the land produced only heath and furze, the conditions were declined. It is curious to contrast this with the present value of the district in question. The former village of Picardy, occupied by the descendants of French refugees as weavers, gave its name to Picardy Place. The Gallowlee, the scene of many an execution, as its ominous name intimates, once contained fine gardens and nursery-grounds.

### THE CASTLE-HILL.

The most ancient part of Edinburgh is the narrow street adjoining the esplanade of the Fortress, extending to the Lawnmarket and head of the West Bow, and designated the Castle-hill. This was for many years a fashionable residence of some of the nobility and gentry, and the denizens were a kind of exclusive community, separated in some degree from their neighbours in the Lawnmarket by the Weigh-House, a particularly clumsy edifice of two storeys and a flat roof, erected in the middle of the street in 1660, on the site of the Weigh-House destroyed by Cromwell in January 1651, and allowed to deform the locality till its removal before the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Bart., a judge in the Scottish Supreme Court from 1726 to 1766, Lord Justice-Clerk from 1763 to the latter year, and grandfather of the first Earl of Minto. His Lordship was known to be the writer of "Proposals for carrying into effect certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh," in which he indulges in several severe reflections, not now applicable, on the internal condition of the city. It is not known in what part of the city Sir Gilbert

originally resided; but in 1753 the first storey or flat of the west tenement, entered by a common stair from Carrubber's Close in the High Street, was advertised to be sold or let as the house of the "Dowager Lady Minto;" and some years afterwards the mansion still called Minto House, on the south of the Cowgate, near Argyll Square, was built as a town residence for the family.

visit of George IV. in 1822. The Castle-hill includes sundry antique tenements on both sides of the street, and the entrance to several alleys or closes which were demolished by the construction of the spacious road from the south-west suburbs to the Lawnmarket, winding round the Castle rock, called the "New West Approach," opened in 1836, and by the erection of the beautiful Gothic edifice, surmounted above its eastern entrance by a magnificent and lofty spire, for the annual meetings of the General Assembly, and as one of the city parish churches.<sup>1</sup> The designations of those closes or alleys were, like many of those in other parts of the town, occasionally changed by the caprice of the proprietors, or on account of some resident inhabitant of rank and importance.<sup>2</sup> Only one, apparently, had an outlet to the lower region of the Grassmarket on the south.<sup>3</sup> The first alley below the esplanade on the south side deserves to be particularly noticed. In it is an old mansion strongly built, the walls of great thickness, said to have been at one time a residence of the ducal family of Gordon, though this rather contradicts their reputed town domicile in the Canongate. The outer doorway is surmounted by a kind of fleur-de-lis coronet. In this house, or certainly in one in this alley, was born the gallant Sir David Baird, Bart., the hero of Seringapatam, who died in 1829. The other closes, which led to old mansions and tenements, behind which were sloping gardens, have disappeared, and a very few of the street entrances are the only remains of this completely changed locality.<sup>4</sup>

On the north side of the street, near the Esplanade, is the Reservoir, a plain stone edifice erected for supplying the Old Town with water. Before this, the carrying of water afforded employment to persons of both sexes, called *water-caddies*, whose daily avocation was to ascend the long stairs of the tenements of the Old Town with small barrels full of water on their backs, which they emptied into the tubs and pails of those who paid them a small sum for each barrel. Those water-caddies were duly licensed by the magistrates, and had the right of first obtaining water at the wells whenever they appeared; while the citizens could only procure a supply by turns, and the maxim that they who came first were first served was duly observed, except in the case of the caddies. The wells of Edinburgh were often the scenes of abusive language and skirmishing on the part of female viragos, who contended for the priority of their "turn" with their neighbours.<sup>5</sup>

Behind the Reservoir,<sup>6</sup> on the steep declivity of the Castle-hill bank, overlooking Princes' Street Gardens, is Ramsay Lodge, a plain villa, chiefly interesting as having been built by Allan Ramsay, the author of

<sup>1</sup> The General Assembly's Hall, in which the congregation of the Tolbooth parish is accommodated, was named Victoria Hall, in compliment to her Majesty Queen Victoria, during whose first visit to Scotland in 1842 the edifice was in progress of erection. Although the whole structure was built, with the exception of the higher part of the spire, the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was performed on that occasion. The edifice was completed in 1844, and the General Assembly was first held in it in May that year. Under the church, on the ground-floor, are commodious apartments for meetings of committees, the preservation of records, and the library belonging to the General Assembly.

<sup>2</sup> One alley derived its name from a different cause. This was the Stripping Close, at which culprits sentenced to be whipped through the town were divested of their upper garments by the executioner, and the punishment was commenced on their backs by that functionary.

<sup>3</sup> This was Currie's Close, dignified as *Vicus Currieri* in the "Bird's Eye" view of Edinburgh taken by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647, and republished in Kirkwood's "Plans and Illustrations of the City of Edinburgh" in 1817.

<sup>4</sup> Blair's Close is the name of the alley in which Sir David Baird was born. Below it were Brown's Close, Boswell's Court, and Rockville Court, the latter deriving its name from the Hon. Alexander Gordon of Rockville, a younger son of William second Earl of Aberdeen, who was elevated to the Bench in 1784, and discharged his duties as a judge till his death in his house in this alley in 1792. Coalstoun's Close, on this side of the street farther down, and now removed, was so named because in it resided George Brown, Esq. of Coalstoun, in Haddingtonshire, who took his seat on the Bench by the title of Lord Coalstoun in December 1756. His Lordship had previously occupied a house in the Luckenbooths opposite St. Giles' church. His lady, who survived him sixteen years, died in Coal-

stoun's Close in 1792. Lord Coalstoun was the grandfather of the lady who married George ninth Earl of Dalhousie. Kennedy's Close, which was the next eastward, is said to have been so called from a branch of the Kennedys, Earls of Cassillis, who had a house in this alley.

<sup>5</sup> In 1621, the Scottish Parliament, in compliance with a petition of the citizens, passed an act to bring water into the city; nevertheless the liges remained in their former condition, procuring water from spring-wells and other sources, till 1672, when the magistrates employed Peter Brauss, a German engineer, to introduce water in a lead pipe from Comiston, near the base of the Pentland Hills, about four miles south-west of the city, to this Reservoir. The contract with Brauss amounted to 2950*l.*, and, to stimulate him to activity, the authorities promised him a gratuity of 50*l.*, which sum was paid to him in 1681, when the water is supposed to have been first introduced. Public wells, which still remain, were erected in the streets. In 1722, additional pipes were laid; and in 1787 a cast-iron pipe of five inches was added. In 1790, other springs were procured at Swanston, and three miles further south near the Pentlands, and a pipe laid at the expence of 20,000*l.* These were the preliminaries of the more extensive introduction of water into the city by a public joint-stock company.

<sup>6</sup> In the "Bird's-Eye" view of Edinburgh, by Gordon of Rothiemay, a "kirk on the Castle-hill" is noticed as one of the "chief places of the town." A view of the south side of the edifice is given, which was a kind of Gothic fabric near the site of the Reservoir. Maitland conjectures that it was the "church of St. Andrew near the Castle," to the altar of the Holy Trinity in which Alexander Currie, vicar of Livingstone, granted an annuity of twenty merks Scots on the 20th of December, 1488. Maitland also names an informant (Professor Sir Robert Stewart) who had often seen the ruins of this church.—History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 206.







WEST BOW  
EDINBURGH

*From an Original Drawing by G. Callender*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON





the "Gentle Shepherd." He spent the last twelve years of his life in this house, and died in it in 1757, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.<sup>1</sup>

Numerous old mansions and tenements stood between Ramsay Garden and the alley known by its modern name, from a subsequent proprietor, of Blyth's Close, in which were the reputed Palace and Oratory of Mary of Guise, the Queen of James V. Most of those tenements are now demolished, and the others, inhabited by very poor families, are in rapid decay.<sup>2</sup> The Palace and Oratory of Mary of Guise, and Blyth's Close itself, were taken down in 1845, and the only remaining memorial of the latter in 1847 was the front land of three storeys, on which were the inscription "LAUS DEO," the date 1591 in large iron letters, and the marks of the initials of James VI. The Palace of Queen Mary's mother was of no architectural pretensions, yet it was antique and solid, though latterly its squalid inmates rendered the exterior and the interior peculiarly forbidding to a visitor. It was a tenement of three storeys on the west side of the alley, entered by a turnpike stair, above the door of which were carved in stone the Queen's initials, her cipher, and the words "LAUS ET HONOR DEO." The roofs of the apartments displayed various coronets, fleurs-de-lis, and ornaments in carved wood, many of which are carefully preserved.<sup>3</sup> On the opposite side of the alley was the supposed Oratory, in a large recess in which was found a curious iron box, now preserved in the museum at Abbotsford.

### THE WEST BOW.

THIS singular street, one of the most ancient in Edinburgh, of which only two small portions now remain, one forming the south-west corner of the Lawnmarket, and a few tenements below, and the other at the Grassmarket, was entered from the Castle-hill by an angular sloping of the street, in which before 1822 stood the Weigh-House. The West Bow was for centuries one of the most remarkable and grotesque localities of the Old Town, the houses of the most fantastic architecture, and abounding in antiquities, which have all disappeared. The street was a steep descent from the Lawnmarket, which was designated the *Bow-Head* at its commencement, and the *Bow-Foot* at its amalgamation with the latter. It had two *bends* or crooks, called *turns*, at one of which, next the Lawnmarket, was the gate connected with the first wall of Edinburgh, built in 1450, extending directly eastward between the Lawnmarket and the High Street, and the then suburb of the Cowgate. The books for supporting the hinges of this gate were long visible in the front of an adjacent house. This gate had been retained after the building of the wall in 1513 included a wider circuit within the city; and it was the scene of ceremonials at the state entrances of the sovereigns. The West Bow had witnessed the public entries of James VI. and his consort Anne of Denmark, Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, Charles II., and James II. when Duke of York, into the city; and its denizens, for upwards of a century after the removal of the place of execution on the Castle-hill, and other localities, were familiarised with the melancholy processions of criminals led to expiate their

<sup>1</sup> Although the site is most romantic, and the house is surrounded by trees, the fantastic style in which it is built caused numerous jokes at Ramsay's taste, which considerably annoyed him. It is said that he one day complained to his friend Patrick fifth Lord Elibank, to whom he was showing the interior, that the wags of Edinburgh compared the house to a goose-pie, and his Lordship is reported to have jocularly replied—"Indeed, Allan, when I see you in it I think the wags are not far wrong." The following notice of relics discovered at the formation of Allan Ramsay's garden is interesting—"About the middle of June some workmen, employed in levelling the upper part of Mr. Ramsay's garden in the Castle-hill, fell upon a subterraneous chamber, about fourteen feet square, in which were found an image of white stone, with a crown upon its head, supposed to be the Virgin Mary, two brass candlesticks, about a dozen of ancient Scottish and French coins, and some other trinkets scattered among the rubbish. By several remains of burnt matter, and two cannon-balls, it is guessed that the building above ground was destroyed by the Castle in some former confusion, it having been the most westerly house in the city."—The Scots Magazine for June 1754, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the former occupants of these tenements may be here noticed. In Pipe's Close, a repulsive narrow alley, the first east of the Reservoir, formerly dwelt the Hon. Barbara and the Hon. Elizabeth Gray, daughters of John tenth Lord Gray, so styled because he married Marjory Baroness Gray in her own right, only child of Patrick ninth Lord. At the head of the next alley, called Skinner's Close, the family of the Earls of Leven is said to have resided in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the entrance to the common stair having the date 1621. Below this was Sempill's Close, so designated because it contained the town residence of the Lords Sempill, a strong-built tenement in excellent repair in 1847. John twelfth Lord Sempill occupied this house in 1753, when it was advertised for sale. Over one door is the inscription—SEDES MANET OPTIMA CELO; and over another—PRAISED BE THE LORD MY GOD, MY STRENGTH, AND MY REDEEMER, with the date 1638.

<sup>3</sup> An interesting paper on the interior of the Palace of Mary of Guise was read to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries at a meeting of the Society in the early part of the year 1847.

offences in the Grassmarket. In this street the unhappy Captain Porteous made his hopeless struggles and vain entreaties for mercy to his relentless destroyers; and here also was the shop from which the rioters procured the rope to hang him, leaving, as an evidence of the deliberation and justice of their proceedings, a guinea as the price on the counter. The narrative of that daring riot is subsequently given in full, in the account of the "Old Tolbooth."

Though for years, before its demolition to be supplanted by Victoria Street and Victoria Terrace, the West Bow had sadly degenerated in its inhabitants, and abounded with public-houses of the lowest description, brokers' shops and stalls, its former denizens were long a peculiar community of artisans, and dealers in a multiplicity of articles. They were also zealous Covenanters, whom the adherents of the House of Stuart ridiculed as "Bow-Head Saints," and the "godly plants of the West Bow."<sup>1</sup> The dagger-makers were at one period the principal residents of the street,<sup>2</sup> and when that trade became extinct they were succeeded by whitesmiths, coppersmiths, and pewterers, who for many years kept undisturbed possession. The noise occasioned by so many hammermen at their vocation was most annoying to a stranger. Another peculiarity of the West Bow was that it contained several booksellers,<sup>3</sup> and from this street emanated numerous tracts, sermons, and other productions of favourite Presbyterian ministers, whose polemical literature is now forgotten.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, such a singular locality could not be without its supernatural visitants and haunted houses. The worthies of the West Bow were terrified by a coach which thundered over the descent from the Lawnmarket at midnight, driven by a mysterious coachman, and drawn by six horses, whose eyes, mouths, and nostrils, sent forth flames of fire and brimstone. As to haunted houses, the street possessed one which had no rival in any other city or town in the kingdom. This was the domicile of the notorious Major Weir, at which the aforesaid coach was believed to stop for a short time in its career down the Bow, and in which the spirits of darkness were alleged to hold communings with its former occupants. This house was for many years the terror of the neighbourhood, and the object of most special horror to the boys of Edinburgh, who regarded it with superstitious dread. "No family," says Sir Walter Scott, "would inhabit the haunted walls as a residence, and hold was the urchin from the High School who dared approach the gloomy ruin, at the risk of seeing the Major's enchanted staff parading through the old apartments, or hearing the hum of the necromantic wheel which procured for his sister such a character as a spinner."<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Weir, commonly called Major Weir, was the son of Thomas Weir of Kirkcounie, and was born near Lanark about 1600, as it is stated that in 1670, when he was executed, he was seventy years of age.<sup>6</sup> His father or grandfather is mentioned as treacherously obstructing the marriage of the eldest son

<sup>1</sup> The "sanctified bends" of the Bow are noticed by Sir Walter Scott in a ballad in which Grisham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, is represented as retiring from the Convention of Estates at the Revolution by that street, to raise the standard of James II. in the Highlands, though he left the city by Leith Wynd. This fine ballad is inserted from one of the publications known as "Annuals" in the Quarterly Review for 1828, pp. 96, 97. The following are the stanzas describing the Viscount's poetical, though not his real departure from Edinburgh:—

"As he rode down the sanctified bends of the Bow,  
Each cartline was flying and shaking her pow;  
But some young plants—they looked couthie and sleek,  
Thinking—luck to thy bonnet, thou bonnie Dundee!  
With sour-featured saints the Grassmarket was pang'd  
As if half of the West had set tryet to be hang'd;  
There was spite in each face, there was fear in each e'e,  
As they watch'd for the bonnet of bonnie Dundee."

<sup>2</sup> In June 1605, a dagger-maker in the West Bow, named William Thomson, was killed by John Waterstone, one of his neighbours, who was next day beheaded on the Castle-hill for the crime.

<sup>3</sup> The bibliopoles of the West Bow were latterly represented by Mr. James Main and Mr. Thomas Nelson. The old-established book-shop of the former was some yards down the street on the east side, and the windows displayed a series of productions now forgotten, such as the exploits of Dick Turpin the highwayman, accounts of extraordinary shipwrecks, and other ephemeral narratives, with coloured engravings, and generally sold at sixpence each. Mr. Nelson, the last of the West Bow booksellers, and an extensive publisher in what is technically

called the *number trade*, long possessed the shop under the antique corner wooden tenement at the head of the Bow, east side, next to the Lawnmarket, from which he removed to large and commodious premises near Blyth's Close, in the Castle-hill street.

<sup>4</sup> A crazed enthusiast named William Mitchell, by trade a white-iron smith, who occasionally exhibited as a preacher, and was well known in Edinburgh during Queen Anne's reign by the sobriquet of the *Tinklerian Doctor*, resided in a cellar at the head of the West Bow, from which he issued raving theological broadsheets on a variety of subjects.

<sup>5</sup> Major Weir's house, or *land*, entered immediately below the former book-shop of Mr. Main, close to a front tenement bearing the date 1604 over the doorway of the stair, and the words *SOLO DEO HONOR ET GLORIA*—a pious inscription, which was nevertheless unable to prevent the nocturnal visits of the ghosts and demons. A narrow passage leads into a small open court in front of the house, which is two storeys high, with a small attic, the walls of the ground storey more ancient than those of the upper. It is singular that Sir Walter Scott, in his "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft," published in the Family Library in 1830, completely mistakes the Major's house in the frontispiece to that volume; and an engraving of a tenement on the north-west side of the first bend or turn of the West Bow, which was at one time the Assembly Room, is given as the real tenement, which was further up the street, on the opposite side, and not visible from the pavement until entered by the narrow alley and open court.

<sup>6</sup> Law's Memorials, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. Edin. 4to. 1818, p. 22.







FOOT OF THE WEST END  
from an Original Drawing by J. M. M.  
JOHN . MURDOCH LONDON



of Lockhart of Lee, his brother-in-law, to a daughter of Gilbert ninth Lord Somerville.<sup>1</sup> Weir was a lieutenant in the Puritanical army in Ireland, and in 1649 and 1650, he commanded the city-guard of Edinburgh, from which situation he derived the title of Major. He is quaintly described as "a tall black man, and ordinarily looking down to the ground—a grim countenance, and a big nose." The Major had acquired a remarkable fluency in prayer, and soon became noted among the Covenanters in Edinburgh for his supposed piety and fervid extemporary utterance at their private meetings, in which he "prayed to admiration." Many also resorted to his house to exercise their devotions, though it was afterwards remembered that he never could discourse on religious subjects, or engage in prayer, without a black staff in his hand, which he always carried with him. Such was the subsequent credulity respecting the Major's powers of necromancy and the black art, while he was deceiving his zealous admirers for years by his shameful hypocrisy, that it was believed his very staff possessed magical properties—that it could go to a shop and procure any articles he required—that it could open the door to any one who called upon him—and that it was often seen in motion before him in the capacity of a link-boy.

The Major never married, and his domestic affairs were superintended by a spinster sister, who resided with him in this house, attended by a female servant. At length, whether harrowed by remorse, or in a state of insanity, the Major confessed to a long course of criminal intercourse with his own sister, and with two females, one of whom was his servant, and the other is described as his step-daughter. His neighbours were astounded at his disclosures, more especially when he concluded with the declaration, "Before God, I have not told the hundredth part of what I can say more, and am guilty of." His impeachment of himself was considered so incredible, that Sir Andrew Ramsay of Albotshall in Fife, the Lord Provost, refused for some time to commit him to prison; and it is the recorded opinion of a writer who lived a century after him, that "the Major was delirious."<sup>2</sup> The self-accusing Major and his sister were eventually committed to the Tolbooth, and even his mysterious staff, by the special advice of the latter, was secured. He was tried, found guilty, and condemned to be strangled and burned, a punishment which was inflicted a few days afterwards at Greenside, near the base of the Calton Hill, where it appears that he was literally burned alive. His staff was also thrown into the flames,<sup>3</sup> and it is recorded that it "gave rare turnings, and was long a burning, as also himself." While he was in the Tolbooth he confessed his profligacy, but refused to engage in any acts of devotion; and he died in a state of the most hardened indifference. The Major's sister was also tried, condemned, and executed for her criminal practices, to which was added the very unnecessary accusation of witchcraft, the proof chiefly her own confession as to sundry alleged traffickings with a tall woman who came to her from the "Queen of Fairie," while she was a schoolmistress at Dalkeith.<sup>4</sup> She told a minister who attended her, that she had resolved to die "with all the shame she could;" and accordingly, when she appeared on the scaffold, after addressing the spectators concerning her sins, her brother, his magic staff, and the Solemn League and Covenant,<sup>5</sup> she attempted to exhibit herself in a state of nudity, striking the executioner for preventing her. This abandoned creature died as impenitent as the Major, and both left behind them a notoriety in the annals of crime and superstitious credulity, which will never be obliterated from the traditionary history of the city.

Nearly opposite the entrance to the Major's house, on the west side, was a tenement, a part of which had once been the Assembly Room. On the doorway of the stair were the words *IN DOMINO CONFIDO*, the arms of the Lords Somerville, with the date 1602, and some initials. Further down the Bow was another lofty tenement entered by an outside stair, which is alleged to have been the first Assembly Room. This was the house erroneously engraved in Sir Walter Scott's "Letters on Demology" as that of Major Weir. The angle contained a spiral stair, from which projected a massive turret of three or four storeys, and was a most prominent object in the West Bow.

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of the Somervills, written by James eleventh Lord Somerville, and edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii. pp. 72-78.

<sup>2</sup> Arnot, in his Criminal Trials, 4to. p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> No Antiquarian Society then existed in Edinburgh to rescue Major Weir's mysterious staff, and preserve it as a curiosity.

<sup>4</sup> "She also confessed in prison that she and her brother had made a compact with the devil, and that on the 7th of September, 1648, they were both transported from Edinburgh to Musselburgh, and back again, in a coach and six horses, which seemed all of fire, and that the devil then told the Major of the defeat of our army in England, which he

confidently reported in most of its circumstances several days before the news arrived here. But as for herself, she said she had never received any other benefit by her commerce with the devil than a constant supply of an extraordinary quantity of yarn, which she was sure, she said, to find ready for her upon the spindle, whatever business she had been about."—Ravillac Redivivus, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> She is reported to have exclaimed at the gibbet:—"I see a great crowd of people come hither to-day to behold a poor old miserable creature's death, but I trow there be few among you who are weeping and mourning for the broken Covenant."

The head of the West Bow was, in 1596, the scene of one of those numerous conflicts which for centuries were of frequent occurrence in the streets of Edinburgh. A deadly feud had existed for some months between the Somervilles of Cowthally and Camlusnethan in Lanarkshire, two branches of the noble family of Somerville. Among the allies of the Somervilles of Camlusnethan was James Johnstone of Westerhall, whose mother was a daughter of the former family, and who considered it his duty to support their claims and pretensions on all occasions. This gentleman was a thoroughbred Borderer, an excellent swordsman, and capable of contriving and executing the boldest enterprises. Hugh Somerville of Wrights, commonly from his stature and personal appearance known by the sobriquet of "Broad Hugh," was standing one day at the head of the West Bow, and Johnstone of Westerhall was walking up the same from the Grassmarket. A person who knew their family quarrels remarked to the Laird of Westerhall, "There is Broad Hugh Somerville of the Writes." They had often fought before upon equal terms, but on this occasion Westerhall took an undue advantage of his opponent. Supposing that Somerville was purposely waiting to attack him at the head of the West Bow, or that he intended to insult him, he drew his sword, and exclaiming, "Turn, villain!" he ran furiously towards his opponent, and dangerously wounded Broad Hugh on the head. Thus unexpectedly struck, he unsheathed his weapon as soon as he recognised his former antagonist, who had not attempted to repeat his stroke, and as he was the taller man, and of great bodily strength, he pressed Westerhall, who traversed the breadth of the street. Broad Hugh nevertheless kept close to him, having the advantage of the steep ascent. The greatest consternation prevailed, the people ran into the shops, and no one attempted to separate the combatants, as every thrust of their swords threatened instant death to any one who went near them. Broad Hugh bore down Westerhall, who was now almost exhausted by fatigue, to the foot of the Bow at the Grassmarket. Westerhall stepped within the door of a shop, and stood on the defensive; and here the last stroke of Broad Hugh almost broke his sword in pieces, having hit the lintel of the door, the cut on which long remained. The city by this time was in an uproar, and the magistrates, when informed that two gentlemen were engaged in a deadly encounter in the West Bow, sent their halbert-men to seize them. They were both secured, and conveyed to their own residences. The wound on Broad Hugh's head was at first considered dangerous, but he was at length completely cured. After the death of Lord Somerville, he and Westerhall were reconciled, and their mutual differences were forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

### THE LAWNMARKET.

THE Lawnmarket extends from the head of the West Bow and Castle-Hill to St. Giles's Church, opposite to which the street is known as the Luckenbooths,<sup>2</sup> and both are continuations of the High Street. Like other localities of the old town, the Lawnmarket had its due proportion of closes, the greater part of which on the south side are demolished. On the north side, opposite the head of the West Bow, is a large tenement, six storeys high, of hewn stone, built about 1690, and entering into an area court called Milne's Court,<sup>3</sup> from which is a thoroughfare to the Mound and the New Town. This "land" was long occupied by families of rank and opulence. East of Milne's Court are three alleys under modern houses leading into James's Court, the north tenement of which, nine storeys high, overlooking the Earthen Mound and Princes' Street, and

<sup>1</sup> *Memorie of the Somervills*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii. pp. 7-11.

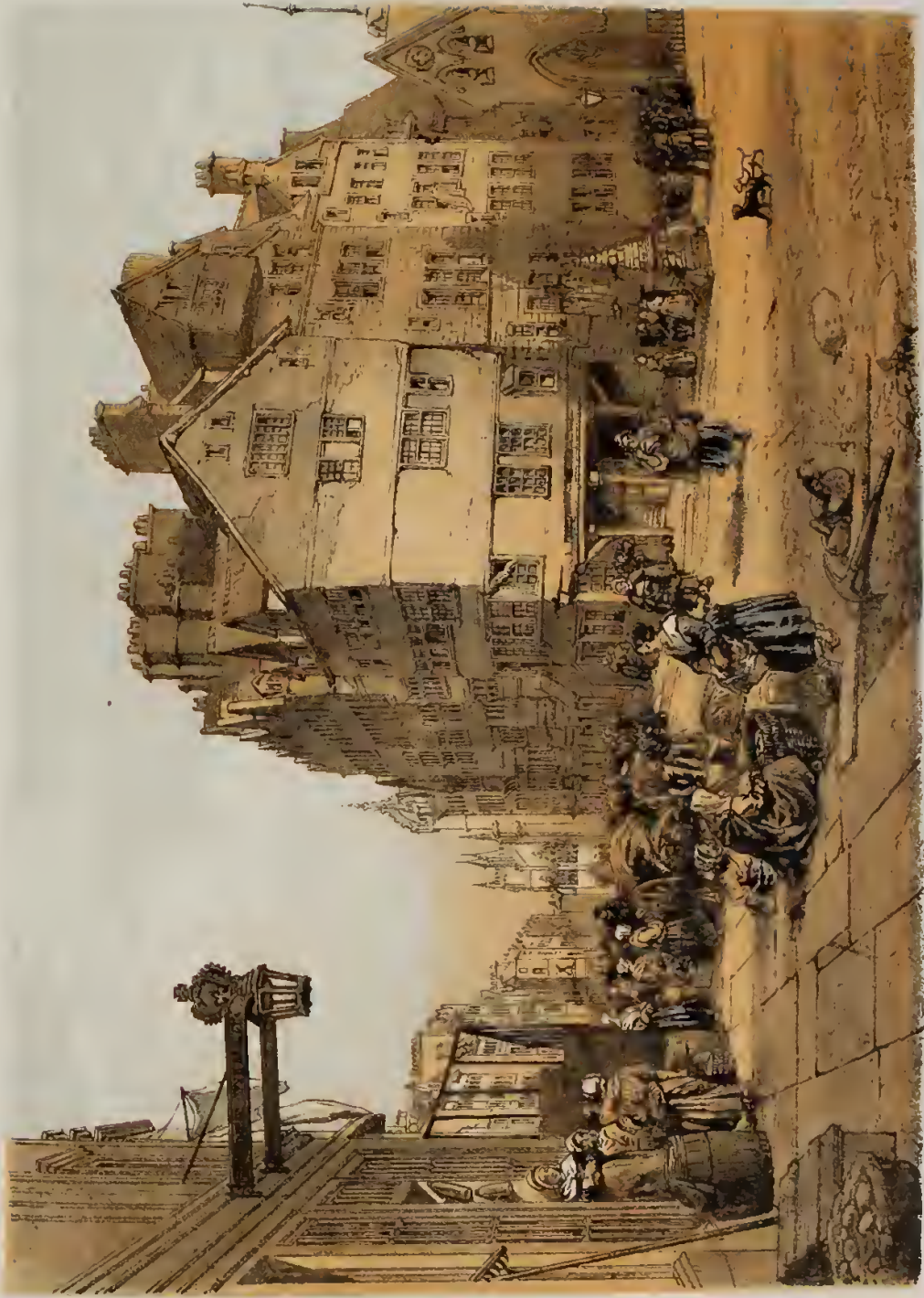
<sup>2</sup> "Ruddiman thinks that 'the *Luckenbooths* in Edinburgh have their name because they stand in the middle of the High Street, and almost join the two sides of it.' But the obvious reason of the designation is, that these booths were distinguished from others, as being so formed that they might be *locked* during night, or at the pleasure of their possessor."—(Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, vol. ii. *sub voce* LUCKEN.) On the other hand, Maitland, who described the fabrics as "rotten, noisome, and offensive" in 1753, thus explains the derivation.—"The Scottish commerce formerly extended no further than to France and the Low Countries. From the latter we got woollen cloth, by the Flemings called *laken*, the sellers whereof occupying the *Booth Row*, that name was forced to give way to *Lucken-Booths*."

<sup>3</sup> Milne's Court in the Lawnmarket, and Milne's Square, opposite the Tron Church, are said, though the authority is not stated, to be designated from an individual named Milne, who was the descendant of an architect of considerable repute in his time. An isolated monument to Alexander Milne, who died in 1643, and of whom it is said in the inscription—"Quod vel in ære Myron fudit, vel pinxit Appelles, artifice hoc potuit hic lapicida manu," is in the enclosed pleasure-ground behind Holyrood Palace. In the Greyfriars' churchyard is a monument erected by his two nephews to the memory of John Milne, of which is a long inscription setting forth his many virtues, and stating that he was "the King's sixth master-mason of the race of Milne, exquisitely skilled in architecture," with the date of his decease, which was December 1607, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.









FISH MARKET FROM BEHEAD OF WEST BOW, LAMBETH.

From an Original Drawing by Mr. Colver

JOHN C. MURDOCH LONDON



built in 1727, was for upwards of half a century the residence of the upper classes, and of many eminent persons, who combined to prevent the intrusion of those of inferior station. But James's Court is chiefly interesting as the residence of James Boswell, Esq., where he entertained the Corsican general Paoli, the godfather of Napoleon, in September 1771, and thither he conducted Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was his guest from the 14th to the 18th of August, 1773, on which latter day they commenced their celebrated tour to the Hebrides. This house, which is a "half flat," is on the third storey of the west stair in the Court, and is entered by the left of the two doors. It had been previously occupied by Hume the historian, during whose absence in France it was tenanted by Dr. Hugh Blair.<sup>1</sup>

The next alley to James's Court is Lady Stair's Close, having a thoroughfare from the street to the Earthen Mound, and deriving its name from Eleanor, youngest daughter of James second Earl of London, and dowager of the celebrated soldier and statesman, John second Earl of Stair, who died in 1747. The house in which the Countess of Stair died at an advanced age, in 1759, is on the west side of the alley, and is entered by a doorway which is surmounted by a sculptured stone, exhibiting in the centre a small coat-of-arms, the inscription, FEAR THE LORD AND DEPART FROM EVIL, the date 1622, and the initials of probably the original proprietor and his wife. Lady Stair married, while very young, James first Viscount Primrose, who treated her in the most inhuman manner, and some remarkable events in her early life are introduced into the tale by Sir Walter Scott, entitled, "Aunt Margaret's Mirror." He died in 1706, leaving three sons and one daughter by her Ladyship. She subsequently married the Earl of Stair, by a singular stratagem on the part of his Lordship, after long refusing to listen to his addresses, and whom she induced to refrain from inebriation, the common indulgence of the age, by a very affecting incident. Her Ladyship always spoke the broad Scottish dialect, and was peculiar in her conversation.

Some of the tenements in front of the Lawnmarket, on this and the opposite side of the street, are of wood, procured from the clearing of the timber on the Borough Muir. The erection of Bank Street and of the Bank of Scotland caused the first destruction of two alleys called Lower Baxter's Court and Morocco Close. Sellar's Close, the third east from Bank Street, led into the house in which Cromwell held his levees, and transacted his military business, in 1650 and 1651. This was a very extensive "land," which is entirely removed, having been allowed prematurely to fall into ruin.

The south side of the Lawnmarket, which consists of lofty tenements, contained several alleys full of curious old houses connected with historical and traditional associations. The whole of those alleys were demolished by the erection of Victoria Street and of George IV. Bridge. In Riddell's Close, however, a part of which still exists, is the house of the unfortunate Bailie Macmorane, who was shot by one of the High School boys named Sinclair, on the 15th of September, 1595, in a riot which those juveniles excited because the Town-Council refused to sanction a request designated the "Privilege."

The second alley east of Riddell's Close was formerly called Lord Cullen's Close, after Sir Francis Grant, Bart, a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Cullen, from 1709 till his death in 1726. It was afterwards known as Brodie's Close, deriving its name from William Brodie, wright, a noted criminal, though at one time a member of the Town-Council, who was executed in 1788 at the west end of the Old Tolbooth, with an associate named George Smith, for breaking into the Excise Office, then in Chessels' Court in the Canongate. Smith met his fate with penitence, but Brodie displayed a remarkable levity on the scaffold, which he had done during the whole interval from his condemnation to his execution. It is stated that while in prison he was visited by a Frenchman styled Dr. Peter Degravers, who undertook to restore him to life after he had been suspended the usual time, and that the hangman had been paid a sum of money for a short fall, though he inadvertently made it too long. After Brodie was cut down, two of his workmen placed the body in a cart, and drove furiously round the Castle rock, imagining that the motion might cause resuscitation, and it was afterwards conveyed to his workshop in this alley, where Degravers attempted bleeding and other modes to restore animation, but with no better success.

Immediately below Brodie's Close, and fronting the street, was the tenement in which Hume the historian was born in 1711. It was destroyed by a calamitous fire in 1725, and its successor shared a similar fate in 1771. Between this and St. Giles's Church every memorial of the olden time has disappeared. The present Melbourne Place occupies the site of the Old Bank Close, formerly Hope's Close, so called because it was the

<sup>1</sup> Life and Correspondence of David Hume, by John Hill Burton, Esq. Advocate, 8vo. 1846, vol. ii. pp. 136-130.

residence of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate in the reign of Charles I., and a prominent leader of the Covenanters. This alley contained several ancient tenements of historical interest. The house of Sir George Lockhart, Lord President of the Court of Session, was in it, and he was assassinated while in the act of entering the alley on Sunday the 31st of March, 1689, when returning from St. Giles's Church, by John Chiesley of Dalry, merely for pronouncing a decision in favour of his wife and children.<sup>1</sup> In this alley was also a tenement<sup>2</sup> in which the Earl of Morton was imprisoned, from the 27th of May to the 2d of June, 1581, previous to his execution; and when the French ambassador La Motte arrived in Edinburgh, on the 7th of January, 1581-2, he was lodged in it as one of the best houses in the town. James VI. occupied the tenement a short time in the spring of 1594, and he walked from it to St. Giles's Church to hear a sermon, after which he addressed the congregation, and denounced the turbulent Earl of Bothwell. In 1637 it became the property and residence of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, and in it were held many deliberations of the Covenanters. The alley derived its latter designation of the Old Bank Close from a substantially built tenement in an open court at the south end, on which was the date 1588, and occupied by the Bank of Scotland previous to the erection of the edifice in Bank Street.

But in a locality where every ancient domicile has been removed, it is unnecessary to indulge in minute description. The second alley below the Old Bank Close was Libberton Wynd, the site of which is now occupied partly by the street in front of Melbourne Place, and partly by the County Hall, completed in 1818. In Libberton Wynd was John Dowie's tavern, celebrated by Burns, and the room in which he composed his lyrics of "Willie" and "Allan" was after his death an object of curiosity to visitors. Dowie's ale was irresistible to the Judges of the Supreme Court and many distinguished persons, some of whom instituted a club in the tavern, which they designated, as a pun on the name of the landlord, the "College of Doway." This beverage, which was the production of Younger, an eminent brewer, and the tavern itself, are the themes of a very humorous poetical effusion by Mr. Hunter of Blackness, entitled, "Johnnie Dowie's Ale." The house itself consisted almost exclusively of small dark rooms or dens, and was sadly deficient in comfortable accommodation, yet in this apparently repulsive hostelry many of the most respectable citizens, and several remarkable individuals, continued to meet every evening during a great part of the eighteenth century. Dowie amassed about 6000*l.*, and lived till 1817, continuing to the last an entire conformity to the fashions of his youth, by wearing a cocked hat and clothes of the old costume, though he latterly dispensed with knee and shoe buckles. He was twice married, and had several children by his first wife, one of whom obtained the rank of captain in the Army. His successor carried on the business, under the designation of "Burns' Tavern," till the demolition of the Wynd in 1834. The small room known as the "Coffin," to which Burns resorted during his sojourn of six months in Edinburgh, was internally refitted by green cloth and a new table.<sup>3</sup>

In 1640 the Lawnmarket was the scene of a serious and resolute personal rencontre between Major Somerville, a relation of "Broad" Hugh Somerville of the Wrights, and a Captain Crawford, who had served under General Ruthven in Germany. After the surrender of Edinburgh Castle to General Leslie, Major Somerville was entrusted with the command. Captain Crawford, who imagined that he had the right of admission to the Fortress when he pleased, appeared one day at the gate, but the sentinels would not allow him to enter without the Major's permission. This irritated the Captain, who uttered some contemptuous

<sup>1</sup> Chiesley loaded his pistol in the morning, and is said to have resolved to shoot the President in the church. He followed his Lordship close after the dismissal of the congregation, and shot him in the back in presence of numerous spectators, exclaiming—"I have taught the President how to do justice." Lockhart fell, and almost immediately expired when carried into his house, the hall coming out at the right breast. Chiesley made no attempt to escape, and having been taken in the act, was put to the torture by order of the Estates of Parliament, confessed the crime, and was condemned to be hanged at the Gallow-lee, between Edinburgh and Leith, on the Wednesday following, his right hand to be cut off while he was alive, and fixed on the West Port, and his body to be hung in chains, with the pistol tied round his neck. A daughter of this man became the wife of James Erskine of Grange, a brother of John Earl of Mar, the leader of the Enterprise in 1715, and a Judge in the Court of Session from 1703 till his resignation in 1734, by the title of Lord Grange. The romantic

story of the abduction of Lady Grange, as she was called, to St. Kilda, by the authority of her husband, is well known.

<sup>2</sup> This tenement displayed over the architrave the date 1500, the year in which it was completed, and the initials R. G., which meant Robert Gourlay. It occupied the site of a building said to have been a prison. Maitland mentions the "old Tolbooth in the Bank Close in the Lawnmarket, which was rebuilt in 1562," as it stood in 1753, on the "western side of the Close," with the windows strongly stanchelled; and he notices the fabric as the predecessor of the "Tolbooth situated at the western end of the Luckenhooth Row, the common prison for debtors and criminals."—*History of Edinburgh*, folio, pp. 21, 22, 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes of John Key's Original Edinburgh Portraits and Caricature Etchings*, 4to. 1838, vol. i. pp. 1, 5; *Traditions of Edinburgh*, by Robert Chambers, vol. ii. pp. 238, 268, vol. iii. p. 100; *Lockhart's Life of Burns*, published in "Constable's Miscellany."









LIBERTON'S WIND  
EDINBURGH

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

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



expressions, which the Major accidentally overheard, and caused a meeting in the Greyfriars' Churchyard to fight a duel. The Captain, however, thought proper to apologise in such abject phraseology as to excite the contempt of the Major, who told him, "You have neither the discretion of a gentleman, nor the courage of a soldier; get you gone for a dastardly fool, fit only for Bedlam." The parties left the churchyard, and the Major, when he returned to the Castle, freely expressed his opinion respecting his opponent's valour. This was soon intimated to Captain Crawford, who resolved to challenge and fight Major Somerville on the public street, when it would be most crowded with passengers. No other mode in his opinion could save his honour. The Major, a few days after General Ruthven had left the Castle, was requested to attend the Committee of Estates and General Leslie on important business. As he was passing the Weigh-House from the Fortress, on his way to the Parliament House, between ten and eleven in the forenoon, Captain Crawford, who had previously deposited his cloak in a shop on the south side of the Lawnmarket, came up to Somerville armed with a long broadsword and a large Highland dirk, and said, "If you be a pretty man, draw your sword," brandishing his own and the dirk. The Major was at first astonished at the rashness of the man assaulting him while on public duty. He had only a walking-cane in his hand, and the sword which General Ruthven had presented to him attached to a shoulder-helt behind. He was forced to parry some thrusts with his cane, till he drew his sword, and the conflict commenced in earnest about the middle of the Lawnmarket. The Major drove the Captain, in a kind of retreating fight, to some goldsmiths' shops constructed of wood, and, afraid that the Major would transfix him to the timber, the latter resolved by one blow to disarm his antagonist. As if aiming at the Major's right side, and parrying his thrust with his dirk, he turned round, and attempted by a back-stroke with his sword to hamstring him in one or both legs. The Major only escaped this by a nimble leap, interposing the cane in his left hand, which was cut through by the blow. The Captain, however, had exhausted himself by the effort, and, before he could recover a defensive posture, Major Somerville beat the dirk out of his left hand with the remaining piece of the cane, and closing with him, struck him to the ground, mere compassion preventing him from inflicting vengeance. Some of the Major's soldiers happened to pass, and the prostrated Captain was with difficulty saved from their fury. He was taken to the Tolbooth, put in irons, and kept in prison upwards of twelve months, and he was only released by the intercession of Major Somerville's wife, to whom he wrote an account of his deplorable condition, requesting her influence in his favour, on condition that he "enacted himself to perpetual banishment."<sup>1</sup>

The former denizens of the Lawnmarket were noted for many peculiarities. Like other citizens, and in accordance with the baneful practice of the age, they were much addicted to forenoon tipping, and had several Clubs for dram-drinking, such as the "Lawnmarket Club," called ironically the "Whey Club," the "Haveral Club," the "Spendthrift Club," and a "Whist Club," the initiated members of which professed to spend the sum of only fourpence-halfpenny each night.

The communication called the Earthen Mound, between Princes' Street and the old city, was originated by some of the shopkeepers of the Lawnmarket, and it is to be regretted that this mass of rubbish was allowed to be deposited in the valley of the North Loch. In 1783, when the Mound was projected, Princes' Street in the New Town was built as far as Hanover Street. Previous to this, a number of gentlemen had formed an association in favour of Burgh reform, and their proceedings to accomplish their object were peculiarly offensive to the Magistrates and Council. As they resided chiefly in the Lawnmarket and West Bow, they felt the want of a direct access to Princes' Street, and at first intended to apply to the Town-Council in favour of their proposal; but aware that they were obnoxious to the Corporation, they commenced a subscription to lay down a pathway on the site of the Mound. This was projected in a tavern in the Lawnmarket, at the west entrance to James's Court, kept by Robert Dunn, much frequented by the shopkeepers of the period, and ironically designated "Dunn's Hotel," by way of burlesque on an elegant hotel of that name opened in Princes' Street. In a short time a foundation of furze was laid with mock masonic solemnity, and they returned to the "Hotel" to choose office-bearers, and appoint a committee to superintend the work. John Grieve, Esq., Lord Provost, whose house was the tenement forming the south-east corner of Hanover Street and Princes' Street, induced the Town Council to sanction the accumulation of rubbish. The Mound thus commenced, was long known among the lower classes as

<sup>1</sup> *Memorie of the Somervills*, vol. ii. pp. 270, 271.

the "Mud Brig," and also as "Geordie Boyd's Brig," the latter after an eccentric clothier, whose shop was in the Lawnmarket, and who was one of the most active in promoting the formation of the Mound.<sup>1</sup>

### THE TOLBOOTH.

THIS prison, graphically described by Sir Walter Scott in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," stood at the north-west corner of St. Giles's church in the Lawnmarket, and was one of the vilest edifices which even imagination can conceive. It was five storeys high, and occupied an area of not much more than sixty feet in length, by about thirty-three feet in breadth, exclusive of a more recent addition of two storeys at the west end towards the Lawnmarket. The roof of this was flat, and was used as a platform for the execution of criminals, from 1785 to 1817, when the whole edifice was demolished. It was surrounded by a black painted wooden rail, and was entered from the prison by a door in the gable, near which was an aperture for the projection of the gibbet. The entire edifice contracted the breadth of the street to very limited dimensions, and a house attached to it on the east in the Luckenbooths was separated from St. Giles's church by a narrow alley noted for personal rencontres. The east part of the Tolbooth was a tower or fortalice, of polished stone, and the west portion, a subsequent erection, was plain rubble work. On the south side the building contained two projecting spiral staircases to the several storeys. The ground-floor on the south side was popularly known as the "Thief's Hole," and that on the north side, which had long been shops, was constituted the City Guard-House in 1787. The sole entrance to the prison was in the angle close to St. Giles's church, by a doorway of carved stone-work, in front of which was always stationed a private of the Town-Guard in his red costume, and armed with a Lochaber axe. The turnkey's residence was close to the "Thief's Hole," and a door adjoining led into a lock-up dungeon. On the first floor from the entrance to the prison was an apartment with a stanchelled window on the south, and a rude pulpit intimated that this room or hall was also the scene of the ministrations of the chaplain to the prisoners. On the north side of this hall, towards the street, was a curiously constructed double window, which tradition alleged was the entrance of James VI., by an arch thrown over the street to an opposite house, when the Parliaments were held in the Tolbooth. A part of the edifice under this arch was the "Purses," so designated on account of the licensed beggars known as "blue gowns" receiving at it the royal bounty. The storey above the hall contained the "condemned room," with an iron bar across the floor, to which criminals doomed to execution were chained.<sup>2</sup> The ground-floor on the north side at the "Purses" continued the station of the City Guard from 1787 to the disbanding of that body in 1817.

It is stated that the Tolbooth was rebuilt in 1561, but portions of it were more ancient. In the former Tolbooth, which occupied the site of the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," the Court of Session first assembled in presence of James V. on the 27th of May, 1532, and that part of the edifice in which the Judges sat was called the "Council House." In 1561, however, the then Tolbooth was considered the most public building in the Town, and on it were at that date spiked the heads of Alexander third Lord Home and his brother, by command of John Duke of Albany, the Regent, who ordered them to be executed for supporting the party of the Queen Dowager of James IV. and the English interest. The dilapidated state of the Tolbooth was such in 1561-2, that Queen Mary sent a mandate to the Town-Council to employ workmen to remove it "with all possible diligence," and to provide accommodation elsewhere for the Courts of Law. The civic exchequer happened to be at the time in a most deplorable condition, and the sum of six hundred merks, allotted to the "Master of Works" to pay his men, was with such difficulty procured, that the Judges threatened to remove the Supreme Court to St. Andrews.

The rebuilding of another fabric is thus noticed by a contemporary—"This year, 1562, upon the 19th day of March, the tradesmen of Edinburgh founded the new Tolbooth, at the west end of St. Giles's

<sup>1</sup> Biographical Sketches to Kay's Portraits, vol. ii. pp. 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> In this room was also a square iron box called the "Cage," into which dangerous and violent culprits under sentence of death were unmaned. At the demolition of the Tolbooth this "Cage" was pur-

chased by some persons in Portobello, three miles east of Edinburgh, and the door and padlock of the prison were sent to Abbotsford, where the doorway was re-erected by him whose genius had rendered the "Heart of Mid-Lothian" celebrated throughout the world.

church."<sup>1</sup> This was subsequently known as the "Nether" or "Laigh Tolbooth," and also as the "High Council-House," and stood at the south-west corner of St. Giles's church, in the vicinity of the site now occupied by the east end of the Library of the Writers to the Signet, and was opposite and parallel to the Old Tolbooth. During the progress of this erection the Judges sat in the Holy Blood Aisle of St. Giles's church.<sup>2</sup> Queen Mary rode in state from Holyrood to meet the Parliament in this Tolbooth in 1563, and the subsequent Parliaments and Conventions of the Estates held at Edinburgh often convened in it before the erection of the present Parliament House.

The Old Tolbooth was allowed to remain in its dilapidated state for a number of years, and a tenement in the Old Bank Close was used as the common prison. The building was eventually repaired, and continued to be the public jail till 1817. For upwards of two centuries previous many remarkable political offenders, and noted criminals, had been confined within its walls previous to their execution. It had also its due proportion of heads of persons who suffered death for high treason and other offences spiked on its battlements. On it was placed the head of the Regent Morton, who was executed at the Cross on the 2d of June, 1581, for his connexion with the murder of Lord Darnley, and it so remained till it was removed by order of James VI. in 1582.<sup>3</sup> This barbarous practice was inflicted on the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, who were killed at Perth in the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy in 1600; the Marquis of Montrose, who was executed as a traitor by order of the Covenantee Committee of Estates on the 20th of May, 1650; and on his rival and enemy the Marquis of Argyll, who was beheaded on the 24th of May, 1651. Montrose, Argyll, and the son and successor of the latter as ninth Earl, whose fate, on the 30th of June, 1685, was similar to that of his father, were confined in the old Tolbooth immediately before their execution, as was also the uncle of Bishop Burnet, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, one of Cromwell's peers by the title of Lord Warriston.

During the domination of the Covenantee Committee of Estates the Tolbooth was filled with Royalist prisoners, who were designated "Malignants," and after Cromwell obtained possession of the city, his opponents, both Royalists and Covenanters, were committed to duress within the same edifice. The restoration of Charles II. introduced another class of prisoners, many of them preachers and their followers who only left the Tolbooth for the scaffold in the Grassmarket. In subsequent times the inmates were chiefly criminals and debtors; and such was the discipline of the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," that some of the latter, who were on friendly terms with the jailer, enjoyed the "freedom of the prison," which meant that they were not confined to one apartment, but were allowed to perambulate over the storeys of the west portion of the building.

One of the most important events connected with the Old Tolbooth was the celebrated Porteous Mob, the prominent incident in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian." That extraordinary outbreak, which astonished the whole kingdom, was remarkable for the dexterity of its plan, and the mystery which still envelopes the identity of the ringleaders. It occurred as follows:—

On the 9th of February, 1736, Andrew Wilson, George Robertson, and William Hall, robbed the collector of excise from Kirkaldy of a considerable sum of money in a public-house in the town of Pittenweem. They were speedily apprehended in the adjoining town of East Anstruther, tried before the High Court of Justiciary, and condemned to be executed in the Grassmarket on the 14th of April. Hall was reprieved; but Wilson and Robertson being left to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, a plan was concerted by the culprits to escape

<sup>1</sup> *Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by Lord Herries, printed for the *ABBOTSFORD CLUB*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, folio, pp. 21, 22. The funds for this new Tolbooth were procured with the greatest difficulty. On the 5th of March the stones of a chapel, supposed to be that of the Holy Rood in the lower part of St. Giles's churchyard near the Cowgate, were ordered to be appropriated to the work; on the 18th of June, another edict was issued to raise money for its completion; and on the 21st they were obliged to obtain the loan of 1000*l.* merks on the Town Mills. In January, 1563-4, the edifice was still incomplete, and in reality the difficulty of procuring money seems to have been a source of continual torment to the Town-Council, whose finances were exhausted. Maitland observes lugubriously—"This grievance, which probably is nowhere to be paralleled, was a very great hardship on

the injured Edinburghers, to be compelled by their sovereign to erect an expensive building for the use of a national Court, the charge whereof ought to have been defrayed by the public, and not by one town."

<sup>3</sup> The King's letter, which is preserved in the archives of the City of Edinburgh, is as follows:—"REX—Provest and Baillies of our burgh of Edinburgh, We greit you weil. It is Our will, and We command you, that incontinent after the sicht bercof ye tak down the heid of James, sum tyme Erle of Mortoun, of (from) the pairt quhair it now is placit upoun your auld Tolbuith, swa that the same heid may be bureit; for the quhilk this our letter sall be to you sufficient warrand. Subscrivit with our hand at Halyrudhous, the aucht day of December, and of our reigne the sextene year, 1582."—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 116

from the Tolbooth, by sawing or filing one of the iron bars of the windows, which had every prospect of success. The noise caused by the operations was stifled by a regular "psalm-singing" practised by the prisoners, and on the bar being severed, the attempt was first made by Wilson, who is described as a "round squat man;" but he stuck so fast between the bars on either side of that which had been removed, that before he could be disentangled the turnkeys were on the alert. It is said that Robertson earnestly wished to be the first to hazard the experiment, and that he was prevented by Wilson, who thought that, if he got out, his companion would have the better chance. This circumstance seems to have operated powerfully on the mind of Wilson, who occupied the few remaining days of his life in devising a mode to save his fellow-culprit. The plan he adopted was as bold as it was unlikely to succeed. It was the custom to convey criminals to the adjoining division of St. Giles's, called the Tolbooth Church, under a party of the town-guard, on the Sunday before their execution, to hear a discourse suitable to their unhappy condition. On this occasion, four soldiers of the guard escorted Wilson and Robertson to the "condemned pew." While the congregation were assembling, Wilson suddenly seized two of the soldiers, secured a third by holding his coat in his teeth, and called to Robertson to run for his life. Robertson soon tripped the fourth, leaped out of the pew, and rushed through the church, the people (not unnaturally) affording him every facility to escape.

Wilson, without hearing the sermon, was immediately taken back to the Tolbooth, put in irons, and on the following Wednesday was conducted to the scaffold in the Grassmarket, surrounded by a strong detachment of the guard, commanded by the ill-fated Captain John Porteous. As Wilson's conduct had excited the greatest sympathy in his favour, and as the crime for which he was to suffer was considered very trivial by the populace, the magistrates dreaded a rescue, and among other precautions ordered a military detachment to occupy the Lawnmarket during the execution. Nothing, however, occurred till the body was to be cut down, when a number of persons assailed the hangman with stones, some of which struck the soldiers of the city guard. Captain Porteous immediately discharged his own loaded piece among the crowd, and then ordered his men to fire, without any authority from the magistrates, who were in an adjoining house. Six persons were killed, and a number dangerously wounded.

The popular rage against Porteous, who had always been disliked, was so furious, that he would have been sacrificed by the mob, if he had not been committed to the Tolbooth until his conduct should be investigated. He was tried for murder, found guilty by the High Court of Justiciary on the 20th of July, and sentenced to be executed on the 8th of September. It may be doubted whether Porteous was justly condemned for murder, as no evidence was adduced to prove that he intended any fatal violence; and a respite of the execution for six weeks was therefore obtained. His enemies, however, who saw that their vengeance would not be gratified, and that his friends were sufficiently powerful to procure a commutation of the sentence, formed a most extraordinary combination for the purpose of inflicting on him the utmost penalty of the law, in defiance of the authorities.

On the night of the 7th of September, the day previous to that fixed for the execution of Porteous according to the sentence, a little before ten o'clock all the gates of the city were seized by a mob armed with sticks and bludgeons; many of the prominent leaders were observed to be persons of superior rank. The rioters entered the city by the West Port, and compelled the drummer stationed at that gate to proceed before them beating his drum along the Grassmarket and the Cowgate to the Nether-Bow Port, which they secured and locked, exclaiming continually—"Come here, ye who dare avenge innocent blood!" They then assailed the city guard-house in the High Street, violently disarmed the men, and turned them out of their quarters. Having adopted every possible measure to prevent the magistrates from obtaining the aid of the soldiers quartered in the Castle, they surrounded the Tolbooth, to the interior of which they obtained access by burning the door, dragged Porteous from the grated chimney of his cell, in which he had concealed himself, and carried him to the Grassmarket, where they hanged him on a dyer's pole, as near as possible to the regular place of execution. The body was found hanging at daybreak, and all the rioters had disappeared, no one knowing who they were, or whither they had gone.<sup>1</sup> It is said that many of them were disguised in female and other attire. The whole affair was transacted with the

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary here to correct the statement which Sir Walter Scott was entitled to assume, to give effect to his story, but unpardonable in local writers to narrate as a fact. This is, that the public assembled to witness the execution of Porteous on the 8th September

—that the scaffold was erected in the Grassmarket—and that it was then the respite was first announced. All this is pure fiction, for the respite was known five days previous, and sufficient time was thus obtained to organize the confederacy.

utmost coolness. The mob, in their progress with Porteous to the Grassmarket, broke open a shop in the West Bow, and took from thence a rope, for which a guinea was found on the counter in the morning; the chief performer in this exploit was a man named Bruce, an inhabitant of East Anstruther, who fled for a time, but subsequently returned to that town, and followed the avocation of a barber.<sup>1</sup> On the way from the Tolbooth to the Grassmarket, Porteous gave to one of the citizens, who vainly interceded in his behalf, a sum of money to be delivered to his brother. One man was tried and acquitted, but none of the ringleaders were ever discovered.

### ST. GILES'S CHURCH.

THIS edifice, the exterior of which was completely rebuilt in 1830 and 1831, is in the style termed the "decorated Gothic," and is one of the most conspicuous objects in the Old Town. St. Giles was the tutelary patron of the city, and the town-council could at one time boast of possessing a reputed arm of the holy man, presented by Preston of Craigmillar, whose descendants, in gratitude for the relic, obtained from the civic functionaries the privilege of carrying it, enshrined in a silver case, on public occasions.<sup>2</sup> The attachment of the citizens to St. Giles, however, completely evaporated at the Reformation. On one occasion, during the regency of Mary of Guise, they forcibly seized an image of their patron which was to be exhibited in an ecclesiastical procession, and threw it into the North Loch, and a small image which was borrowed from the neighbouring Grey Friars, was termed in derision "young St. Giles." Soon after Queen Mary's arrival from France, so zealous were the lieges against St. Giles, that they actually cut an imaginary likeness of him out of the city standard, and substituted the national emblem of the thistle in place of the "idol," as they designated the representation.

St. Giles's Church, in its present condition, is very different from what it originally was, and the only part of the fabric which the citizens of former generations would recognise is the beautiful central tower, surmounted by open arches, from the groin of which rises a small steeple. The south and north sides of the church were long encumbered by small shops or booths, built close to the walls between the buttresses. Those on the south side in the Parliament Square were of stone, above which were dwelling-houses of two storeys, with flat roofs, the shops chiefly those of jewellers. The booths on the north side were of wood, and were called the Krames, separated from the Luckenbooths continuation of the Lawnmarket and High Street by a row of lofty stone tenements, which extended from the east gable of the Old Tolbooth to a huge "land" of eight or nine storeys, apparently forming the termination of the High Street on the west. The booths of the Krames were originally tenanted by mercers, hosiers, glovers, and other traders in miscellaneous wares, but before the removal they had degenerated into mere toy-shops.<sup>3</sup> On the north-east corner wall of the church, above the shops, was a niche in which had been a statue of the Virgin Mary, and some steps leading from the Cross were in consequence known as "Our Lady's Steps." Such is a brief description of this part of the City in the olden time, every vestige of which is swept away, and St. Giles's steeple is the solitary external memorial of past centuries.

That division of St. Giles's Church still called parochially the Old Church—the south transept of the present edifice—was the most ancient portion of the entire fabric before the whole was externally rebuilt; but though the date of the foundation is unknown, no part of the former structure was of greater antiquity than the middle of the fifteenth century. The statement ascribed to Simon of Durham, that it existed in the ninth century, and was one of the churches belonging to the bishopric of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, is unworthy of the least credit; yet a religious edifice occupied its site probably in the thirteenth century, and the ground sloping down towards the Cowgate, on which the Parliament House and Courts of Justice are erected, was long before the Reformation the common place of interment of the

<sup>1</sup> This man was well known to the venerable informant of the present writer, the mother of the late Captain James Black, R.N., a lady almost a century old in 1839.

<sup>2</sup> This reputed arm of St. Giles, with its enshrined cases, weighed five pounds three and a half ounces. In the church were also pre-

served "St. Giles's coat, with a little pendicle of red velvet which hung at his feet," with other curious relics.—Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Scott gives an accurate description of the Krames in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian."

citizens. On the 15th of December, 1359, a charter was granted by David II. of the lands of Upper Merchiston, near the city, to the chaplain officiating at St. Catherine's altar in the church. In 1365, the same monarch ratified a donation by a burghess of Edinburgh to the altar of the Virgin Mary, which intimates that several altars and chaplaincies had been founded. The Scottish Barons met in the church in 1384, and declared war against England. The result was the invasion of Scotland under the Duke of Gloucester, who burnt the city, including St. Giles's Church and Holyrood, leaving all in ruins except the Castle, after a conflagration of five days.

The church was soon rebuilt with the city, and this was the commencement of the subsequent edifice, or of that division long designated the Old Church. Various sums were paid by Robert III., and his successor James I. between 1390 and 1413 to restore the edifice.<sup>1</sup> Even in 1387, the erection of five chapels was designed on the south side,<sup>2</sup> and subsequently five were constructed on the north side. The next addition was the present High Church, which may be said to form the chancel of the modern edifice, and appears to have been commenced in the reign of James I.<sup>3</sup> The High Church Aisle, formerly the Holy Blood Aisle, in which the General Assembly long annually met, and was entered from the Parliament Close, is said to have been built by the Prestons of Craigmillar, whose armorial bearings frequently occurred in it, those of the City twice, and one coat-of-arms which was not ascertained. The High Church division seems to have been terminated at the west end by the tower and steeple till the seventeenth century, when the increasing population rendered more parochial accommodation necessary, and the additions placed the tower in its present central position. About the end of the reign of Charles I., the west portion, long known as the Tolbooth Church,<sup>4</sup> from its proximity to the prison, was constituted a parish church. In 1656, this church was divided into two by a partition wall,<sup>5</sup> and that portion of the extended edifice forming the north-west division, next the Old Tolbooth, was known by the several designations of "Haddo's Hole Kirk," the "New North Kirk," and the "Little Kirk."<sup>6</sup>

In this condition the whole stood till 1829, a huge, sombre, and irregular pile of Gothic architecture of its kind, without any pretensions to elegance of design or decorations of masonry. On the contrary, the four churches under the roof of St. Giles were one mass of deformity, more especially after all the surrounding lofty tenements which concealed the entire edifice from public view had been removed. It is unnecessary to describe the exterior of a group which no longer exists in its former state, and contained nothing attractive in the interior to compensate for the miserable taste of those who had suggested the additions. It is, therefore, the historical associations connected with St. Giles's of Edinburgh which are alone interesting.

<sup>1</sup> The sums are mentioned in the Chamberlain's Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> *Registrum Magnum Sigilli*, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> This is proved by an examination of the armorial bearings on the pillars, for the interior of this part of the edifice was strictly preserved. The first pillar from the altar window on the north side, in the division called the High Church, is known as the *King's Pillar*, and contains four coats-of-arms—those of Scotland, or of James II., twice repeated, those of France, and those of James II. and his consort Margaret of Gueldres. This intimates that the pillar was erected between 1437, the year of the accession of James II., and 1460, when he was killed at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. The demi-pillar on the same side contains the arms of Thomas Cranston, "scutifer," or shield-bearer, to the King, and this ancestor of the Lords Cranston was a man of considerable note in the reign of James II. On the pillar opposite the *King's Pillar*, are four armorial bearings—those of Preston of Craigmillar, of Nicolson, of Kennedy, and of the City of Edinburgh. Archbishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, when Bishop of Dunkeld, was Lord Chancellor in the reign of James II., and his elder brother, Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure, an ancestor of the Earls of Cassillis, was created Lord Kennedy by that monarch. On the south side were also displayed the arms of Isobel Countess of Lennox, the wife of Murdoch Duke of Albany; and this lady, who was a great benefactress of the Church of Rome in Scotland, died in 1461. The other armorial bearings in this part of the edifice belonged to the city of Edinburgh, with only one exception on the roof in the north-west corner.

<sup>4</sup> "Qubilk was so callit because it was lastlie the pairt and place quhair the Criminal Court did sit, and quhair the gallows and Mayden

did lie of old."—Nicol's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 170.

<sup>5</sup> Nicol's Diary, pp. 174, 178.

<sup>6</sup> With the additions already mentioned, the external length of the building, previous to 1830, was understood to be 200 feet, the breadth at the east end 50 feet, at the west end 110 feet, at the transept or centre, 120 feet; the height of the tower 155½ feet, or, according to Arnot, 161 feet. It was divided into four parish churches, of which the *High Church* was the east portion, the *Old Church* was the south transept, the *Tolbooth Church* and *New North Church* were the west additions; the aisle appropriated for the annual meetings of the General Assembly adjoined the *Old Church* on the south; and the north transept, opposite the Luckenbooths, was occupied for a few years previous to the alterations as a police-office and court-house, which originated the satirical remark, that a part of St. Giles's church was converted into a *den of thieves*. Maitland's statement of the height of the tower of the Church is 155½ feet, "as measured," he says, "by James Fife, player on the music-hells therein."—*History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 273. The local diarist Birrel relates a curious and very dangerous exploit connected with St. Giles's tower. On the 10th of July, 1598, a man exhibited or "played souple tricks, the lyke never seen in this countrie," upon "ane tow" fastened from the top of the steeple to a stair below the Cross called "Josias' Close-head."—*Diary*, p. 47. In 1648, the four open stone arches on the top of the tower, which are imagined to resemble an imperial crown, were ordered to be rebuilt.



The church belonged to the Abbots of Dunfermlino till the reign of James III., who, in 1466 or 1483,<sup>1</sup> constituted it collegiate, having a Provost, a curate, sixteen prebendaries, a minister of the choir, four choristers, a sacristan, and a headle; and the patronage is said to have been vested in the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the town-council of Edinburgh. In this state it remained till the Reformation, when John Knox became the first Protestant minister. The opulent citizens had founded altars in the church of their tutelary saint, and a great part of the property in the neighbourhood was by degrees appropriated to that purpose.<sup>2</sup> Thirty-four altars are enumerated,<sup>3</sup> of which those of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, the Holy Blood and St. Anthony, Our Lady of Piety, and the Holy Cross of the Body and Blood of Christ, are specially noticed. One was dedicated to St. Eloi, or St. Aloysius, who was selected by the incorporated trades of the city as their peculiar and favourite guardian. Above this altar was displayed the "Banner of the Holy Ghost," better known by its less dignified title of the "Blue Blanket," still preserved, and traditionally said to have been the standard of a band of Scottish mechanics who engaged in the Crusade wars in the Holy Land.<sup>4</sup> The "jewels, plate, vestments, and other treasure and trinkets," which belonged to the Provost and prebendaries, were numerous and valuable. At the Reformation all those treasures were sold, and the remaining sum, after being employed to repair the edifice and arrange the interior according to the notions of the Protestant preachers, was applied to the purposes of the City.<sup>5</sup> The Provost, before the appropriation of the temporalities by the town-council, received the rents and the profits, was entitled to a residence and glebe in the vicinity, and had the right to select the curate, who was to officiate for him, preside in the choir when the two senior prebendaries were absent, and to whom was paid annually twenty-five merks, exclusive of a domicile near the church.

The most celebrated Provost of St. Giles's Church was Gawin Douglas, the translator of Virgil's *Æneid* into Scottish verse, and the author of several works, one of which, entitled the "Palace of Honour," dedicated to James IV., bears a remarkable resemblance to Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," the coincidence being too evident to be accidental. He was the third and youngest son of Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, surnamed "Bell-the-Cat," was subsequently consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld, died of the plague in London in 1521 or 1522, while under the ban of the Duke of Albany as a traitor, and was interred in the Savoy Church. Gawin Douglas was appointed Provost of St. Giles's Church in 1509, when he resigned his rectory of Hawick. His conduct in 1520, during the contest between his nephew Angus and the head of the Hamilton family, then styled Earl of Arran, is subsequently noticed in the street riot of "Cleanse the Causeway." The humble bishopric of Dunkeld was the only preferment which this first translator of a Roman classic, and one of the earliest of Scottish poets, obtained during his troubled life. Deprived of the abbey of Aberbrothwick, excluded from the priory of St. Andrews, and after encountering much personal opposition in connexion with the see of Dunkeld, Gawin Douglas became embarrassed with debt, and finally, as we have seen, died an exile; but he left behind him a reputation which will always distinguish him as a prelate of much learning and of munificence beyond his limited resources, and his misfortunes seem to have originated from the circumstance that he was a member of the once powerful house of Douglas.

After the Reformation, the then existing fabric of St. Giles was completely altered in the interior, and the Old Church division became the parish church of the City when John Knox was appointed the first minister.

<sup>1</sup> Father Hay in his MS. gives the date 1483.

<sup>2</sup> St. Giles's Grange, once a farm, afterwards the estate of Grange House (Dick Lander, Bart.), about a mile and a half south of the church in a direct line, near the site of the nunnery of St. Catherine of Sienna, or the "Sciennes," on the south of Newington, belonged to the Provost and prebendaries. Some idea may be formed of the opulence of the ecclesiastics before the Reformation from the enumeration of Maitland, who states the rental derived from various lands, ground-annuities, and feu-duties, as amounting even in 1661, nearly a century after much of the property had been plundered, to the sum of 25297. Scots.

<sup>3</sup> Among the endowed altars were those of St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, St. Francis, St. Martin and St. Thomas, St. Blasius, St. Dionysius, St. James the Apostle, St. Ninian, St. Laurence, St. Saviour, and the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. Maitland observes of the altars in St. Giles's church, which he enumerates, that many of them "had a plurality of foundations and chaplains belonging to

them, whereat were performed the numerous anniversary obits, &c., for the repose of the souls of the founders, their relations, and friends."—History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> The "Blue Blanket," which is a curious memorial of former times, and is almost in tatters, is always deposited with the Convener of the Trades, the only member of the incorporations who has, since the Burgh Reform Act, an official seat in the town-council. This banner is displayed on important occasions. It waved above the temporary barrier-gate erected near Picardy Place to receive George IV. in 1822, and it was produced to welcome her Majesty Queen Victoria in 1842.

<sup>5</sup> Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 272, 273. The church was also amply provided with gold and silver crosses, candlesticks, chalices, and various vessels, a golden bell and unicorn, a small golden heart with two pearls, a diamond ring with several small stones, a silver ship for incense, silver paten and spoon, a communion cloth of gold brocade, and costly robes for the Provost and Prebendaries.

The Earl of Moray was married in it to Lady Anne Keith in February 1561, and the ceremonial seems to have been performed by Knox, who addressed the future Regent on the occasion, although he expressed his dissatisfaction at the extraordinary feasting which followed. Lord Darnley occasionally attended the prelections of Knox in this church, but his compliance obtained for him little favour from that austere orator. On the 22d of February, 1567-8, Sir William Stewart was inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms in the edifice, after a sermon, in presence of the Regent Moray and many of the nobility; but this unfortunate gentleman<sup>1</sup> held his office only a few months, as the celebrated Sir David Lindsay of the Mount was installed his successor on Sunday the 22d of August, 1568, in presence of the Regent Moray. On Tuesday the 11th of February, 1569-70, the body of the Regent, who had been assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh at Linlithgow on the 23d January, was conveyed from Holyrood, and interred in the church; Knox preached the funeral sermon, many of the nobility being present, and the audience, consisting of three thousand persons, were deeply affected.<sup>2</sup> A monument, a kind of altar-tomb which still exists, was erected to his memory, with a Latin inscription from the pen of George Buchanan.<sup>3</sup> The fabric sustained no injury during the siege of the Castle in 1573, though Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, the governor, fortified the tower with artillery, and placed in it a party from his garrison. The edifice was often the scene of offensive personalities uttered by the officiating preachers to James VI., at which he sometimes displayed great irritation,<sup>4</sup> and on other occasions was obliged to pass over the affront in silence. In this church he repeatedly denounced the turbulent Earl of Bothwell to the assembled congregation, in 1591 and 1592; and here he was told from the pulpit by Mr. Robert Bruce, on the 13th of March, 1594, that "God would raise up more Bothwells than one, who would be greater enemies to him than Bothwell, if he fought not God's quarrel and battles on the Papists before he fought or revenged his own particular quarrel." On the 3d of April, 1603, two days before his departure to England as the successor of Queen Elizabeth, the King went to the High Church division of the edifice, which was crowded on the occasion, and heard a sermon preached by Mr. John Hall, containing many free allusions, which the Monarch, however, is said to have taken "in good part." After the sermon he rose and addressed the congregation, who were greatly affected. He promised to visit his native kingdom every third year, and entreated his subjects not to be depressed because he left them, for his power to serve them was increased, and his inclination to do so would never be diminished. James concluded his speech, which was in the Scottish vernacular, in these words—"I have nae mair to say, but pray for me." The audience expressed their feelings by loud sobs and tears. James was again in the High Church at his entrance to the city on the 16th of May, 1617, when he heard a sermon by Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews. Among the dignitaries of the Church of England then present were the learned Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, who was at the time Bishop of Ely, and the future Archbishop Laud.

Charles I. was often under the roof of St. Giles's during his visits to Edinburgh. After his coronation at Holyrood in 1633, he founded the bishopric of Edinburgh, which had for centuries been a part of the

<sup>1</sup> See a notice of Sir William Stewart's fate in the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. pp. 526, 527.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription on the Regent's tomb is as follows—"VIETAS SINE VINDICE LUET. JUS EXARMATUM EST, 23 JANUARY 1569. JACOBO STEWARTO, MORAYE COMITI, SCOTIE PROREGE, VIRO ETATIS SUE LONGE OPTIMO, AB INIMICIS OMNIS MEMORIE DETERRIMIS EX INSIDIIS EXTINCTO, CEU PATRI COMMUNI PATRIA MERENS POSUIT." It is recorded of the Regent, that "his head (was) placed south, contrair the ordour usit; the sepulchre laid with hewn wark maist curiously, and on the head ane plate of brass."

<sup>4</sup> In the beginning of 1586-7, one of those numerous exhibitions occurred in which the preachers delighted to indulge. The fate of Queen Mary was soon to close on the block in Fotheringay Castle, and the "kirk-session" of Edinburgh refused to enjoin their preachers to pray for her, though anxiously requested by the King to mention her distress in their supplications, after sentence of death had been pronounced against her. A chronicler of the time has preserved an account of the King's visit to St. Giles's church on the 3d of February, the day he had appointed for solemn prayer in behalf of his unfor-

fortunate mother. On this occasion the King expected that Adamson, titular archbishop of St. Andrews, was to preach; but when he entered the church he was astonished to see "perched up in the pulpit a young fellow, one John Cowper," whose brother, William Cowper, was afterwards Bishop of Galloway. The King exclaimed before the congregation—"Master John, that place was designed for another; yet since you are there do your duty, and pray obey the charge to pray for my mother." Cowper replied that he would speak solely as the "Spirit of God should direct him," and immediately commenced an extemporaneous prayer, in which he mentioned Queen Mary under the name of Jezebel and other severe epithets. The King ordered him to desist, at which the preacher exclaimed—"This day shall bear witness against you in the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh! for the last of thy plagues shall be the worst!" He then came down from the pulpit, and left the church followed by all the women. In the midst of a considerable noise which this extraordinary conduct excited, Adamson entered the pulpit, and delivered an eloquent and appropriate discourse, which was heard with satisfaction by the King and the well-disposed part of the congregation. Mr. Cowper was compelled to cool his zeal in Blackness Castle, to which he was committed a prisoner on a charge of sedition, for this contempt of the royal authority.

extensive diocese of St. Andrews, superintended by an archdeacon and several deans appointed by the Archbishop. The newly constituted diocese included the counties of Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, and the small county of Clackmannan. A part of the patrimony of the ancient Priory of St. Andrews was purchased by the King and the Duke of Lennox, to insure a suitable revenue to the bishop. The foundation charter of the see is dated Whitehall, 29th December, 1633. St. Giles's church was declared to be the cathedral, and the chapter was arranged to consist of a dean, who was to be the incumbent of the High Church, and twelve prebendaries, whose maintenance was to be derived from the tiends, feus, and superiorities of the lands enumerated in the charter.<sup>1</sup> The Bishops of Edinburgh were to have precedence over all the Scottish bishops, after the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and were to be vicars-general of the diocese of St. Andrews during the vacancy of the primacy. The first Bishop was Dr. William Forbes, who had been educated at Cambridge, and who had been successively minister of the parishes of Alford and Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, also of Aberdeen, and Principal of Marischal College, and who was at that time one of the ministers of Edinburgh. The patent of his nomination was dated the 26th of January, 1634, and he was consecrated in the following month, but died suddenly in April that year. He was succeeded by Bishop David Lindsay, who was translated from Brechin in September 1634.<sup>2</sup>

The next important event in the history of St. Giles's, which may be said to have been the commencement of the Scottish rebellion against Charles I., was the riot at the introduction of the Scottish Liturgy, on Sunday the 23d of July, the seventh Sunday after Trinity, long remembered as "Stoney Sunday," and the "Casting of Stools." It occurred in the Old Church division, the High Church being then under repair. As to the Liturgy of the Church of England, it was well known in Scotland at the time, as it had been daily used for the previous twenty years in several of the parish churches throughout the kingdom, without any symptoms of disapprobation. In the present case, however, a formidable opposition was organised by various persons, who became conspicuous leaders in the approaching Covenanting war. In concerting their operations they instructed some women of the lower orders to "give the first affront to the Service-Book," meaning the Liturgy, and to commence an uproar in the church when divine service commenced, assuring them that the turmoil would be carried on by more important agents.

It had been enjoined that this Liturgy, which, though in all essential and general points the same as that of the Church of England, few persons in Scotland had seen except those bishops who prepared it, should be first used on Easter Sunday; but by the same fatality which attended many of the proceedings of that unhappy time, the day latterly announced was the 1st of July. Sunday the 23d of that month was appointed for its introduction into St. Giles's cathedral. On that day appeared in the Old Church division of the edifice Archbishop Spottiswoode, the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Patrick Lindsay of Glasgow, several of the Bishops and members of the Privy-Council, some of the Judges of the Court of Session, and the Lord Provost and magistrates, in their robes of office. It was then the custom of the poorer classes to carry small three-footed stools, on which they sat during the sermon. At the time of divine service, which it appears was nine in the morning, Mr. James Hannay, Dean of Edinburgh, entered a reading-desk habited in his surplice, and commenced the morning service from the Liturgy, when the most extraordinary uproar was commenced by the women, and by men in disguise. The riot is differently related by contemporary writers. Clamours, cries, and execrations, assailed the Dean, accompanied by such clapping of hands and other noises, that scarcely a word could be distinctly heard. One woman threw her portable stool at his head, and he only evaded the blow by turning aside before the missile reached him.<sup>3</sup> This outrage was succeeded by a discharge of clasped Bibles, sticks, and missiles; others attempted

<sup>1</sup> Among the prebendaries were the incumbents of Holyroodhouse, Liberton, Tranent, Haddington, Dunbar, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, Falkirk, and Stirling.—Charter of Erection of the See of Edinburgh, in Bishop Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, 1755, pp. 28–37.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Lindsay continued Bishop of Edinburgh, and connected with St. Giles's cathedral, till 1638, when he was deposed and excommunicated by the Covenanting General Assembly at Glasgow. He died during the commotions of the Civil War, and the diocese was vacant till 1662, when George Wishart, who had been chaplain to the Marquis of Montrose, was consecrated to the see at St. Andrews. His

successors were Alexander Young from 1671 to 1679, John Paterson from 1679 to 1687, and Alexander Rose, who was deprived at the Revolution. The subsequent Bishops of Edinburgh had no connexion with the cathedral of their predecessors.

<sup>3</sup> It is almost unnecessary to remind the reader that the heroine of this exploit, for which she has obtained a niche in history, is traditionally said to have been Jenny Geddes, after whom the poet Burns named a favourite mare. Jenny was by profession a *kail-wife*, or retailer of vegetables—a class of persons who long kept stalls for that purpose at the Tron Church, and who at the arrival of Charles II. in

to pull the Dean out of the reading-desk, and he was glad to escape from their fury, leaving a part of his surplice in their hands. All this time an excited mob on the street violently attacked the doors of the church, and pelted the windows. Various paltry jokes, unworthy of notice, are recorded by the Covenanting describers of this tumult.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Lindsay, the diocesan, who was to preach the sermon, went into the pulpit, and addressed the disturbers of the service. He reminded them of the sacredness of the place, and of their duty to God and the King, entreating them to desist from their profanation; but his courage, dignity, and eloquence, which even Wodrow admits, were of no avail. He was assailed by the most ferocious epithets, and it is said that a stool was also aimed at him, which might have killed him if it had not been averted by a friendly hand. Archbishop Spottiswoode, who occupied a seat in the gallery, also interfered, but he only turned the storm of fierce imprecation against himself. The Primate saw that it was vain to attempt to allay the uproar, and in the exercise of his authority as Lord Chancellor, he ordered the magistrates to clear the church. This was done, the doors made fast, and the service was continued in defiance of noise and violence, until some of the rioters, left within the church, raised their old cry—"A Pope! a Pope! pull him down!" This induced the magistrates again to act officially, and to expel them from the cathedral. The service was then concluded, and the sermon delivered in quietness. The Liturgy was opposed, though not with such indecency, in the Greyfriars' and Trinity College churches.

When the Bishops and the nobility retired from St. Giles's after the morning service, they found the High Street crowded by a mob, who insulted them, and threatened a personal attack. One clergyman was severely beaten, and Bishop Lindsay, who was very corpulent, was probably rescued from death solely by the domestics of the Earl of Wemyss, who conveyed him into their master's residence. Before the afternoon service a number of the bishops convened in the house of Archbishop Spottiswoode, and conferred with the magistrates, who adopted proper methods for preserving order. Numbers resorted to St. Giles's at two o'clock, the usual hour for the sermon, but no preacher appeared. About three o'clock, some of the bishops and clergy went privately to the church accompanied by a strong guard, and those only were admitted who were known to be peaceable citizens. At the dismissal of the congregation, about five o'clock, the High Street was again swarming with male and female rioters, ready to renew their outrages. Bishop Lindsay, who was in the coach of the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal, again escaped with great difficulty on his way to Holyrood. An attempt to stop the coach, and drag out the bishop, who was erroneously supposed to be the most active promoter of the Liturgy, was successfully repelled by the Earl's servants with drawn swords, who cleared their way at full speed down the High Street, followed by the rioters, who, as the erection of the Tron Church was then in progress, readily obtained an ample supply of missiles. A nobleman, supposed to be the facetious Earl of Rothes, who saw the populace running after the coach, exclaimed, "I will write to the King, and tell him that the Court here is changed; for my Lord Traquair used ever to get the best *following*,<sup>2</sup> but now the Earl of Roxburgh and the Bishop of Edinburgh have the best *backing*."

The Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed in St. Giles's church, though the great scene of that transaction was the Greyfriars' church and cemetery. On the 1st of December, 1638, Dean Hannay and his colleagues in St. Giles's were deposed by the Covenanting General Assembly at Glasgow, and on the 13th a similar deliverance was pronounced against Bishop Lindsay, who never again entered his cathedral.

the North of Scotland, in June, 1650, were so surcharged with loyalty, that they burnt their stalls, creels, and even their very stools, for joy. —Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 17. That Jenny was considered a noted virago in her day, is evident from her conduct at the celebration of Charles II.'s coronation in 1661, as recorded in the "Mercurius Caledonius," a newspaper attempted by Thomas Sydserf, whose father was then Bishop of Orkney. She is designated the "immortal Janet Geddes," the "Princess of the Trono Adventurers;" and "she was not only content to assemble all her creels, basquets, creepies (small stools), frames, and other ingredients that composed the shope of her sallets, radishes, turnips, carrots, spinage, cabbage, with all her other sort of pot merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to the rest of her lang-kale vassals, were all very ordourly

burned, she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown vermilion majesty." The stool preserved in the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh, as that thrown by Jenny Geddes at the head of the Dean of Edinburgh, must be spurious.

<sup>1</sup> One of these jokes is, that when Jenny Geddes heard the bishop call to the dean to read the collect for the day, she exclaimed, when she threw her small stool—"Deil colic the wame o' ye!" It is also said that she vociferated—"Will yo say mass at my lug (ear)?" If the morning service proceeded to the collect for the day, it must have been nearly half-over, as it is precisely the same as that of the Church of England.

<sup>2</sup> This is evidently a witty allusion to the Earl of Traquair as Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.

From 1638 to 1650 the edifice was in the possession of the Covenanters, and during Cromwell's domination those Presbyterian ministers were allowed to officiate who were submissive to a sway which it was vain to resist.

The first indication of a new state of affairs after the Restoration of Charles II., was the magnificent funeral in St. Giles's of the mutilated remains of the Marquis of Montrose, attended by a gorguous procession, on the 11th of May, 1661.<sup>1</sup> The High Church division became again the cathedral of the Bishops of Edinburgh, and continued as such, though used as one of the parish churches, till the Revolution. Since that event nothing of comparative importance has occurred in connexion with the fabric except its renovation. The General Assembly held its annual meetings in the south aisle, anciently the "Holy Blood Aisle," till 1833, during a period of one hundred and forty years. The west portion of the edifice, occupying the site of the Tolbooth and Haddo's Hole, or New North churches, is now designated West St. Giles's, and is one of the three parish churches into which the edifice is subdivided. Though under the same roof, these churches are as distinct as if they were situated in different parts of the city.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His mutilated remains were, by order of the Parliament sitting in January that year, removed from the ignoble grave in the Borough Muir, his limbs were sent from Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen, his head was taken down from the Tolbooth, and the whole were placed in a splendid coffin. On Monday the 7th of January, at nine in the morning, the magistrates ordered four companies of their trained bands to march with colours displayed to the Borough Muir, where sundry noblemen and gentlemen, relatives and admirers of the great Marquis, were assembled; the dismembered body was taken out of the grave, wrapt in costly cloth, placed in a coffin under a canopy of rich velvet, and conveyed amid martial music, and the discharging of the artillery of the Castle, to the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, in an aisle of which the coffin was deposited until the order for the funeral was issued by the King and the Estates of Parliament. The procession returned from the Borough Muir by the West Port, Grassmarket, West Bow, and Lawnmarket. When opposite the Tolbooth the procession halted, the coffin was opened, and the head of the Marquis, which had been taken down from the spike it had occupied upwards of ten years, was deposited therein under the sound of trumpets from a platform erected by the magistrates. On the 11th of May the solemnity of the funeral was observed, and he was interred behind the tomb of his grandfather, John third Earl of Montrose. The street from the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood to St. Giles's was lined by the citizens in armour, forming twenty-three companies with banners. The King's life-guards of horse, in number one hundred and sixty, first appeared in military order, and next came twenty-six boys in deep mourning habits, carrying the armorial bearings of the Marquis and of the branches of his family. They were succeeded by the Lord Provost, magistrates, and town-council, all in mourning, who were followed by members of the Parliament. A trumpeter, dressed in the livery of the Marquis, next appeared, with a horse led behind him; after him a gentleman on horseback in armour, followed by eighteen gentlemen, some of whom carried long banners of honour, and others the spurs, gloves, breastplate, and hack armour of the Marquis on the points of long staffs. A horse next appeared, which was covered by the rich embroidered mantle on which the Marquis and his ancestors sat at the riding of the Parliaments, and led by a lackey decorated with his family arms on the breast and the back. Then came the principal nobility, the heralds and pursuivants in their tabards, several of them carrying honours; then another led horse, covered with black cloth; after which appeared the Lord Lyon King-at-Arms in his magnificent robes of office, followed by a great number of the relatives and friends of the Marquis. Six trumpeters preceded the coffin, which was carried under a rich pall supported by noblemen and gentlemen, and by a number of ladies, the wives and daughters of peers. Next was the Earl of Middleton, Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament. This funeral procession was closed by that of another victim of the Covenanters, Colonel Hay of Delgaty, who was beheaded for his connexion with the Marquis, and had been buried in the Borough Muir. He was interred on the right side of the Marquis.—Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 316, 317, 331, 332.

<sup>2</sup> It is already stated that the more modern additions to the fabric were those of Haddo's Hole, or the New North and the Tolbooth churches. Maitland asserts—"The room over the northern door of Haddo's Hole church was at first denominated the *Priests Prison*, but from the long confinement of one Haddow therein, it is said to have received the appellation of Haddow's Hole." Arnot repeats this statement—"It takes the name of Haddow's Hole from its having been made a prison in which a gentleman of the name of Haddow was long confined." Both of those writers were evidently ignorant of the origin of the appellation, which was not derived from "one Haddow," or "a gentleman of the name of Haddow;" but from Sir John Gordon of Haddo, an ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, whose family seat is Haddo House in that county, and whose second titles are Viscount Formartine and Lord Haddo. The fate of Sir John Gordon, who fell a victim to his loyalty in 1644, when he was executed by the Covenanters, is subsequently noticed. He was imprisoned in that part of St. Giles's which, till 1830, bore his territorial name, with its subsequent appellations of the "New North Kirk" and the "Little Kirk." It was not converted into a place of worship till 1699, when the increase of the inhabitants rendered such accommodation necessary. The Magistrates intended to fit up a meeting-house in the Lawnmarket for that purpose, but the edifice selected having been declared unsuitable, Haddo's Hole was rented and prepared for the new congregation at the expense of about 2000 merks Scots. The interior was one of the most dismal-looking places of worship in the city. The adjoining Tolbooth Kirk was altogether different in its historical associations. The New Tolbooth, at its south-west corner, was soon found to be inadequate for the accommodation of the Court of Session, and during the greater part of the reign of James VI., and the whole of the reign of Charles I., the judges sat in the Tolbooth Kirk. Hugh, eighth Lord Somerville, had a lawsuit in the Court of Session with his relative, Somerville of Cambusnethan, which had been protracted from 1570 to 1577 by the influence of the latter, who employed "all his allies, which were not few," says the noble historian of the Somervilles, "and his lady all her friends, which were many, being of the surname of Murray, and Philiphaugh's eldest daughter, who owned his son-in-law much in this action." In 1577 Lord Somerville, who had often importuned the judges for a decision, was advised to try the avarice of the Regent Morton, which he did by leaving a purse of gold, as if by accident, on the table at an interview with the Regent in his residence at Holyrood Palace, and hurrying down-stairs, disregarding Morton's exclamation—"My Lord, you have forgot your purse." A person was sent after Lord Somerville, requesting him to return and breakfast with the Regent, which was a sure sign that the device had been successful. Lord Somerville accepted the invitation, and it is stated that "about ten o'clock the Regent went to the house, which was the same which is now the Tolbooth church, in a coach. There were none with him but the Lord Boyd and the Lord Somerville." When the coach was passing Niddry's Wynd, the Laird of Cambusnethan was standing at the head of that alley, and when informed who the persons were in the coach with the Regent, he struck his breast, and said, "This day my cause

In the west gallery of the High Church is a chair of state under a canopy supported by four pillars, and surmounted by a crown. This chair is occupied by the Lord High Commissioner on the first day of the meeting of the General Assembly, and the two following Sundays. George IV. heard a sermon in this seat on the forenoon of Sunday the 25th of August, 1822. The front seats of the north gallery are for those of the town-council who choose to attend officially, and those opposite are occupied by the judges of the court of Session.<sup>1</sup>

### THE PARLIAMENT CLOSE AND PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

MANY curious stories could be told of the former Parliament Close, and of that celebrated arena of Scottish jurisprudence the Parliament House of Edinburgh, partly built on the site of the ancient burying-ground of St. Giles's, which sloped down from the church to the Cowgate. The Parliament Close was entered on the east and west of St. Giles's; and the east side or corner, contained a stately "land" or tenement of six storeys, resting on piazzas, in one of which was John's Coffeehouse, a noted convivial resort of lawyers in the eighteenth century, destroyed by fire in the summer of 1824. The opponents of the Union in 1707 constantly met in John's Coffeehouse to discuss the proceedings of the Parliament. The Parliament Close, before the conflagration in November 1824, consisted of tenements adjoining the "piazza land" of seven storeys high, and the back part, overlooking the Cowgate, displayed no less than thirteen storeys, which made it the highest house in the city.<sup>2</sup> Those stately tenements of ashler work occupied the site of even loftier buildings which were burnt in 1700. The Parliament House and the then Goldsmith's Hall, the latter on the site of the entrance to the Library of the Writers to the Signet, on the north gable of the former, constituted the west side of the square, St. Giles's church the north, and the south side, east of the Parliament House, was a tenement called the Treasury, in the lower and western part of which the Court of Session was held, and the upper parts, before the Union, were appropriated to the Privy Council, the Exchequer, and the Treasury. After the Union those apartments became the Court of the Exchequer. The central apartment of this edifice

is lost." This was actually the case, and Lord Somerville obtained a decision in his favour. The "house" to which the Regent Morton went was the Court of Session, then held in the Tolbooth Kirk. James VI. was sitting in it on the 17th of December, and a convention of the preachers was held at the same time in the "New Kirk," when the tumult broke out on the rumour that the latter intended to murder him, which caused the doors to be secured, some exclaiming—"God and the King!" and others—"God and the Kirk!" The citizens were soon in commotion, and the King retired for safety to the upper room of the New Tolbooth, which was latterly the Justiciary courtroom, and he was there protected from the excited enthusiasts in this religious riot till the Earl of Mar brought soldiers to his rescue by Forrester's Wynd. In 1598 this division of St. Giles's was fitted up for divine service in the same form as it had been five years previously, and sermons were preached in it on the 4th of November, but it was again altered in 1601. It appears that the Tolbooth church continued to be used as the Court of Session till 1640, when the present Parliament Hall was finished.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly the peculiarities of the congregations which assembled under the roof of St. Giles's were very marked, and indicated their theological tendencies. "The High Kirk," says Mr. Chambers, "had a sort of dignified aristocratic character, approaching somewhat to Prelacy, and was frequented by sound church-and-state men, who did not care so much for the sermon, as for the gratification of sitting in the same place with his Majesty's Lords of Council and Session and the magistrates of Edinburgh, and who desired to be thought men of sufficient liberality and taste to appreciate the prelections of Blair. The Old Kirk, in the centre of the whole, was frequented by people who wished to have a tough 'sufficient' sermon of good divinity, about three quarters of an hour long, and who did not care for the darkness and 'goustiness' of that dungeon-like place of worship. The Tolbooth Kirk was the peculiar resort of a set of rigid Calvinists from the Lawnmarket and the head of the Bow, termed the 'Tolbooth

Whigs,' who loved nothing but extempore apostolical sermons, and would have considered it sufficient to bring the house down about their ears if the preecutor had ceased, for one verse, the old hill-side fashion of reciting the lines of the psalm before singing them." To these observations on eccentricities long exploded may be added the congregation of the New North or Haddo's Hole Kirk, who were considered intensely evangelical, and to whom a read sermon was an utter abomination, though they were occasionally visited with such a penance by strangers. When Dr. Johnson was in Edinburgh in 1773, he was taken to inspect St. Giles's church. "We next went," says Boswell, "to the great church of St. Giles, which has lost its original magnificence in the inside by being divided into four places of Presbyterian worship. 'Come,' said Dr. Johnson, jocularly, to Principal Robertson, 'let me see what was *once* a church.' We entered that division which was formerly called the New Church, and of late the High Church, so well known by the eloquence of Dr. Hugh Blair. It is now very elegantly fitted up, but it was then shamefully dirty."—Boswell's Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, edited by John Wilson Croker, 8vo. Lond. 1831, vol. ii. p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Those "Babel Lands," as they were called, were always shown to strangers among the curiosities of the city. Dr. Johnson, after inspecting the High Church in St. Giles's and the Royal Infirmary, was taken to see those towering tenements. "We then conducted him," says Boswell, "down the Post-House Stairs, Parliament Close, and made him look up from the Cowgate to the highest building in Edinburgh (from which he had just descended,) being thirteen floors or storeys above the ground upon the back elevation; the front wall being built upon the edge of the hill, and the back wall rising from the bottom of the hill several storeys before it comes to a level with the front wall."—Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson, vol. ii. pp. 276, 277. The "Post-House Stairs" were latterly known as the "Back Stairs," and led to the Cowgate.

was occupied as the Chancery Office and the Commissary Court, and in two rooms under the Court of Session the national records were deposited.

In the lower part of St. Giles's churchyard, in what was latterly the Back Stairs alley, was the Chapel of the Holy Rood, in which Walter Chapman, the first printer in Edinburgh, founded in 1528 a chaplaincy, and endowed it with his tenement in the Cowgate.<sup>1</sup> At the west end of the churchyard, nearly on the site of the Parliament House, stood the manses of the ministers of the city, previous to the order of James VI. enjoining them to reside in different parts of the town, to prevent their caballing against him. No houses were in this part of the square previous to 1662.

In the centre of the square is the fine equestrian statue of Charles II. on a stone pedestal in front of which is a long Latin poetical inscription expressed in the most flattering language.<sup>2</sup> According to a tradition, it was intended for Oliver Cromwell, but Maitland alleges that it was erected by the citizens at their own expense of 1000*l.* sterling in 1684, the year before the King's death.<sup>3</sup> John Knox is said to have been interred a few feet in front of the site of the statue of Charles II., at least tradition assigns that spot as the locality of his grave, when the Parliament Square was part of St. Giles's cemetery. He was buried on Wednesday the 26th November, 1572, in presence of all the nobility then in the city, and an immense concourse of persons; the Regent Morton well exclaiming, as the body of Knox was laid in the grave—"There lies he who never feared the face of man."

The north side of the Parliament Square long presented the deformity of a number of flat-roofed houses of two and one of three storeys, built close to the walls of St. Giles's church. It is stated that those booths and shops were first erected in 1628, and the civic authorities, to show that they had not lost all reverence for the sacredness of the Church, enacted that only booksellers, watchmakers, jewellers, and goldsmiths, whose avocations were considered respectable, should be the occupants. The shop of George Heriot existed in the vicinity till 1809, when the erection of the Signet Library, already mentioned, caused the demolition of some curious old alleys west of St. Giles's. Heriot's shop was the centre of three small ones immediately on the west of the church, between the Old Tolbooth and the Laigh Council-House, which, as formerly observed, stood near the north-west angle of the square. The back windows looked into an alley, now removed, which was known as Beith's or Bess Wynd, and Heriot's name was discovered upon the architrave of the door carved in stone. This interesting relic, his forge and bellows, and a hollow stone fitted with a stone cover or lid, conjectured to have been used by the wealthy goldsmith for receiving and extinguishing the embers of the furnace, are now preserved in his Hospital.<sup>4</sup> James VI. is said to have visited Heriot in his shop, and tradition alleges that he was always regaled with a bottle of wine. Heriot's residence in the city was in the Fishmarket Close, and his first shop or booth was at "Our Lady's Steps," on the north-east side of St. Giles's. Both in that humble structure, and in the one at the west end of the church, Heriot carried on an extensive trade as goldsmith and money-lender. It has been computed that during the ten years previous to the accession of James VI. to the English crown, Heriot's transactions with Anne of Denmark, who was passionately fond of jewellery, amounted to no less than 50,000*l.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maitland (*History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 185), who had evidently made no inquiries on the subject, vaguely states, "In the neighbourhood of this chapel was a farm-house called St. Giles's Grange." He had previously observed (p. 176), after mentioning the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna on the west side of Newington—"A little distance toward the south-west is the seat of Grange," and "as all religious foundations had their respective granges, barns, or outhouses, for the convenience of agriculture, I take this to have been that belonging to the nunnery of the *Siens*." This *Siens*, *Sciennes*, or *Sheens*, is, as already observed, the local corruption of *Sienna*. It is not true that the Grange, to which Maitland refers, now the Grange House, and the lands connected with it, ever belonged to the nuns of the Edinburgh convent of St. Catherine. It was the Grange of the collegiate church of St. Giles in the city, and is called in old records "Geillis Grange." In 1512, Sir John Crawford, one of the prebendaries, granted a donation of twenty-two acres, of which he was the proprietor, in the Borough Muir of Edinburgh, for the sustentation of a chapel, every vestige of which has disappeared, erected by him in honour of St. John the Baptist. Maitland, moreover, is most erroneous in stating that the "farm-house called St. Giles's Grange" was "in the

neighbourhood," as if it was in the immediate vicinity of the Chapel of the Holy Rood near the Cowgate. The Grange is nearly two miles in a direct line south from St. Giles's church.

<sup>2</sup> The statue of Charles II. was for upwards of a century and a half the only public one in Edinburgh. Before it was repaired, and placed on its present pedestal, it had become so dilapidated that it was necessary to take it down, and the effigy of the "merry monarch" and the horse were consigned for several years to the outer court of the jail on the Calton Hill, which caused several jokes and witticisms at the expense of the Town-Council, by whose order it was restored.

<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless it is stated that this statue "supplied the place of one of Oliver Cromwell, which had been in forwardness, but was immediately thrown aside on the downfall of his family."—*The Scots Magazine* for 1810, p. 404.

<sup>4</sup> *Traditions of Edinburgh*, by Robert Chambers, vol. ii. pp. 209, 210.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoir of George Heriot, with the History of the Hospital founded by him in Edinburgh*, by William Steven, D.D., 12mo. Edin. 1845, pp. 5, 7.

The printing-office of the learned Ruddimans was in the Parliament Close, where they published, as the title-pages intimate, many of the classical, educational, and historical works which emanated from their press, and were edited by them. Of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman it is recorded—"It was in 1739 that he purchased of David Rutberford, the advocate, for 300*l.* sterling, the house wherein from that time he lived in the Parliament Square amidst the booksellers, and in the neighbourhood of the Advocates' Library.<sup>1</sup> He had now better opportunities for gratifying his passion for chess. He used often to step into the shop of Alexander Symmers, the bookseller, in that Square, to play at this fascinating game. They did not play for money, but, being both pertinacious players, they generally parted in a wrangle."<sup>2</sup> Ruddiman died in his house in the Parliament Close, on the 19th of January, 1757, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was interred in the Greyfriars' burying-ground, but no stone marks the spot where this distinguished scholar was laid.<sup>3</sup>

The shop-keepers and denizens of the Parliament Close were long a sociable and friendly community, and formed themselves into a club, known as the "Parliament Close Council," consisting of from fifty to a hundred members, all of whom met once or twice during each year at dinner. They were also noted for many curious habits, which strangely contrast with the present forms of society and mode of conducting business. They frequently shut their shops at three o'clock, with a written announcement that they were at Bruntsfield Links playing at golf, and would return at six. Yet many of them acquired fortunes, and as some of them were or had been civic dignitaries, they were on intimate terms with the judges of the Court of Session and the learned gentlemen of the Parliament House. The very boys seemed to be inspired with new vigour in the Parliament Close, which they considered a peculiarly grand locality. The Parliament Square, as it is designated, now consists of buildings for the courts of law, erected in exact uniformity, and the front resting on piazzas; but its inhabitants have disappeared, and a cocked-hat citizen of the eighteenth century would no longer recognise this once busy and animated scene.

The noble hall called the Parliament House, which excites the admiration of every visitor, was erected at the expense of the citizens, who were afraid that the courts of law and the Parliament might be removed from Edinburgh for want of proper accommodation. It was begun in 1632, and finished in 1640, at the expense of 209,340 merks Scots, or 11,000*l.* sterling, of which the sum of 56,000*l.* Scots was obtained by subscription. The length is one hundred and twenty-three feet, and the breadth forty-two feet, the roof arched with oak panellings gilt at the projections. The interior of the Parliament House, or "Outer House," as it is also called in the phraseology of the courts, is grand and impressive, and it is doubly interesting from its historical and legal associations. The interior is also rendered imposing by the statues of distinguished individuals which it contains. These are the first Lord Melville, Lord Presidents Forbes and Blair, and Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord Advocate, Dean of Faculty, representative in Parliament for the county of Edinburgh, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1808 till his death in 1819. The statue of Lord Melville, of whom it is said that he "walked the boards of the Parliament House during no less than twenty years before he began to reside constantly in London as Treasurer of the Navy,"<sup>4</sup> occupies a pedestal surrounded by an iron railing in the north end of the hall, and represents his lordship in his robes as a peer. It is the work of Chantrey, and was erected at the expense of the Faculty of Advocates. The statue of Lord President Forbes by Roubilliac, and that of Blair by Chantrey, rest on the east wall; the former was erected by the Faculty of Advocates, and the latter by the College of Justice. The statue of Lord Chief Baron Dundas occupies a recess on the west wall of the Parliament House. It is in a sitting posture, and was first placed in the adjoining County Hall in 1824, from which it was removed in 1845.

Previous to 1810, when the present buildings connected with the Parliament House were commenced, the Square must have had a most imposing appearance. The edifice was entered by a stately arched door in the north-west corner, near the Tolbooth division of St. Giles's, close to the Goldsmith's Hall, and over this door were the royal arms of Scotland finely carved in stone, supported on each side by allegorical figures of Truth and Mercy.<sup>5</sup> Projecting towers rose from several parts of the buildings, which

<sup>1</sup> Then solely under the Parliament House.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M., by George Chalmers, 8vo. London, 1794, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Life of T. Ruddiman, p. 269. The Scots Mag. for 1757, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, vol. ii. p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> James Robertson of Kinerigie in Perthshire, long a well-known character in Edinburgh by the sobriquet of the *Daft Highland Laird*, and who was chiefly to be seen either near his residence in the Castle.



were four storeys high, flat-roofed, and ornamented by an elegant open stone balustrade. The interior of the Parliament House contrasts strangely with the present exterior, which is justly pronounced to be "a very ill-conceived and tasteless front-work of modern device, including a sufficient allowance of staring square windows, and some pillars and pilasters," of very indifferent Ionic architecture.

It has been already stated that the Parliament House was completed in 1640, though the date carved in stone on the north gable in the lobby of the Library of the Writers to the Signet is 1636. If it is to be assumed that the hall was finished for the purpose to which it was appropriated in that year, the first Parliament held in it was that of the triumphant Covenanters, which met on the last day of August 1639, the day after their General Assembly was dissolved. The Earl of Traquair appeared as the Lord High Commissioner, and the names of all the nobility and members for the counties and burghs are on record.<sup>1</sup> On the 6th of September the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed by Traquair in this hall in presence of the Parliament, his Lordship intimating and ordering to be entered on the minutes that he did so simply in his official capacity as Lord Treasurer, and not as Lord High Commissioner,<sup>2</sup> but this declaration was afterwards ordered to be expunged as illegal.<sup>3</sup>

The second Parliament held in this hall met in 1640, and on the 11th of June, as the King had appointed no commissioner, Robert Lord Balfour of Burleigh was elected President. The Parliament again met in the Parliament House of Edinburgh on the 19th of November, 1640, and elected Lord Balfour of Burleigh to be the President, who, though much engaged in the public transactions of the time, was selected rather for his ready compliance with all the projects of the Coveanting Estates than for his superior abilities.<sup>4</sup> This Parliament was adjourned till the 14th of January, 1641, and subsequently to the 13th of April, the 25th of May, and the 15th of July. The Estates next convened in the Parliament House on the 15th of July, when Lord Balfour was re-elected President. Neither the King nor his commissioner appeared; but the Earl of Dunfermline and Lord Loudon produced a letter from his Majesty, in which all the demands of the Covenanters were conceded, and much important business was transacted in connexion with these affairs. Charles I. arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of August, and found the prerogatives of the Crown usurped by the Estates. On the 17th of August, after a sermon in the Chapel-Royal, the King proceeded in state to the Parliament House, the Marquis of Hamilton bearing the crown, the Earl of Argyll the sceptre, and the Earl of Sutherland the sword. Charles Lewis, Prince Elector Palatine, the King's nephew, was accommodated with a seat on "ane embroidered stool" behind the throne by permission of the Estates, for which the King returned thanks. It appears that the object of the Prince Elector in accompanying the King to Scotland was to obtain a subsidy of men and money. It is impossible to narrate all the acts, debates, and incidents, which occurred within the Parliament House of Edinburgh at this meeting of the Estates, at which Charles I. was present almost every day after his arrival, till its adjournment on Wednesday the 17th of November, and in which he sacrificed all his regal authority. He was compelled to bestow honours and rank on those whose fidelity was suspected, or whose enmity was avowed. The Marquis of Hamilton was the only exception. He was created a Duke, yet before the patent had passed the seals, he had retired from Edinburgh, alleging a plot to assassinate him as the reason. In this parliament, and within the Parliament House, were proscribed, or consigned to destruction as "Malignants," the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, Sir Lewis Stewart of Blackhall, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, then Lord President of the Court of Session, Sir John Hay, and other loyal noblemen and gentlemen, whose only offences were fidelity to their sovereign, and opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant. The feelings with which Charles I. heard his supporters condemned as "incendiaries" may be easily understood.

hill, or in the Lawnmarket, Bow-Head, or Grassmarket, one day met the celebrated lawyer, the Hon. Henry Erskine, as he was about to enter the Parliament House, of which the laird was a great frequenter. Mr. Erskine inquired after his health, and his reply was, "Oh, very weel; but I'll tell ye what, Harry: tak' in Justice wi' ye," pointing to the statue of Justice over the old porch, "for she has stood lang i' the outside, and it wad he a treat for her to see the inside, like other strangers."—*Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes to Kay's Original Portraits*, 4to. Edin. 1838, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. pp. 248, 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> This Lord Balfour was merely titular. He was Robert Arnot, son of Sir Robert Arnot of Fernie, chamberlain of Fife, and he married Margaret, sole heiress of Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh, first Lord, Baroness Balfour of Burleigh in terms of the patent at the death of her father. This Robert Arnot assumed the name of Balfour, and adopted the title of Lord Balfour in virtue of a letter from Charles I. He was the father of John third Lord, and great-grandfather of Robert fifth Lord, who killed the schoolmaster of Inverkeithing for marrying during his absence on the Continent a young woman of whom he was enamoured.

Another feature of this Parliament of 1641 was, that its sittings were apparently interminable. Daily for three months the King proceeded from Holyrood to the Parliament House, in a state of intense mental anguish—caused by the unhappy state of his affairs in England, the obstinate conduct of his Scottish subjects, with the rumours of the deplorable condition of Ireland—and in vain urged the Estates to get through the business. On Friday the 8th of October, the King complained that they “proceeded very slowly,” and on the 28th he ordered a letter which he had received from Lord Chichester to be read by the Clerk Register in the Parliament House, announcing the open insurrection of the Irish, which he hoped would prove only a “small revolt;” but on Monday, the 1st of November, he announced to the Estates that a total rebellion had broken out in Ireland, of which he had been duly informed by the Lords Justices. It has been already mentioned that Charles I. received the official letter announcing the Irish rebellion, while on Leith Links witnessing a party playing golf, and that he immediately left the ground.<sup>1</sup>

On the 17th of November the ceremonial of the “riding” of the Parliament was accomplished, to the great relief of the King. The procession arrived at the Parliament House from Holyrood Palace in the following order—General the Earl of Leven; the commissioners for the burghs and the counties, two and two; the nobility, forty-three of whom were present; the King’s six trumpeters in their liveries, followed by six pur-  
snivants and the six heralds, two and two; the Lord-Lyon, supported on each side by a gentleman usher; the sword, carried by the Earl of Mar, the sceptre by the Earl of Sutherland, the crown by the Earl of Argyll; the King, his train supported by four sons of noblemen; Sir Robert Gordon, Vice-Chamberlain; the Duke of Hamilton, Master of the Horse, immediately behind the King, having on his right hand the Duke of Lennox and Richmond Great Chamberlain of Scotland; the Earl of Kinnoull, Captain of the Guard; the Marquis of Huntly. The King seated himself on the throne, and, after the dispatch of various matters of business, he delivered the patent creating Argyll a marquis to the Lord-Lyon, which was read publicly by the Clerk Register. A sermon by Alexander Henderson, and a speech by Lord Chancellor Loudon to the King and Estates, closed the proceedings at half-past eight in the evening.

The meeting of Parliament adjourned to January 1642, was never called, and the next assemblage in the Parliament House was a Convention of the Estates on the 22d of June, 1643. Another Convention was held in the hall on the 3d of January, 1644, and continued its sittings till the 16th of April, when it was adjourned to the 24th of May. The Convention again met on the 25th of that month, and sat on the 30th and 31st of May, and the 3d of June. On the following day the Estates assembled in the Parliament House. Several of the Covenanted Parliaments were subsequently held in the hall.

In 1650, Charles II. was magnificently entertained in the Parliament House by the Magistrates, after a visit to the Castle during his residence in Leith. In 1651, the English army under Cromwell completely subjugated Scotland and suppressed the legislature. In 1652, the royal arms were pulled down from the Parliament House and other public buildings, by order of the English Commissioners, and the ball was occasionally used by Cromwell’s troopers as a preaching-place.<sup>2</sup> The Protector’s judges for the administration of Scottish affairs occupied the Parliament House on the 18th of May, 1652, and held their courts in it during his domination. In May 1654, the apartments under the ball, known as the “Laigh Parliament House,” in some of which a large portion of the Advocates’ Library has been for many years deposited, were converted into a prison, and thirty-two persons were confined in them, thirty of whom escaped on the 17th by cutting a small hole in the roof. On the 4th of that month, the Magistrates treated General Monk to a grand banquet in the Parliament House, on the occasion of proclaiming Cromwell as Lord Protector. In 1656, the Magistrates invited Lord Broghall, President of the Scottish Council, General Monk, and other personages, to an entertainment in the Parliament House, at a time when the civic functionaries were upwards of 50,000*l.* in debt, and their creditors importunate.

Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie, who had been appointed a judge in the Court of Session by Charles I., and was nominated one of the Commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland, on the 7th of November, 1655, by Cromwell, died suddenly on the bench in the Parliament House on the 26th of June, 1657, greatly lamented by the people. On the 15th of November, 1659, General Monk convened the commissioners of the counties and burghs in the Parliament House, and addressed them in a speech, in which he strongly

<sup>1</sup> See the first note, p. 69 of the present Work, and also the subsequent historical account of Leith.

<sup>2</sup> Nicoll’s Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 94.

recommended the preservation of peace in their several localities during his absence. This meeting continued several days, and may be viewed as a kind of preliminary to the overthrow of the Protectorate in Scotland. The restoration of Charles II. was hailed with enthusiasm by the citizens of Edinburgh, the royal arms were again erected over the porch of the Parliament House, and the regalia were brought from their obscure concealment in the parish church of Kinneff to the Castle. The restoration of the monarchy also brought that of the legislature, which for nearly ten years had been suppressed by Cromwell's military government, and the Estates met in the Parliament House on the 1st of January, 1661, the Earl of Middleton presiding as Lord High Commissioner, and the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Chancellor, was elected President, when it was enacted that his successors in office were to be Presidents of the Parliament in all time coming.<sup>1</sup> It is stated that on this occasion the Earl of Middleton and the Estates rode from the Palace of Holyrood to the Parliament House "all richly apparelled, some in gold, others in silver lace, silk, satin, and velvet, in their gorgeous and costly foot mantles, seeming rather princes than subjects, all of them for honour of the King's majesty their master."<sup>2</sup>

Of the subsequent Scottish Parliaments which assembled in this hall it is unnecessary to give details. At the Revolution the hall was the arena of many important discussions. The Convention of Estates was "turned into a Parliament" on the 5th of June, 1689, and during the interval between the 14th of March and the latter date, the regulation of public affairs was devolved on a committee of noblemen, barons and burgesses, appointed for that purpose by the Estates, whose sittings commenced on the 29th of April, and were continued till the 23d of May. It had been decided to offer the Scottish crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange. The bishops withdrew from the Parliament House, in which they were never again to sit as spiritual peers; the episcopate was abolished as the national establishment, because the bishops and parochial clergy would not acknowledge the Revolution government; and the Viscount of Dundee, who alleged that the Cameronians had plotted to assassinate him, retired from the Convention to raise the adherents of King James in the Highlands. On the 5th day of June, 1689, the Convention of Estates assembled in the Parliament House as the first Parliament of William and Mary, and the Duke of Hamilton appeared as Lord High Commissioner.

The demise of William III. and the accession of Queen Anne caused no alteration in the Parliament, which met in the hall on the 9th of June, 1702, the Duke of Queensberry representing the Queen as Lord High Commissioner. This Parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation on the 14th of August, 1702, and the first session of its successor, known as the "Union Parliament," was commenced in the hall on the 9th of May, 1703, under the Duke of Queensberry as Lord High Commissioner. By an act passed in June 1722, Queen Anne was enabled to appoint commissioners to treat for the Union between Scotland and England—a project most repugnant to the majority of the people of the former kingdom. The second session was held in the hall on the 6th of July, 1704, under the Marquis of Tweeddale; the third on the 28th of June, 1705, under the Duke of Argyll; and the fourth on the 3d of October, 1706, under the Duke of Queensberry,<sup>3</sup> which was the last Parliament of Scotland. When the treaty was concluded, the Earl of Seafeld, Lord Chancellor, exclaimed, when he touched the document with the sceptre—"Now there's an end of an auld sang!"

It was within the walls of the Parliament House that the opponents of that great measure, which had been repeatedly attempted in vain by the preceding monarchs since the accession of James VI. to the English crown, expressed their indignation in furious invectives against its promoters. The speeches of Lord Belhaven, denouncing the Union, are preserved; and, although the language is unpolished, they are nervous and pathetic, and are curious specimens of Scottish senatorial eloquence. The subsequent prosperity of Scotland proves that his lordship was completely mistaken in his predictions; but he had many thousands of credulous believers at the time, and the great majority of the people supported his views of the measure. Nor was it carried without the most formidable, alarming, and riotous opposition. Those who were its supporters were daily loaded with abuse in their way to and from the Parliament House, and the popular fury was roused to an incredible extent.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vii. p. 7.    <sup>2</sup> Nicoll's Diary, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. xi. pp. 3, 20, 113, 205, 300.

<sup>4</sup> The Dukes of Hamilton and Atholl were the leading opponents of the Union, strenuously voting against every article, and recording several protests against the measure. It appears that the Duke of Hamilton resided in the Palace of Holyrood, and on account of the lameness under which he then laboured, he was generally carried to and from the Parliament House in a chair. The mob on the streets

followed him with loud cheers and exclamations of "God bless his Grace for standing up against the Union, and appearing for his country!" On the other hand, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Commissioner, was roughly treated. Insults, reproaches, and indignities, assailed him wherever he appeared. Cries of "No Union!" and "Traitor!" resounded in his ears, and he was openly threatened to be murdered. On the 22d of October the mob followed the Duke of Hamilton from the Parliament House to Holyrood, with their usual

Many curious instances of the popular hostility to the Union throughout Scotland could be produced, and the only parties who made no demonstration against the measure were the Highlanders, who evidently did not comprehend and were in utter ignorance of the matter.<sup>1</sup> An anecdote is recorded by Sir Walter Scott of a parish minister, who candidly acknowledged that for nearly fifty years he had never preached a sermon without introducing a "hit at the Union," whatever was the theme of his discourse. For upwards of half a century every calamity which occurred was ascribed to the "sorrowful Union." Nevertheless it was effected in defiance of a threatened insurrection in all the Lowland counties. On the 16th of January, 1707, after all the articles had been discussed, the vote was taken in the Parliament House to "approve of the act ratifying and approving the Treaty of Union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, yea or nay," and it was carried in the affirmative. The Scottish Parliament continued to sit in the hall for the dispatch of minor business from the 20th of January till the 25th of March, when a number of local acts were passed, and the Duke of Queensberry concluded by a short speech in which he declared his conviction, which has been amply verified, that "we and our posterity will reap the benefit of the union of the two kingdoms." His Grace adjourned the session till the 22d of April, and as it was dissolved on the 28th, the Parliament of Scotland on that day ceased to exist.

Till about 1780, the interior of the Parliament House was the same as at the date of the Union. Some portraits decorated the walls, and the remains of tapestry still existed. The hall was subdivided by partitions, and actually contained several small shops occupied by booksellers and hardware retailers; and one on the east side of the hall, close to the wall, was a coffee-house, or small tavern, kept by Peter Williamson, a well-known character, who had been kidnapped at Aberdeen when a hoy, and became subject to the tender mercies of the North American Indians, among whom he resided for a considerable time before he effected his escape. He established a penny post in Edinburgh, and was the first who published a street directory of the city. None of those partitions rose high, and the entire roof of the hall was seen. The various compartments, with the exception of the small shops, were appropriated to the purposes of the Court of Session.

With the occasional diversity of the magistrates meeting in the Parliament House to drink the sovereign's health on the royal birthday, the hall is solely used as an appendage to the Supreme Court. On the evening of Saturday the 24th of August, 1822, the town-council gave a splendid banquet to George IV. in the Parliament House, which was fitted up for the occasion in a style of great magnificence. The platform on which the King's table was raised, was under the stained glass window at the south end, and

acclamations; and as they were returning that next day, when their numbers would be increased, they would "pull the traitors out of their houses, and soon put an end to the Union." The Parliament sat late on the 23d, and the mob mustered so strong at the door of the hall and in the Parliament Close, that the members could not go in or out without difficulty. When the Duke of Hamilton was seen he was egressed by the mob, who followed his sedan, and his Grace, instead of proceeding to Holyrood, was carried to the lodgings of the Duke of Atholl in the Lawnmarket. De Foe states—"Some said he went to avoid the mob; others maliciously said he went to point them to their work." Be this as it may, the mob attacked the house of Sir Patrick Johnstone, who had been Lord Provost the preceding year, and who, previous to accepting the appointment of one of the Commissioners to England to treat for the Union, was one of the most popular men in the city. Sir Patrick lived in a common stair, and as his windows were too high to be much injured by sticks and stones, the mob ascended his stair, and assailed the outer door so furiously, that, if it had yielded to their hammers, he would have been torn to pieces without mercy. His wife from a window, with a candle in each hand, that she might be known, called for assistance, and an apothecary who knew her ran down to the Town Guard in the High Street. Those worthies refused to stir until they received the Lord Provost's order; and when this was obtained, Captain Richardson, their commander, at the head of thirty men, in the midst of missiles and execrations, took possession of Sir Patrick's stair, which he cleared, and apprehended six of the rioters. The members of Parliament were insulted in their coaches, the windows of their houses broken, and all the lights on the streets were extinguished. Those who looked out at windows with lights were struck

with stones, and De Foe states that "one great stone was thrown at him." The mob were now masters of the city, and about eight or nine in the evening it was reported that they intended to shut and secure the gates. The Duke of Queensberry, who resided in the Canongate, sent a party of the foot-guards, who took possession of the Nether-Bow-gate; nevertheless the rioters traversed the streets till midnight, beating drums, and exciting the people to join them. A report that one thousand sailors and others were on the road from Leith, induced the Duke of Queensberry to send for the Lord Provost, who reluctantly consented to allow the military to enter the city; and about one in the morning a battalion marched to the Parliament House, the square at which they occupied, and took possession of all the other avenues of the city. The tumult was soon after ended by the dispersion of the mob, yet De Foe observes that "the people appeared exasperated to the last degree. The huzzaing and crowding about the Duke of Hamilton continued, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent it; and unusual threatenings and dark speeches were heard."—History of the Union of Great Britain, by Daniel De Foe, folio, Edinburgh, 1700, pp. 27, 30.

<sup>1</sup> The town of Dunfermline was then in such a state of poverty that an application was made to the Convention of Royal Burghs for pecuniary assistance, and yet the Town-Council instructed Sir Peter Halket of Pitferrian, Bart., their Commissioner, to vote and protest against the Union in every stage of its progress. Sir Peter, however, voted for it, which gave such offence that he thought it prudent not to appear in the town for a year afterwards, and public indignation ascribed to him every possible motive for his conduct, except the right one.

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

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

### THE CROSS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Arnot's History of Edinburgh, 4to. 1p. 302, 303.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> History of Scotland, from February 1430 to March 1505, by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, folio, Edin. 1728, pp. 111, 112. An animated description of this extraordinary proclamation is given in Sir Walter Scott's "Marmion," Canto V.

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Calderwood's Historic of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, 8vo. Edin. 1842, vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Liber Conventus S. Katherino Senensis prope Edinburgum, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1841, pp. lxxvi. lxxvii. lix-lxxiii.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 28-53.

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

<sup>3</sup> Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 12, 13.



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

### THE HIGH STREET.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Built by James thirteenth Lord Somerville, who died at Drum in 1705.

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

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

Exchange, which was begun in 1753, and finished in 1761, at the expense of upwards of 30,000*l.*, compelled the removal of three alleys. Immediately west of the Royal Exchange is Writers' Court, in which was Cleribugh's tavern, the resort of the most distinguished citizens during the latter part of the eighteenth century, in which Sir Walter Scott lays the scene of Counsellor Pleydell's<sup>1</sup> exhibition of the revelry of "High Jinks" in GUY MANNERING, to the astonishment of Colonel Mannerling and his companion Dandie Dimmont.

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 187, 188.

<sup>3</sup> It is, however, stated by a contemporary chronicler, that the

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

<sup>4</sup> Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots, by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 95.





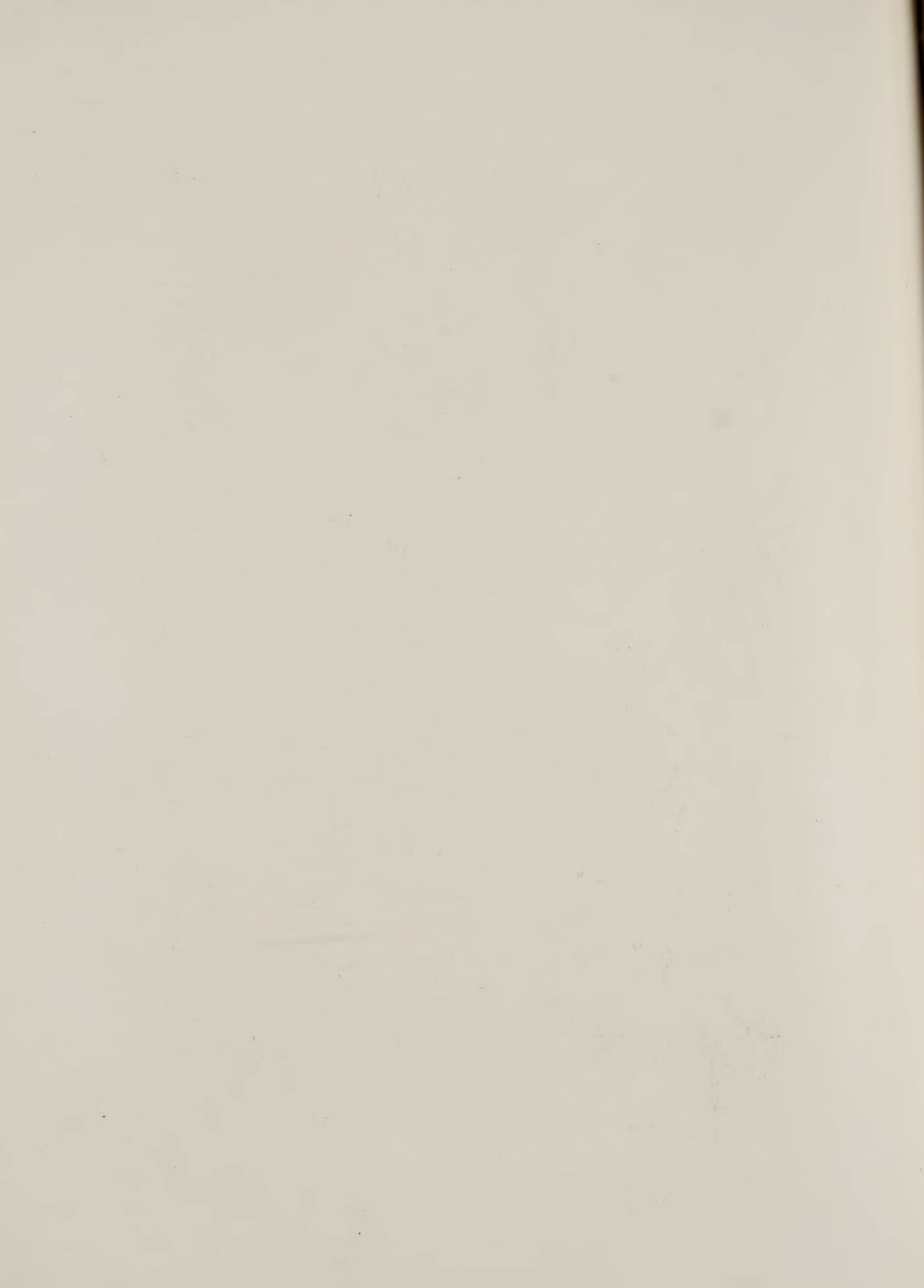


FLESHMARKET CLOSE

EDINBURGH

*From an Original Drawing by G. Latta*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Traditions of Edinburgh, by R. Chambers, vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

<sup>2</sup> Scots Magazine for 1806, p. 885. In the Gentleman's Magazine the sum is 4280*l.*

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

<sup>4</sup> Birrel's Diary, p. 13.

been killed at the foot of Leith Wynd on the 14th February, 1593.<sup>1</sup> Four of the Earl's followers were slain on this occasion.

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

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

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

### TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH, TRINITY HOSPITAL, AND VICINITY.

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

<sup>1</sup> Birrel's Diary, pp. 29, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. pp. 65, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Nicoll's *Diary*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 24.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh Castle in 1460.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</sup> Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24th August, 1644.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 212.

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

<sup>4</sup> In the Records of the City of Edinburgh are some notices of Trinity College Church and Hospital. "Nov. 14, 1567.—Fyndis it

expedient that ano door be stricken through the town wall to serve for access to the Trinity College and Hospital, and that at the foot of Halkerston's Wynd, als weil for the lieges."—"Jan. 24. To big up with dry stanes the new made zett at the Trinity College, and the expences thairroff shall be allowed."—"March 20, 1589. Stones given from Paul's Work to repair Trinity Collego Kirk."—"April 28, 1592. Fyndis it expedient that the door be opynit in the town wall at the Trinity College, that ane passage may be had thairthrow to the sermons in the said College."—"May 29, 1629. Grantis to Hendrio Harper, induring the Council's will, the house under the visiting-house, at the west end of the College Kirk, without payment of any mail."—"August 26, 1657. The Council dispones to the Trinity Hospital that little piece of waste ground at the south-west neuck of the College yard dyke, at the cheek of the yett (gate) forgainst the foot of Halkerston's Wynd."—Edinburgh Town-Council Records, vols. viii. ix. xix.

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

Near Trinity College church was one of the city gates, called St. Andrew's Port, which is mentioned in a criminal trial in 1550.<sup>3</sup> On the west side of Leith Wynd is a part of the town wall, of considerable height. The date of this wall, and the state of Leith Wynd, will be inferred from an act of the Scottish Parliament of the 14th of March, 1540, in the reign of James V., concerning the "reparations" within the town of Edinburgh. It is curious to observe, that the framers of that act considered it quite unnecessary to ascertain whether the parties interested had sufficient funds at their disposal to enable them to rebuild the denounced houses, and they were in the most arbitrary manner compelled to dispose of their property if they neglected to comply within the time specified. And as the east side of Leith Wynd belonged to the abbot and convent of Holyrood as superiors, the magistrates of the Canongate were ordered to act similarly in regard to the houses in that quarter.<sup>4</sup>

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

### THE COWGATE AND GRASSMARKET.

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

<sup>1</sup> Arnot's History of Edinburgh, 4to. pp. 247, 248.

<sup>2</sup> Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part 1, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 374. Maitland erroneously assigns the year 1620 as the date, but no Parliament was held that year.

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

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

courts of law, and the south wall verges on the spot where many of our readers will remember the Back Stairs ascending of yore. In the space cleared by the workmen a fragment of the first wall of the city, built about 1400, has been laid bare. About the end of September 1844, some much more *recherché* discoveries were made by the workmen. South from the fragment of the wall, and directly so from the present buildings for the First and Second Divisions of the Court of Session (adjoining the Parliament House), fourteen feet below the surface of the earth, was found a range of strong wooden coffins, lying close beside each other, and containing human remains. These coffins were straight in the sides, but had lids rising into a ridge in the centre. About the same time, ten or twelve yards west from that spot, and also beyond the line of the city wall, the workmen found imbedded in the ground, eighteen feet below the level of the present Cowgate, a common shaped barrel of a large size, six feet high, resting on one end, and eighteen inches deep into a stratum of blue clay, with

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

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

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

Bishop Gawin Douglas, at the time of the street riot of "Cleans the Causeway," appears to have resided in an alley in the vicinity now designated Robertson's Close. The corner tenement at the foot of the Blackfriars' Wynd is already mentioned as containing a turreted remnant of the mansion of Archbishop James Beaton, uncle and predecessor of the celebrated Cardinal Beaton in the primacy of St. Andrews. In July 1528, James V. inhabited the house for a few days. Proceeding upwards, west of the South Bridge arch and Blair Street, is a large tenement six storeys high, known as the Meal Market. Sir David Home of Crossrig, one of the judges of the Court of Session nominated by William III. after the Revolution, resided near this locality, and he made a narrow escape with his life from a conflagration which occurred on the night of the 3d of February, 1700.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Gordon of Rothiemay, in 1047, dignifies the Cowgate with the Latinised appellation of *Platea Bovina*, and the Grassmarket is the *Platea Fori Equini*!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



doorway intimates that it was erected by Michael Macquhan, and Janet Rhynd his wife, whose tomb is shown in the floor, in 1553.<sup>1</sup> The little edifice is lighted from the south, and the windows were originally filled with stained glass, some pieces of which still remain. At the top of one window are the arms of Mary of Guise, Queen Mary's mother, then Regent of Scotland, and the arms of the founder and his wife are also seen. In the lower panes, only one of the small figures of the Apostles, supposed to represent St. Bartholomew, has escaped the spoliation. Various General Assemblies during the reign of James VI., were held in the Magdalen Chapel, and it was thither that the headless body of the Earl of Argyll was carried, after his execution in 1661, to lie till his friends removed it to the family vault at Kilmun in Argyllshire.

The large tenement at the head of the Cowgate and entrance into the Grassmarket, called "Maclellan's Land,"<sup>2</sup> looking up the Candlemaker Row, is chiefly remarkable as the residence for a short time of the father of Lord Brougham. When he came first to Edinburgh, he was recommended to lodge with Mrs. Syme, the widow of Mr. Syme, minister of Alloa, and sister of Principal Robertson the Historian. This lady kept a boarding establishment in the second storey of the tenement. Mr. Brougham formed an attachment to Miss Eleanor Syme, her daughter, and married her in this house in 1778. He continued to reside with his mother-in-law till he removed to the corner house of North St. David Street and St. Andrew Square, in which Lord Brougham was born in 1779.<sup>3</sup> Henry Mackenzie, the celebrated author of the "Man of Feeling," was born in one of the storeys of this Cowgate tenement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### GREYFRIARS' CEMETERY.—SIGNING OF THE COVENANT.

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

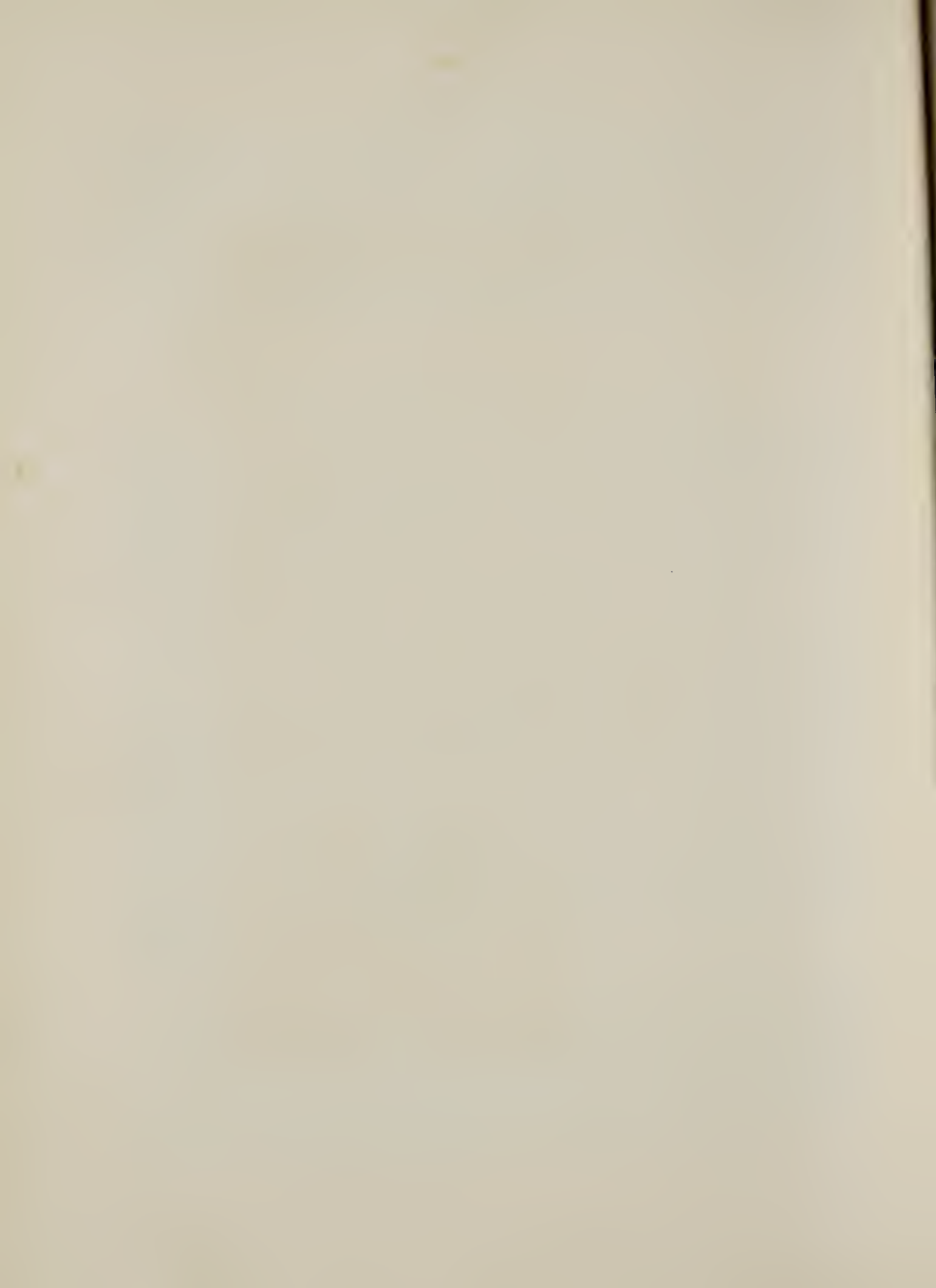
The Grey Friars of Edinburgh had as little connexion with the two parish churches subsequently erected, known by their name, as with the cemetery. The first church, called the Old Greyfriars, was begun in 1612, and at its west end was a tower, surmounted by a small spire or steeple, which was unprovided with a bell till 1631, when the Town-Council ordered the one formerly used in the Tron Church to be removed to it, and a new bell was provided for the latter place of worship. Unfortunately, the civic authorities made the steeple a depot for gunpowder, and in May 1718, an explosion destroyed a considerable portion of the edifice. The increasing population of the city rendering additional accommodation necessary, the injury done to the church was repaired, and the adjoining church, or New Greyfriars, was commenced in 1719, and opened in 1721.<sup>2</sup> The two churches, though in a kind of Gothic form, were utterly destitute of any architectural pretensions, of rude masonry, and not particularly inviting in the interior. The principal entrance to both edifices was under a porch on the north side, above which were two session-rooms or vestries, and in that belonging to the New Greyfriars was a table once the property of John Knox. In this state both churches continued till the morning of Sunday the 19th of January, 1845, when a conflagration, occasioned by the overheating of the flue of a stove, broke out in the Old Greyfriars' Church, which completely destroyed that edifice. The adjoining church was also considerably injured, though the fire was prevented from effecting its utter destruction. The communion-plate and some other articles were saved, but John Knox's table was consumed. The New Greyfriars' Church was internally repaired in 1846.

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

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

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



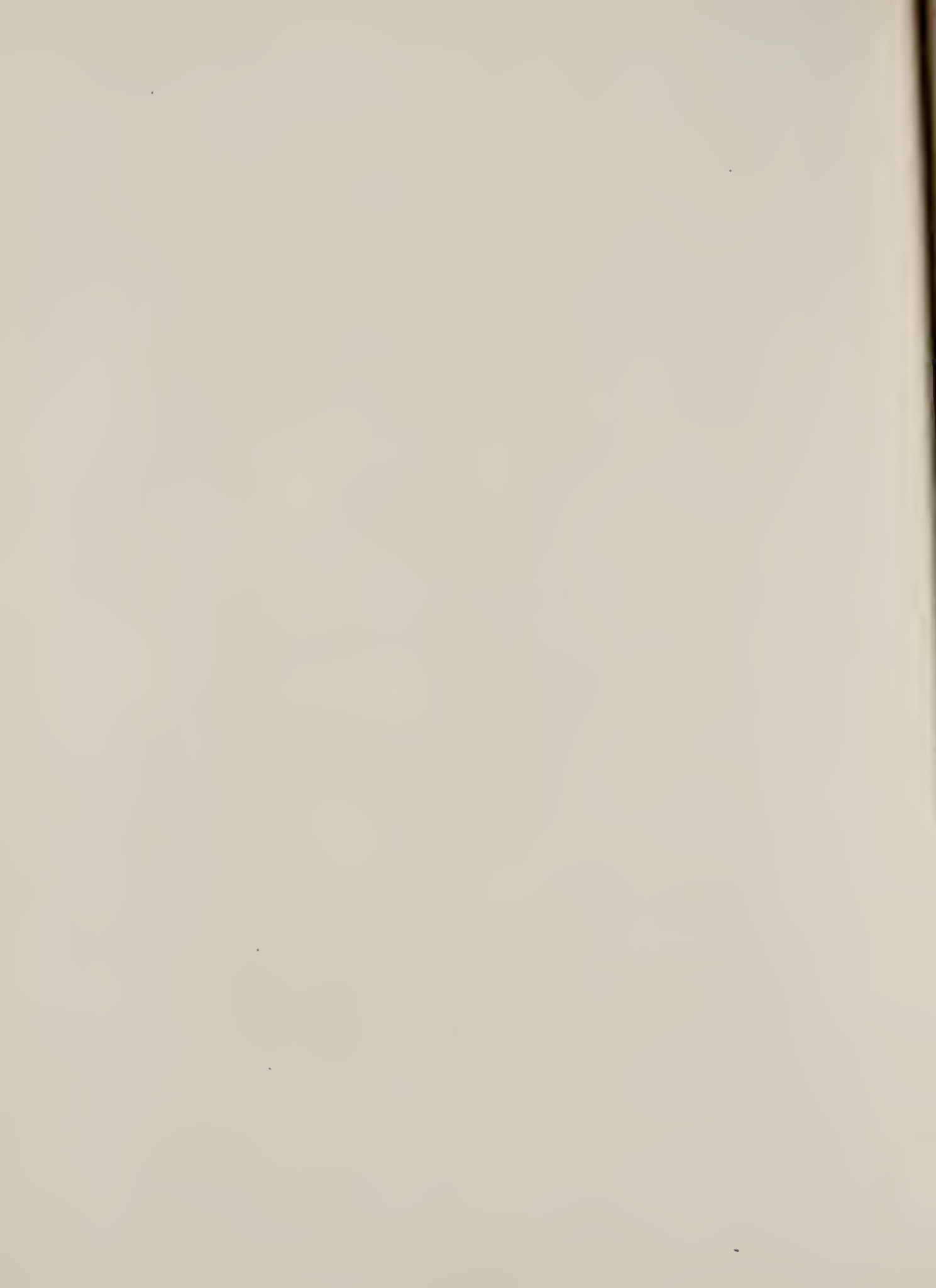




THE CIRCULAR DEPARTMENTAL OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT

*from the original drawing by J. M. W. Turner*

JOHN MURDOCH LONDON



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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> The tomb or burying-place of the Bertrams of Singleside, on the

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow's History, folio, Edin. 1722, vol. ii. pp. 78, 80.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

VIATOR, QUI SAPIS VNDER SIES, QVIDQVE SIS FVTVRS, HINC NOSCE :  
VITA MIHI MORTIS, MORS VITÆ, JANVA FACTA EST ;  
SOLA ET MORS MORTIS VIVERE POSSE DEDIT.  
ERGO QVISQVIS ADHYC MORTALI VESCERIS AVRA,  
DVX LICET, VT POSSIS VIVERE DISCE MORI.  
1610. G. H.

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

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

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

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

#### GEORGE HERIOT'S HOSPITAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Heriot erected an elegant monument over the remains of his youthful wife in St. Gregory's Church, London—an edifice destroyed by the ever-memorable fire in 1666, and the site of which now forms part of St. Paul's Churchyard. The inscription on her tomb, in quaint Latin, is inserted by Stowe in his “Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster,” edited by Strype, folio, London, vol. i. p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Memoir of George Heriot, by William Steven, D.D., pp. 17-32.

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

<sup>4</sup> “For the wealth which God has given me,” says Heriot, in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, “it shall not want inheritors while there are orphan lads in Auld Reekie.”

<sup>5</sup> “Robert Johnstone, LL.D., gentleman, William Terrie, goldsmith, and Gideon de Laune, apothecary, all of London.”—Dr. Steven's *Memoir*, pp. 44, 45. Dr. Robert Johnstone, a cadet of the Johnstones of Newbie in Dumfriesshire, was a native of Edinburgh, who settled in London, where he resided during the greater part of his life, and followed some branch of the legal avocation, though his inclinations were literary, which is evident from his large folio volume in Latin on the history of Great Britain, France, and Germany, from 1372 to 1628, published at Amsterdam in 1655. Dr. Johnstone bequeathed 18,000 merks to the Trinity College Hospital at Edinburgh in 1639.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> This includes the last chapter, which is a solemn appeal to the Governors.

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

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

While the erection of the Hospital was in progress, the Governors, in 1634, purchased additional eighteen acres of the lands of Broughton for 412*l.* Scots, and fifteen acres of the barony of Restalrig for 7500 merks. In 1636, the Governors obtained possession of the whole of the now valuable barony of Broughton, which had anciently belonged to the Canons of Holyrood, and subsequently was acquired by Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, who in 1587 surrendered the lands to the Crown in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden, Lord Justice Clerk; and his grandson, Sir William Bellenden, disposed of the estate in 1627 to Robert first Earl of Roxburghe, by whom it was sold to Charles I. in 1630 for 280,000 merks, or 11,527*l.* sterling. The money, however, was never paid by the King, who, as a security, mortgaged the property to the Earl. In July 1636, the King, with consent of his Exchequer and the Earl, contracted and agreed with the Governors for the purchase of the barony, promising a parliamentary ratification, which he fulfilled in 1640. The sum of 10,000*l.* sterling was allowed by the Governors to the Crown and the Earl, with the sum of 500*l.* sterling for "assurances under-written of the sum of 5000*l.* sterling, promittit by his Majestic, in contentation of the debts and sums due by his Majestic to the said Hospital."<sup>2</sup> The Governors also became proprietors of the Canonmills, which they acquired from the Earl of Roxburghe. They appointed a bailie of the regality and barony of Broughton, who held courts under the auspices of the Hospital for upwards of a century after 1640, for the trial of offences committed within the barony, and who occasionally pronounced sentence on capital crimes.

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

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

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

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

side of the Water of Leith, and the suburb of the Pleasance, only 200*l.* sterling, and 800*l.* for one part of the "assurance" of the 500*l.* above mentioned.—History of George Heriot's Hospital, by Dr. Steven, p. 76.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> This was in the division of the edifice known as the "Old Greyfriars."

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

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

are Roman, the pinnacles, trusses, and minute sculptures, partake of the Gothic. The outlines of the whole design have evidently been modelled on the latter style of the baronial castellated dwelling. It forms one of the most magnificent features of this singular city (Edinburgh), and is a splendid monument of the munificence of one of its citizens."—Brewster's Edin. Encyc., vol. vi. p. 560.

<sup>5</sup> "I have heard that James Steuart, when exercising his agility near where Heriot's Hospital was then building, and in jumping across a draw-well, now the covert well in the middle of the square (his mistress was by accident walking at some little distance), in this youthful frolic his hat struck on the pulley of the well, and dropt into the pit. He escaped, as was said, in great danger, and Anna, hearing of this accident, in surprise fainted away. They made some innocent mirth after, and she was by this discovered to be James Steuart's sweetheart. By this name a mistress was then called."—Coltess Collections, printed for the MIDLAND CLUB, 4to. 1812, p. 17. The heroine of this anecdote was Anna Hope, niece of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate, who is previously mentioned in connexion with Scottish affairs in the reign of Charles I. James

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

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

### SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF EDINBURGH.

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

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

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

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

spire, having a ship on the summit as the emblem of merchandize. The north front is extensive, and the centre is richly ornamented with armorial bearings elaborately sculptured in stone. George Watson, the founder, was born at Edinburgh about 1650, served an apprenticeship to a merchant in the city, and died unmarried in April 1729, leaving 12,000*l.* to erect this hospital, for the maintenance and education of the sons and grandsons of decayed merchants in Edinburgh. In 1770 the annual revenue was about 1700*l.* per annum, and in 1817 it amounted to upwards of 5000*l.*—The MERCHANT MAIDEN HOSPITAL, an elegant edifice overlooking the Meadows and Bruntsfield Links, was founded by the Company of Merchants, and Mrs. Mary Erskine, or Hair, widow of James Hair, druggist in Edinburgh, in 1695, and was incorporated in 1707. The annual revenue is about 5000*l.*—A kindred institution, though not so abundant in funds, is the TRADES' MAIDEN HOSPITAL in Argyll Square—a plain edifice, founded by the Incorporation of Trades or Craftsmen, and the same Mrs. Mary Erskine, or Hair, in 1704, and incorporated in 1707. There are several other institutions for similar objects.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> The north gate was at the head of the College Wynd, and was ornamented by a tower of great strength, and not inelegant, about twelve feet square and six storeys high. This gate was built in 1637, under the direction of Mr. John Jossie, merchant, and College Treasurer, the first who filled that now obsolete office, but the steeple was not finished till 1680, at the expense of a gentleman named Thomas Burnet; and its different small apartments, entered by a turnpike stair leading to a pavilion roof, formed a part of the house of the Professor of Greek. Immediately over the gate were the city arms without the usual supporters, and higher up between two windows were the arms of Thomas Burnet. Another citizen, named John Trotter, built at his own expense two chambers next the steeple, and Robert Ellis added two, which were the chief apartments in the Professor of Greek's house. The residence of the Professor of Hebrew was also in a corner at the

head of the College Wynd, and was chiefly erected by a legacy procured by Mr. Jossie from Dr. Robert Johnstone, who, in addition to his benefaction to Heriot's Hospital, bequeathed 1000*l.* sterling to the University for the benefit of eight bursars to be presented by the Town-Council. The first portions of the former buildings demolished, were those residences, the gate and tower, and the houses of the upper and under janitors, at the north-west corner, near the head of the Horse Wynd. The former house of the Professor of Divinity on the north-east corner, was at the same time removed. The Professorship of Divinity was augmented by the munificent bequest of 40,000 merks by Bartholomew Somerville, in 1630, and 6000 merks for the purchase of Sir James Skene's house and garden for the residence of the Professor. The garden was a part of the present street in front of the University, on a line with the South Bridge.—Scots Magazine, 1700, p. 163.



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

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

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

### THE CANONGATE.

THE motto on the arms of the ancient burghs of the Canongate is "SIC ITUR AD ASTRA," which is painted conspicuously on its prison; but if any locality of an ancient city ever had a right to adopt the motto of the noble family of Bruce, Scottish Earls of Elgin, which is "FUMUS," that locality is the Canongate of Edinburgh<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The author of "Peter's Letters" (vol. i. pp. 20, 35) thus introduces the Canongate in the peregrination of Dr. Peter Morris with his friend Mr. Wastle from the domicile of the latter in the Lawnmarket:—"From his own house the way thither lies straight down the only great street of the Old Town—a street by far the most expressive in its character of any I have ever seen in Britain. The sombre shadow cast by those huge houses of which it is composed, and the streams of faint light cutting the darkness here and there, where the entrance to some fantastic alley pierces the sable mass of building—the strange projectings, recedings, and windings—the roofs, the stairs, the windows, all so luxuriating in the endless variety of carved-work—the fading and moulding coats-of-arms, helmets, crests, coronets, supporters, mantles, and pavilions—all these testimonials of forgotten pride, mingled so profusely with the placards of old-clothesmen, and every ensign of plebeian wretchedness, it is not possible to imagine more speaking emblems of the decay of a royal

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 564, 753.—This introduces us to the extraordinary statement that the ancient name of the Canongate was *Herbergare*. Lord Hailes assailed Maitland for assuming that the verb *herbergare*, which occurs in David I.'s foundation charter of the monastery of Holyrood, was the ancient name of the Canongate; but it is rightly observed, that "in this instance Maitland only adopted an interpretation of the charter which appears from the legendary history of the monastery, as well as from certain judicial proceedings in the reign of Mary, to have been received with implicit credulity."—Extracts from "Proceedings in the cause Robert Commendator and the convent of Holyroodhouse against the Prevost and Magistrates of Edinburgh," *Bannatyne Miscellany*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 12, 27-31. The verb *herbergare* literally signifies *domum construere, edificare, reedificare, suppellectili instruere*. The etymology of the verb, and the authorities, are cited in Dufresne's "Glossarium ad Scriptores Medicæ et Infamæ Latinitatis," folio, Paris, 1733, tom. iii. p. 1105. See also the observations in the Preface to "Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edinburgh, pp. xviii.-xlvii.

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Nicell's *Diary*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 24.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arnot in 1770. "as mean buildings, their apartments dirty and dismal; and if the waiters happen to be out of the way, a stranger will perhaps be shocked with the novelty of being shown into a room by a dirty sun-burnt wench without shoes or stockings." Whatever may have been its disadvantages, the White Horse seems to have been much resorted to by strangers visiting Edinburgh.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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







NEWBURY STREET, LONDON.

From a drawing by J. G. Lamb

W. H. MURDOCH LONDON





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

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

An old tenement, a few yards below Moray House, is alleged to have been a residence of the noble family of Gordon, and said to have been the Mint, or "cunzie house," in the reign of Queen Mary.<sup>4</sup> The first Marquis of Huntly, already noticed<sup>5</sup> as the murderer of the "Bonnie" Earl of Moray, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in December 1635, on a charge of abetting sundry outrages between the Gordons and Crichton of Frendraught, whose lands were plundered and his cattle carried away by the former. After an imprisonment of several weeks, the Marquis was permitted to remove to his house in the Canongate, where he became seriously unwell. He was anxious to return to his own castle in the North, and he was conveyed on a bed within his chariot; but he got no farther than Dundee, where he died on the 13th of June, 1636, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Lady Henrietta, daughter of the celebrated General Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, and Dowager of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, resided in the family house in the Canongate in 1753.<sup>6</sup> This house was apparently the residence of the previous Duchess of Gordon, mother of the second Duke, before she removed to a villa in the suburb on the north of Holyrood Palace, known as the Abbey Hill. This Duchess was Lady Elizabeth Howard, second daughter of Henry,

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

<sup>2</sup> Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh, by Robert Chambers, p. 244.

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

<sup>4</sup> It is a mean-looking edifice, having sage inscriptions above the

entrance. One is—CONSTANTI PECTORI RES MORTALITUM UMBRA; and another—UT TU LINGUE TUE SIC EGO MEAR; AURIUM DOMINUS SUM.

<sup>5</sup> See the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work.

<sup>6</sup> Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 150. Previous to the marriage of Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, the family of Gordon had adhered to the Roman Catholic religion. Though the Duke continued to profess that religion, the Duchess educated her four sons and seven daughters in the principles of the Church of England, of which she was a zealous member, and she was in 1735 rewarded by George II. with an annual pension of 1000*l.* for the better support of herself and children. Her Grace survived the Duke thirty-two years, and died at Prestonhall, an estate which she had purchased for 8877*l.* in 1738, upwards of four miles south of Dalkeith, on the 11th of October, 1760. Her eldest son, Cosmo George, succeeded as second Duke: her third son was Lord Lewis Gordon, conspicuous in the Entorprise of 1745, who escaped abroad after the battle of Culloden, and was attainted in 1746; and her fourth son was Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland from 1780 till he resigned that office to Sir Ralph Abercrombie in June 1798. Lord Adam, who resided some years in Holyrood Palace, died at his seat of The Burn in the parish of Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, in August 1801, and was interred beside his wife, Jane, Dowager of James, second Duke of Atholl, in the churchyard of Inveresk, near Musselburgh, where a monument is erected to their memory. His Lordship was Governor of Edinburgh Castle at the time of his death, in which he was succeeded by his grand-nephew, George, fifth and last Duke of Gordon, and last Governor of the Castle previous to the Act of Parliament which annexed that appointment *ex officio* to the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland.

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow's *Annecta*, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, 4to. 1843, vol. iii. pp. 522, 523.

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> In the surrounding cemetery several distinguished persons are interred. Close to the east end of the jail, and next to the street, is the tomb of George Drummond, Esq., one of the greatest promoters of the improvements of Edinburgh, the founder of the North Bridge and the Royal Infirmary, six times Lord Provost of the city, who died on the 4th of November, 1760, in the eightieth year of his age. A few yards north of Provost Drummond's tomb is a small monumental pillar indicating the grave of the Right Rev. Robert Keith, Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, author of the "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland" from the commencement of the Reformation till 1507, and the "Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops," who died on the 20th of January, 1757, in his seventy-eighth year. In the immediate vicinity is the tombstone erected by Robert Burns at the grave of his brother-poet in misfortune, Robert Ferguson, who terminated a brief and dissipated life on the 16th of October, 1774, in his twenty-fourth year. The tomb of Dugald Stewart, who died at Edinburgh on the 11th of June, 1828, in his seventy-fifth year, is in

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

On the opposite side of the street is Milton Lodge or House, enclosed by a wall from the street, built by Andrew Fletcher of Milton, nephew of Fletcher of Saltoun, and Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland from 1735 to 1748, when he resigned, though he retained his seat on the bench as a judge in the Court of Session till his death in 1766.<sup>2</sup> In Reid's Court, opposite, resided Thomas, seventh Earl of Haddington, James, seventh Earl of Lauderdale, and the learned, ingenious, and eccentric James Burnett, Esq., a judge in the Court of Session, by the title of Lord Monboddo, from 1767 till his death in 1799, the author of the celebrated work on the "Origin and Progress of Language," in which he alleges that "the human race were originally gifted with tails." Farther down the street is Whiteford House, and near it stood the town residence of the Earls of Winton, the fifth of whom was attainted for his connexion with the *Enterprise* of 1715. Below this locality is the house in which Dr. Alexander Rose, the deprived Lord Bishop of Edinburgh at the Revolution, died in 1720—the last survivor of all the Scottish prelates who were possessed of sees before that event.

The most conspicuous structure in this part of the Canongate is Queensberry House, a large edifice, erected, with the exception of the upper storey, by William, third Earl and first Duke of Queensberry, as his town residence, and which, with the surrounding ground, was included within the county of Dumfries in 1706 for some political purpose. This nobleman, who exercised the chief power in Scotland during the latter part of the reign of Charles II., built also the magnificent seat of Drumlanrig Castle, in Dumfriesshire, after he was deprived of all his offices for not concurring with the project of James II., in 1686, to remove the penal acts against the Roman Catholics. His Grace died in Queensberry House in 1695, and the mansion was inhabited by his son and successor James, the second Duke, the last Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, and as such chiefly instrumental in effecting the Union with England. The last occasional residents were his son Charles, third Duke, who was born in the mansion; and his Duchess, Lady Catherine Hyde, daughter of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, and cousin-german of Queens Mary and Anne, who patronised the poet Gay. The Duke died in 1778, upwards of twelve months after the Duchess, but the mansion was often inhabited by other noblemen during his lifetime.<sup>3</sup> The celebrated Earl of Stair died in it in May 1747, and the last Duke of Douglas, who resided in it some time during his latter years, also died in it in July 1761.

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

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

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

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

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

His Grace, however, occupied the half of the edifice; and the Earl of Glasgow, who was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly from 1764 to 1772, rented the other half. William, fourth and last Duke of Queensberry, who died at London in 1810, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and who inherited the Scottish dukedom in 1778,<sup>1</sup> allowed the mansion rent-free to Sir James Montgomerie, Bart., of Stanhope, successively Solicitor-General of Scotland, Lord Advocate, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1803. Queensberry House was eventually sold to William Aitchison, Esq., of Drummore, near Musselburgh, who intended to make it a distillery, and who realised almost as much as he disbursed by the public sale of the marble decorations and other ornaments. The purchaser in turn sold the property to Government for a much greater sum than he paid for it, and the extensive, heavy, and sombre-looking structure was made an infantry barrack for some time in 1811.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> This nobleman, whose extraordinary predilections obtained for him an unenviable notoriety in his day even when he was far advanced in life, was the third Earl of March, and was the only offspring of William second Earl and Lady Anne Hamilton, eldest daughter of John Earl of Selkirk and Rutherglen, or Ruglen, Countess of Ruglen in her own right at the death of her father in 1741. The third Earl of March succeeded his father in 1731, and became also Earl of Ruglen at the death of his mother in 1749. Charles third Duke of Queensberry, and second Duke of Dover, had two sons who predeceased him, and at his death in 1778, the British dukedom of Dover and the Scottish earldom of Solway became extinct; but the Scottish dukedom of Queensberry, with most extensive estates in England and Scotland, devolved on his cousin the Earl of March. At the death of this the last Duke of Queensberry, who was unmarried, his British title of Baron Douglas of Ambresbury in Wiltshire, created in 1786, became extinct, as also the Scottish titles of Earl of Ruglen and Viscount Ricearton; but the titles of Duke of Queensberry, Marquis of Dumfriesshire, Earl of Drumlanrig and Sanquhar, Viscount of Nith, Torthorwald, and Ross, Lord Douglas of Kinmonth, Middelbie, and Dornock, and the extensive property of Drumlanrig in Dumfriesshire, devolved on Henry Duke of Buccleuch, the heir of line, whose successors are now Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry. The titles of Marquis and Earl of Queensberry, Viscount of Drumlanrig, and Baron Douglas of Hawick, with the baronies of Tinwald, Torthorwald, and other estates, devolved to Sir Charles Douglas of Kelhead, Bart., the heir male; and the titles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 154, 155, 156.



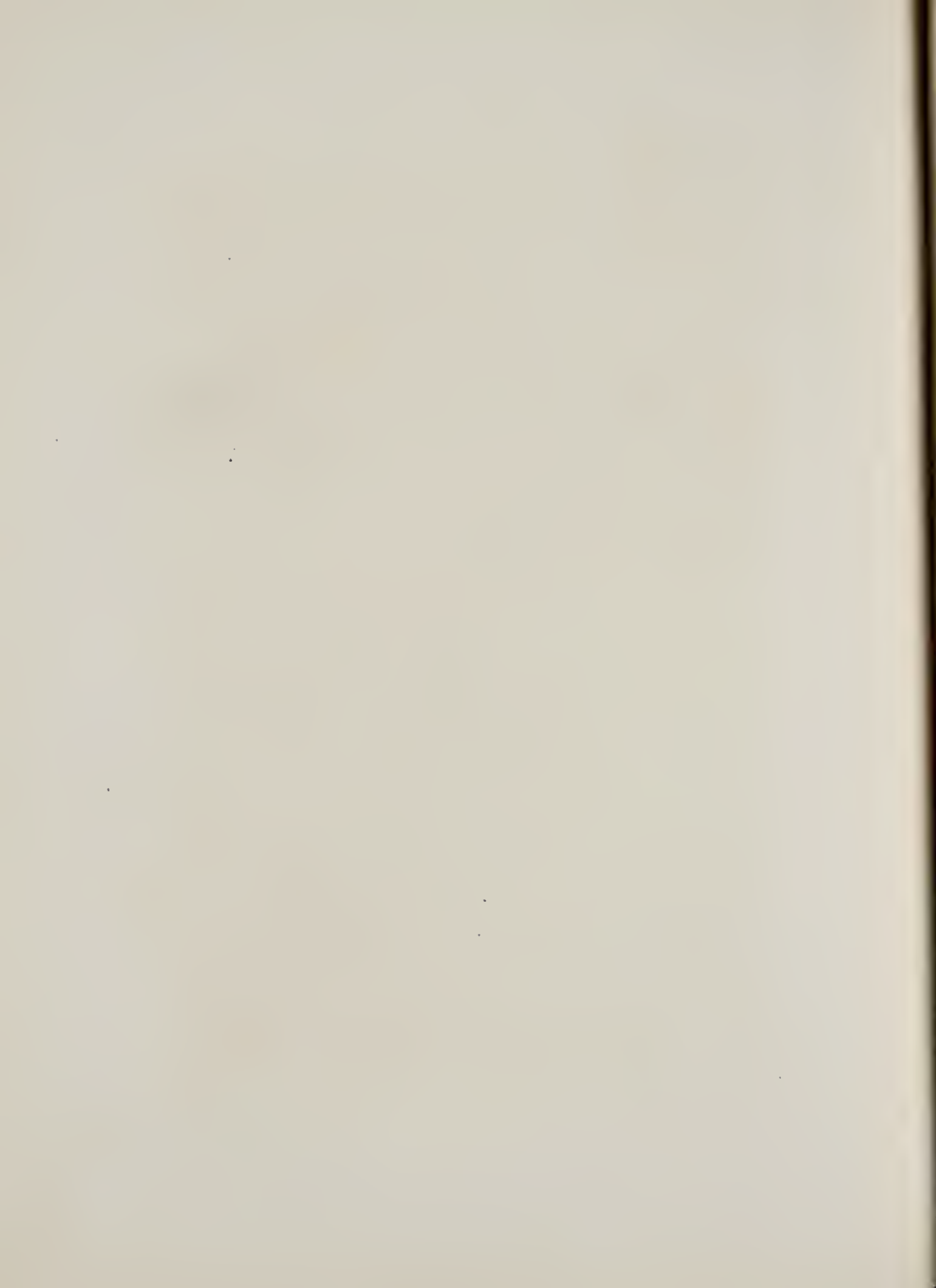






EMMERTON, THE CIL OF AIGLENTHE, QUANE, &

*A. W. Simpson, Engraver, 11, St. James's Street, London.*



## The New City.



THE ground on which the New Town, as it is locally designated, is built, was partly a furzy tract, sloping from the summit now occupied by St. Andrew Square, George Street, and Charlotte Square, to the banks of the Water of Leith on the north. With the exception of a solitary rude farmstead, no houses were nearer than the hamlet of Multrie's Hill, which stood on the site of the Register House. The old village of the barony of Broughton was then literally a rural place, and farther north was the hamlet of the Canonmills, the ancient property of the Canons of Holyrood. Latterly a colony of French weavers, whom religious persecution had driven from Picardy, located themselves between Multrie's Hill and Broughton, and originated the name of the fine continuation of York Place into Leith Walk called Picardy Place. The site of Princes Street along the then North Loch was known as the "Lang Row," or "Lang Gate."

A proposal to extend the city on the north side of the North Loch had been suggested in the reign of Charles II., and one of those who interested themselves in the project was no less a personage than the Duke of York, afterwards James II., then residing in Holyrood-house. It is stated, in a letter dated 1693, that a design was formed to erect a bridge over the North Loch, build streets on the other side, and inclose the ground with a wall. The removal of the Government and the abolition of the Scottish Parliament after the Union completely frustrated any desire then to attempt the design. John eleventh Earl of Mar, during his exile after the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715, is said to have employed his leisure time in plans for the extension of Edinburgh.

The fall of the east wall of a house six storeys high on the south side of the Cross, on the 6th of September, 1751, by which one person was killed and a number of the inmates narrowly escaped, caused an alarm for the safety of several tenements which were in a very decayed condition. On the 21st of October, 1763, the foundation-stone of the North Bridge was laid by George Drummond, Esq., Lord Provost of the city, which was the first decided movement to extend the city after the draining of the North Loch. The architect was a brother of Milne, who designed and built Blackfriars' Bridge at London, and he bound himself to uphold the fabric for ten years. The citizens, however, were by no means zealous in the work. Provost Drummond, who was one of the greatest benefactors to Edinburgh, became unpopular with many on account of his "new-fangled" notions about bridge-building and town-extension. Many persons, whose prejudices were inveterate, ridiculed the idea of a new city, and the North Bridge was a structure of popular dislike, though to please them it was pretended that it was merely to be a more convenient access to Leith than by Leith Wynd and the Canongate. The fall of the south end of the bridge in August 1769, when nearly completed, and by which five persons were killed, confirmed the opposition of many of the citizens. This accident was caused by the insecurity of the foundations, and an immense pressure of earth on the top of the vaults and arches to raise the structure to a proper level; but the denizens of the old alleys maintained that it was the fulfilment of a prophecy of the renowned Thomas the Rhymcr, one of whose visions of the future was this same North Bridge of Edinburgh, and who predicted that it would fall three times. This absurdity was religiously believed, and probably assisted indirectly in the formation of the Earthen Mound. The bridge was speedily repaired, and was opened to the public in 1772, at the expense, before its completion a few years afterwards, of 18,000*l.*

The plan for the New Town, from St. Andrew Square to Charlotte Square, including Princes Street on the south and Queen Street on the north, was designed by Mr. James Craig, the nephew of Thomson, the Poet of the "Seasons;" and the edifice belonging to the Royal College of Physicians, taken down in 1844, and superseded by the present Commercial Bank, opposite St. Andrew's Church, was by him. The whole of Mr. Craig's plan was completed in 1815. Another extension northward of the ornamental gardens in front of Queen Street, and resembling the first, was commenced in 1801, and nearly completed in 1826. On the west side of the Water of Leith, at Stockbridge, is a more recent addition, consisting of crescents, terraces, and streets, on the lands of St. Bernard's, the property of the late eminent portrait-painter, Sir Henry Raeburn. Near this, on the east bank of the Water of Leith, in the deep romantic ravine traversed by that stream, is the ornamental building in the form of a Grecian temple, inclosing St. Bernard's Mineral Well, erected by Francis Garden, Esq., a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Gardenstone, who died in July 1793. This beautiful structure is a monument of one of the last acts of his lordship's public beneficence.

A most magnificent extension of the new city on the north-west was commenced in 1823, when the grounds of Drumshugh, between Charlotte Square and the Water of Leith, the property of the Earl of Moray, were feued. In the immediate vicinity is the stupendous bridge over the ravine of the Water of Leith, called the Dean Bridge, from its connexion with the lands of Dean, consisting of four arches, completed in 1832, on the north-west end of which is Trinity Episcopal Chapel, a handsome Gothic edifice, with a tower over the west entrance. The view from the Dean Bridge is magnificent, and has been compared to an Italian scene. It includes the romantic ravine below, the town of Leith, the Frith of Forth with its rocky islets, and the hills and coast of Fife in the back-ground.

While the New City was in progress of erection, the inhabitants of the Old Town adhered with pertinacity to their ancient abodes in the High Street, the Canongate, and their diverging alleys. Those were chiefly shopkeepers, and ancient spinsters or widows of rank and family, who abominated all innovations, and who held the New Town, its projectors, and inhabitants, in utter contempt. Most of them lived and died in those antique tenements, which were subsequently either destroyed by casualties, removed on account of decay, or have been for years occupied by poor families. It required a succeeding generation to be reconciled to the New Town. The success of the extension was also doubted by some who had no such prejudices, of which the following is a remarkable instance. When it was determined, in 1771, to erect a commodious and elegant Episcopal chapel, it was proposed to obtain a site near the north end of the North Bridge, and, according to one statement, on the ground occupied by the Theatre Royal. After much grave deliberation this design was abandoned, and the reason assigned was, that the "New Town would never come to anything!" The promoters accordingly preferred a site which was purchased from the Royal College of Physicians on the north-east side of the Cowgate, an area low-lying and inconvenient, and on it they erected the large Episcopal chapel, which was opened in October 1774, and continued as such till 1818, when the congregation removed to the elegant Gothic edifice of St. Paul's Chapel in York Place, and sold their place of worship to a congregation of Presbyterian Disscuters. When the Assembly Room in George Street was erected, many persons ridiculed the absurdity, as they thought, of placing such a structure in the fields.

The New Town has of course few or no historical associations. The house forming the north-east corner of South St. David Street and St. Andrew Square was erected by David Hume, to which he removed from James's Court, and in it he died. The name of the street is also derived from him, and was written one morning on the wall of the house by the daughter of Robert Orde, Esq., Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, in ironical allusion to the historian's religious opinions. In the corresponding tenement on the opposite corner of the square was born Lord Brougham, and in it he resided during the course of his education. Sir Walter Scott's residence was a house on the east side of North Castle Street, and that of Francis Jeffrey, Esq., in 1834 a judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Jeffrey, in Moray Place. At page 142 a further description of the New Town will be found.

The New Town has, nevertheless, one tale of horror which rivals the story of Muschet and his cairn in the Duke's Walk at Holyrood. A narrow alley leading to a tenement on the west end of the General Register House is known as Gabriel's Road. This Gabriel, according to the narrative of the redoubtable Dr. Peter Morris, was a Presbyterian licentiate or preacher, who was employed by a gentleman of the city as tutor to two boys, the one ten and the other eight years of age. Gabriel cherished amorous propensities towards a female domestic of the family, and this was discovered by one of his pupils. The boy informed



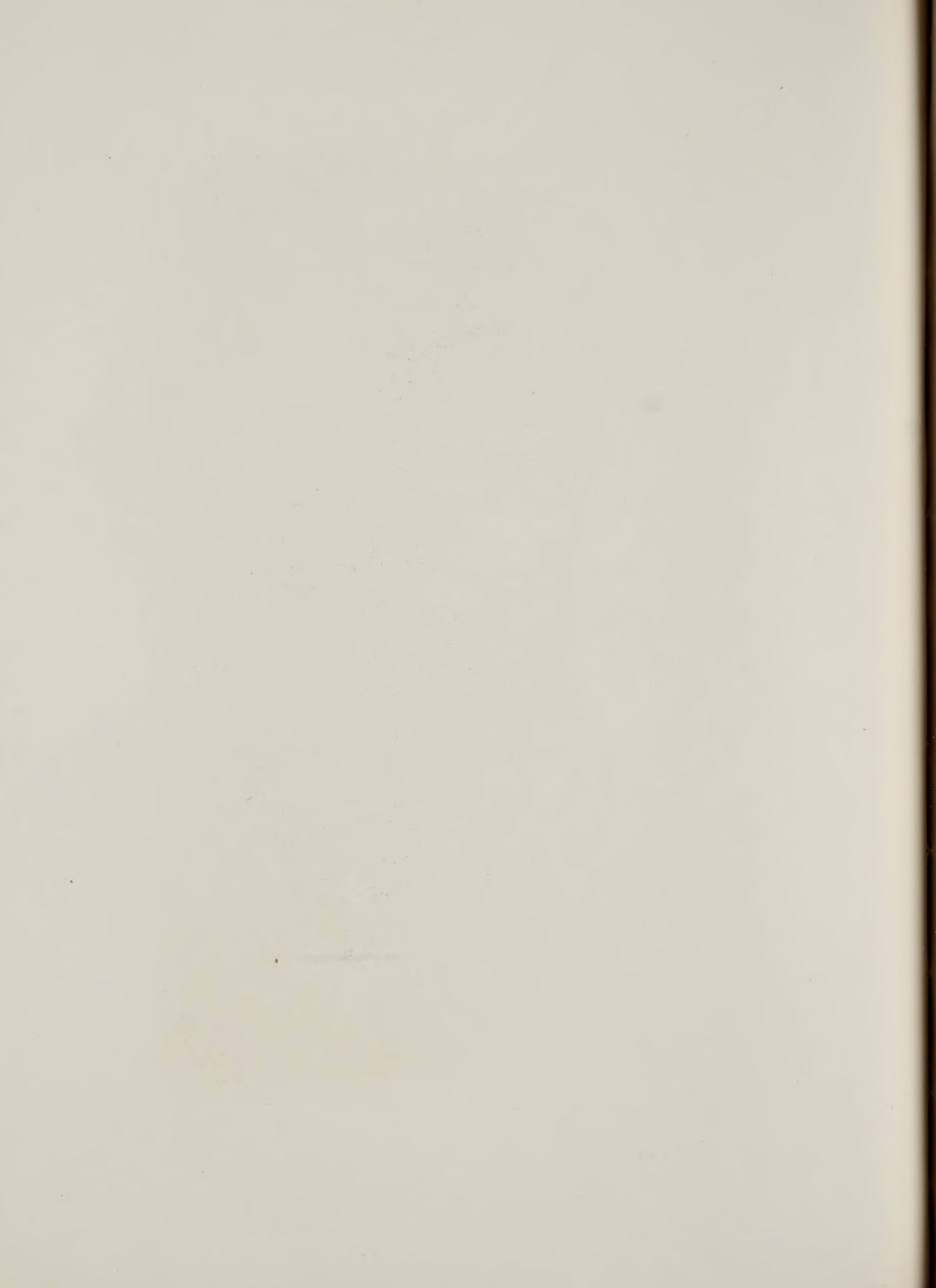




NATIONAL MONUMENT, CALTON HILL.

*From an original drawing by J. Hardinge*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON





his brother, and both mentioned it to their mother in the evening. Whether the lady reproved the girl or the preacher himself for this levity is not stated; but when he found that he was discovered, and that the informants were his pupils, he resolved to sacrifice them to his vengeance. One Sunday he led them out to walk in the fields on which the east part of the New Town is built, and, passing deliberately to a secluded spot, he stabbed the elder brother to the heart with a large clasp-knife, which he had secretly provided. The younger boy gazed for a moment, and then fled, screaming in terror, pursued by the murderer with the bloody knife in his hand, and he also fell a victim. This atrocity was distinctly seen by multitudes in the Old City, who heard the cries of the boys, but were unable to rescue them, by the deep valley and North Loch intervening. A rush was made to the scene of blood, and they found the murderer sitting on the spot in a stupor, from which he was only roused by the bands of those who seized him. It happened that the Magistrates had assembled, to walk officially to St. Giles's Church in the afternoon, when the crowd approached with their captive. Gabriel was brought into their presence, and having been taken "red-hand," or in the very act of guilt, he was, according to the old Scottish law, hanged within an hour after the deed was done, and the bloody knife was suspended from his neck.<sup>1</sup> Such is the story of Gabriel, to whom no date is assigned. It is evidently another version of the murder perpetrated by Robert Irving, a Presbyterian preacher, on Sunday the 28th of April, 1717, for which he was executed at the Gallow-Lec, between Edinburgh and Leith, on the 1st of May. This criminal was preceptor to John and Alexander Gordon, sons of James Gordon, Esq. of Ellon, and he was induced to murder them for disclosing to their parents some conduct with a female domestic which they had accidentally witnessed. When asked what prompted him to commit the crime, he at length confessed that predestinarian principles had swayed him, and that he had imbibed them from a book written by Flavel,<sup>2</sup> which he obtained from the College Library. At his apprehension he attempted to cut his throat with a penknife. His hands were struck off at the place of execution, and he was afterwards hanged, the wound in his throat breaking out, and bleeding copiously, after he was suspended. This is the true story of Gabriel's Road, though the locality is not mentioned in the printed account of the last confession of the murderer.<sup>3</sup>

The Calton Hill, which terminates the view looking east from Princes Street, though now within the city, and surrounded by streets, was purchased by the Town-Council of Edinburgh from one of the Lords Balmerino, and in 1725 a charter was obtained from George I., erecting the district, which had previously been designated Wester Restalrig, into a burgh of barony, under a bailie, for whom a court-room, to which was attached a prison, both of which have disappeared, was provided. Although the greater part of the street has been removed by the erection of the Regent Bridge, and more recently by the North British Railway Company, leaving only a few tenements nestling under the precipices, the burghal institution existed in 1847, and the Calton had its high constables and its Incorporated Trades, who possessed considerable property, and to whom belonged the cemetery or grave-yard on the very summit of the precipices, in which the sombre-looking round tower, containing the ashes of Hume the Historian, is conspicuous on the very margin of the rock. In this cemetery are also interred Professor Playfair and several other eminent individuals. There is also a burying-ground on the south-east slope of the Hill, which was obtained as a compensation for that part of the old cemetery now forming Waterloo Place. In this quarter the Calton Hill is perforated by the tunnel of the North British Railway.

In the deep hollow on the north side of the Hill, called Greenside, now covered with obscure streets and lanes, James IV. granted to the citizens, in 1496, sufficient ground to hold tilts and tournaments near the north-eastern side of the then Craigend gate. According to tradition, Queen Mary first saw the Earl of Bothwell at a tournament in Greenside, and he is said to have attracted her admiring notice by riding recklessly down the steep side of the Hill in this quarter, which was undoubtedly a most daring feat of horsemanship; but Sir Walter Scott alleges that Queen Mary's mother, the widowed consort of James V., was the spectator of this exploit, and that the hero of it was Bothwell's father, Patrick, third Earl, who with the Earl of Lennox, openly aspired to her hand. The tournament ground was, in 1520, by consent of

<sup>1</sup> Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, Edin. 1810, vol. ii. pp. 198-200.

<sup>2</sup> John Flavel, an eminent English nonconformist, who died in 1691. His particular work which induced Irving to commit this double murder is not stated.

<sup>3</sup> This account is a broad-sheet in a curious and valuable folio volume of miscellaneous collections in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, marked C.C.C. 3:2. The broad-sheet is numbered 137.

James V. and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, assigned to some Carmelite Friars for the erection of a convent, which was founded by the Town-Council in 1526, and dedicated to the Holy Cross. This edifice, whatever were its extent and pretensions, was in 1591, at the instance of John Robertson, merchant in Edinburgh, constituted an hospital for leprous persons of both sexes. The Town-Council placed it under the direction of the Trinity Colledge Hospital, and authorised some severe rules to be observed by the inmates, one of which was, that on no pretence whatever were they ever to go out of the building, under the penalty of death; and to show that this was a serious threat, a gibbet was actually erected at the end of the Hospital.

On the Calton Hill are monuments erected to the memory of Lord Nelson and Professor Playfair, and cenotaphs to Dugald Stewart and Robert Burns; the admired column of the National Monument, commenced in 1822, but never completed, and now going to decay; the Royal Observatory; the High School begun in 1825, and opened in 1829; and the three extensive buildings, one of which was formerly the Bridewell, all now designated the Prison of Edinburgh, inclosed by castellated walls, varied by towers of different heights and proportions, overlooking the Old City.

The most impressive view that a stranger can obtain of the City, is that from Calton Hill. Looking westward are the magnificent hotels, shops, banks, &c., all built of stone, which form the north side of Princes Street. On the south side are the gardens (with Sir W. Scott's monument) already alluded to; and in the hollow are the Edinburgh and Glasgow, and other railways, but almost hidden from view. On the south-west, in the distance, is the venerable castle, from whence descends, in an easterly direction, through the Old Town, the High Street, leading to Holyrood Palace. At the back of this rises Arthur's Seat, round which are the Royal Park, Salisbury Crags, &c., which, in winter, often present the singular spectacle of being covered with snow from the top to within about 200 feet from their base. If the eye be directed in a north-westerly direction, some of the chief buildings in the New Town will be noticed, such as the Registry Office, some of the new churches, the squares, &c. Prominent among the new buildings is the recently erected Post-Office, near the North Bridge. Beside are theatres, the great Music Hall, &c. Northwards, the Forth may be traced from its mouth at Kirkcaldy to Alloa, forming a bright water-line, across which it is proposed to erect one of the largest bridges in the world, to accommodate the constantly increasing railway traffic. The view by daylight is imposing; but when the houses are lit up, gas being in universal use, the whole City presents an appearance of being specially illuminated, the tall houses in the Old Town presenting a prominent feature. The beauty of the scene is still further enhanced if it be observed during the rising of the moon, as then the hills from Arthur's Seat to the Pentlands form a massive background, which throws the City into greater prominence.

Although Edinburgh is more celebrated as a seat of learning and fashion, it has several important manufactures, as of leather, indiarubber, iron, glass, brewerics, &c. It has long been celebrated for its publishing and printing establishments. Stereotyping was first carried on in this City. Its population was estimated, in 1875, as amounting to about 220,000. The annual value of real property is about £1,500,000. As already stated, it is the seat of the Scottish Law business. The Court of Justiciary consists of one Outer Court, having five judges, and two Inner Courts of Session, each having four judges, who are practically the final Court of Appeal in Scotland, further proceedings having to be carried on before the English Supreme Court of Judicature. The government of the City rests in a Lord Provost, six baillies, and other officials, making in all forty-one. Its revenue is about £170,000 annually. The Library, for the use of Advocates and Writers to the Signet (the latter equivalent to the English solicitors and attorneys), contains about 200,000 volumes. The number of registered electors is about 25,000. Edinburgh returns two members for the Parliamentary borough, and, in connection with St. Andrews, an additional one for the two Universities.

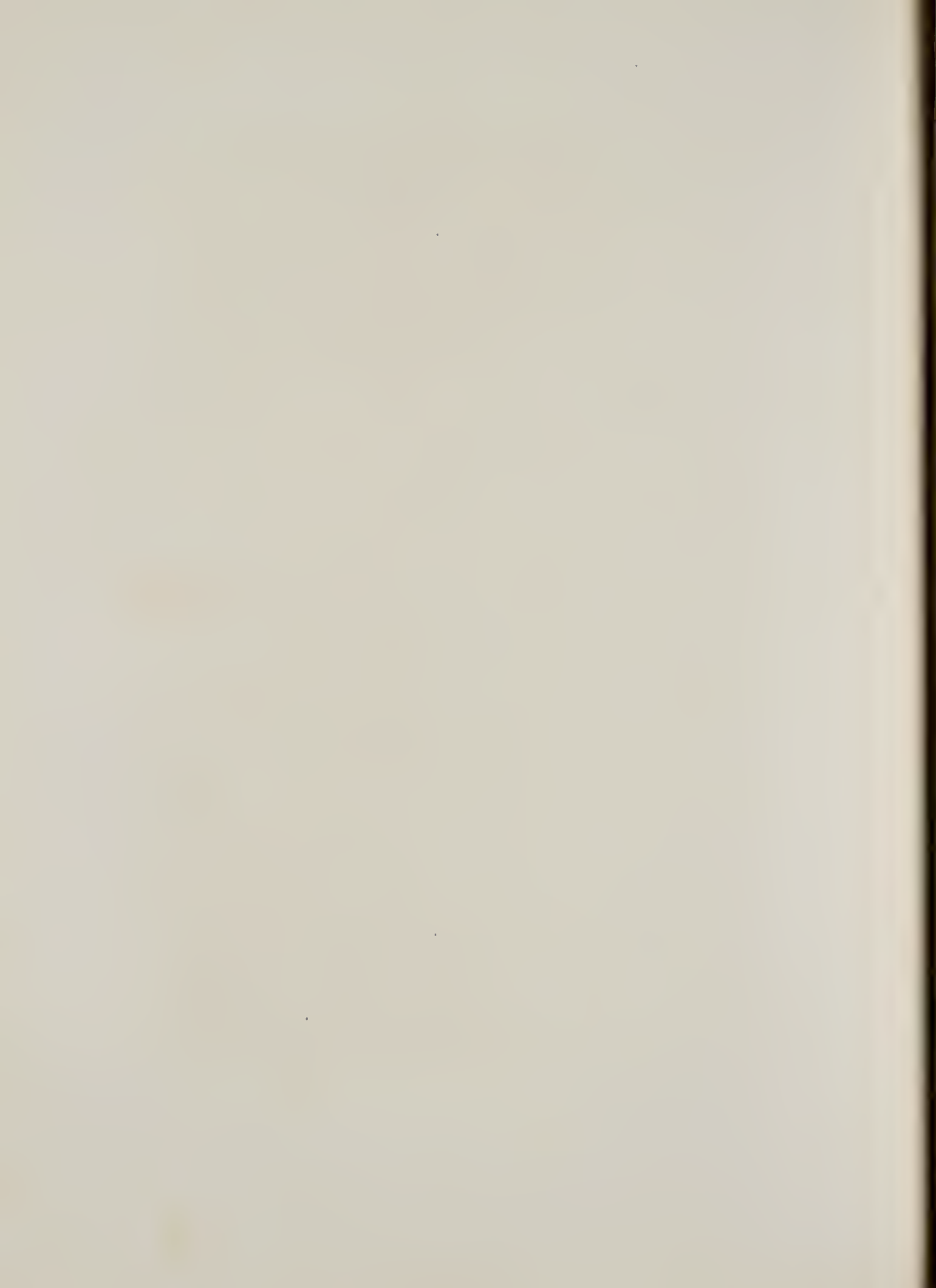
Permanent residents in Edinburgh have an advantage which would be greatly prized by the denizens of London. It is that of ready access to the sea-side. In a few minutes, Portobello, Leith, Newhaven, and Trinity, all situated on the banks of the Frith of Forth, are reached. Equally may be mentioned as an advantage, the abundant supply of fish daily brought to these places. Take Edinburgh in all its positions, it may be considered as one of the most desirable places for residence in Great Britain. Its climate is comparatively mild. The average temperature of the year is 47.2° Fab.; of summer, 57.6°; and of winter, 37.9°.







VIEW OF THE FINEST VIEW CALLED THE  
*View of Rome*  
JOHN · MURDOCH LONDON



## Leith and its Vicinity.



THE sea-port and town of Leith, anciently Inverleith,<sup>1</sup> at the debouch of the Water of Leith stream, which flows through the harbour into the Frith of Forth, is nearly a mile and a half from Edinburgh. The town is a curious motley group of narrow streets, in which are numbers of old tenements, the architecture and interiors of which indicate the affluence of the former possessors. Although a place of considerable antiquity, and mentioned as Inverleith in David I.'s charter of Holyrood, the commercial importance of Leith dates only from the fourteenth century, when the magistrates of Edinburgh obtained a grant of the harbour and mills from King Robert Bruce for the annual payment of fifty-two merks. This appears to have been one of the first of those transactions by which the citizens of Edinburgh acquired the complete mastery over Leith, and they are accused of exercising their power in a most tyrannical manner. So completely, indeed, were the Town-Council of Edinburgh resolved to enslave Leith, that the inhabitants were not allowed to have shops or warehouses, and even inns or hostleries could be arbitrarily prohibited. This power was obtained in a very peculiar manner. In 1398 and 1413, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, then superior of the town, disputed the right of the Edinburgh corporation to the use of the banks of the Water of Leith, and the property was purchased from him at a considerable sum. This avaricious baron afterwards caused an infinitude of trouble to the Town-Council on legal points, but they were resolved to be the absolute rulers of Leith at any cost; and they advanced from their treasury a large sum, for which Logan granted a bond, placing Leith completely at the disposal of the Edinburgh Corporation, and retaining all the before-mentioned restrictions. James I., by charter dated 1454, granted to Edinburgh the "haven-silver, customs, and duties of ships, vessels, and merchandise, coming to the road and harbour of Leith," and in 1482 James III. conferred similar privileges. In 1485 the civic despots enacted that no merchant of Edinburgh should enter into partnership with a resident of Leith, under a penalty of forty shillings, and deprivation of the freedom of the city for one year. Sundry other oppressive acts followed, and the feudal subjection of Leith was finally completed by the purchase, in 1565, of the superiority of the town from Queen Mary, to whose mother, the Queen Regent, it had been sold by Logan of Restalrig for 10,000 merks. Warehouses were prohibited to be built, all goods were ordered to be removed as speedily as possible from the harbour, and every contrivance was adopted to depress and annoy the inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> So determined

<sup>1</sup> Inverleith is still the name of a mansion and estate about two miles inland, on the banks of the stream between Stockbridge and Inverleith Row, on the road to Granton and Newhaven. The Water of Leith rises from three springs in the Pentland Hills, and has a romantic course of about fourteen miles. Much of the stream being abstracted for mills, it is insignificant in dry weather, but after heavy rain it often descends with fearful rapidity, assuming the grandeur of a mountain torrent.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated by the local historian of Leith, that after the Town-Council had completed the purchase of the superiority from Queen Mary in 1565, the town was entered as a "conquered" place by the burgesses of Edinburgh, who subsequently adopted every device to torment the inhabitants as much as possible. In 1580 the Edinburgh magistrates summoned one-half of their Leith vassals to hear themselves prohibited from exercising their trades as incorporations, or choosing their deacons or presiding members in all time coming. Two unfortunate knights of St. Crispin had been previously committed

to prison by those authorities, the one for "pretending" that he was the legally elected deacon of the incorporation of shoemakers, and the other for acting as his official; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the operatives, they were "proceeded against as a parcel of insolent and contumacious rascals."—History of Leith, by Alexander Campbell, 1827. It was not till 1737 that the Incorporated Trades of Leith were declared independent of those of Edinburgh by the Court of Session. For upwards of a century afterwards the ancient jealousies continued to increase, till the final separation of the port from the city by Act of Parliament in 1838. By that Act the judicial authority of Edinburgh over Leith was abolished; the city was prohibited from interfering with, or exercising any control over the affairs of the town; and the common good, customs, rates, imposts, and market dues, including the prison buildings, with the Admiralty jurisdiction, were vested in the provost and magistrates of Leith, with the only exception of the city's rights in the harbour and docks, and the revenues arising therefrom.

were the Edinburgh corporation to retain hold of Leith as an appendage to the city, that subsequent charters of Queen Mary, and that of James VI. in 1596, authorising a tax for the pier, were renewed by the latter in 1603, and by Charles I. in 1636.

The port, nevertheless, early possessed a considerable trade, which occasionally suffered from incursions by the English, who in 1313 and in 1410 burned the vessels in the harbour. Leith was occupied by the insurgent nobility who had taken arms against James III., after the murder of that monarch near Bannockburn in 1488; and the famous Admiral Sir Andrew Wood of Largo had soon afterwards an interview with his youthful successor, James IV., in the town. In 1544 the Earl of Hertford, who was at the head of 10,000 men, took possession of Leith, seized all the vessels in the harbour, garrisoned the place with 1500 men till he ravaged Edinburgh and the neighbourhood; and when he left with his booty he destroyed the pier, carried off the shipping, and burnt the town. Before his departure he had constructed a pier for his own accommodation, or renovated a previously existing one, but no vestige of it remains to indicate its exact site. Three years afterwards, in 1547, the same Earl of Hertford, who had become Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, and who had recently been the victor at the battle of Pinkie, again burnt Leith, though not so completely as at his former visitation, and carried off thirty-five vessels.

In 1548 the town was strongly fortified by the French General D'Esse, who had arrived with 6000 men to assist the Queen Regent against her opponents. The works consisted chiefly of ramparts of earth, and appear to have been of great strength, inclosing the town in an octangular form, with eight bastions, one at each angle; no traces of which remain, though the vestiges were distinctly visible in 1753.<sup>1</sup> From 1548 to 1559, Leith was the head-quarters of the Queen Regent's army and of her French auxiliaries, who are prominent in the civil strife between her and the Lords of the Congregation. At its port arrived the shipping and supplies for the Queen Regent's service, and from its gates rushed those sallying parties who fought many a hard skirmish with detachments of the besiegers on the plain between the town and Edinburgh.

The siege of Leith, in 1559 and 1560, is a curious episode in its history. During the former year, after the violent demolition of the churches and religious houses by lawless mobs, the Queen Regent came to an open rupture with the Lords of the Congregation, and both parties prepared to settle the contest by the sword. The death of Henry II. of France, and the accession of his son, who was the consort of Queen Mary, induced the Queen Regent to expect powerful reinforcements from her son-in-law and daughter; and on the 30th of July, 1559, she suddenly left Dunbar, whither she had been compelled to retreat after leaving Fife, and encamped on the common of Leith Links. The Lords of the Congregation marched to Leith with such a force as they could muster, commanded by the Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray; but before he appeared the Queen Regent moved her troops into Leith, and commenced a thorough repair of the ramparts, assisted by her French auxiliaries—operations which greatly alarmed the Congregation leaders, and elicited an angry remonstrance from them on the 29th of September.<sup>2</sup> The Queen Regent is accused of duping the inhabitants of Leith of 3000*l.*, which they never recovered, but the allegation rests on very questionable authority. It was probably a loan, as it is said that she had signified her intention to grant the town a charter, emancipating it from the domination of Edinburgh, which was prevented by her death. Among other causes of offence, the Queen Regent ordered the minister's pulpit to be turned out of the church of South Leith, and the Roman Catholic service to be restored.

<sup>1</sup> The fortifications of Leith are severely satirised by the valiant Captain Colepepper in "The Fortunes of Nigel":—"You speak of the siege of Leith, and I have seen the place—a pretty kind of hamlet it is, with a plain wall or rampart, and a pigeon-house or two of a tower at every angle. Uds! daggers and scabbards! if a leaguer of our days had been twenty-four hours, not to say months, before it, without carrying the place and all its cocklofts one after another by pure storm, they would have deserved no better grace than the provost-marshal gives when his noose is reeved!" It resisted, however, all the attempts of the Lords of the Congregation in 1559, and the capitulation to those Lords and the English under Lord Grey of Wilton in 1560, was rather because both parties were tired of the war than by force.

<sup>2</sup> The Queen Regent, in her reply, places herself in the situation of a bullfinch or linnet surrounded by ferocious hawks, and in answer

to the charge of occupying and fortifying Leith, her Majesty stated— "And like as a small bird, when pursued, will provide some nest, so her Majesty could do no less, in case of pursuit, than provide some sure retreat for herself and her company; and to that effect chose the town of Leith, a place convenient for that purpose, because it was her dearest daughter's property, and no other person could claim title or interest thereto, and also because in former times it had been fortified." Queen Mary's "title or interest" to Leith as her "property" is difficult of explanation, more especially when the transactions of the Town-Council of Edinburgh with Logan of Restalrig are considered; and as to the fortifications, this is probably an allusion to those raised by Monsieur D'Esse ten years previously, as apparently no military works were constructed in Leith before the arrival of that commander.









THE HARBOUR OF OUELLE - 1844  
by J. G. Thompson & Co

LONDON: MURRAY & CO.



The Lords of the Congregation invested Leith in October 1559, resolving to expel the Queen Regent and her "throat-cutters," by which epithet they designated the French auxiliaries. Before proceeding to extremities they sent a messenger to the walls, with a summons in the name of Francis and Mary, commanding all Scots and French to leave the town within twelve hours. They had provided themselves with scaling-ladders, constructed in St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, which greatly irritated the preachers, who declared that such wickedness and irreverence would not pass unpunished. As no answer was returned to the summons, the besiegers commenced their operations, but they soon discovered that their scaling-ladders were too short. This circumstance, and the denunciations of the preachers on the sin of constructing ladders in a church, had due effect on the forces of the Congregation, who evinced no inclination to fight, and who were mutinous for want of pay. A series of misfortunes befell the besiegers. They had no money; an attempt to erect a mint was frustrated by the absconding of a person with the instruments of coining; Cockburn of Ormiston was waylaid and robbed, by the afterwards notorious Earl of Bothwell, of four thousand crowns, which he had received for their use from Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts at Berwick; a large supply of provisions was intercepted between Leith and Portobello by a sallying party of the French auxiliaries, and on another occasion the forces of the Congregation were pursued to the base of the Calton Hill. The victors of this latter exploit were joyfully welcomed on their return by the Queen Regent from the ramparts. Observing several of the French soldiers carrying plunder, she jocularly inquired "where they had bought their wares?" Many other remarks of the Queen Regent, who was particularly disliked by the leaders of the Congregation and the preachers, are recorded.

This defeat, and the want of money to pay their troops, induced the Lords of the Congregation to retire to Stirling, Glasgow, and some towns on the south coast of Fife. The Queen Regent obtained possession of Edinburgh, and removed to the Castle, in which she resided till her death on the 10th of June, 1560. Meanwhile fortune had declared against the French during several marauding expeditions into Fife, and the Lords of the Congregation ordered a general muster at Leith. On the 30th of March, 1560, Lord Grey of Wilton entered Scotland with a force variously stated at 6000 and 8000 men, protected by an English fleet, and on the 1st of April encamped at Restalrig, where he was joined by many influential persons and 2000 men.

The English selected the rising ground on the east end of Leith Links, extending to the locality of Hermitage Hill, and their position was well chosen; but it was found to be too distant to enable the artillery, such as it was in those times, to injure the fortifications, and they moved to the Links, where they constructed mounds of earth for their artillery, two of which remain. One is close to a spring on the south-east side of the Links called "Lady Fife's Well," and the second is about two hundred paces east from the Grammar School. As soon as the mounds were completed the English opened a fire upon the besieged, which they continued several days, and they dilapidated the tower and steeple of St. Anthony's Preceptory, which stood at the south-west corner of the alley known as St. Anthony's Wynd. Notwithstanding this exploit, which was harmless to the garrison, the siege continued nearly a month without any prospect of a termination, and the French auxiliaries were reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions. The patience of the English was at last exhausted, and they resolved to try a general assault, in which they were repulsed with considerable loss. When the Queen Regent, who was then labouring under a malady in Edinburgh Castle, which in a short time proved mortal, saw the French colours waving triumphantly on the walls of Leith, she is accused by Knox of expressing her joy by exclaiming—"Now will I go to mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen!" After protracted hostilities of upwards of two months, which proves that the English artillery was of little use, both parties became weary of a contest which promised no advantage, and a treaty was adjusted, by which it was agreed that the French were to embark unmolested to France, and the English were to commence their march homewards on the same day. This concluded the siege, which almost ruined the trade of the port. The fortifications were demolished, and the east rampart was alone preserved many years afterwards under the designation of the "Ladies' Walk," which intimates that it was a promenade.

On the 20th of August, 1561, Queen Mary landed at Leith from France, and proceeded direct to Holyrood. No vestige of the then existing pier remains, though it undoubtedly occupied the site of the present harbour. The town was the scene of various important transactions during the minority of James VI.; the High Court of Justiciary was held in it from November 1571 to August 1572, and again in 1596-7;

and a kind of General Assembly in 1572. In 1578, a reconciliation was effected between the Earl of Morton and certain of the nobility, and they dined together in one of the hostleries of the place. In 1584, Leith was appointed the principal market for herrings and other fish in the Frith of Forth. On the 6th of May, 1590, James VI. landed at the pier with his Queen from his matrimonial expedition to Denmark, after a voyage during which he was sorely beset by the incantations of witches.

The subsequent historical notices of Leith are comparatively few. In July 1610, thirty English sailors were executed within flood-mark for piracies in the Hebrides; in December, eight others; and in 1612, two. In 1639, at the commencement of the rebellion against Charles I., it was proposed to re-fortify the town, and considerable progress was made in the work. The Solemn League and Covenant was zealously subscribed at Leith in 1643; and two years afterwards the place was almost depopulated by an epidemic, which caused the death of nearly two thousand five hundred persons, most of whom were interred in the south-west of the Links.

Charles II. lodged in the stately old mansion, then the property of the Lords Balmerino, in the Kirkgate, between Charlotte Street and Coatfield Lane, on the night of his arrival in 1650, when he was invited to Scotland by the Parliament. After the battle of Dunbar that year Cromwell possessed himself of Leith, and subjected the inhabitants to a monthly assessment of 22*l.*, with a proportion of 2400 pounds Scots levied upon Edinburgh and the vicinity. When he returned to England a strong fort was constructed by his orders in North Leith by General Monk, on the ground immediately behind the warehouses of the docks; and a tenement near an arch, the only remaining memorial of this fort, is said to have been for some time Monk's residence. This fort was of a pentagonal form, consisting of five bastions, and was erected at the expense of 10,000*l.* In 1691, the town was the scene of the murder of a military officer named Elias Porret, Sieur de la Roche, a French Protestant refugee, in a tavern in the Kirkgate much frequented by the gallants of the day. The parties implicated in this brawl were the Viscount Tarbet, afterwards second Earl of Cromarty, an officer named Mowat, and another individual. In 1705, Captain Green of the Worcester and three of his men were executed within flood-mark at Leith for piracy and murder committed on the crew of a Scottish vessel on the coast of Malabar in 1783, which was discovered by the unguarded statements and speeches of the crew in their cups or quarrels, while the Worcester was detained under embargo at Burntisland.

In 1715, Cromwell's fort or citadel was occupied by Brigadier M<sup>c</sup>Intosh of Borlan, and a party of the adventurers in the Enterprise of that year. The fear of an attack by the Duke of Argyll, then in Edinburgh, induced the Brigadier to vacate the fort during the night, after plundering the Custom-House, and liberating all the prisoners in the jail. In 1778, Leith was partly the scene of the revolt of the Scaforth regiment of Highlanders, and in 1779, of a detachment of fifty men recruited for the 42d and 71st regiments, who refused to embark in the transports provided for their destination. A serjeant commanding a party of the South Fencibles from Edinburgh Castle, with orders to apprehend the mutineers, was mortally wounded, and his enraged comrades discharged a volley upon the Highlanders, twelve of whom were killed, and twenty were severely injured. This occurred in front of the houses between the Old Ship Tavern and the tenement known as the Britannia Inn, on that part of the street at the harbour called the Shore. In the same year the appearance of Paul Jones in the Frith excited trepidation, and some old pieces of artillery were elevated on piles of timber and stones in the fort to protect the town. A storm, however, drove the redoubtable pirate commander out of the Frith; and this commotion of the elements was long believed to be raised by the prayers of an eccentric Dissenting minister in Kirkcaldy, named Sheriff. The great event in the recent annals of Leith was the landing of George IV. on the 15th of August, 1822, when a magnificent procession issued from the port, and preceded the King to Holyrood. On Saturday, the 3d of September, 1842, her Majesty Queen Victoria and Prince Albert traversed the south of Leith, after a progress in Edinburgh and a visit to Dalmeny Park, and proceeded by that route to Dalkeith.

Various tenements are assigned as the residence of the Queen Regent during the siege in 1559, but it is now admitted that the real one was a fabric of elegant exterior in Queen Street, formerly the "Paunch Market," which nearly a century afterwards was occupied by Cromwell. A fine old tenement, containing a profusion of sculptured crowns, sceptres, and other decorations, between the end of the Tolbooth Wynd and St. Andrew Street, in a small court dignified with the name of the "Parliament Square," entered from the north side of the latter street, is alleged to have been the residence of Regent Lennox. The "King's Work," a group of ancient buildings, occasionally the abode of royalty, stood betwixt Bernard Street and the Broad

Wynd; and in the vicinity of "Little London," which is between Bernard Street and Quality Street, is the Timber Bourse, corrupted into "Timber Bush," completely changed in appearance. Lord Balmerino's mansion is already mentioned. The house in which John Home, the author of the tragedy of "Douglas," was born in 1722, was at the corner of Quality Street, and has been succeeded by new buildings. Home is interred in the parish burying-ground of South Leith, where a stone on the south wall of the church is erected to his memory.

The Preceptory or "Mansion" of St. Anthony, said to have been founded by Robert Logan, of Restalrig, in 1435, and the only religious establishment of the kind in Scotland, was on the south-west corner of St. Anthony's Wynd, and the only vestiges are some vaults.<sup>1</sup> In 1612 or 1614, the revenues of the Preceptory, which had been confiscated at the Reformation, were assigned to the endowment of the Hospital of James VI., which stood in the south-west corner of the parish churchyard, close to the Kirkgate street. The former grammar-school, and the prison called "Kintore," were also near the parish church. That edifice was constituted parochial by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1609,<sup>2</sup> when it was stated that the original parish church at Restalrig had been ruinous for "fifty years past;" that the other building had been the resort of the inhabitants during that period, and was most convenient for the parishioners.<sup>3</sup> This is the substantial Gothic edifice in the Kirkgate dedicated to the Virgin, and known as St. Mary's Church, the nave of which was destroyed by the Earl of Hertford in 1544, and the choir at the Reformation. Although the date is not ascertained, it was erected before 1490, and the various additions in its former cruciform and present oblong state are said to have been at the expense of the Incorporated Trades of Leith, who were the founders and patrons of the church.<sup>4</sup> It is an edifice of no great architectural pretensions, surrounded by a cemetery. John Logan, the author of a tragedy entitled "Runnymede," now forgotten, a volume of eloquent sermons, and several poetical effusions of very great merit, was also one of the ministers of Leith from 1773 to 1786.

The denizens of Leith were formerly noted for their superstitious credulity and eccentricities. An amusing account is preserved of a youth known as the "Fairy Boy," who had the gift of second-sight and prophecetical powers, and who acted as drummer to the elves, who were believed to hold a weekly nocturnal gathering on the Calton Hill. At twelve o'clock at night the inhabitants of the Tolbooth Wynd, an old street leading from the Kirkgate to the Harbour, regularly heard with horror the thundering noise of a coach driven by a tall gaunt person without a head, and drawn by decapitated horses. This was known as the "twelve-o'clock coach," and was supposed to be occupied by a mysterious female connected with the unseen world.

A celebrated amusement at Leith was the ancient game of golf, played on the extensive common of the Links. Charles I. and the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and many distinguished persons, practised this game on the Links. About the middle of the eighteenth century flourished a group of lively old gentlemen, who made golf on Leith Links almost the sole business of their lives; and Smollett declares that, though they were all upwards of fourscore, they never retired to sleep before they had each imbibed the greater part of a gallon of claret. Previous to the erection of a tenement for their accommodation on the south side of the Links near the Easter Road, the golfers frequented a tavern on the west side of the Kirkgate, near the foot of Leith Walk, and closed the day with copious libations of claret.

But the great annual carnival at Leith was the horse-racing on the sands east of the pier, introduced at the Restoration, and transferred to Musselburgh in 1816, though attempted to be revived since 1839. The races were continued daily during one week, and were under the special patronage of the Town-Council of Edinburgh. It was usual for one of the city officials to walk every forenoon from the Council Chambers to Leith, bearing a purse profusely decorated with ribbons suspended from the top of a pole, accompanied by the drummer and an escort of the Town-Guard in full costume. The grotesque procession gathered strength

<sup>1</sup> The seal of the Preceptory is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. It exhibits a figure of St. Anthony in a hermit's mantle, with a hook in one hand, a staff in the other, a sow at his foot, and the strange contrast of a cross over his head, with the inscription—"S. COMMUNE PRECEPTORIE SANCTI ANTHONII PROPE LEICHT."

<sup>2</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iv. p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> In 1556, this edifice was considered or had been constituted the parish church, and the incumbent had feued the glebe, church lands, and manse of Easter Restalrig, where he had ceased to reside. It

is already stated that the Calton Hill was in the barony of Wester Restalrig.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 777.

<sup>4</sup> In a charter of James III., dated 1490, is a confirmation of a grant by Peter Falconer to a chaplain and his successors for celebrating divine service at the altar of St. Peter in "*nova ecclesia Beate Mariæ in Leith.*"—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 777. The Incorporated Trades of Leith supported several altars in their church.

in the progress down Leith Walk, obtaining a constant accession of youths who were on the outlook for the appearance of this accredited civic body, and who preferred "going doon wi' the purse" to any other time. Such a dense mass finally preceded and followed the officials, that before they approached Leith, the only recognisable feature of their presence was the purse on the top of the pole. The "Town Rats" were also daily ordered down to the starting-post in full costume, and their march is ludicrously described by Ferguson. Saturday was the most joyous, drunken, and outrageous day of this extraordinary scene, which fortunately is now only a matter of local reminiscence.

The only access from South Leith to North Leith was by two drawbridges across the Harbour or Water of Leith. In that quarter are the Docks, the Custom-House, and the Artillery Fort, in the direction of the fishing village of Newhaven, the villas of Trinity, and the Duke of Buccleuch's Pier at Granton. The first dock was constructed in 1710, and is behind a tenement in the vicinity of Bridge Street, displaying the date 1622. On the site of the present Custom-House, which is an elegant modern building, was built the "Fury," the first line-of-battle ship constructed in Scotland after the Union. Immense sums have been expended in improving the Harbour, and hitherto without any commensurate benefit for the outlay, as the place has no natural advantages. In North Leith, a few houses near Cromwell's fort, the old parish church dedicated to St. Ninian, the diminutive spire of which is above the upper drawbridge, and a straggling street, comprised the whole of the suburb at the Union. North Leith is first mentioned in 1493, when Robert Bellenden, Abbot of Holyrood, who built a bridge over the river, founded a chapel for the accommodation of the inhabitants, the charter of which was confirmed by James IV. that same year. The district was constituted a separate parish by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1606. Before that year the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood was the parish church, and the whole district was included in the barony of Broughton. The inhabitants were then rated at one thousand communicants, who had erected the church on the north side of the "Brig of Leith" at their own charges, twenty years previously, and who declared that the church of Holyrood-house was most inconveniently situated, and "very far distant from their habitations." A chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, is said to have occupied the site of Cromwell's citadel, every vestige of which has disappeared.

Nearly a mile eastward of Leith, and the same distance from the Palace of Holyrood, is the little church of Restalrig, within a cemetery, close to the decayed hamlet of that name, behind the cavalry barracks of Piershill, and the North British Railway, which passes over the old spring of excellent water known as St. Margaret's Well, the Gothic architecture of which, the groined roof supported by a pillar in the centre, is fortunately preserved, though the access is incommoded by the buildings of the Railway opposite the villa of Parson's Green. James III. founded this church for a fraternity of secular clergy, including residences for the dean and prebendaries, who were eight in number at the Reformation. In his reign, by the papal authority, the church of Lasswade, six miles south of Edinburgh, was detached from the church of St. Salvador in St. Andrews, Fife, and annexed to the collegiate church of Restalrig. The establishment was, it is said, improved by James IV., and completed by James V., but the parsonage of Restalrig was a different and earlier foundation; for in 1291, Adam of St. Edmund's was the incumbent, and obtained a writ to the Sheriff of Edinburgh to deliver to him his lands and rights. In 1296, the same Adam of St. Edmund's swore fealty to Edward I. in the then church of Restalrig. The parsonage continued after the Reformation, and evidently conferred the name of Parson's Green on the adjoining property at the east base of Arthur's Seat. Restalrig was then a distinct parish in which South Leith was included. In 1345, the patronage of the church was confirmed to Thomas Logan by William Landale, Bishop of St. Andrews. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig and Bishop of Brechin, performed the ceremonial of the marriage of Queen Mary to Lord Darnley in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood in 1565. The church, which is a plain Gothic structure, was ordered to be demolished on the 21st of December, 1561, as a "monument of idolatry." The parishioners were at the same time enjoined to resort to St. Mary's, in South Leith, which has been since the parish church; and in 1609, the legal rights of the church and parish of Restalrig, with all the revenues and pertinents, were conferred on the said St. Mary's chapel, which was declared to be the legal parish of South Leith. The church of Restalrig stood roofless till 1837, when it was substantially restored.

Connected with the church on the south-west corner is a vault, erroneously said to be the cemetery of the Earls of Moray, though that family had no connexion with the property or barony of Restalrig



till after 1746. This vault was never opened without permission of the Earl of Moray. The interior is described as circular, supported by a central pillar, the whole richly ornamented with Gothic sculpture.<sup>1</sup> This intimates that the vault was originally used as a vestment-room by the dean and prebendaries, or it may have been the place of sepulture of the Logan family, as it certainly was of the Elphinstones, Lords Balmerino. John, second Lord, conspicuous in the Covenanted troubles in the reign of Charles I., was interred in the vault, which in 1650 was forcibly entered by Cromwell's soldiers, who violated his Lordship's grave, and appropriated the leaden coffin, and all others they could find, to manufacture bullets. John, third Lord, who died in 1704; his wife, Lady Margaret Campbell, only daughter of the stern Covenanted first Earl of Loudon, whom he married in Holyrood-house in 1649, and who died in 1666; their son John, fourth Lord, who died in 1734; and John, fifth Lord, were interred in this vault.

The surrounding cemetery has been long used as a place of burial, and was the only one for many years near Edinburgh, after the Revolution, in which the members of the deposed Episcopal Church of Scotland, and those of the Church of England, were allowed the last offices of religion as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. On this account Restalrig was held in peculiar veneration by the members of the depressed Communion. Dr. Alexander Rose, the last survivor of the Bishops, consecrated before the Revolution, was interred in the then roofless church in 1720, though no stone indicates the spot, and an inscription on a monument in the Canongate churchyard intimates that Arthur Ross, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was interred in his own family tomb at Restalrig in 1704. His daughter Anne became the second wife of the fourth Lord Balmerino, and was the mother of the unfortunate Arthur, sixth and last Lord, attainted and beheaded on Tower Hill in 1746 for his connexion with the Enterprise of 1745. A plain tombstone, with an inscription, near the door of the church, marks the grave of William Brougham, Esq., father of Lord Brougham. Several eminent, and not a few eccentric individuals, are interred at Restalrig.<sup>2</sup>

The village of Restalrig is now reduced to a few decayed houses. All vestiges of the residences of the dean and prebendaries have disappeared; but opposite the east end of the church, forming the lower walls of a plain modern tenement, is part of an edifice said to have been a castle of the Barons of Restalrig. Lady Balmerino,<sup>3</sup> the widow of the last Lord, continued to reside in Restalrig, and died there in 1765.

At the death of William the Lion the property of Restalrig was possessed by a family of the same designation, and John de Restalrig was its baron at the death of Alexander III. In the reign of Robert Bruce the barony was acquired by the family of Logan by marriage. Robert Logan of Restalrig, who, it was discovered after his death, was implicated in the Gowrie Conspiracy in 1600, and who seems to have died a bankrupt, sold in 1604 his barony of Restalrig to James, first Lord Balmerino, and it continued in that family till the forfeiture in 1746. It was then purchased by James, seventh Earl of Moray, a descendant in the female line of the Lords Balmerino.

A short distance to the north of Restalrig is the Lake of Lochend, about half a mile in circumference, from which Leith was long supplied with water; and on a precipitous rock on the east side, close to the modern farm-house, are the ruins of a castellated edifice, said to have been the residence of the Logans.

Close to Restalrig is the Cavalry Barrack of Piershill, at the hamlet of Jock's Lodge, on the road to Haddington and Berwick-upon-Tweed, nearly two miles from Edinburgh. It is related that the name of Jock's Lodge was derived from a mendicant who early in the eighteenth century domiciled in a hovel

<sup>1</sup> Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland during the Years 1799 and 1800, by Sir John Stoddart, LL.B. 8vo. London, 1801, vol. i. p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> An urn of white marble on a black slab, with a short inscription, is inserted in the wall of the interior of Restalrig church, to the memory of Mr. Louis Cauvin, long an eminent teacher of the French language in Edinburgh, and founder of the educational Hospital near the neighbouring village of Duddingstone, designated by his name. In the cemetery was interred a person of the name of Henry Prentice, who deserves notice as the first who is said to have introduced the cultivation of potatoes into the Lothians, about 1740. He is described as an eccentric individual, who travelled as a pedlar. In his declining years he pensioned himself on the Canongate Workhouse, by giving a

certain sum to the managers, and engaging to leave his effects to that institution, on the condition that the managers would defray his funeral expenses, part of which he provided by keeping his coffin above his bed. He caused a tombstone to be erected in the Canongate churchyard, on the west wall, with a laconic inscription, long before he died at Restalrig, and the boys continually exasperated him by defacing his mortuary memorial. Prentice resided a long time within the precincts of the Sanctuary of Holyrood, and was unmarried. He is said to have suggested the culture of potatoes to Lord Somerville, who was the first to plant them in a field on his property of Drum, near Edinburgh. No one would at first purchase them, when Prentice drove them in carts to Edinburgh for sale.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Balmerino was Margaret, daughter of Captain Chalmers.

on the spot, but this must be an error, as the locality was designated by its present name in Cromwell's time.<sup>1</sup> Piershill is said to be so called from Colonel Piers, who commanded a cavalry regiment stationed at Edinburgh in the reign of George II., and who occupied a villa on the rising ground on which the apartments for the officers are erected, overlooking Restalrig. The Barrack was built in 1793, and the stones were procured from a freestone quarry at Craigmillar. The edifices form three sides of a quadrangle, and are delightfully situated amid villas and beautiful scenery near the eastern base of Arthur's Seat, between the North British Railway and the public road.

Nearly a mile west of Leith is the fishing village of Newhaven, a place of some antiquity, and locally noted for the peculiar habits and customs of its piscatory denizens, who form a kind of isolated community, intermarrying among themselves, and evincing many of the characteristics of a foreign origin. In the fifteenth century the village is said to have contained a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the place was designated "Our Lady's Port of Grace." A small part of the wall of this chapel is in the burying-ground, in the centre of the village. James IV. was apparently the founder of Newhaven, and conferred on the inhabitants certain burghal privileges; but in 1510 he granted to the Town-Council of Edinburgh a right to his "new port of Newhaven," which conferred on the civic authorities the complete superiority, and enabled them to pursue the system of thralldom which they exercised over Leith.<sup>2</sup> In 1511, James IV. built at Newhaven the celebrated ship called the "Great Michael," which was larger than any vessel in the navy of England or of France, and he resorted almost daily to the village to witness the progress of the work. All the oak forests in Fife, with the exception of that at Falkland, were exhausted in the construction, and large supplies of timber were brought from Norway. This vessel is described as two hundred and forty feet in length by thirty-six feet in breadth, its sides ten feet thick, with thirty-five pieces of artillery, three hundred mariners, and one hundred and twenty gunners, with accommodation for one thousand warriors. The expense was 7000*l.* sterling, a large sum for the time, exclusive of the artillery, which would be of rude formation; and this money, as the event proved, was literally thrown away. The ship never was of any use, and England soon taught the Scottish people a lesson at Flodden, which they had long cause to remember.

Newhaven was formerly an active, bustling village, the old part inhabited by the fishermen and their families. The place was a favourite resort of the citizens of Edinburgh for sea-bathing, and especially to partake of "fish dinners." The fisherwomen, who, in conjunction with those of Fisherrow at Musselburgh, supply the neighbouring city with the produce of the industry of their husbands and fathers, are noted for the loads they carry in their willow baskets on their backs, their peculiar dress, and their whisky-drinking; and yet the latter habit seems to have no injurious effects on their health, which may be probably explained on the principle that the exertion they daily encounter, and their constant exposure to the weather, neutralise the effects of their libations. The sea has made rapid encroachments in this quarter, and in reality Newhaven must have been in former times situated on a bay, as it is well known that a tract of land on the shore, known as the Links, has disappeared.

The Chain Pier and villas of Trinity are a short distance west of Newhaven, in the immediate vicinity of the Railway to Edinburgh and Granton. The Chain Pier was constructed by Captain Sir Samuel Brown, R.N., in 1821, at the expense of 4000*l.* It was used for steam-boat traffic, as was also Newhaven Pier; both of which are now entirely superseded by Granton Pier. That of Newhaven, like Leith harbour, is tidal, or dry at low water, which caused many inconveniences to passengers.

A mile west from Newhaven and Trinity is the magnificent Granton Pier, erected at the sole expense of the Duke of Buccleuch, who is proprietor of the adjoining estate, now called Caroline Park. This great work, the finest landing-place in the Frith of Forth, and accessible to its jetties at any state of the tide,<sup>3</sup> was begun in November 1835, and finished in 1845, though partially opened on the 28th of June, 1838, the day of the coronation of her Majesty Queen Victoria, by Lord John Scott, the brother of the Duke, in presence of an

<sup>1</sup> Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> By this grant of James IV. a right was given to the Town-Council of Edinburgh to the "new port, designated Newhaven, lately made by the said King on the sea-coast, with the lands thereunto belonging, lying between the Chapel of St. Nicholas and the lands of Wardie Brae." These lands are immediately east of Granton Pier. — Parliamentary Reports on Municipal Corporations in Scotland—Leith, folio, vol. ii. p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> As a proof of the advance of the tide in some parts of the shore in the vicinity of Granton Pier, vestiges of a sea-wall were discovered within low-water mark, which must have extended along a margin of green turf forming the boundary of the beach. This sea-wall is supposed to have been constructed by the great John, Duke of Argyll, who, at the Enterpriso of 1715, was the proprietor of Caroline Park. — New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 505.







THE GREAT BRITISH MERCHANT SHIP

FROM AN ORIGINAL DRAWING BY W. H. FIELD

JOHN G. MURDOCH, SCOTLAND



immense concourse of spectators. In commemoration of the day, one of the jetties on the west side of the Pier, extending to ninety feet, is named "Victoria Jetty." The length of the Pier is 1700 feet, the breadth varying from 80 to 100 feet. A massive wall, which has entrances to each side of the Pier, runs up the centre; and the whole structure is of beautiful masonry, the stones taken from an extensive quarry on the Duke of Buccleuch's property a mile westward. A slip 325 feet in length, on each side of the Pier, is constructed for shipping and landing cattle. In 1847 the Pier contained ten jetties, two low-water slips, eleven warehouses, all since increased. From sunset to sunrise a brilliant red light is exhibited at the northern extremity of this magnificent structure, which will remain a lasting memorial of the Duke of Buccleuch, to whom Scotland is under a debt of gratitude for this undertaking.<sup>1</sup> Granton Pier is the direct channel of intercourse with the opposite Pier at Burntisland, about five miles across, erected by the Duke of Buccleuch and Sir John Gladstone, Bart. The Pier is in connexion with the entire net of railways which extend to the extreme north of Scotland.

Granton is noted in Scottish history as the locality where the English disembarked under the Earl of Hertford, afterwards the Protector Duke of Somerset, in 1544. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert landed at Granton on the morning of Thursday, the 1st of September, 1842.<sup>2</sup> On the morning of the 15th of that month, Granton Pier was the scene of the royal embarkation for England.

#### EDINBURGH: THE FRITH OF FORTH.

THE Frith of Forth, the "Bodotria" of the Romans, and the "Scottish Sea" of the ancient Scottish writers, is one of the largest estuaries of the German Ocean, and peninsulates the country to a breadth, between Alloa and Dunbarton, of only thirty-two miles. The width of the estuary from St. Abb's Head on the south, to Fifeness on the north, is calculated at from thirty-five to forty miles. In this part of the German Ocean, as is the case generally, the depth is comparatively shallow, and the bottom encumbered by extensive banks, one of which extends not less than one hundred miles eastward at the entrance of the estuary. After passing the Island of May and the Bass Rock the breadth varies, and the Frith expands into a capacious basin between the counties of Edinburgh and Fife, from Musselburgh to Largo at least twenty miles wide, and from Gulane Point, on the opposite side of the bay, near North Berwick, to Buckhaven, about twelve miles. Above this the Frith contracts for ten miles in the direction of Queensferry, where it is not two miles broad. Westward the estuary is from three to four miles, and at Alloa it may be said to terminate, as the navigation above that port is strictly in the river Forth. The channel is on the south or Linlithgowshire side.

The tide flows to within a short distance of Stirling Bridge, which is nearly eighty miles distant from the German Ocean. Near Stirling the flow is interrupted by a rock crossing the Forth, on which is a rise of five feet at spring tides. Above Queensferry occur the singular tidal irregularities locally designated

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Buccleuch is supposed to have expended on Granton Pier, including the erection of the splendid hotel, residences for the officers, and other accommodation, the sum of at least 100,000*l*. The gas, which extends to the end of the Pier, is brought from Leith; and the water for supplying the houses forming the nucleus of the town, and the vessels frequenting the Pier, is obtained from the Corstorphine Hills.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 601, 602. By the Act 7 William IV. c. 15, the Duke of Buccleuch is entitled to levy certain dues on all persons entering within the gates of the Pier, and on cattle, horses, carriages, and all kinds of conveyances and goods. The passengers on the Edinburgh and Northern Railways were exempted from these dues, and also from payment of the ferry from Granton to Burntisland, both of which were included in the railway fares.

<sup>2</sup> On that memorable occasion "the royal yacht," says Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., "bearing the sacred person of the sovereign, approached the Granton Pier, towed majestically by the Black Eagle and Shearwater steamers. At about half-past eight o'clock the yacht reached the eastern side of the Pier. The moment the gangway,

covered with scarlet cloth, was placed so as to produce a bridge of connexion between the pier and the ship, Sir Robert Peel hastened on board, and advanced to that part of the quarter-deck where the Queen and the Prince were standing. When he had retired, the Duke of Buccleuch approached, as Lord-Lieutenant of the county. The royal carriages were quickly landed; and everything being in readiness, her Majesty was conducted to the gangway by Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, and at about five minutes before nine o'clock, whilst the royal standard flew up to the flagstaff at the end of the pier, Queen Victoria was handed on shore by Prince Albert." Two hundred men of the 53d Regiment, from the Castle, under the command of Major Hill, formed the guard of honour; and her Majesty and the Prince, escorted by cavalry, passed through the city from Granton by Inverleith, Brandon Street, Pitt Street, Dundas Street, Prince's Street, and the Calton Hill, to Dalkeith House, "followed by a miscellaneous crowd, where the handsome private equipages of distinguished individuals mingled with vehicles of a meaner description, all whipping and spurring after the Queen in glorious confusion."—Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland in 1842, 4to, 1843, p. 80.

"leakies;" the explanation of which is, that before high water the tide begins to ebb, and before low water it begins to flow, then turns, and ebbs till low water. The contraction at Queensferry is supposed to be the cause of these phenomena.

The islands of the Frith of Forth have an important influence on the current, the depositions from the water, and the encroachments on the shore. The May and the Bass are the most conspicuous near the entrance, and higher up Inchkeith affects the tides, channels, lays, and banks, for several miles. Between Inchkeith and Queensferry are Cramond Island on the south coast, Inchcolm on the Fife side, Inchmickery and Inchgarvie between south and north Queensferry, and farther up is an islet known as Preston Island, dry at low water, in the bay off the village of Torryburn.

The depth of the Frith of Forth below the Island of May is said to be upwards of thirty fathoms, declining to fourteen or fifteen fathoms at the northern and southern shores. West from Elie Point the greatest depth is about twenty-eight fathoms, from which, in the middle of the Channel to Inchkeith, it varies from sixteen to seventeen fathoms. The middle bank extends from Inchkeith to Hound Point, and the north channel is on the north of the bank, varying in depth from sixteen to twenty-five fathoms. On the south side of Inchkeith, in the vicinity of Leith, are numerous projecting rocks, between which and the middle bank is the south channel, from three to sixteen fathoms deep. The greatest depth between South Queensferry and Inchgarvie island, and any part above the May, is thirty-seven fathoms. The basin gradually shallows upwards, though the depth is very considerable opposite Kincardine and Alloa, where the roadstead and anchorage are excellent.

The harbours are numerous in the Frith of Forth, of which only those of Burntisland and Alloa on the north, and Granton on the south side, are approachable at low water. All the others are merely tidal, and those on the Fife coast are of hazardous access in stormy weather. The only harbour of any importance in the mouth of the Frith is that of Dunbar, the improvement and extension of which were commenced in 1842. Along the coasts of the Frith are communities of hardy and industrious fishermen; and their avocations, especially that of the "deep-sea fishing," are the sources of considerable wealth, which could be much increased if they would relinquish their obstinate prejudices.

The fishes of the Frith of Forth are scientifically arranged into "osseous" and "cartilaginous," the former of which comprise four orders, and the latter three, all known by most outrageous and pedantic names. Divested of the technical phraseology of the learned in what is called "ichthyology," such fish as cod, skate, flounders, haddocks, mackerel, salmon, and herrings, are in abundance at particular seasons. Upwards of three hundred kinds are found,<sup>1</sup> and the estuary is occasionally visited by certain strangers, some of which are captured by the fishermen, and duly chronicled at the time as wonders of the deep. Sometimes a luckless "phoca," or seal, suffers for its curiosity in entering the Frith, and occasionally a whale appears, to become the gossip of the neighbouring citizens of Edinburgh, and of the denizens of the towns and villages on its shores.<sup>2</sup> The other important productions of the Frith for domestic use are oysters, mussels, lobsters, and other shell-fish. The oyster-beds are chiefly opposite Prestonpans, Portobello, Newhaven, and Granton on the south side, and Aherdour on the north. They are the property of the Marquis of Abercorn, the City of Edinburgh, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Morton, and the Earl of Moray. Those belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earls of Morton and Moray, and the City of Edinburgh, are rented by the fishermen of Newhaven.

The view of Edinburgh from the Frith of Forth is remarkably grand and impressive, and the estuary is considered by competent judges to be equal to the scenery of the Bay of Naples. The towns on the Fife side, from near Inverkeithing on the west, to Crail at the "East Neuk," or Fifeness, are seen reposing at the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Patrick Neill of Edinburgh published, in 1805, a catalogue of the fishes of the coast of Scotland, in the first volume of the Wernerian Society's Memoirs, and enumerated seventy-six species. Dr. Richard Parnell contributed a list in the fourteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1839, which is not given as complete, but presents one hundred and twenty-three specimens, about forty of which were added by the learned writer from personal observation, three not previously described as fishes of Scotland, and two are new to the British Fauna.

<sup>2</sup> An account of an extraordinary capture of a shark appeared in the "Edinburgh Courant" of June 18, 1842. This shark was caught

in the turbot nets off the Island of May, and was five feet in length, with six rows of teeth. In its stomach were found a small tin canister, containing a seal with a beautifully engraved Roman head, thirty-four coins, consisting of British (Charles II. and George II.), French, Dutch, Roman, Brazilian, Hindostanee, and others, apparently Chinese or East Indian, but so corroded as to be undecipherable; an old map of Scotland by Jeffrey; a portion of the "Edinburgh Evening Courant," dated 9th September, 1811, in which two of the silver coins, one of them of 1671, were folded; and a piece of the "London Courier," dated 10th May, 1811, in which the seal was enveloped.



base of the high grounds which rise more or less precipitously from the shore. The Ochil Hills are in the back-ground on the north-west, with a view of the summit of Ben-Lomond and others of the Highland mountains. On the north are the volcanic elevations behind Burntisland, and inland the two Lomonds. Eastward is the conical mountain of Largo Law, commencing a ridge which slopes toward Fifeness, and is only varied by the elevation of Keltie Law. On the Edinburgh and Haddington side are the Scottish metropolis, Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, the Calton Hill, Corstorphine Hills, the Pentland and Moorfoot range, in the back-ground; the Lanmermuir range, the towns of Leith, Portobello, Musselburgh, and Prestonpans, the seat of Gosford House belonging to the Earl of Wemyss, the conical hill of North Berwick Law, beyond which appears the "sea-rock immense, amazing Bass." Farther inland the Byre or Byrie Hill to the south, in the vicinity of the town of Haddington, is indicated by a pillar on its summit, to the memory of John fourth Earl of Hopetoun, one of the heroes of the Peninsular War, in which he is conspicuous as General Sir John Hope.<sup>1</sup>

The basin of the Frith of Forth and of the river Forth includes the counties of Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgowshire, part of Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, and parts of the counties of Kinross and Fife. The parishes of Culross and Tulliallan, which are on the north shore, between Fifeshire and Clackmannanshire, and form an isolated portion of Perthshire, must be added.

<sup>1</sup> A pillar in Linlithgowshire, and another in Fifeshire, commemorative of this gallant soldier, are within view of the pillar on Byrie Hill. They were erected at the expense of the several counties, in all of which the Earls of Hopetoun possess extensive estates.

## CHAPTER II.

# THE LOTHIANS.

**T**HE LOTHIANS, or Mid, West, and East Lothian, as the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Haddington, are frequently designated, formed part of a province or kingdom which included Berwickshire or the Merse, and the county of Roxburgh.<sup>1</sup> This province or kingdom, anciently known as Saxonia, because the districts were settled by the Saxons, and were never possessed by the Picts, extended from the Tweed on the south-east, and from the English Border to the river Avon on the north-west, bounded on the north and east by the Frith of Forth and the German Ocean, and on the west and south by the counties of Stirling, Lanark, Dumfries, and the Border counties in that part of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> The county of Edinburgh is mountainous to a considerable extent, presenting every variety of scenery, and is watered by streams which traverse romantic and pastoral vales in their course to the Frith of Forth. It is stated by an accurate observer, that "Mid-Lothian, when viewed on a fine summer day from any of its hills, displays a prospect of as many natural beauties, without deficiency in those embellishments which arise from industry and cultivation, as can perhaps be met with in any tract of the same extent in Great Britain. The expanse of the Frith of Forth, from six to ten miles in breadth, adds highly to the natural beauty of the scene; and the capital, situated on an eminence adjoining an extensive plain, rises proudly to the view, and imparts a dignity to the whole."<sup>3</sup>

The Romans entered Mid-Lothian about the end of the first century, and retained possession upwards of three hundred and sixty years, leaving roads, camps, naval stations, and altars, as memorials of their long residence on the shores of the Frith of Forth. After the Roman legions retired in the fifth century from their province of Valentia, of which Mid-Lothian was a part, the inhabitants soon amalgamated with the Saxons. Though the county was early peopled, the improvements in agriculture are of no more recent date than the middle of the eighteenth century. It is asserted by Froissart, that upwards of one hundred castles were, in his time, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh;<sup>4</sup> but if such was the fact, all those buildings have disappeared. Few ancient castles are in the vicinity or in the district, and those which still exist, whether entire or in ruins, were built after Froissart's time. A few desolate towers in various localities, which cannot be dignified by the name of castles, were the dwellings of the lairds and their retainers.

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> The country from the Tweed to the Avon was scarcely known by the name of Lothian till about the end of the tenth century.—Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 559.

<sup>3</sup> General View of the Agriculture of the County of Mid-Lothian, by George Robertson, Farmer at Granton, 8vo. 1795, p. 23.

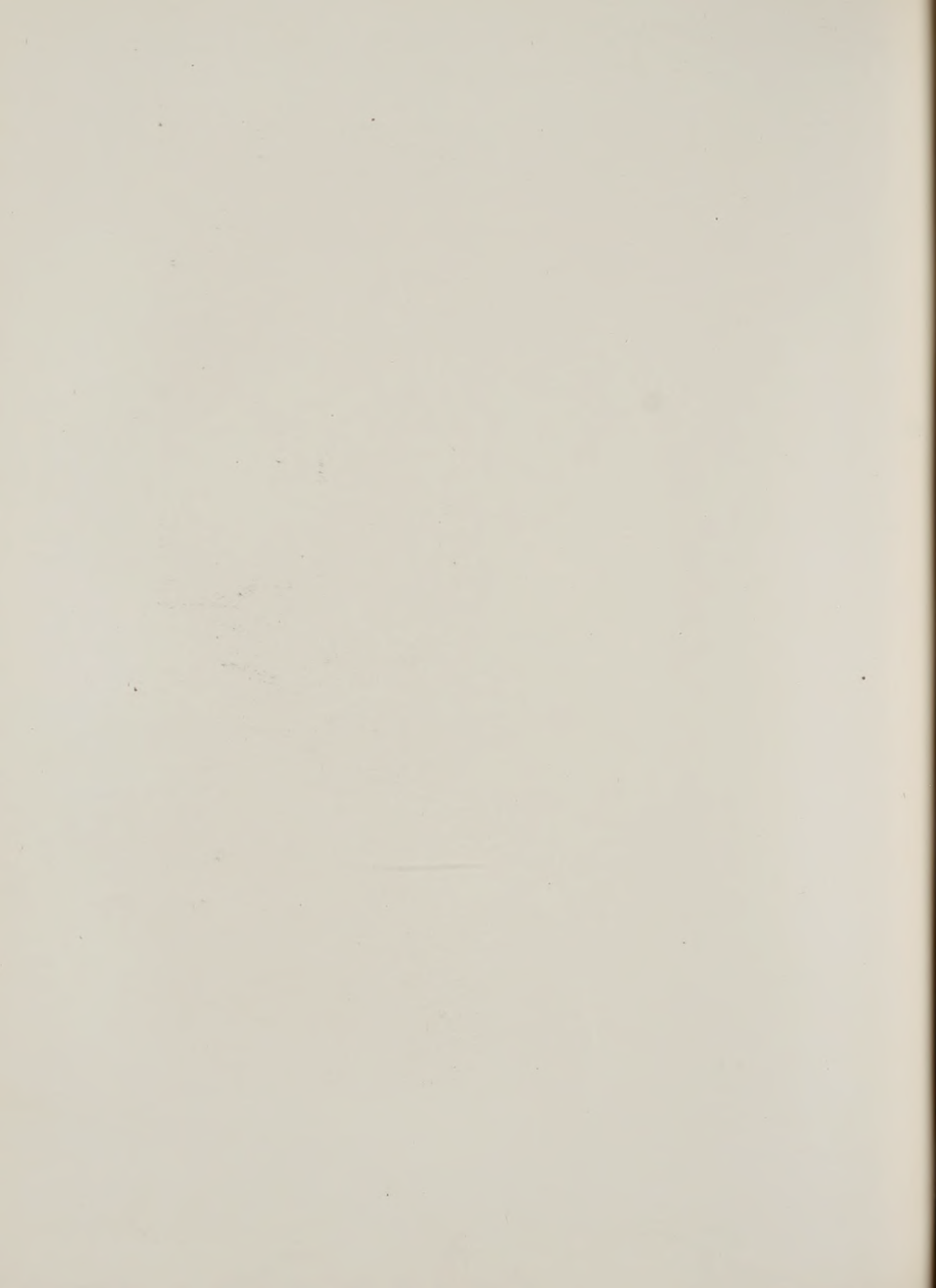
<sup>4</sup> The period of Froissart's "Chronicle" extends from 1326 to 1400. He was in Scotland in the reign of David II., to whose court his fame as a poet and historian procured for him ready access; and he was entertained fifteen days at the Castle of Dalkeith, by William first Earl of Douglas, who had seized that stronghold, then the property of the ancestors of the Earls of Morton.







THE VALLEY OF THE RIVER ...  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..



## CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE—DUDDINGSTONE.

THE massive Castle of Craigmillar, three miles south of Edinburgh, in the parish of Liberton, occupies a prominent rocky elevation of considerable height, sloping on the north side towards Duddingstone and Arthur's Seat, and perpendicular on the south. Its Gaelic designation, it is said, is "Craig-moil-ard," which signifies a bare and high rock inclining into a plain. The Castle consists of a large tower or keep connected with additional buildings, with an embattled wall upwards of thirty feet high on the east and north, which has strong circular towers on the east, and encloses the inner court-yard, which is entered by the gateway on the north. A date above the gateway intimates that this wall was erected in 1427. The principal staircase of the Castle leads to a noble hall still entire, the walls of immense thickness, and the windows forming deep recesses. The roof is arched with stone, and above it were several apartments, of which the gables are the only memorials. The apartment shown as that occupied by Queen Mary is only seven feet long, and five feet broad, lighted by two windows, and contains a fire-place. The lower storeys of the Castle consist of rooms for the retainers or feudal domestics, and repulsive dungeons. On the west of the Castle and inner court-yard a large addition, in the manor-house style, was erected after 1661 by Sir John Gilmour, Lord President of the Court of Session, and was for some time the residence of his family. The outer court of Craigmillar is entered on the east, is large and spacious, and was inclosed by an exterior wall, portions of which still exist, some parts indicating a moat or ditch on the north and west. On the east, outside the Castle, is the chapel, of plain architecture, which has been long profaned as a stable. Its font, and several memorials of its former state, when Queen Mary performed her devotions within its walls, are in the interior. On the west side of this court was a Presbyterian meeting-house, erected by Sir John Gilmour under the protection of the "Indulgence" granted in the reign of Charles II. On the south side, in a deep hollow, are the remains of an orchard, comprising two acres, and containing a few old trees, one of which, a sycamore, is said to have been planted by Queen Mary.

Of the date of the erection of Craigmillar, and of its first proprietors, no account is now preserved. The son of one of them is mentioned as Henry de Craigmillar, in a charter dated 1212 in the reign of Alexander II.<sup>1</sup> John de Capella is subsequently recorded as in possession,<sup>2</sup> from whom it was purchased, in 1374, by Sir Simon de Preston, in whose family the Castle continued nearly three hundred years, and whose successors are variously designated of that ilk, of Gorton near Roslin, and of Craigmillar.<sup>3</sup> The arms of the Prestons are on the outer and inner gates of the Castle, on the gate leading down to the orchard, on the adjoining turret, and on the east front above a small door. Over one of the doors are carved in stone a press and a tun or barrel, in playful allusion to the name of Preston; and the arms of Cockburn of Ormiston, Congalton of that ilk, Moubray of Barnbogle, Otterburn of Redford, and other families with whom the Prestons were connected, are on the battlemented walls which defend the inner court-yard. Above the armorial bearings of the Prestons, on the gate leading into the inner court, are the royal arms of Scotland. It is not apparent when Craigmillar was allowed to become ruinous, though after Sir John Gilmour's time the Castle was habitable.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord Haddington's Collections.

<sup>2</sup> Chart, in *Rotulis Roberti II.*

<sup>3</sup> William Preston of Gorton is said to have procured the veritable arm-bone of St. Giles, at considerable expense and trouble, and he bestowed this relic of their patron saint on the Town Council of Edinburgh, which was received with enthusiastic gratitude.—See the account of St. Giles's Church in the present Work, p. 87. The Prestons of Craigmillar were subsequently much connected with Edinburgh. They were considered of such importance, that in the Scottish Parliaments they were often ranked as barons, though not ennobled. In the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 17th of February, 1471, Preston of Craigmillar was present, and in that held at Edinburgh on the 6th of April, 1476, he is recorded as "Dominus de Craigmillar." William Preston was a member of the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 1st of June, 1478, but it appears that he soon afterwards died, for in the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 1st of October, 1487, and on the 11th of January, 1487-8, Simeon Preston was "Dominus Craig-

millar." James Preston of Craigmillar was in the Parliaments held at Edinburgh, 16th November, 1524, and 6th July, 1525, when he was Provost of Edinburgh. In the Parliaments held on the 3d December, 1543, and 2d December, 1544, Simon Preston of Craigmillar is repeatedly mentioned as a commissioner.—*Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. ii. pp. 101, 115, 116, &c.

<sup>4</sup> In June, 1708, "the house of Craigmillar, two (Seats) miles from Edinburgh," was advertised in the *Edinburgh Courant* "to be set, either altogether, or rooms in it;" but this evidently refers to the addition erected by Sir John Gilmour. If the latter supposition is correct, Craigmillar was habitable in 1710, which is intimated in the following notice in that year, which was evidently considered of local importance:—"Yesterday, arrived at his seat of Craigmillar, the Hon. Sir Charles Gilmour, Bart., Member of Parliament for Mid-Lothian." Sir John Gilmour of Craigmillar, Lord President of the Court of Session, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1608, but the title is extinct.

John, Earl of Mar, a younger brother of James III., was confined in Craigmillar in 1477,<sup>1</sup> and the Castle was the residence of James V. during his minority, when he was removed from the Castle of Edinburgh to escape a prevailing epidemic.<sup>2</sup> The widowed Queen, his mother, frequently visited the young King in Craigmillar, by favour of Lord Erskine, his guardian and attendant. The Castle was much demolished and partly burnt by the English in 1543, and again in 1547, after which it was soon thoroughly repaired.

Queen Mary often resided at Craigmillar after her return from France in 1561. At that time Sir Simon Preston was the proprietor, and he is subsequently conspicuous as Provost of Edinburgh.<sup>3</sup> The Queen was an inmate of Craigmillar in the autumn of 1566, when a divorce between her and Darnley was projected. This was long known as the "Conference of Craigmillar." Those concerned in it were the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, and Moray, and Secretary Maitland of Lethington. It appears that they were all residing in the Castle together, and this was some months after the murder of Riccio, which the Queen still remembered with bitterness of feeling, increased by the outrageous and imbecile conduct of Darnley. Bothwell, who had completely secured the Queen's favour by affecting the utmost devotion to her interest, attended by the Earls, waited on Mary, and represented Darnley's enormities; but the Queen resolutely declared, that though she wished for a divorce, she would consent to no measure which might be eventually prejudicial to the future welfare of her infant son.<sup>4</sup>

When Darnley was removed from Glasgow it was intended to lodge him in Craigmillar, but the Kirk-of-Field house at Edinburgh was preferred.<sup>5</sup> After Queen Mary's surrender to the confederated nobility on Carberry Hill, she was brought from Musselburgh to Edinburgh by the road on the north of Craigmillar, and immured for the night in the Black Turnpike, then the reputed town residence of Sir Simon Preston.<sup>6</sup> In the numerous skirmishes which occurred during the regencies of the Earls of Mar and Morton, Craigmillar was garrisoned by their soldiers.<sup>7</sup> In 1571, during the siege of Edinburgh Castle, which became the resort of Queen Mary's adherents in 1570, Captain Melville, one of the eight sons of Sir John Melville of Raith, by his wife Helen Napier, who were all devoted to Queen Mary, was killed on Craigmillar Hill by the igniting of a barrel of gunpowder, which he was in the act of dealing out to his soldiers.<sup>8</sup> The occupation of Craigmillar was probably caused by the avowed sentiments of David Preston, the then proprietor, who, on the 12th of June, 1587, was denounced a rebel.<sup>9</sup>

The Prestons of Craigmillar are often noticed in the records of the Scottish Parliaments previous to 1661,<sup>10</sup> when Sir John Gilmour, who had, while an advocate or barrister, purchased the lands from George Preston, with consent of his brother John Preston, and others interested in the property, obtained a "ratification" of the Castle and barony.<sup>11</sup> After this legal possession, Sir John erected the addition on the west side of the Castle and of the inner court, and subsequently his Presbyterian meeting-house already mentioned. His descendants or representatives, however, within a century afterwards, removed from Craigmillar to the fine old mansion called the Inch House, about a mile distant, which is now their family residence.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Simon Preston was Provost of Edinburgh at the time of Riccio's murder.—See the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood in the present Work, p. 59. Sir Simon had a commission to be Justice-General of the kingdom from the 22d of January, 1565, to the end of the ensuing February.—MS. Abridgements in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, cited in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. i. Part II. p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> The narrative of the "Conference of Craigmillar," (when it cannot be doubted that the murder of Darnley was determined, though the mode of perpetrating the crime had not been arranged, nor the time fixed), is preserved in the Cotton Library, British Museum, Cal. c. i. fol. 282, and is inserted by Dr. Gilbert Stuart in the second volume of his "History of Scotland," 4to. pp. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup> See the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood, in the present Work, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> See the High Street of Edinburgh, in the present Work, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> Pollock MS. (Diurnal of Occurrences) cited by Mark Napier, Esq., in his "Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston," 4to. 1834, p. 135.

<sup>8</sup> It is said of Captain Melville—"All the nobility followed him to his grave, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, his nephew, pronounced a funeral oration to his soldiers. He is not mentioned in the Peerage (Leven and Melville), but these facts may be gathered from a comparison of the contemporary journals of Bannatyne, Sir James Melville, and the Pollock MSS."—Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. p. 133.

<sup>9</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 525.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 52; vol. vii. p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 361. Robert Preston of Craigmillar died without issue in 1639, and Robert Preston of Whitehill was served heir-male in 1640.

<sup>12</sup> At the south-west base of Craigmillar Hill is the hamlet of Little France, on one of the roads from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, which is said to have derived the name from Queen Mary's French domestics. Near Little France is the hamlet of Bridgend, where James V. erected a hunting station, which was long identified by his initials, the royal arms of Scotland, and between them the outline of a large edifice, all carved in stone. Adjoining was a chapel, every vestige of which has disappeared since 1790. Eastward from Craigmillar is Niddrie-Marischal, the seat of the ancient family of Wauchope of Niddrie,



The adjoining district, forming the parish of Duddingstone, extends from the eastern base of Arthur's Seat in the royal domain of Holyrood, to the shore at and two miles east of the town of Portobello. The greater part of this ground was long an unreclaimed waste, covered with furze, on which the canons of Holyrood turned loose their cattle, with a broad expanse of flat sandy shore. Although in the vicinity of Edinburgh, this now fertile tract was infested by robbers and smugglers, and many murders were committed, the perpetrators of which were never discovered. Yet the interior, towards Arthur's Seat, must have been long cultivated, as Duddingstone Mill, a very romantic locality about half a mile from the village or "kirk-town" of Wester Duddingstone, is mentioned as such in connexion with one of the tumults excited by the turbulent Earl of Bothwell in his contentions with James VI. The village of Wester Duddingstone, so called to distinguish it from that of Easter Duddingstone, upwards of two miles distant, and about half a mile from the shore, is pleasantly situated at the south-east base of Arthur's Seat. A fine and romantic footpath to it from Edinburgh is through the southern parks of Holyrood, passing under the basaltic rocks of Arthur's Seat, which overlook the almost extinguished springs locally known as the "Wells of Weary," and also by the road round the east and south of Arthur's Seat designated the "Queen's Drive." This little village, which chiefly consists of a few houses and some villas embosomed amid gardens, was once large and populous, though it now contains probably not a hundred resident inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Close to it, in the hollow formed by the elevation of Arthur's Seat, is the lake called Duddingstone Loch, about a mile and a quarter in circumference when flooded, and enlivened by wild ducks and swans.<sup>2</sup> At the east end of the village is the humble tenement, of two storeys, in which Prince Charles Edward slept the night before he marched to meet Sir John Cope at Preston, the Adventurers having encamped after their arrival in Edinburgh on the adjoining grounds now inclosed as the park of Duddingstone House. The parish church, built on elevated ground overlooking the lake, is a very ancient plain edifice, with a small square tower, and is supposed, from the structure and the style of the arches in the interior, to be of Saxon workmanship. A very beautiful semicircular arch divides the choir from the chancel, and a door of elegant architecture now built up is on the south side. At the gate of the churchyard, attached by a chain to the wall, is a jointed iron collar, long a terror to petty offenders, known in Scotland as the "jougs," which was fastened round the necks of delinquents by a padlock, and still to be seen in various parts of Scotland some of them on parish churches and churchyard walls—memorials of a discipline long disused.

After 1751, the beautiful and valuable estate of Duddingstone House was subdivided, inclosed, and the improvements and plantations commenced by James, eighth Earl of Abercorn, who purchased the entire barony in 1745 from Archibald, third Duke of Argyll, who, it is said, sold the estate to enable him to proceed with the erection of Inverary Castle. The property was formerly in possession of the Thomsons of Duddingstone, now extinct, one of whom was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., in 1636.<sup>3</sup> The estate passed to the second Earl and only Duke of Lauderdale in 1674, after whom it was acquired by marriage by the first Duke of Argyll. The Earl of Abercorn erected the elegant mansion of Duddingstone House, from a design by Sir William Chambers. It was finished in 1768, and, with the offices, gardens, and pleasure-

who have been in possession of the estate at least since the commencement of the fourteenth century. The oldest part of the mansion exhibits the date 1630, and a portion of its chapel, built in 1387 by Robert Wauchope of Niddrie-Marischal, is now the family cemetery. This chapel, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was dilapidated by a mob from Edinburgh, in November 1688, after ravaging the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. On Niddrie Edge, to the south of Niddrie, Alexander, sixth Lord and first Earl of Home, was defeated in a skirmish by the turbulent Earl of Bothwell, in April 1504. This affair was designated the "Raid of Greenside."

<sup>1</sup> Wester Duddingstone, previous to 1700, had thirty weavers' looms, and furnished thirty-six horses to convey coals in sacks, and creels, or willow-baskets, to Edinburgh. Some females employ themselves in washing for families in the neighbouring city, and the enormous burdens which these women carry on their backs is astonishing. The village was formerly long noted for a dish peculiarly Scottish, and still in great repute, though not much known or relished in England—broth or soup made of singed sheep-heads and vegetables boiled together. Its reputation for this dish is supposed to have arisen from a practice of slaughtering sheep pastured on Arthur's Seat on the spot,

and selling the heads to the keepers of the village hostleries, who prepared the repast for their customers.

<sup>2</sup> After the death of the Duke of Lauderdale, proprietor of the estate of Duddingstone, his Duchess pursued Sir James Dick before the Privy Council for seizing three of five swans put into the lake by the Duke. Sir James maintained that the swans belonged to him, as the lake was his property. The Privy Council decided against him, and he resented by expelling the remaining birds, but "Duke Hamilton, alleging that the loch bounded with the King's Park, and so belonged to him, he put them in again, and thus took possession in the King's name of the loch, which will cost Sir James a declarator of property to clear his right."—March 6, 1688.—*Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, by Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Bart., 4to. Edin. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 1847, vol. ii. p. 857.

<sup>3</sup> Before the family of Thomson, the Murrays of Balvaird held the estate, or part of it, of Duddingstone. On the 24th of January, 1541-2, Sir David Murray of Balvaird (an ancestor of the Viscounts Stormont, now also Earls of Mansfield), was paid 400*l.* for his lands of Duddingstone, "tane in to the new park beside Halyrudehous."—*Piteairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part I. p. 321.





ROEHAM CASTLE

*From an Original Drawing by J. D. Harding*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



supposed to be the original of the mansion of the Laird of Dumbiedykes, and most graphically described in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," although the name of Dumbiedykes, as already mentioned, designates the old road from the North Back of the Canongate to the suburb of St. Leonards at Edinburgh, the residence of "douce" David Deans, after he removed from the assumed hamlet of Woodend, two miles from Dalkeith. It is stated that the residence of the Laird of Dumbiedykes "lay three or four miles—no matter for the exact topography—to the southward of St. Leonards." Although Sir Walter Scott's description of the Laird's domicile is probably imaginary, and may apply to many dwellings which remain as memorials of the seventeenth century, it nevertheless corresponds to the antique tenement of Peffer Mill, which was erected in 1636 by a gentleman named Edgar, whose armorial bearings are above the entrance.

ROSLIN—HAWTHORNDEN.

SEVEN miles south from Edinburgh, in the parish of Lasswade, on the North Esk, which traverse its romantic and pastoral vale in its course from the Pentland Hills, are the Castle and Chapel of Roslin, or Rosslyn, surrounded by the most delightful scenery. The village so called, in the immediate vicinity, consists of tenements of very homely aspect, forming four cross-road-side streets, and, though now an insignificant place some distance inland from any of the principal highways, emhosed among trees in rural silence, was at one time only inferior to Edinburgh and Haddington as a town, and was constituted a burgh of barony in 1456 by James II., with a right to a weekly market on Saturday, and an annual fair on the 28th of October, the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude.<sup>1</sup> The pedestal of the market-cross is in the centre of the village, and is the only external memorial of privileges for centuries in oblivion. This erection of Roslin into a burgh of barony was ten years after the foundation of the Chapel, before which it is stated that the village was at Bilsdon Burn, nearly a mile distant, and was removed to the present locality for the convenience of the workmen employed at the Chapel.<sup>2</sup>

The exquisite beauties of Roslin, especially the Chapel, have been more frequently described than almost any other place in Scotland.<sup>3</sup> The family who resided for centuries in feudal splendour at Roslin Castle, and known as the "Princely St. Clairs," are duly recorded in the Collections of Father Hay,<sup>4</sup> who states that the proprietors before the St. Clairs were first known in Scotland in the reign of William the Lion, which extended from December 1165 to December 1214. One of them is designated Roger de Roslyn, who is witness to three charters granted by William de Lyssuris of Gorton in the neighbourhood.<sup>5</sup> Those ancient possessors were probably the constructors of the fortalice traditionally known as the "Maiden Castle," the first residence of the Barons of Roslin, which was situated within a bend of the North Esk, a short distance south of the locality called the "Hewan." Some vestiges of the foundations are still visible, and the "Maiden Castle" evidently indicated the first or original fortalice, which had no connexion with the present ruins of Roslin Castle, and probably none with the St. Clair family.

The St. Clairs or Sinclairs of Roslin, for the name is variously so written, were reputed to be

<sup>1</sup> The document of this erection is in the "Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn," by Father Richard Augustin Hay, Prior of Pierremont, edited by James Maidment, Esq., with Introductory Notice, 4to. Edin. 1835, pp. 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn, 4to. p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Maidment says—"No separate account of Rosslyn has ever been published, although the late Dr. Forbes, Bishop of Caithness [in the Scottish Episcopal Church from 1762, to his death in 1770], has extracted from Father Hay's MS. some particulars as to the Chapel. The following is the title of the volume:—'Account of the Chapel of Roslin, most respectfully inscribed to William St. Clair of Roslin, Esquire, representative of the Princely Founder and Endower, by Philo. Roskelensis, Edin. 1774; with a South View of the Chapel. J. Johnson, del.' These extracts had been inserted in the Edinburgh Magazine for January 1761, with a view of the interior of the Chapel. This was the ground-work of a narrative by David Webster, a bookseller in Edinburgh, and of 'An Historical and Descriptive Account of

Rosslyn Chapel and Castle, with Eight Engravings, Edin. 1825."—Introduction to Father Hay's Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn, pp. xv, xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Father Hay's original MS. Collections are preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. He was the son of Captain George Hay, a younger son of Sir John Hay of Barra, Clerk Register in the reign of Charles I., by Jean, daughter of Sir Henry Spottiswoode, son of Dr. James Spottiswoode, Bishop of Clogher, and nephew of Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews. The mother of Father Hay married as her second husband James St. Clair of Roslin, by whom she had issue. This worthy ecclesiastic, who was an enthusiastic collector of Scottish family antiquities, is said to have died in the Cowgate of Edinburgh in poverty, in 1735 or 1736—"whether by choice of principle or otherwise," says Paton to Gough in 1779, "I cannot positively affirm."—Introductory Notice to Genealogie of the Hayes of Tweeddale, 4to. Edin. 1835, pp. vi.-ix.

<sup>5</sup> Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn, pp. 37-41.

descended from William second son of Walderne de St. Clair, and Margaret daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. This William de St. Clair was also ancestor of the St. Clairs or Sinclairs of Hermandstone in Haddingtonshire, who were ennobled in 1489 in the person of Henry St. Clair, then created Lord Sinclair. William de St. Clair, whose elegant person procured for him the appellation of the "Seemly St. Clair," obtained extensive grants of land from Malcolm III., son of the "gracious Duncan," and consort of the canonized Queen Margaret. By the liberality of successive monarchs the St. Clairs obtained valuable additions, and some of their descendants were elevated by marriage to very high rank in the Kingdom. The eighth in descent from William de St. Clair, the alleged immediate progenitor, was Sir William St. Clair, whose father, also so named, accompanied Sir James Douglas on his expedition to the Holy Land to deposit the heart of King Robert Bruce, and was killed with him in Spain in 1330. This eighth descendant married Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Malise Earl of Strathearn, who also possessed the Earldoms of Caithness and Orkney in right of his Countess, daughter of Magnus, the last of the Norwegian Earls of Orkney. Henry St. Clair, the eldest son, was recognized as Earl of Orkney by Haco VII. King of Norway, in 1379; but as Orkney was not then under the dominion of the Scottish crown, and his tenure was consequently burdened with conditions disagreeable in the event of a war, with the certainty that his estates under both monarchs would not be retained, his grandson, William, third Earl, resigned the Earldom of Orkney in 1470, when James III. acquired Orkney and Shetland as the dowry or portion of his consort Margaret of Denmark.

This Earl, whose titles of nobility were so numerous that he was likely to forget the half of them, and Father Hay quaintly observes that the enumeration "would weary a Spaniard," resided at Roslin in a regal style, maintaining a most imposing establishment. Noblemen were in his household, filling the official situations of master of the same, of carver, and of cupbearer. He was of royal descent by his mother Egidia, daughter of Douglas, Lord of Liddesdale, and grand-daughter of Robert II. In right of his father Henry, second Earl, he was styled Prince of Orkney, in addition to the titles of Duke of Oldenburg, Earl of Caithness and Strathearn, and a legion of others. He married as his first Countess a daughter of Archibald fourth Earl of Douglas, whose name Father Hay alleges was Margaret, while other authorities style her Lady Elizabeth. The Earl married as his second Countess Lady Marjory Sutherland, grand-daughter of King Robert Bruce.<sup>1</sup> His Princess was attended by seventy-five ladies, most of whom were the daughters of noblemen, and two hundred gentlemen formed her escort in her journeys. Her arrivals in Edinburgh must have excited public sensation, if the tradition is authentic that eighty flaming torches were carried before her to the family town residence at the Cowgate end of Blackfriars' Wynd. Though Father Hay's minute details of the gold and silver vessels, and other valuables, which this Prince-Earl and his consorts possessed, are undoubtedly exaggerated, it is evident that much feudal splendour would be displayed by the founder of Roslin Chapel, who is described as "a very fair man, of great stature, broad-bodied, yellow-haired, straight, well proportioned, humble, courteous, and given to policy, as building of castles, palaces, and churches, the planting and haining of forests, as also the parking and hedging in of trees, which his works yet witness."<sup>2</sup>

The Prince-Earl was recompensed for his abdication of the Earldom of Orkney by a grant of Ravenscraig and the adjoining lands in Fife, between Kircaldy and Dysart, in 1471,<sup>3</sup> after which he was styled Earl of Caithness and Lord St. Clair. He denuded himself of the Earldom of Caithness in favour of one of his sons by his second marriage, and the male representation of the "Princely St. Clairs" of Roslin is now vested in the present Earl of Caithness. The Prince-Earl died about 1484, and was succeeded by his son Sir Oliver St. Clair, who was a knight in his father's lifetime, and is so designated in various documents. According to Father Hay's narrative, which seems to be correct on this point, the second Earl of Caithness inherited from his father, who may be called the first Earl, the barren domains of that Earldom, while Roslin, Pentland, and other extensive properties, were assigned to his brother Sir Oliver, after whose succession the St. Clairs of Roslin appear to have lived as quiet

<sup>1</sup> Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*, pp. 25, 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 24, 25.

<sup>3</sup> The legal "Discharge, by King James the Third, of Orkney,"

and the "Ratification of Ravenscraig for the Right of Orkney by King James the Third," are preserved by Father Hay (pp. 79-82). The "Ratification" is dated at Edinburgh, 12th May, and the "Discharge" on the 20th of September, 1471.

country gentlemen, who suffered severely in pecuniary matters for their loyalty, and their profession of the Roman Catholic faith; and it will be seen that a family who could boast of the proudest ancestry rapidly became impoverished and extinct.

Sir Oliver St. Clair, described as of Pitcairns, the third son of the above Sir Oliver, was the favourite of James V., and his nomination to the command of the Scottish army caused the voluntary rout or surrender of those forces on the Solway Moss in 1542, which accelerated the death of that monarch. He obtained a grant of the property of Sir David Hutebison, Provost of Roslin Chapel, who was implicated in a charge of heresy.

Oliver St. Clair, described as brother-german of the Laird of Roslin, was prosecuted on the 8th of July, 1572, for assaulting Queen Mary's adherents in the Castle of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> In 1592, Sir William St. Clair of Roslin is mentioned with others in a case before the Justiciary Court, and his lady's consultation with witches in 1590-1 is also recorded.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of the sixteenth century the St. Clairs were at deadly feud with Lord Borthwick, which appears to have been aggravated by Lord Borthwick refusing to marry a daughter of this Sir William St. Clair, who obligingly had allowed him to select any one of the young ladies he pleased. The son of Sir William, also so called, once delivered a gipsy from execution on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh, and the wandering tribe gratefully assembled in the ditches of Roslin every year in May and June, acting plays in honour of their benefactor. This Sir William married, about 1610, Anne, daughter of Archbishop Spottiswoode, then of Glasgow, and he is described by Father Hay as a "lewd man," absconding with a miller's daughter to Ireland, though the worthy Father thinks that the Presbyterians compelled him to retreat for professing the Roman Catholic religion, which exposed him to much annoyance during the Covenanting domination. A younger son, John, surnamed "the Prince," held out Roslin Castle against General Monk; and another son, Charles, was "possessed by a spirit," which probably means that he was of weak intellect.

The Lady of Roslin at the period of the Revolution was Jean, daughter of Sir Henry Spottiswoode, previously mentioned as Father Hay's mother by her first marriage. Her second husband was James St. Clair of Roslin, her near relation, and she appears to have been a remarkably active dame. Father Hay states that his mother discovered, in February 1690, the best coal in Scotland. He describes his step-father as a "very civil and discreet man," who was "much taken up with building, and addicted to the priests," which "two inclinations spoiled his fortune." He erected the part of the Castle entering from the bridge on the left, on which are sculptured his arms and name, with those of his lady; he built the wall enclosing the Chapel, and laid out the garden under the Castle near the romantic linn where the river forces its channel amid huge rocks; and he introduced water in lead pipes into the inner court and vaults. He induced the Town Council of Edinburgh to employ Peter Brauss, a foreign engineer, to bring water into the city from Comiston, a few miles distant, at the base of the Pentlands, which is said to have been effected in 1681. Father Hay enumerates as his issue three sons and two daughters. Alexander, the second son, born in 1672, succeeded him in the property. His lady survived him; yet so reduced was this once princely and ancient family that she went to London, and petitioned James II. to grant her an annual pension for the education and maintenance of her young children, and to enable her to repair the Castle and Chapel. She dates the decline of the family as commencing at the death of James V., and alleges that the then proprietor of Roslin was brought to a "very low condition" for supporting the Queen Dowager, mother of Queen Mary, against those "who engaged themselves in a rebellion for carrying on a reformation, as they called it, of religion." Lady Roslin next details that Sir William St. Clair, the grandfather of her deceased husband, had been deprived of all his property for his loyalty to Queen Mary, and though Roslin was restored by James VI., so numerous were the debts he had contracted, that he was compelled to sell his estate of Herbertshire, in the county of Stirling, and the lands of Pentland, Morton, and Mortonhall, the Barony of Roslin alone remaining to himself, free of all debt, which was a very small part of the great estate formerly possessed by the family. She states that her

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> This Lady Roslin, as she was territorially designated, had fallen into bad health, and one of the accusations against Agnes Sampson, or Simpson, the "Wise Wife of Keith," in her trial for witchcraft, was,

that she was consulted in reference to Lady Roslin's malady, but that she knew by her "devilish prayer, that the said Lady was nocht abill to recover, and thairfor she wald nocht come till her."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 232.

husband, soon after the restoration of Charles II., purchased the Barony of Roslin from the creditors, and narrates the privations of the St. Clairs from the death of James V. to the siege of Roslin Castle by General Monck's soldiers, who "battered down one side thereof, and took it by force."<sup>1</sup> So desperate were her circumstances, that she also petitioned the Queen of James II. to use her influence with the King to procure a pension "to the support of so ancient, loyal, and honourable a family;" and for the reparation of the Castle and the Chapel. But the Earl of Melford, then one of the Secretaries of State, had prejudiced James II. against Lady Roslin and her "numerous family," and the only favour she obtained was a cornetcy for her eldest son James from the Queen in her Majesty's Guards.<sup>2</sup> He was born in 1671, and was killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland. The second son, Alexander, inherited the wreck of the property, and married Jean, second daughter of Robert, seventh Lord Sempill, by whom he was the father of the last St. Clair of Roslin. This was William St. Clair, Esq., who married Cordelia, daughter of Sir George Wishart, of Cliftonhall, Bart., by whom he had three sons and five daughters, who, with the exception of one of the latter, died in their youth, and his demise occurred on the 4th of January, 1778, which occasioned a funeral solemnity to be held by all the Freemason Lodges in Scotland. He had, in 1736, surrendered the office of Grand Master-Mason of Scotland, which was alleged to have been hereditary in his family from the reign of James II. of Scotland—a statement now refuted on most authentic evidence.<sup>3</sup> This last male representative of the St. Clairs of Roslin appears to have sold the remnant of his family estates to the Hon. General James St. Clair,<sup>4</sup> second son of Henry eighth Lord Sinclair, the heir of line of William third Earl of Orkney by his first marriage. After the death of General St. Clair, in 1762, the lands of Roslin, with the Baronies of Ravenscraig, Dysart, and other properties in Fife, reverted to Colonel James Paterson, or St. Clair, the heir-male and only son of his sister, the Hon. Grizel St. Clair, wife of John Paterson of Prestonhall, son of Dr. John Paterson, the last Archbishop of Glasgow. Colonel Paterson, or St. Clair, who was never married, died at Dysart in 1789, and was succeeded in the entail by Sir James Erskine, Bart., subsequently second Earl of Rosslyn in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, whose descendant is now proprietor of Roslin Castle and Chapel. Thus was transferred to a remote connexion the remains of the once extensive property of the "lordly line of hicht St. Clair."

As to Lady Roslin, the mother of Father Hay, she was compelled to live in a retired manner on a very limited income. She was more successful with the Scottish Parliament after the Revolution than with James II. On the 30th of April, 1689, she obtained an Act, protecting her from outrages committed by the mob from Edinburgh, who had plundered Roslin Castle, burnt her family papers, and destroyed some of the plantations and adjoining corn-fields. According to her own account, the invaders scarcely left her even a bed, and "her numerous family of children were thereby ruined and rendered miserable."<sup>5</sup> Lady Roslin subsequently was allowed various sums from the Parliament for the loss sustained in the woods and plantations.<sup>6</sup>

Father Hay has preserved some curious traditions of "Roslin's Barons bold." In the time of Sir William St. Clair, who fell in Spain with Sir James Douglas, the Pentland range is alleged to have been a royal hunting forest, and on one occasion, when King Robert Bruce was enjoying the pastime of

<sup>1</sup> Humble Petition of the Lady Roslin to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*, pp. 167-169.

<sup>2</sup> It is probable, however, that Lady Roslin's importunities were rather annoying, and she demanded some very extraordinary privileges. Father Hay, who is writing of his own mother, says—"She had begged of the King the gift of coining farthings in America, which was not allowed of. Thereafter she desired of him to advance an English esquire to the degree of a Lord of Parliament upon certain conditions, and that proposal was likewise rejected. At last she sued for Pollock Maxwell's fine, which was likewise denied, notwithstanding that King James had granted it in the beginning." Lady Roslin's claim to this fine, whatever it was, is not stated.

<sup>3</sup> *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn—Introductory Notices*, pp. iii.-ix. The "hereditary" appointment of Grand Master-Mason of Scotland was conferred on the St. Clairs of Roslin by the Freemasons themselves whose first charter merely compliments them as patrons

and protectors "from age to age;" but no allusion occurs in that and a subsequent charter to any grant by the Crown of the office of hereditary patron.

<sup>4</sup> General St. Clair greatly distinguished himself in the military profession from the date of his commission as Colonel in 1722 to his promotion as General in 1761. He was engaged in the war in Flanders and in the conquest of Canada, and held several important appointments. The death of his eldest brother, who was attainted for his connexion with the Enterprise of 1715, entitled him to succeed in 1750 as ninth Lord Sinclair; but he would not assume the title, preferring his seat in the House of Commons as member for Fife. By his lady, who was the youngest daughter of Sir David Dalrymple of Hales, Bart., he left no issue.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. ix. Appendix, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Edinburgh Courant* of 1708 and 1709, the "Wood of Roslin, belonging to William Sinclair of Roslin," is repeatedly advertised to be sold. This, of course, refers to thinning the plantations.



the chase among the Hills, he had often hunted a white deer, which continually eluded his hounds, and inquired at his attendants if they could overcome the animal. Sir William St. Clair possessed two red-coloured hounds, known by the familiar names of Help and Hold, and unwittingly supposing that no one was likely to challenge him, wagered his head that his hounds would kill the white fawn before it crossed a certain stream locally known as the "March-burn." King Robert insisted on accepting St. Clair's hold and reckless proffer, pledging himself to grant the Pentland Hills and Pentland Muir, with the Forest, as the reward of his success. On the day appointed, a few slow-hounds were loosed to track the deer, and Bruce stationed himself on the slope of one of the loftiest eminences of the Pentlands, since known as the King's Hill, overlooking the vale of the North Esk, to witness the contest. St. Clair, who was most uncomfortable in the position in which he was placed by his rash wager, no sooner slipped his hounds than he devoutly prayed to St. Catherine to assist him in killing the deer.<sup>1</sup> The fleet animal was soon started, and was followed by the Knight, who was mounted on a gallant steed. The hunter and the deer arrived at the "March-burn," and St. Clair, who was now most earnest in his ejaculations, threw himself in a state of desperation into the stream. At this crisis the two hounds killed the hind when in the act of crossing the rivulet. The King, who had beheld the run with peculiar interest, descended from his position, embraced Sir William St. Clair, and granted to him in free forestry all the lands he had promised. It is added that the Knight, too much terrified at the hazard he had escaped, immediately placed his foot on the neck of each hound, and killed them, declaring that he would never again be led into the like temptation. His tomb is shown in Roslin Chapel, on which is sculptured his mail-clad person, and a dog at his feet as a joint-claimant of the honour of the exploit. Faithful to his vow, he founded the Chapel of St. Catherine in the Hopes, in a lonely valley of the Pentlands, now filled by the Edinburgh Water Company's extensive Compensation Pond, which covers the ruins, sometimes visible in very dry seasons, of this once secluded edifice and its cemetery. Father Hay records a report that Sir William St. Clair, after founding this Chapel, sent a priest to the grave of the saint, to obtain some of the oil which was believed to issue from her sepulchre. The priest obtained the liquid, and on his return he was compelled to rest himself about a mile from Liberton church, where he fell asleep, and lost the oil. Sir William St. Clair sent workmen to explore where the oil was lost, but a fountain had immediately issued, with black petroleum floating on the surface, long known as the Balm Well of St. Catherine. As this was considered an undoubted indication that St. Catherine refused to sanction the transference of any of her oil to her Chapel in the valley of the Pentlands, the Baron of Roslin was compelled to acquiesce.

Roslin Castle<sup>2</sup> consists of massive fragments of ruins, with the exception of a plain addition still habitable, displaying the date 1622 above the door, and the initials of Sir William St. Clair.<sup>3</sup> The time of the erection of the Castle is unknown, though it is assigned to William Earl of Orkney, the founder of the Chapel, in the fifteenth century. The ruins are in a romantic glen traversed by the North Esk, and are situated on a promontory, insulated by a deep ravine said to have been the ancient channel of the stream. This ravine is crossed to the Castle by a narrow bridge of considerable height, which was defended at the west end, and led to a building of several storeys forming one side of the court-yard. The remains of walls from eight to nine feet thick, and of a large round tower or keep, are the only memorials, the area of which is about two hundred feet in length, and the breadth nearly ninety feet. An ornamented well in the centre of the court-yard supplied the inmates with water. The addition or erection of 1622 is on three storeys of vaults beneath the level of the court-yard, and is said to have been built by Sir William St. Clair.<sup>4</sup> A stair leads to these ground vaults, one of which is a kitchen having a door into the garden.

<sup>1</sup> According to the tradition, the Knight of Roslin became both pious and poetical in his emergency. He vowed, if St. Catherine would listen to his supplication, to found a chapel to her honour, and he exclaimed to his hounds—

"Help, Hold, an ye may,  
Or Roslin will lose his head this day!"

<sup>2</sup> "Roslin Castle" is the designation of a sweet and plaintive melody, the author of which, and of other musical productions, was James Oswald, Esq., who is described as "Chamber-Composer" to

George III. His sister, Mrs. Weatherly, died in 1821, at Chester-le-Street, in the eightieth year of her age.—*Edinburgh Magazine* for 1821, p. 620.

<sup>3</sup> The ceiling of the principal room of this comparatively modern addition, which is aptly said to "resemble an insignificant laird of the present day surrounded by the stalwart ghosts of his ancestors," is ornamented with panels and designs intermixed with the armorial bearings of the St. Clairs.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland*—*Edinburghshire*, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*, p. 151.

This Castle, when in its best state, could never have been a place of strength, as it is completely commanded by the adjacent eminences. About 1447 the then fortalice was injured by fire, occasioned by the negligence of one of the gentlewomen of the household, and the charters and other documents were preserved by the activity of the chaplain.<sup>1</sup> Sir William Hamilton was committed a prisoner to the Castle in 1455, for his connexion with the rebellion of the Earl of Douglas against James II. In 1544 the fortalice was dilapidated by the English under the Earl of Hertford. A party of Cromwell's troops hattered the walls in 1650, after his victory at Dunbar, and the edifice was assailed, as Lady Roslin duly sets forth, by a mob from Edinburgh, on the 11th of December, 1688. Subsequently Roslin Castle was allowed by the poverty of the St. Clairs to become a ruin, and seems to have been the resort of the peasantry for stones. Most of this once stately baronial fabric has in consequence disappeared, and the mouldering arches, buttresses, walls, and dismal vaults, present a striking contrast to the homely erection in the manor-house style of 1622.<sup>2</sup>

Roslin Chapel—so named, though in reality a part of a collegiate church—is a short distance from the Castle, on an eminence near the village called the College Hill. This edifice was founded in 1466 for a Provost, six Prebendaries, and two singing boys, by William, third Earl of Orkney, already mentioned, and was dedicated to St. Matthew.<sup>3</sup> This beautiful specimen of the florid Gothic was intended to be cruciform, with a central tower, but the choir and east wall of a transept are the only portions ever erected. As the founder died in 1484, thirty-eight years after the edifice was commenced, this interval indicates that his pecuniary resources were exhausted, and the present building was finished by his son Sir Oliver St. Clair, father of the hero of the Solway Moss disaster. Tradition alleges that the design of Roslin Chapel was obtained from Rome. The edifice is described as “curious, elaborate, and singularly interesting,” which it is “impossible to designate by any given or familiar term, for the variety and eccentricity are not to be defined by any words of common acceptation.”<sup>4</sup> Roslin Chapel is said to be a “combination of Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Saracenic styles,” in which the arch is found in all its possible forms and principles. The pillars, arches, windows, fretted roof, and the sculptures of the architraves, key-stones, capitals, and roof, are singularly beautiful. The interior is sixty-nine feet in length, the breadth nearly thirty-five feet, and the height from the floor to the arched roof is nearly forty-one feet. This roof is supported by two rows of pillars, seven on each side, and two at the west end, and so exquisitely designed that upwards of thirteen different arches are displayed.

It has been already stated that Roslin Chapel was a collegiate church, and though the founder saw the edifice rising in profuse magnificence of sculpture and design under the most skilful workmen he could procure, he left it unfinished after vast efforts and great expense. The existing fabric is comparatively small, and the other portions of the original design, with the exception of a part of a transept, were never commenced. The founder and his successors endowed the church with various lands and revenues, particularly the lands of Pentland. In 1523, ground was allotted by the then Baron of Roslin in the vicinity of the village for residences and gardens of the Provost and Prebendaries. Their possessions, not apparently very extensive, passed from them after the Reformation, and on the 26th of February,

<sup>1</sup> In reference to this conflagration, which is chronicled by Father Hay, it is stated that Edward St. Clair of Dryden, while on his way to hunt with the Baron of Roslyn, was surprised to witness an immense migration of rats from the locality of the Castle, and an old blind one led by a straw in its mouth. Four days afterwards the Castle, or a part of it, was set on fire by the carelessness of one of the gentlewomen of the Princess-Countess, who, fond of dogs, desired her attendant to produce one of her favourites, which had whelps, from under a bed. The attendant crept under the bed with a lighted torch, and incautiously inflamed the furnishings. The fire soon reached the ceiling of the great chamber, from which the Countess was compelled to escape. The Earl of Orkney beheld the fire from the Chapel, and was chiefly concerned for the fate of his charters; but he was consoled by the assurance that those documents were saved by his chaplain, who had thrown four large holes from an upper apartment of the keep or donjon, erroneously printed *dungeon* in the New Statistical Account—Edinburghshire, pp. 350, 351. The chaplain, who was liberally rewarded, saved himself by hazarding a descent to the garden in the

low vale immediately under the Castle by a bell-rope tied to a beam.—Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Roslyn, pp. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Some legends are connected with the vaults of Roslin Castle. It was long believed that a Knight was detained by enchantment in a state of profound sleep in one of the dungeons, and that he would awake when any one had the courage to unsheath a certain sword and sound a hughle-horn. Sir John Stoddart mentions the curious visit of some soldiers to a lady of rank and her daughters, who for some time resided in the habitable portion of the Castle. This party requested permission, which was readily granted, to explore some of the vaults, to deliver the Knight from his extraordinary duration. They descended with torches, and “the adventure terminated as successfully as Don Quixote's visit to the cave of Montesinos.”—Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, vol. i. pp. 134, 135.

<sup>3</sup> At a short distance are some vestiges of an older church, dedicated to St. Matthew, in an enclosure still used as a cemetery.

<sup>4</sup> Britton's Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 4to London, 1812, vol. iii. pp. 48, 49.







THE "TOMB OF HENRY" IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, CAMBRIDGE

From an original Drawing by H. C. ...

J. H. MURDOCH LONDON



1571-2, the Provost and Prebendaries, who had been virtually denuded of their revenues for years, were compelled to relinquish their rights by a formal deed, in which they complain that their incomes were forcibly withheld from them.<sup>1</sup> The edifice was left to the solitude of its romantic locality, and was not even used for divine service. The mob from Edinburgh who assailed the Castle in December 1688, in which violence they were willingly assisted by the tenantry, desecrated the Chapel, and pillaged or destroyed some of its architectural ornaments. Subsequently the edifice was prevented from becoming altogether ruinous by General St. Clair, who repaired it at considerable expense, placed wooden casements with glass in the windows, renewed the floor and the roof with flag-stones, and enclosed the cemetery by a substantial wall. The first Earl of Rosslyn roofed the fabric with blue slate, and renovated the antique and distinctive features of the interior. The third Earl, who succeeded the second Earl in 1837, caused another repair, and the Chapel is now in excellent preservation.

It is impossible in this narrative to enter minutely into architectural details of Roslin Chapel, which must be personally seen to be understood and appreciated. The ground wall on each side contains five windows variously ornamented, and in the upper wall is a similar row of windows. This ground wall is supported by seven buttresses ornamented with canopied niches and pedestals, curiously sculptured for the reception of statues.<sup>2</sup> Richly ornamented conical and square pinnacles are embellished with crockets, the niches in which are admirably arranged. The pinnacles of five of the buttresses are connected with the same number of smaller ones by flying arches. One of them is double, richly adorned, and displaying a triple crown. The north door is under an arched porch, which has two crouching human figures in the buttresses on both sides for its abutments, the mouldings richly carved with foliage. The south side or front only differs from the north in its door, which has receding arches. Above is a small window in the form of an equilateral spherical triangle, displaying three elegant Gothic points, and decorated with a double row of foliage. At the east end are four windows of uniform size and varied design, in the five buttresses of which, surmounted by circular pinnacles, are alternately column and bracket pedestals. This part of the Chapel corresponds to the Lady Chapel, and is immediately behind the site of the high altar. The west end of the fabric is terminated by a blank wall or gable, closing the centre and the side-aisles of the choir from the projected transepts and nave, and displaying sculptured architraves, resting on richly carved capitals.

The interior is divided into five compartments of a lofty Gothic arch, and the beauty, profusion, and variety of the sixteen pillars supporting the roof are deservedly admired, the devices and sculptured representations on the arches and capitals displaying a singular mixture of sacred and ludicrous subjects, in which a skeleton figure representing Death is prominent. Others are from events recorded in the Scriptures, and all are evidently emblematical of the principal virtues and vices.<sup>3</sup> The celebrated "Apprentice Pillar" is the most easterly in the south-east corner, and is of exquisite workmanship. Four wreaths of flowers differing from each other are carried round the shaft, and rise in a spiral form from the base to the capital. This pillar has its legend, which has been often told, though similar constructions are in other ecclesiastical edifices. The tradition is that the model was sent from Rome, and that the master-mason, distrusting his ability to finish it, proceeded thither to inspect the original. In his absence an apprentice undertook the work, and when he returned and found the pillar completed, he was so enraged and disappointed that he killed the unfortunate youth with a hammer.<sup>4</sup>

The east section is separated from the aisle by three pillars connected by arches with the walls, and

<sup>1</sup> Father Hay states that two seals were appended to this document. The one was the official seal of the Provost and Prebendaries, which represented St. Matthew in a church, red upon white wax; and the other was that of Sir William St. Clair, which was a rugged or engrailed cross, red upon white wax.

<sup>2</sup> In Slezer's "Theatrum Scoticum," first published in 1693, a view of the south side or front of Roslin Castle is given, in which the niches on the buttresses and sides of the windows, seventeen in number, are filled with statues. The niches in the three buttresses of the unfinished transept are similarly decorated.

<sup>3</sup> A most elaborate and minute description of the sculptures in the interior of Roslin Chapel is in the New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, pp. 343-348. Sir Walter Scott observes—"Among

the profuse carving on the pillars and buttresses, the rose is frequently introduced, in allusion to the name, with which, however, the flower has no connexion, the etymology being *Ross-linnhe*, the promontory of the linn or waterfall."—Note to Canto VI. of the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*."

<sup>4</sup> Three heads at the west end of the edifice are supposed to commemorate this legend. In the south-west corner of the Chapel, nearly half up the transept wall, is a head with a cut above the right eye, said to represent the apprentice; in a line with it, above the second pillar of the south aisle from the west, is a female in tears, which is assumed to be his mother; and in the north-west corner is the head of an old man frowning, alleged to indicate the enraged master-mason.

dividing the roof into four equal compartments. The groinings of the ceiling are remarkably elegant, and the ornaments most skilfully varied, the key-stones of the arches displaying beautiful pendants, each two feet long, the one at the south side above the high altar, and the second one, profusely ornamented with foliage.<sup>1</sup> The third pendant terminates in a star,<sup>2</sup> round which are carved eight figures illustrative of the Nativity, and emblems of mortality are prominently displayed. The fourth pendant is elaborately decorated with foliage. This east chapel, which is a little elevated from the floor of the edifice, and its arched roof only fifteen feet high, contained altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Matthew, St. Peter, and St. Andrew, still entire, with the exception of the top-stones.

On the west wall of the south aisle, in a corner, is the monument of George fourth Earl of Caithness, who died in 1582, containing a Latin inscription surmounted by his armorial bearings.<sup>3</sup> Between the base of the third and fourth pillars and the north wall is a large stone, covering the entrance to a vault in which ten Barons of Roslin were interred previous to 1690. Those personages were buried in complete armour, without coffins, which was the family custom of the St. Clairs of Roslin.<sup>4</sup> The vault is so dry that the bodies of some of them were found, nearly a century afterwards, in complete preservation. Between the fourth and fifth pillars from the west end in the north aisle is a flat stone, sculptured with a rude outline of a man in armour, with uplifted hands, a dog at his feet, and a lion rampant in a small shield on each side of the head—the alleged sepulchre of Sir William St. Clair, whose hunting adventure, witnessed by King Robert Bruce, is previously mentioned.<sup>5</sup> The sacristy, or vestry, a kind of crypt, erected by the first Countess of the founder, is entered on the south-east corner of the edifice, near the site of the high altar, by a flight of twenty-four steps; and although this stair is subterraneous, the apartment is above-ground on the margin of the bank, thirty-six feet in length, fourteen feet in breadth, and fifteen feet in height, lighted by an arched window. The roof is divided into five compartments, the ribs of which are fine specimens of the engrailed or rugged cross. The sacristy, which could be entered by a door without passing through the Chapel, contains some sculptured armorial bearings, pedestals, and niches, and a font in the wall on the east side. It was long believed that on the night preceding the decease of the Barons of Roslin, or any member of their family, the Chapel appeared as if by supernatural agency enveloped in flames. Sir Walter Scott, in one of his finest ballads, notices this alleged miraculous illumination, and the custom of interring the St. Clairs in armour.<sup>6</sup>

Roslin is noted for three victories obtained over the English on Sunday, the 24th of February, 1302-3, a short distance north of the village. The Scottish forces, commanded by Sir John Comyn, Governor of the kingdom, and Sir Simon Fraser, are variously rated at from 8000 to 10,000 men, while the English are alleged to have consisted of 20,000 men, under John de Segrave, the governor of Scotland appointed by Edward I., who also sent Ralph de Manton, his Clerk of the Wardrobe, an ecclesiastic, who was to act as paymaster of the expedition, and who from his office was designated Ralph the "Cofferer."<sup>7</sup> Segrave was accompanied by his brothers, and by Robert de Neville, a baron who had served Edward I. in his Welsh wars. Notwithstanding his superiority of numbers, Segrave seems to have been defeated by his ignorance of the locality. In the march towards Roslin he formed his army into three divisions, who, not

<sup>1</sup> On the floor under this pendant is a large flag-stone, covering the remains of James St. Clair Erskine, second Earl of Rosslyn, who died in 1837.

<sup>2</sup> Immediately beneath this pendant is interred Henrietta Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Hon. Edward Bouverie, the Countess of the second Earl, who died in 1810.

<sup>3</sup> This Earl of Caithness was one of the jury on the pretended trial of the notorious Earl of Bothwell for the murder of Lord Darnley, and when the verdict of acquittal was returned, on the 12th of April, 1567, the Earl of Caithness protested that no blame was to be alleged against the jury, as no accuser had come forward, and no proof of the indictment was adduced. His eldest son, who predeceased him in 1577, married Lady Jane Hepburn, the sister of Bothwell, and was father of the fifth Earl of Caithness.

<sup>4</sup> Father Hay states that his step-father, the "late Roslin," was the "first that was buried in a coffin, against the sentiments of James VII., who was then in Scotland (as Duke of York), and several other persons well versed in antiquity, to whom my mother would not hearken,

thinking it beggarly to be buried after that manner. The great expense she was at in burying her husband occasioned the Sumptuary Acts which were made in the following Parliaments."

<sup>5</sup> This adventure, previously noticed, is duly recorded by Father Hay, in his *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Walter Scott's ballad is in the Sixth Canto of his "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*." Rosabelle was a family name in the House of St. Clair, and Henry, the second of the line, married a lady so called, daughter of the Earl of Strathearn. The reciter of the ballad is introduced as Harold, the "Bard of Brave St. Clair," who is represented as a native of the "storm-swept Orcades," and profound in Scandinavian legends. The mysterious illumination is briefly noticed by Slezer in his "*Theatrum Scotiae*," and is probably of Norwegian derivation.

<sup>7</sup> Boece calls Ralph de Manton, the "Cofferer" or paymaster of the troops of Edward I. in this expedition, "Ralph Confrere," and Tyrrel designates him "Robert le Coster, who was defeated by the Scots in another battle. This is altogether a fiction."—Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 273



meeting the enemy, encamped separately, neglecting to establish a mutual communication. Segrave led the first division in person, the second is supposed to have been under Manton the "Cofferer," and the third was under Neville. A hoy informed the officers of Segrave's division early in the morning that the Scottish army was advancing against them. The English soldiers were in careless security in their tents, and the Scottish leaders surprised the invaders, whom they completely routed, securing as prisoners Segrave himself, who was wounded in the conflict, his brother and son, sixteen knights, and thirty esquires. The victors were collecting the plunder, and estimating the value of the ransom, when the second division of the English army appeared. A cruel order was issued to kill the prisoners, which is said to have been strictly obeyed,<sup>1</sup> and the English, after a brave defence, were defeated with great slaughter. The "Cofferer," many prisoners, and much valuable booty, fell into the hands of the victors, who, however, were soon astonished at the approach of the third division under Neville.<sup>2</sup> Fatigued by their night-march and by two conflicts, the Scottish leaders were inclined to an immediate retreat, but this was apparently rendered impossible by the proximity of Neville's forces, and they determined to renew the fight. The recent prisoners are again alleged to have been killed, and after an obstinate encounter this division was also routed, and Neville was killed. The unfortunate "Cofferer" was slain by Sir Simon Fraser after the flight of the English.<sup>3</sup> This battle was long remembered in the district.<sup>4</sup> The statement that Sir William Wallace was present is a mere fiction, and may have originated from the circumstance that Sir Simon Fraser succeeded him as leader of the Scottish forces.

The "classic Hawthornden," described by the learned Ruddiman as "sweet and solitary, and very fit and proper for the Muses," is upwards of a mile from the village of Roslin, on the opposite or east side of the North Esk, perched above its celebrated caves on the rocky bank of the river. The mansion, a plain edifice in the manor-house style, occupies the site of an old fortalice, and contains several curiosities, especially family and other portraits, one of which is an alleged original of Queen Mary. Beneath the house are the caves, which tradition assigns as often affording shelter to the adherents of King Robert Bruce, and the followers of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie. A narrow stair leads to a long subterranean passage, on both sides of which are small apartments. Another passage, lighted by an orifice in the rock, conducts to a lower suite of excavations. All the apartments of "caverned Hawthornden" are artificial, without any attempt at ornament or variety, and hollowed out of the solid rock with prodigious labour in remote times. Three of the caves are respectively designated the "King's Gallery," the "King's Bedchamber," and the "Guard-Room," and are fabled as the rude strongholds of Pictish monarchs who probably never existed. It is evident that these caves were formed for refuge and concealment, and they were in more recent times the resort of outlaws and smugglers. A well of great depth in the court-yard of Hawthornden has a communication with the caves. Similar caves are in the rocky banks of the North Esk in the vicinity, such as those at Gorton, the old patrimony of the Prestons of Craigmillar, which are of difficult access, concealed by trees and bushes. Sir Walter Scott states that he described one of the Gorton caves as that at the monastery of St. Ruth in "The Antiquary."

It is impossible to notice the mansion and romantic locality of Hawthornden without referring to the celebrated William Drummond, the then proprietor, who here in his earlier years devoted himself to poetry, philosophy, and historical research. He was a cadet of the noble family of Drummond, latterly Earls of

<sup>1</sup> This atrocity is doubted by Lord Hailes, who admits that "our historians may have exaggerated the successes of the Scottish army at Roslin. It must, however, be observed, that the English historians have attempted to throw a veil over the events of the day."—Annals of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> "The English historians," says Lord Hailes, "report that Sir Robert Neville and his men staid behind to hear mass—that when they came up they repulsed the Scots in a great measure, and recovered many of their prisoners. They add, that of all those who staid behind to hear mass, no one was either killed, wounded, or taken prisoner."—Annals of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> "Ralph the Cofferer," says Mr. Tytler, "had been taken prisoner by Sir Simon Fraser. When the order was given to slay the prisoners, Sir Ralph begged his life might be spared, and promised a large ransom. 'This laced haukerk is no priestly habit,' observed Fraser;

'where is thine albe, or thy hood? Often hast thou robbed us of our lawful wages, and done us grievous harm. It is now our turn to sum up the account, and exact its payment.' Saying this, he first struck off the hands of the unhappy priest, and then severed his head with one blow from his body."—Tytler's History of Scotland (citing Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, edited by Thomas Hearne), 8vo. 1811, vol. i. pp. 169–171.

<sup>4</sup> It is stated that the names of several localities commemorate this decisive battle, which, it must be admitted, are rather fanciful. The "Hewan," near the site of the Maiden Castle, is supposed to be a corruption of *hewing*, where the conflict, from the precipitous nature of the ground, was most sanguinary. In the "Skinbanes Field" many human remains have been found, and the "Kill-burn" streamlet was discoloured with blood three days.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 340.

Perth. In the fourteenth century William Drummond, brother of Annabella, Queen of Robert III., married Elizabeth, daughter and one of the coheiresses of Sir William Airth of that Ilk, and by this alliance obtained the Barony of Carnock in Stirlingshire. Hawthornden was then the property of the Abernethys of Saltoun, one of whom was ennobled as Lord Saltoun, and ancestors of the Frasers of Philorth, Lords Saltoun. Abernethy of Hawthornden sold the estate to a family named Douglas, from whom it was purchased by Sir John Drummond, second son of Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, and the father of the Poet.<sup>1</sup>

Drummond married in 1630, in the forty-fifth year of his age, Elizabeth Logan, a grand-daughter of Robert Logan, of Restalrig, of Gowrie Conspiracy notoriety. He accidentally met this lady, and imagined her to resemble the first object of his affections, a daughter of Cunningham of Barns, in Fife, who died of fever during the preparations for the nuptials, and the Poet's grief is expressed in many of those sonnets which have procured for him the title of the Scottish Petrarch. By his marriage he had several children, the eldest of whom, named William, who lived to an advanced age, was knighted by Charles II., and was eventually the representative of Drummond, Baronet, of Carnock. Little is known of the private life of the Poet after his marriage till his death, in December 1649, said to have been accelerated by grief for the melancholy fate of Charles I. He seems to have resided in seclusion at Hawthornden, on which the date, 1638, is still prominent.<sup>2</sup>

The visit of Ben Jonson to Drummond, at Hawthornden, in the winter of 1618-19, and their laconic salutations, have been often related. The Dramatist, who contemplated a "fisher or pastoral play," the scene of which was to be the "Lomond Lake," journeyed from London as a pedestrian into a then strange country. He appears to have been much gratified by his expedition to his brother Poet, to whom he wrote after his return, that he had received a "most catholic welcome" from King James, and announcing that his "reports were not unacceptable to his Majesty."<sup>3</sup> The spot is traditionally recorded where Drummond welcomed Ben Jonson to his mansion, and on a seat cut in the face of the rock adjoining, known as the Cypress Grove, he is alleged to have written many of his poetical effusions.

### CRICHTON CASTLE.

IN the parish of its name, upwards of twelve miles south-east of Edinburgh, is the desolate ruin of Crichton Castle, overlooking a little glen in the narrow vale of the Tyne, which in this almost incipient part of its course to the German Ocean is a mere rivulet. This stately and magnificent pile is a quadrangle, the oldest portion of which is the keep or tower in the north-western angle, and the additions, forming the inner court, reared at different periods. The eastern front of the court, which is of most beautiful masonry, and is the most recent erection, is supported by arches open from the ground, and is decorated with entablatures displaying a profusion of anchors. The stones of the exterior, which is now reduced to two storeys without a roof, are cut into facettes, and the angular proportions of these diamond-fashioned sculptures are peculiarly

<sup>1</sup> The families of Abernethy and Drummond became connected, after the lapse of nearly four centuries, by the marriage of the Right Rev. Dr. William Abernethy, one of the Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, to Barbara Drummond of Hawthornden, when he annexed to his own surname that of Drummond.

<sup>2</sup> Hawthornden is still the property of the lineal representatives of the Poet. Sir John Forbes Drummond, created a Baronet of the United Kingdom in 1828, son of Robert Forbes, Esq., of Corse in Banffshire, married Mary, daughter of Dr. Ogilvie of Forfar, cousin and heiress of Barbara, wife of Bishop Abernethy-Drummond, the only child of William Drummond, the last male descendant of the family of Hawthornden. Sir John Forbes Drummond was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis Walker, Esq., of Dalry, near Edinburgh, who assumed the surname of the family of his wife, in accordance with the patent of creation of the title. Sir Francis died in 1844, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir James Walker-Drummond, Bart. Bishop Abernethy-Drummond died in 1809, leaving no issue.

<sup>3</sup> Drummond has been much censured for a breach of confidence in recording a severe character of his visitor, describing him as his "worthy friend Master Benjamin Jonson," a "great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest, jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived; a dissembler of the great parts which reigned in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted, thinketh nothing well done but what either himself or some of his friends hath done." It is evident that Jonson's jovial disposition was not over-agreeable to the sedate and loyal Poet of Hawthornden, whose guest he was for several weeks. The profusion of wood in the vicinity elicited from Peter Pindar, as Walcot designated himself, a sarcastic couplet on Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was valorous about the want of trees in Scotland, and who, Pindar alleges—

"Went to Hawthornden's fair scene by night,  
Lest e'er a Scottish tree should wound his sight."







THE CASTLE OF CAERLAW

From a sketch by G. H. Jones, 1844

W. H. B. JONES



elegant. The interior of this division of the Castle is said to have contained a splendid gallery, or banqueting apartment, the access to which was by a spacious staircase, now destroyed, the soffits ornamented with twining cordage and rosettes. The original tower is evidently of the fourteenth century, when it was the paternal fortalice and residence of the Crichtons, the earliest known proprietors, and the precise dates of the other portions of the quadrangle are not ascertained. It is supposed, from the decoration of the capitals of the eastern portion with entwined anchors and cables, that this addition was the work of Patrick, third Earl of Bothwell, father of the fourth and notorious Earl. The less decorated portions of Crichton Castle present a variety of apartments, some of which are entire, and one of them containing a large stone chimney constructed of freestone most ingeniously dovetailed. A dark vault or dungeon, known as the "Massimore," is accessible by a square orifice in the roof, through which captives were lowered to a den in this pile of antique baronial grandeur.

In the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, the ruins of Crichton Castle are interesting to the historian, the antiquary, and the admirer of picturesque scenery, as tending to "convey subjects of grave contemplation, and to cherish the remembrance of former times."<sup>1</sup> This observation, however, may be applied to all old baronial ruins. In the vicinity is the parish church, originally a rectory taxed at thirty merks, which was made collegiate by Lord Crichton in 1449, for a Provost and eight Prebendaries.<sup>2</sup> This small and venerable edifice was intended to be cruciform, but the other portions were never erected. Near the Castle are also the remains of a building which appears to have been a chapel.

The ancient proprietors of Crichton Castle are prominent in Scottish history, and were elevated from the position of lesser barons or gentry by the abilities of Sir William Crichton, who added to his fortalice or tower in the north-western angle. This personage was Lord Chancellor during the minority of James II., keeper of the young monarch's person, and exercised a powerful influence in state affairs. Little is known of his ancestors, who, as minor barons, were not entitled to the rank of nobility.<sup>3</sup> A branch of them attained the honour of Lords Crichton of Sanquhar, and afterwards became Earls of Dunfries—a title which has merged into the Scottish Earldom and British Marquisate of Bute. Another scion of the family was created Viscount Fren draught in Aberdeenshire, in 1642.

The first public appearance of Sir William Crichton was his appointment, in 1423, as one of a deputation to congratulate James I. on his marriage; and when that monarch returned from his English captivity, Crichton became master of the royal household. In 1426, he was one of the envoys to Eric, King of Denmark, to negotiate a perpetual amity, and he was the favourite during the reign of James I., attaining an eminence rather from political than military talent. At the accession of James II., Sir William Crichton was constituted Lord Chancellor, and the government of the kingdom was consigned to him and to Sir Alexander Livingstone, with the custody of the juvenile monarch's person, and the command of Edinburgh Castle. He was chief contriver of the murder, after a mock trial, of William, Earl of Douglas, and his brother David, then youths, and Fleming of Cumbernauld, in that fortress, in 1400. Crichton was dismissed from the office of Chancellor, in 1444, by James II., to whom he was personally odious, and he secured himself in Edinburgh Castle, sustaining a siege, and afterwards a blockade of some months. Meanwhile Crichton Castle was taken and dilapidated by John Forrester of Corstorphine, an adherent of the Douglas family, to revenge the treacherous hospitality which the Earl and his brother had received within its walls on the day before they were inveigled into Edinburgh Castle. Crichton retaliated in 1445 by foraying the lands of Corstorphine near Edinburgh, and those of Abercorn and Blackness in Linlithgowshire. Yet his political sagacity enabled him, when he surrendered Edinburgh Castle, to retain his estates, and acquire honours. He was created Lord

<sup>1</sup> Crichton Castle is finely described in the Fourth Canto of "Marmion."

"Still rises unimpaired below,  
The court-yard's graceful portico;  
Above its cornice, row and row  
Of fair hewn facets richly show  
Their pointed diamond form,  
Though there but houseless cattle go  
To shield them from the storm.  
And, shuddering still, may we explore,  
Where oft whilom were captives pent,  
The darkness of thy Massimore;  
Or from thy grass-grown battlement  
May trace, in undulating line,  
The sluggish mazes of the Tyne."

<sup>2</sup> After the Reformation the church lands of Crichton and the parsonage tithes were acquired by Sir Gideon Murray, father of the first Lord Elibank.

<sup>3</sup> William de Crichton occurs in the Lennox Chartulary about 1240, and Thomas de Crichton is in the Ragman Roll, in 1206. Sir John de Crichton flourished in the reign of King David Bruce. William de Crichton is frequently mentioned towards the end of the fourteenth century, and John Crichton obtained a charter of the barony from Robert III.—Sir Walter Scott's *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*, 4to. 1826, vol. i. p. 2.

Crichton in 1445, and restored to the Chancellorship in 1447, which he held to his death, in 1454, after a long and determined feud with the powerful Douglas family, whom he had resolved to annihilate. His elevation as Lord Crichton is said to have been the reward for negotiating the marriage of James II. to Mary of Gueldres.

Lord Crichton left a son and two daughters, the one married to Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, and the other to Alexander, Lord Glamis. James, the son, who succeeded as second Lord, was commonly styled of Frendraught during his father's lifetime, having acquired that extensive property in Aberdeenshire by his marriage to the elder of the two daughters and coheireses of James Dunbar, Earl of Moray. William, third Lord, succeeded his father in 1469, and was forfeited in February, 1483-4, for his connexion with the conspiracy of the Duke of Albany to dethrone James III. If Buchanan is to be credited, this Lord Crichton had sustained an injury from the King which was not likely to be effaced or forgiven. That monarch is accused of seducing the wife of Lord Crichton, who revenged himself by forming an intrigue, and afterwards a marriage, with the Princess Margaret, the King's sister, against whom the most deplorable charge is alleged.<sup>1</sup> Buchanan designates Lady Crichton as of the family of Dunbar, but if the peerage lists are correct he has mistaken the lady for her mother-in-law, the wife of the second Lord. The daughter of this singular marriage died without issue not long before Buchanan commenced his History of Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

The temporary possessor of Crichton Castle, after the forfeiture of this third Lord Crichton, was Sir John Ramsay of Balmain, the youthful favourite of James III., who narrowly escaped the indignation of the enraged nobility at the memorable "Raïd of Lauder," in 1482. He was created Lord Bothwell in 1483, appointed Lord High Treasurer, and he enjoyed other offices of influence by the favour of the King, whose entreaties had saved him from the fate of the then royal minions. Meanwhile Lord Crichton was recalled from exile on the condition of marrying the Princess Margaret, and was received with favour by James III. at Inverness; but as neither party long survived the reconciliation, Lord Crichton, who died at Inverness, never obtained a full pardon.

Lord Bothwell was exiled and forfeited in 1448, and James IV. conferred Crichton Castle on Patrick Hepburn, third Lord Hailes, one of the most powerful men in Scotland, created Earl of Bothwell and constituted High Admiral in 1488. Crichton Castle appears to have been the principal residence of the Earls of Bothwell till the forfeiture and attainder of James, fourth Earl, in 1567, after his compulsory departure from Queen Mary at Carberry Hill. In 1559, the Lords of the Congregation garrisoned the Castle with fifty men, to revenge the robbery of 4000 crowns, which Bothwell took from Queen Elizabeth's messenger, who had been sent with this sum to assist them in the siege of Leith. In 1561, Lord John Stuart, titular prior or commendator of Coldingham, an illegitimate son of James V., was married in the Castle to Lady Jane Hepburn, and Queen Mary was present at the nuptial entertainments.

The next proprietor of Crichton Castle was the son of this marriage, who was Francis Stuart, the turbulent Earl of Bothwell, whose descent from the once potent Hepburns and from James V., and his own abilities, induced James VI. in an evil hour to elevate him to the forfeited title of his uncle. In 1594 he was compelled to leave Scotland, and the Barony of Crichton Castle was granted to Sir Walter Scott, first Earl of Buccleuch, the step-son of Bothwell. Francis, second Earl, was served heir on the 27th of February, 1634, but the Buccleuch family were not long in possession. Francis Stuart, son of the forfeited Earl of Bothwell by Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of David, seventh Earl of Angus, and relict of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, father of the first Earl, obtained a "rehabilitation," which was confirmed by the Parliament in 1683, which Charles I. was inclined to sanction. After this legal restitution, Stuart adopted stringent measures against the Earls of Buccleuch and Roxburgh, who had acquired the greater part of his father's estates. With the Earl of Roxburgh the King had comparatively little trouble, but the Earl of Buccleuch, who was then in military service in the Low Countries, was furious at the favour evinced to Stuart, and afterwards verified his threats by the conduct of his retainers at Newcastle, Marston-Moor, and Philiphaugh, in the service of the Parliament.

The second Earl of Buccleuch was a minor when he was deprived of Bothwell's estates in Mid-Lothian, and, although the Liddesdale property of the forfeited Earl was assigned by the King's arbitration to him and

<sup>1</sup> Buchanani Historia, fol. 1584, Original Edit.; Translation, 8vo. 1752, vol. ii. p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Pinkerton's History of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. pp. 314, 315.





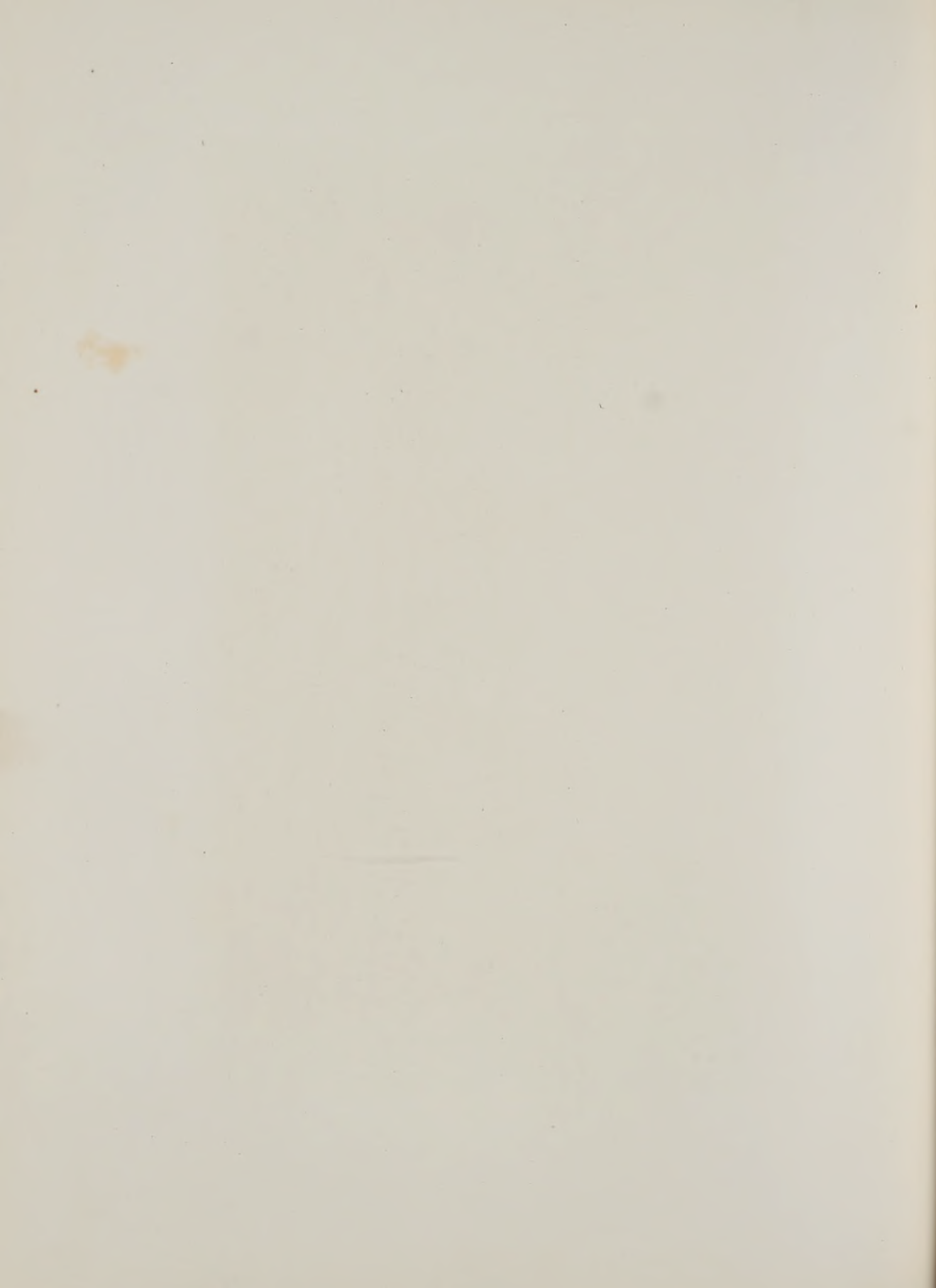




THE CASTLE OF THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE

View from the east, looking towards the castle

THE CASTLE OF THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE



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

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

### BORTHWICK CASTLE.

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

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

full armour, are still in the ancient aisle of the parish church. Lord Borthwick was a personage of great abilities, and is conspicuous in many public transactions. He intentionally erected his Castle on the verge of his property, and in reply to this inconvenience he is alleged to have declared that he would press forward. His son William, second Lord, was a man of superior attainments, and was once sent to Rome, and thrice to England, as ambassador. William, third Lord, was often similarly employed, and fell at the battle of Flodden with his neighbour of Crichton Castle. John, ninth Lord, was a decided royalist, adhered faithfully to Charles I., and died without issue in 1672. The title was publicly unclaimed till 1727, and the gentleman who then assumed it voted under protest at several elections of the Scottish Peers, from 1734 to 1762.<sup>1</sup> In the latter year it was adjudged to him by the House of Lords. He died without issue in 1772, and the peerage has since been dormant, though it has two claimants, one of whom is the proprietor of the Castle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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









THE TOWER OF ST. MARY'S  
WINDSOR, ENGLAND

J. H. C. MIPPEL, H. I. NO. 1



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

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

### LINLITHGOW.

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. i. p. 13.

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

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

It is stated that Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, a most unprincipled person of great ability, who, in 1526, treacherously murdered John Stuart, third Earl of Lennox of that family, at Linlithgow Bridge, a roadside hamlet two miles west of the burgh, was the architect of the Palace of Linlithgow.<sup>6</sup> He was the illegitimate son of James second Lord Hamilton, first Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault, and was the cousin of Lennox. Probably the most remarkable event in the history of the removed fortalice was its seizure by King Robert Bruce, who obtained possession by the contrivance of a rustic named William Binnock, or Binny, in 1311.<sup>7</sup> The English garrison had at the time a very limited number of sentinels, and no cause of alarm was

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. i. p. 149.

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> The sources of revenue of the Lordship of Linlithgow are speci-

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

<sup>6</sup> It is related of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, that "for strong and stately houses, being the King's (James V.) Master of Works, and the principal architect of that age, none did equal him for the royal houses, such as the Palaces of Holyroodhouse, Linlithgow, Falkland, and some part of the forework of Stirling Castle."—Memorie of the Somervilles, by James, eleventh Lord Somerville, vol. i. p. 310. The noble author adds that a great part of these edifices was either built or designed by Sir James Hamilton, who was usually designated the "Bastard of Arran," and perished on the scaffold in 1540.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. pp. 414, 415.

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

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

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

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

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









THE MARKET, (RECONSTRUCTION OF AN EARLY MARKET)

— 11 1/2 1/2

H. G. MURPHY L. R. N.



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

After mortally wounding the Regent, the assassin instantly mounted his horse and fled across the country. He was pursued, and was nearly seized, his horse sinking in a ditch, from which he relieved himself by plunging his dagger into the hind part of the exhausted animal. He rode to the town of Hamilton, and was received with acclamation by his kinsmen. After a brief concealment he escaped to France, where he obtained the patronage of the family of Guise, and never returned to Scotland. He is said to have expressed the utmost contrition for the crime, and died in great mental agony about 1594.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> The English under Drury at this visitation are accused of burning the Duke of Chatellerauld's mansion of Kinnell, near Borrowstonness, the houses of Pardovan, Binnie, and Kincaiv, and the chapel of Livingstone.—Penny's *Historical Account of Linlithgowshire*, 12mo. 1821, pp. 72, 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. iii. pp. 373, 374.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv. Appendix, p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Part III. p. 1022.

<sup>7</sup> *Progresses, Processions, and Festivities of James I.*, by John Nichols, 4to. 1828, vol. iii. p. 320.

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

The Palace of Linlithgow is a large massive quadrangle in ruins, overlooking the lake on the north side of the town. The date of the rebuilding, after the conflagration in 1424, is uncertain. James V. erected that part of the stately quadrangle known as the Parliament House, and probably the Chapel. James VI. has been unjustly accused of ordering the north side of the square to be "pulled down, and rebuilt after his taste," which taste is said to be "more like that of a burgher than a king, for by lowering the ceilings, and lessening the dimensions of the rooms, he obtained a greater number of them, and an additional storey to the building."<sup>1</sup> This charge is altogether unfounded. On the 6th of September, 1609, the north quarter of the Palace fell, and though some of the walls remained, it was feared that they also would soon follow, and break the Fountain in the centre of the inner court. Two years previously this portion of the Palace was ascertained to be in a dilapidated condition, and yet the officers of the Crown neglected the proper repairs. This is proved by the letter of the first Earl of Linlithgow to James VI. concerning the "falling in of Linlithgow Palace," dated the 6th September, 1607.<sup>2</sup> The portion rebuilt by James VI. was commenced after his visit to Scotland in 1617, and the King could have no object to increase the number of rooms in an edifice which he never afterwards saw, and his successors were not likely to inhabit. Part of the Palace was indeed repaired for Charles I. in 1633, but the King's arrangements prevented his visit to the old royal burgh. The edifice was entire till 1746, when it was the temporary quarters of General Hawley's dragoons, by whom it was burnt, and it has since become a mass of ruins. The dragoons were quartered in the drawing-room, and the conflagration occurred after the battle of Falkirk, at which they were routed by the Highland Adventurers. This was the portion rebuilt after 1617, and previous to the conflagration had been preserved in substantial repair. The dragoons are accused as willing incendiaries, and it is alleged that they perpetrated the act to revenge the last Jacobite demonstration ever held in the Palace, which was a few months previous, when the Fountain in the court was made to discharge wine in honour of Prince Charles. This Fountain was also demolished by Hawley's dragoons. The burning of the Palace seems to have excited little interest, if the meagre notices in the journals of the time are to be considered as representing public opinion.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiv. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Analecra Scotica*, by James Maidment, Esq., Advocate. 8vo. 1831, vol. i. p. 400, and Spottiswoode's Miscellany, 8vo. 1844, vol. i. pp. 369, 370.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> *New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire*, p. 177.

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica, or a Memoir towards the Forma-

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

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

<sup>4</sup> History of Scotland from February 1496 to March 1565, folio 1728, p. 111.









FAIRHURST CASTLE

*1870. Fairhurst Castle, Weymouth, Dorset.*

JOHN R. MURPHY, LONDON



It was long believed that the visitor was St. Andrew, the tutelary patron of Scotland. The whole is supposed to have been an experiment devised by Queen Margaret, to excite her consort's superstitious feelings and deter him from the invasion of England. It is not improbable that Sir David Lindsay was in the secret. The tradition at Linlithgow is, that the man eluded the grasp of those who would have seized him by gliding behind a curtain, which concealed a private stair leading to the upper part of the church, and that he crossed the court and entered the Palace by a small door under the window of the aisle. He is also said to have been a domestic of the Queen, and it is evident that he must have received some instructions from her, as his warning prominently introduces the King's incontinency, which could not fail to excite jealousy.<sup>1</sup> Before James IV. left Linlithgow, he presented the Queen with an order on his treasury for 18,000 crowns, to secure her from pecuniary embarrassment while engaged in the war with her brother Henry VIII.

The Town House, an edifice a short distance south of the Palace and St. Michael's Church, was erected in 1668 by Sir Robert Mylne of Barnton, then chief manager of the burgh, and evidently the cavalier Dean of Guild, who had assisted at the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1662. This building was completely gutted by fire in 1847. In front of the Town House is the Cross Well, a curious hexagonal structure, rebuilt in 1805 on the site of the former erection of 1620, of which it is an exact resemblance. It displays a number of grotesque figures, from the mouths of which the water issues in thirteen jets, and some statues ornament a small gallery, the whole surmounted by a lion rampant, supporting the royal arms of Scotland. A statue of St. Michael on the former Well, or on another, carefully intimated that he was "kind to strangers."

#### BARNBOUGLE CASTLE—DALMENY PARK.

On the beach of the Frith of Forth, and within the extensive, verdant, and beautifully wooded domain of Dalmeny Park, the seat of the Earls of Rosebery, is the solitary ruin of Barnbouglo Castle, already mentioned as the residence of the Mowbrays of Barnbouglo, a distinguished family of Norman descent. Sir David Mowbray of Barnbouglo was in the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 14th of March, 1481,<sup>2</sup> and his son or grandson Robert became one of the securities in 1546 for the surrender, within the Castle of Edinburgh, of John Sandilands, younger of Calder, under the penalty of 10,000*l.* Scots.<sup>3</sup> In the following year he conferred a similar obligation on a Stephen Bell, who was prosecuted for demolishing an image of St. Mary Magdalene.<sup>4</sup> The Mowbrays about that time intimately connected themselves with their relatives, the Napiers of Merchiston, and in 1572, when the illustrious inventor of Logarithms, son of Sir Archibald Napier of Edinbellie and Merchiston, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, the said Sir Archibald selected for his second spouse his cousin, also named Elizabeth, daughter of John Mowbray of Barnbouglo.

The wife of the Laird of Barnbouglo was the sister of Kirkaldy of Grange, and two of the daughters, named Barbara and Giles, were younger than the stepmother of the philosopher.<sup>5</sup> Barbara Mowbray was only eight years old when Queen Mary fled into England, and both sisters joined her, and were her affectionate attendants till the Babington conspiracy was made a pretext for her condemnation. On the morning of Mary's execution, Barbara Mowbray and a young French lady, named Beauregard, complained to her physician Bourgoin that they were omitted in her Will, which she had herself hastily written, and with tears entreated that this should be mentioned to their royal mistress. No sooner was the Queen informed of the circumstance than she rose from a kneeling posture, and inscribed a remembrance of her two devoted friends on a blank leaf of her book of devotions. After the execution of the Queen her domestics were cruelly treated, their requests to be allowed to return to their paternal homes were refused, and Barbara and Giles Mowbray, the daughters of one of the oldest houses in Scotland, were consigned to prison for no

<sup>1</sup> Picture of Scotland, by Robert Chambers, 12mo. 1830, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34; New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire, p. 172. Pinkerton, in his History of Scotland, severely censures Lindsay of Pitscottie for his "credulity" in this affair of the mysterious warning against the invasion of England.

<sup>2</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. I. Part I. p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 335.

<sup>5</sup> Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq., Advocate, 4to. p. 140.

other reason than that they had been the affectionate companions of their captivo sovereign. Their father now interfered, and complained to James VI. He obtained a royal commission to proceed to London, and demand from Elizabeth the release of his daughters, and of Mary's household. He was successful in his application, and the names of Barbara and Giles Mowbray are in the list of those ladies who attended the obsequies of their mistress in Peterborough Cathedral. After this melancholy duty Barbara Mowbray married William Curle, who had been Mary's favourite secretary throughout the period of her captivity. They retired to the Continent, and never returned. Their tombs are in the church of St. Andrew at Antwerp, close to a pillar on which was long affixed a portrait of Mary presented by them, with an inscription recording her misfortunes. It is also said that the head of the Queen, which they had contrived to abstract, is deposited at the base of the pillar. Nothing is known of Giles Mowbray, who is supposed to have accompanied her father to Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

Francis Mowbray, designated "son to the Laird of Barnbogle," was the brother of those ladies, and was one of the then turbulent and reckless persons who were justly considered dangerous to the community. He was the intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch and Branxholm, Warden of the West Marches, the step-son of Francis Stuart Earl of Bothwell, nephew of the notorious Earl. Sir Walter Scott was the hero of the rescue of a marauder known as "Kinmont Willie" from the custody of Lord Serpe in the Castle of Carlisle, on the 13th of April, 1596, and it may be assumed that Francis Mowbray had some connexion with that daring achievement. On the following day Mowbray killed a person named William Shaw, by thrusting a rapier through his body, for which he was outlawed.<sup>2</sup> Mowbray was afterwards connected with those noblemen known as the "Popish Lords," and proceeded to the Low Countries, attaching himself to the Court at Brussels, and identifying himself with all the Roman Catholic plots against James VI. He was in England in 1602, when an Italian named Daniel accused him before Queen Elizabeth of conspiring to assassinate the Scottish monarch. They were both sent to Scotland, and committed to Edinburgh Castle, the Italian occupying an apartment immediately above Mowbray. No credible charge was produced against the latter, who denied the accusation in language which James VI. ordered to be recorded and subscribed by him. Mowbray now demanded the combat with Daniel, which he had done in England, which was a condescension on his part, as the Italian was merely a fencing-master. The 5th of January, 1603, was appointed for the duel, which was to be in the court-yard of Holyrood, but the deadly encounter was delayed by the King, who had resolved to confront Mowbray with "other two Scottish men sent out of England, of light account." On the 30th of January, the day after he had been examined before the witnesses, Mowbray was found lifeless and frightfully mangled at the base of the precipices of Edinburgh Castle. It is alleged that he endeavoured to escape by means of his bed-clothes tied together, and that as these were not of sufficient length to admit a descent, he was killed by the fall, though his friends maintained that he had been strangled, and the body thrown out of the window, which received little credit.<sup>3</sup> So exasperated was the King against Mowbray, that he and the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Justice-Clerk, Cockburn of Ormiston, and the attempt to escape is specially noticed as an undoubted evidence of guilt, ordering him to try Mowbray for the crime of high treason as if he was alive. The body was dragged backwards through the streets, and produced at the bar of the Justiciary Court. The sentence was that the corpse was to be suspended from a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, and afterwards quartered, his head, a leg, and an arm to be spiked on the Nether-Bow gate, the other leg on the West Port, and the other arm on the Potterrow gate.<sup>4</sup>

Barnbogle in a few years ceased to be the property of the Mowbrays, who, it is said, were latterly of the female line. Sir John Mowbray, the last male descendant of this ancient family, conveyed the estate of Cockairnie near Aberdour in Fife to his uncle William Mowbray, and Barbara, his only child and heiress, married Robert Barton, who assumed the name of Mowbray.<sup>5</sup> In 1615 the Barony of Barnbogle was sold to Sir Thomas Hamilton, the wealthy first Earl of Haddington, who also, among his other extensive

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. pp. 142-145, 510, 511.

<sup>2</sup> Birrel's Diary, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, p. 471.

<sup>4</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 403-400; Birrel's Diary, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. pp. xxi. 55, 56.—The charters and writs of the Mowbrays of Barnbogle, extending from 1346 to 1615, are in possession of the Earl of Rosebery, and the family is believed to be represented by Mowbray of Cockairnie.

purchases, acquired the adjoining Barony of Dalmeny. This Robert Mowbray married Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of Thomas first Earl of Kellie. The only memorial of this honourable family is their roofless Castle, which has been long a sea-mark, and even the title of their Barony is supplanted by the modern appellation of Dalmeny Park, so called after the designation of the parish. In 1662 John, fourth Earl of Haddington, sold Barnbougles and Dalmeny for 160,000 merks to Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington, an eminent lawyer and judge, whose son was created Earl of Rosebery in 1703.

Dalmeny Park, the seat of the Earl of Rosebery, is an elegant specimen of the Tudor style, surrounded by magnificent old trees, which abound in the numerous avenues, especially in that entered near Cramond Bridge on the Queensferry road, and is a very romantic approach to the mansion. This was the access traversed by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at the royal visit to the Earl of Rosebery on the 3d of September, 1842. Behind the mansion are beautifully wooded undulating hills, and the lawn below is terminated by the ruins of Barnbougles Castle close to the margin of the sea. The grounds of Dalmeny Park extend from the mouth of the Almond at Cramond, about six miles west along the shore of the Frith of Forth to South Queensferry.

The parish church of Dalmeny, supposed to have been erected in the tenth or eleventh century, is one of the finest specimens of Saxon architecture in Scotland. It for centuries possessed altars dedicated to St. Adamnan and other holy persons. The edifice is of small dimensions, of cut stone, eighty-four feet long and twenty-eight feet broad, contracting at the east end into a semicircle. The pediments of the doors and windows are richly carved, and round the upper part of the structure is an embossment of sculptured faces, each dissimilar, and of grotesque appearance. The principal door on the west is deservedly admired for its exquisite workmanship. The interior is divided into three parts by two semicircular arches, both ornamented by successive zig-zag or starry-shaped mouldings, and as the arch over the chancel is much smaller than the other, the effect is peculiarly elegant. At the door of the church is a large stone coffin cut from a single block, and covered on the lid and sides with sculptured signs which cannot now be deciphered.<sup>1</sup>

In the neighbourhood is Dundas Castle, the seat of the ancient family of Dundas of that ilk, from whom descend several collateral branches. This is the oldest Barony in the district, and can be traced to the reign of William the Lion, which commenced in 1115. Dundas Castle is supposed to have been erected in the eleventh century, and is situated on the slope of a crag or hill in connexion with a modern mansion. Some additions were made about 1416, when it was constituted a fortress by the Regent Duke of Albany. The walls of the original edifice are of great thickness and solidity, the apartments arched, and the views from the roof grand and extensive. Opposite the north front is an ornamental fountain, displaying sculptured figures in stone, the sides containing inflated and barbarous Latin inscriptions, assigning the reasons for its erection in 1623 by Sir Walter Dundas, in the sixty-first year of his age.<sup>2</sup>

The little royal burgh of Queensferry, so constituted by Charles I. in defiance of the opposition of the burgesses of Linlithgow, is close to the Queen's Ferry, which is said to derive its name from the canonized Queen Margaret, who crossed here in her journeys to and from Dunfermline. Newhalls Inn, or the "Haws," as it is locally designated, is prominently introduced by Sir Walter Scott in the commencement of "The Antiquary," as the inn in which Mr. Oldbuck and Lovell dined after their ride from Edinburgh in the luckless vehicle called the "Queensferry Fly," on their journey to Fairport.

The small rocky islet of Inchgarvie in the middle of the Frith of Forth, which at the Queensferry is contracted to within two miles, is connected with the Barony of Dundas. It was conceded to Dundas of that ilk in 1491 by James IV., as a compensation for the property forfeited by him at Bothkennar in Stirlingshire, occasioned by his loyalty to James III., with liberty to erect a fortalice on the islet,<sup>3</sup> some remains of which still exist on the west of the fortification. The grant was disputed in 1526 by Patrick Wemyss, described as "captain of the Castle of Inchgarvie," who applied to the Estates of Parliament

<sup>1</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated on the authority of local tradition, that the cause of the erection of this Fountain by Sir Walter Dundas was his disappointment at the loss of the Barony of Barnbougles, for the purchase of which he had collected a large sum of money, when it was acquired by the first Earl of Haddington, and that he never recovered from the

difficulties in which it involved him. While it was in the progress of erection, he delighted "so much in the noise of hewing the stones, that in a fit of sickness, which confined him to his bed, he ordered the masons to perform that operation in his ante-chamber."—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 270.

respecting its "sure keeping, as the Laird of Dundas claimed it to belong to him.<sup>1</sup> Secretary Paniter, Archdeacon of Moray and Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was imprisoned on the islet by the Regent Albany, and it was garrisoned by French soldiers in 1517. Though Inchgarvie is a small barren rock, the possession of it must have been of some importance to the Lairds of Dundas, who were entitled to levy specified dues from all vessels passing up the Frith of Forth. The islet was surrendered to Cromwell in 1651, and was neglected till 1779, when the appearance of Paul Jones off Leith caused the present square fortification to be repaired, and mounted with four pieces of artillery, which were increased during the alarm of the French invasion.

### THE BATTLE-FIELD OF PRESTONPANS.

THE "Battle-field of Prestonpans," in the western and level part of the county adjoining Mid-Lothian, is selected under this general title on account of the interesting localities. From the parish-village of Tranent, ten miles east of Edinburgh, the most delightful landscape is commanded on a summer day, including the expanse of the Frith of Forth, forming the Bays of Musselburgh and Aberlady, curving the shore nearly two miles distant, and bounded by the coasts of Fife and Mid-Lothian. On the immediate shore is the small tidal harbour of Morison's Haven, and the villages of Prestonpans, Coekuzie, and Port-Seton. On the East-Lothian shore are also Gosford House, the magnificent mansion of the Earl of Wemyss, the pretty sea-bathing village of Aberlady, and the coast terminated by the conical hill known as North Berwick Law. On the Mid-Lothian shore are the towns of Musselburgh, Portobello, Leith, and the eastern suburbs of Edinburgh. On the Fife coast are its numerous towns and villages, with the lofty Lomond Hills in the background, and the Islands of Inchkeith and Incheolm are conspicuous in the Frith of Forth.

Tranent is pleasantly situated on a declivity, and is a large irregularly built village on the road to Haddington and Berwick-upon-Tweed. The streets, if they may be so called in a village where every man seems to have erected his dwelling according to his own fancy, are of ample width, yet the place has a poor appearance, chiefly, if not solely, resulting from the indolent and apparently irreclaimable habits of the people. Its barn-like parish church, of outrageous deformity, erected on the site of the former edifice, in which the brave Colonel Gardiner was interred, is only important because it includes his grave. Notwithstanding the local advantages which the village long possessed as a stage on the east road to and from England, before the construction of the North British Railway, the inhabitants, most of whom are colliers, invariably resisted any improvements. They are also considered a disorderly and ignorant community, whose habits were not likely to be improved by the existence of a large number of drinking establishments. Previous to 1773, when the practice was disallowed, the colliers and salters in the village and parish were little better than slaves, who were literally with their families bound to the coal-pits and salt-pans for life, and sold to the new purchasers of the properties on which such works were in operation.

The monks of Newbattle Abbey commenced the coal mines in this district, and the exports were shipped at their harbour of New-Haven, afterwards Acheson's, and now Morison's Haven. About A.D. 1202 Seyer de Quincy, lord of the manor of Tranent, granted to those monks a coal-pit on their lands of Preston.<sup>2</sup> In 1547 the mines extended a considerable distance under ground, and many of the inhabitants fled into the coal-pits for safety from the advance of the English army before the battle of Pinkie. The English, after repeatedly attempting to dislodge them, closed the apertures of the pits, at which they placed fires, either to expel them by other entrances, or to suffocate them. The perpetrator of this atrocious cruelty was a man named George Ferrers, described as a "gentleman of my Lord Protector's, and one of the commissioners of carriages in the army." The assailants saw the smoke ascending through an opening in the vicinity, and departed without ascertaining whether the people were suffocated or had escaped.<sup>3</sup>

The tower or fortalice of Falsyde, upwards of two miles west of Tranent, is of considerable antiquity. It at one time belonged to a younger branch of the Setons, Lords Seton and Earls of Winton, who are said to

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Expedition into Scotlände of Edward Duke of Somerset, by W. Patten, Londoner, p. 44, in "Fragments of Scottish History," by Sir John Graham Dalyell, Bart. 4to, 1793.

have obtained a grant of the Barony of Tranent from King Robert Bruce for their zealous support of his claims to the throne in the person of Sir Alexander Seton, the successor of Sir Christopher Seton, supposed to have been his brother, and whose descendants assiduously wrought their coal-mines.<sup>1</sup> Additions of a later date were erected at the tower, when it belonged to Falsyde or Fawside of that Ilk, who removed in 1618 to a more commodious mansion in the vicinity. The first story and the roof of the tower are arched, and in the stair is a curious place of concealment. On the morning of the battle of Pinkie a small garrison considerably annoyed the English by firing at them from the windows and apertures of this old fortalice. Between Falsyde Tower and Tranent a fierce conflict occurred between the English and Scottish cavalry on the day before the battle of Pinkie, when the latter were repulsed with the loss of 1300 men—a disaster which seriously influenced the result of the following day. The fortalice is the only memorial of the family of Fawside of that Ilk.

About a mile below Tranent is the mansion of Bankton, close to a station of the North British Railway. At the time of the battle of Prestonpans this residence was the property of Colonel Gardiner, who seems to have inherited it from his mother.<sup>2</sup> The victorious Highlanders plundered Bankton, destroying the beds, tables, and other furniture, and slashing the walls of the apartments with their broadswords, before they returned in triumph to Edinburgh. They were aware that the brave and good Colonel Gardiner had fallen in the conflict, and was removed from the scene of earthly strife.<sup>3</sup>

The hamlet of Preston in the vicinity, once a considerable town, is situated in rural seclusion amid gardens and orchards. This place was often visited by the Scottish monarchs, and, if tradition is to be credited, was the occasional scene of revels and carousals most discreditable to the parties who delighted in such amusements. Some curious traditions are also preserved of the proprietors, the monks of Newbattle, and their enterprising mercantile affairs. The hamlet now consists of a few stately old mansions and cot-houses. In a field or garden at the east end is the ancient Cross—an elegant stone pillar about fifteen feet in height, rising from the centre of a small octagonal structure nine feet high from the ground. The fraternity, styled the "Chapmen of the Three Lothians," or itinerating sellers of wares in the counties of Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, acquired Preston Cross as their property in 1636, and though the avocation has long ceased, the association still exists under the same title, assembling annually on the second Thursday of July at this Cross, and electing their office-bearers, the chief of whom is designated "My Lord,"—a title most ludicrous when attached in the newspaper notices of their proceedings to the plebeian surnames of some who are in temporary possession of the visionary honour.<sup>4</sup> His Royal Highness Prince Albert was elected a member of this association, which now consists of respectable merchants, professional gentlemen, and many persons of high rank, and politely became a "Chapman" of the Three Lothians.

A most prominent object in the landscape is Preston Tower, which is on the north side of the decayed hamlet. This is a massive square edifice six storeys in height, the upper one rising from an open battlement on each side. Preston Tower is said to have been erected, or probably enlarged and repaired, about 1500;

<sup>1</sup> Mr. George Sinclair, the "Professor of Philosophy in Glasgow College," states in the Preface to his now very rare production entitled "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," that the Earl of Winton of his day—probably George third Earl, who died in December 1650—had constructed free levels below ground to drain his coal works, by excavating "impregnable rocks with more difficulty than Hannibal cutted the Alps," by pits and air-holes, "and floods of water running through the labyrinths for several miles." It is not easy to perceive the connexion of coal-mines with "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," unless the learned "Professor" held that the utter darkness was an analogy which could not be mistaken.

<sup>2</sup> Bankton was afterwards the property of Andrew Macdowal, Esq., appointed a Judge in the Court of Session in July 1755, and sat as Lord Bankton till his death in 1761.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Gardiner married Lady Frances Erskine, second daughter of David fourth Lord Cardross, who succeeded as ninth Earl of Buchan. By this lady, who was with her family in Stirling Castle at the time of the Colonel's death, he had thirteen children, of whom two sons and three daughters survived their father. The sons adopted the military profession, and the eldest daughter married, in 1750, Sir William Baird of Saughtonhall, Bart., and their son, Sir James Gardiner Baird, succeeded as fifth Baronet in 1770. Colonel Gardiner's widow died at Edinburgh in 1774, aged seventy-four.

<sup>4</sup> The real chapmen or pedlers, all of whom kept pack-horses and carried on a prosperous business, formerly met in a field at Preston annually, on the second Thursday of October, the day on which St. Jerome's Fair was held. This fair was transferred to the adjoining village of Prestonpans about 1732, and twenty years afterwards ceased to be observed. Nothing is known of the institution of the Fraternity of the Chapmen of the Three Lothians, or of their inducement to select Preston as their stated place of yearly resort. The members residing in East-Lothian were always the most numerous, and Preston was the town nearest the central county of Edinburgh. They commenced their proceedings at Prestonpans by holding a court, and electing a provost, or preses, six bailies, a depute-preses, clerk, treasurer, and councillors. The bailies were, one for Prestonpans and Cockenzie, one for Haddington and North-Berwick, one for Dunbar and Oldhamstocks, one for Musselburgh and Dalkeith, one for Queensferry and Borrowstownness, and one for Linlithgow and Bailgate. They next proceeded to regulate and collect the fines due by the offenders of their rules, and then marched to Preston Cross, preceded by a band of music, where they drank wine, and returned to Prestonpans to finish the ceremonial by a dinner. About 1760 the number of chapmen in East-Lothian were fifteen, in 1796 they had diminished to six, and all the members were only twenty-four.—Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xvii. pp. 79, 80.

and, though in a ruinous state, it is not externally much dilapidated. Sir Walter Scott visited this Tower in 1830, and conjectured that the alleged venerable edifice at one time was an outpost of the Lords Home, long powerful in the south-eastern parts of Scotland before the rise of the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell, and the termination of a series of fortalices extending from Ford Castle on the borders of Berwickshire; but it is uncertain whether this supposition was founded on initial letters or armorial bearings sculptured on the outer walls. The Barony of Preston was acquired by marriage towards the end of the fourteenth century by the Hamiltons of Fingalton<sup>1</sup>—a family who are the nearest cadets of the Ducal House of Hamilton, and consequently could not be then the property of the Lords Home. Preston Tower was burnt by the English in 1544,<sup>2</sup> and by Cromwell in 1650, when the title-deeds and other documents belonging to the Hamiltons of Fingalton, who had assumed the designation of Preston, were all unfortunately destroyed. The Tower was accidentally burnt in 1663, after which it never was inhabited. The ravages which Cromwell's soldiers inflicted after burning the Tower in 1650, are detailed by Sir Thomas Hamilton, then the proprietor. His lands of Preston were devastated, his coal-mines destroyed, his estates sequestrated, and he was fined 1000*l.* sterling. In noticing his personal services and losses he particularly mentions the wilful burning of Preston Tower, in which, among other valuables, his family papers in his charter-chest were consumed, and his subsequent exertions and privations.<sup>3</sup> One of the earliest proceedings of the Parliament after the Restoration was to acknowledge his losses, and another Act estimated his losses at 51,866*l.* Scots.<sup>4</sup> His eldest son William, born in 1647, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1673, and sold his lands of Preston, apparently reserving the title, who was conspicuous as Oswald his brother-in-law, in 1681; and Robert, his brother and successor in the title, who was conspicuous in the Covenanted conflicts of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, never had any personal connexion with the property.

On the shore is the decayed tidal harbour formerly mentioned as Acheson's Haven, and now Morison's Haven, still the deepest and best on that part of the coast of the Frith of Forth.<sup>5</sup> This little port is only interesting as having been originally formed by the monks of Newbattle, who designated it Newbaven, for the exportation of their coals. This deserted place was considered of such importance in the seventeenth century, that an Act was passed by the Parliament allowing an annual fair in 1698.<sup>6</sup>

The village of Prestonpans, formerly called Salt-Preston on account of its salt pans, extends along the rocky shore in one continued street of no great breadth, nearly a mile from its western extremity. Before the Union it possessed a very extensive import trade with the Continent, which entirely ceased about 1743. Latterly Prestonpans possessed for some years potteries for stone ware, which were relinquished in 1840, and the village is notoriously in repute for its celebrated ale, and the oysters known as Paudores. On the eastern wall of the churchyard is a monument to the memory of Stewart of Physgill, an officer of the royal army, who was killed by the Highlanders at the conflict in 1745.

The most remarkable event in the vicinity was the battle fought on the 21st of September, 1745, in which Sir John Cope was entirely defeated by the Highland Adventurers under Prince Charles Edward in person, and usually designated the battle of Prestonpans, though the field of action was in the parish of Tranent. The Highlanders in their accounts termed it the battle of Gladsmuir, a parish upwards of three

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Hamilton of Fingalton, Knight, married as his first wife Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir James Liddell of Preston, and this alliance conveyed the Barony into his family. His grandson Sir Robert, who succeeded before 1460, granted salt-pans, garners, and other donations to the Abbey of Melrose. Sir David Hamilton of Preston accompanied James V. in his matrimonial voyage to France, and Preston and Salt-Preston, or Prestonpans, were constituted a burgh of barony in his favour, with various privileges, in 1552.

<sup>2</sup> Sir David Hamilton of Preston, as a reward for his services in the war after the burning of the Tower in 1544, was created Knight-Banneret and Deputy-Marshal of Scotland. Though he actively promoted the Reformation, his judicious conduct recommended him as a negotiator between the contending parties, and his town of Preston was mutually selected as the place of conference, in 1559, by the supporters of the Queen-Dowager and her opponents, the Lords of the Congregation.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vi. p. 594; vol. vii. p. 98, and Appendix, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Act "in favour of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston concerning

the making up his writs that were burnt by the late usurpers in the month of October, 1650 years," and Act estimating his expenditure of "horses, arms, moneys, and other necessaries both at Dunbar and Worcester."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vii. p. 98, and Appendix, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> The name of Acheson's Haven is said to have been derived from Sir Archibald Acheson of Gosford, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, and appointed a Judge in the Court of Session in 1626, when he adopted the title of Lord Glencairnie. He was ancestor of the Earls of Gosford in Ireland, yet the sea-port of the ancient monks, which is on the estate of Prestongrange, never appears to have been his property. The present designation of Morison's Haven is from a family of that name, one of whom was a contemporary of Sir Archibald Acheson on the bench, and assumed his seat, also in 1626, by the title of Lord Prestongrange. Morison's Haven, formerly the harbour for Prestonpans, is now almost superseded by the excellent harbour of Cockenzie, two miles eastward.

<sup>6</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. x. p. 180.



miles distant; but they believed a tradition that a battle was to be fought on a muir, the resort of gleds or kites, well-known birds of prey, which would restore the rightful heir to the throne; and their credulity applied this to the locality.

The Adventurers marched from their camp at Duddingstone, under Arthur's Seat, on the 20th of September, apparently without expecting immediately to encounter the royal army, though they knew that Sir John Cope had disembarked his troops at Dunbar, and instead of the road to Prestonpans by the shore they advanced east to Tranent along the elevated grounds. The contending forces were nearly equal in numbers. Those of Sir John Cope consisted of about 2300 cavalry and infantry, and those of the Adventurers were at least 2500 individuals. But every advantage was in favour of Sir John Cope, who commanded infantry properly disciplined, supported by two regiments of cavalry, and by artillery, which the Highlanders then viewed with superstitious terror. Few of the Adventurers, on the contrary, had ever been under fire, and their cavalry were limited to fifty gentlemen and their retainers. They had only an iron gun, without a carriage, drawn by a Highland pony; and though the Prince proposed to dismiss this useless article, the Chiefs insisted that it should accompany them, alleging that their men attached an extraordinary importance to the possession of the "musket's mother," which in their language was the phrase for a cannon, and that its absence would considerably dispirit them. Many of the Highlanders had no fire-arms, while some possessed merely a broad-sword, a dirk, or a pistol, and the majority of them carried the blade of a scythe nailed to the wooden handle of a pitchfork—a weapon, however, which proved most formidable in the conflict. Such was the motley array who defeated the Hanoverian General, as they designated Sir John Cope.

The Adventurers, on the afternoon of the 20th of September, formed in order of battle on an eminence, a short distance west of Tranent, called Birsley Brae, in sight of the royal troops, by whom they were saluted with shouts of defiance, to which they responded by imprecations in the Gaelic language. They ascertained that Sir John Cope was prepared to receive them on level ground east of Prestonpans, and also that the march over the morass, which now consists of fertile fields, was dangerous, if not impracticable. Lord George Murray, who acted as their lieutenant-general, was concerting the mode of attack, and halting opposite Preston Tower, he appeared to threaten the flank of the royal troops, which induced Sir John Cope to change his position. The evolutions of the Adventurers compelled him to alter his arrangements at least four times. He was aware that his situation was unfavourable, and that he could act only on the defensive. This was the conviction of Colonel Gardiner, who was at the head of his regiment, now the Fourteenth Light Dragoons, and knew intimately the localities in the vicinity of his own residence. It is said that the Colonel offered Sir John Cope his house and grounds of Bankton if he would be allowed to place the artillery. This was refused, and the Colonel retired with a strong presentiment of the result, and of his own fate.

The Adventurers encamped in the fields east of Tranent, and a "council of war" was held in the village, at which it was decided, by the advice of Lord George Murray, that the attack should commence at sunrise. The principal inn of Tranent, a tenement of merely two apartments, afforded temporary accommodation to the Prince, the titular Duke of Perth, and another officer of rank. They dined in this hostelry in the afternoon, and the landlady cautiously removed every article of value even from such distinguished guests, lest the unceremonious cupidity of the "wild Highlandmen" might be excited. She regaled the Prince and his companions with "kail," or broth, and beef, of which they partook from a shallow wooden platter, and she produced only two wooden spoons, the one exclusively used by the Prince, and the other alternately by the Duke and his friend. They were obliged to cut the animal food with a common butcher's knife, and to eat it with their fingers. A few piquets were placed round the bivouac for the night, and the Highlanders reposed in the open air, which, by their mode of life, was no privation. The Prince selected a sheaf of peas for his pillow, and stretched himself on the stubble with his officers. It is sentimentally asserted, that while Sir John Cope was in comfortable quarters at Coekenzie House, the "unfortunate descendant of Robert Bruce lay on a bed of peas straw, and in the open field, surrounded by his humble but devoted retainers."<sup>1</sup> This, however, was merely prudential choice, and resulted from peculiar circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents, by John Henage Jesse, 8vo. 1845, vol. i. p. 207.

The morass was carefully examined by an officer, who declared that it was almost impassible by the Highlanders, and peculiarly dangerous. A gentleman named Anderson of Whitburgh was at this so-called "council of war" when the report was delivered, who had often shot snipes on the ground, and was intimately acquainted with its condition. He was silent during the discussion, after which he waited on Hepburn of Keith and Lord George Murray, informing them that he knew a dry part of the morass which could shelter the Highlanders from exposure to the fire of the royal forces, and who would not even see them at such an early hour. He was brought to the Prince, who sat on his couch of peas straw, and listened with delight to the announcement. The offer was eagerly accepted, and the plan of attack finally arranged.

The fight commenced at the morning twilight, in the narrow road leading from the village of Preston by Colonel Gardiner's mansion of Bankton to Tranent. It is unnecessary to detail minutely the particulars of a conflict which lasted only a few minutes. The royal troops were panic struck from the sudden and stealthy attack by the Highlanders at the daybreak of a very hazy morning, were completely routed, and fled in every direction. Sir John Cope passed through the victorious Adventurers unchallenged by displaying a white cockade, the badge of the adherents of the House of Stuart, and was the first to carry into England the tidings of his defeat.<sup>1</sup> A small body of cavalry rode furiously to Edinburgh, and demanded admission into the Castle. They found the gates closed by order of General Guest, the commander of the garrison, who intimated to them that if they refused instantly to depart he would discharge his artillery on cowards who had deserted their colours. Only one hundred and seventy of the infantry escaped, about four hundred fell in the brief conflict, and the remainder surrendered as prisoners. The greater number of the standards of the royal forces, and the whole of their artillery, fell into the hands of the Adventurers, who also obtained possession of Sir John Cope's military chest at Cockenzie House, containing nearly or probably upwards of 2500*l*. The loss of the Adventurers was only three officers and thirty men, with seventy or eighty wounded. Many of the slain were interred near the farm-house of Thorn-tree-Mains, so called from the thorn-tree which marks the pit into which the dead bodies were indiscriminately thrown.

The principal calamity was the death of Colonel Gardiner, whose life was worth hecatombs of the semi-barbarian mountaineers who defeated the royal troops.<sup>2</sup> He had passed the night in a field, wrapped in his cloak, under the shelter of a rick of barley near his own mansion of Bankton, and his anticipations of his fate appear to have been increased by religious excitement. About three in the morning he summoned his four domestic servants who were in waiting, and dismissed three of them with affectionate and pious advices, which apparently intimated that it was his last farewell of them. He then applied himself to devotional exercises during the remainder of the time, which could not have been more than an hour. At the commencement of the onset he was wounded by a bullet in his left breast, which made him spring in the saddle. His servant, who led his horse, urged him to retire, but he said it was merely a wound in the flesh, and continued in action, though he immediately received a shot in his right thigh. It was discerned that some of the insurgents fell by him. He was for a few moments supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm, by Lieutenant West, and by a few dragoons, who continued with him to the last. It was in vain attempted to rally the royal troops, who precipitately fled after a faint fire. In the brief conflict, deserted by his soldiers, and almost the only officer who remained faithful to his duty, he perceived a small party of infantry gallantly defending themselves. He exclaimed—"These brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" and he rode to them, saying—"Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." Colonel Gardiner had scarcely uttered these words, when he was struck by a Highland savage armed with a scythe fixed to a long pole, and he received a severe wound on his right arm, which compelled him to drop his sword.<sup>3</sup> Others assailed

<sup>1</sup> This latter circumstance is most sarcastically noticed in the Jacobite ballad, universally known in Scotland, entitled "Johnnie Cope," in which is the doggerel couple—

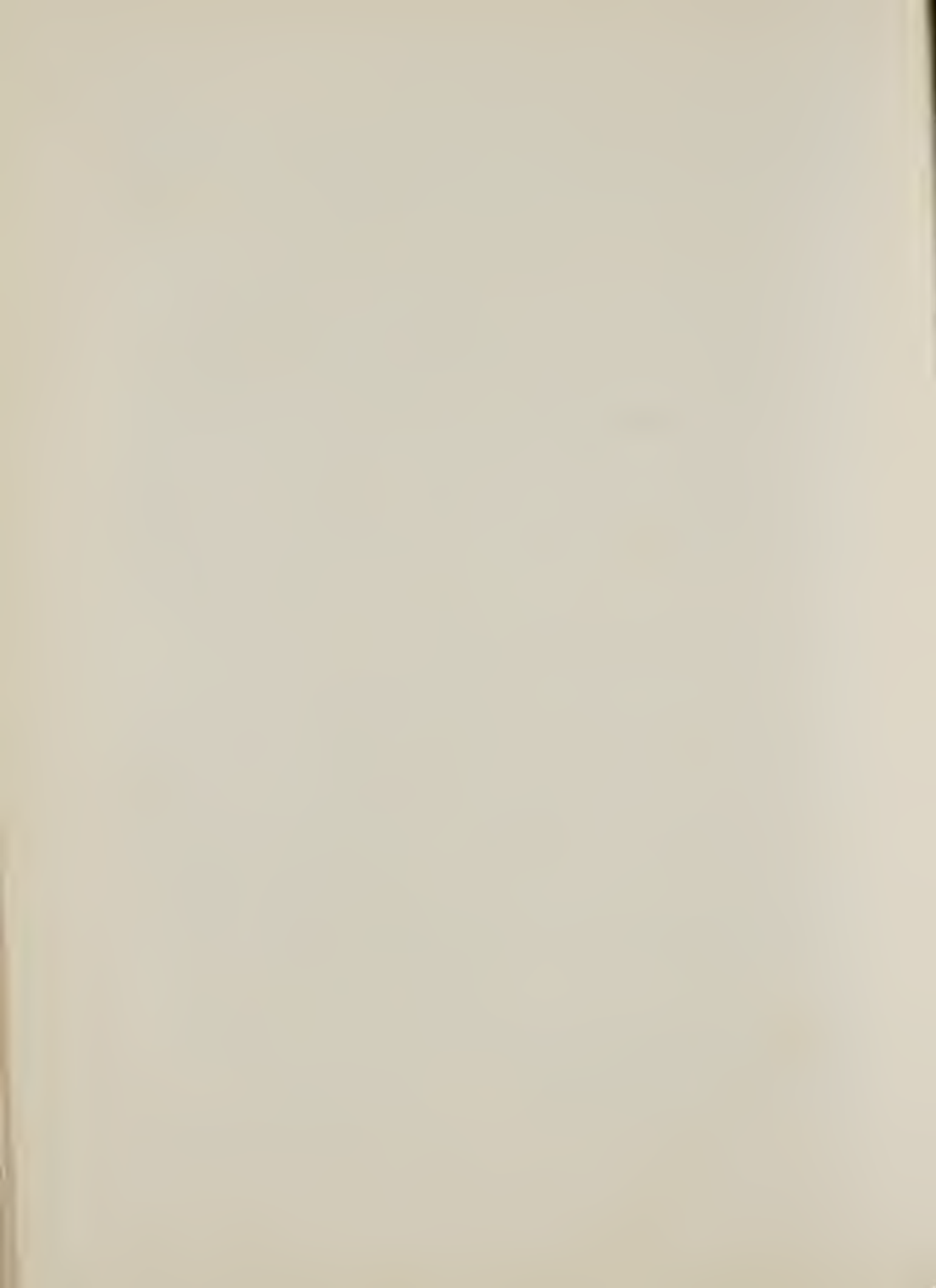
"Says Lord Mark Kerr, you are no blate  
To bring the news of your ain defeat."

This Lord Mark Kerr, who was hated by the Jacobites, was the fourth son of Robert, fourth Earl and first Marquis of Lothian.

<sup>2</sup> The biography of the brave and excellent Colonel Gardiner, by his friend Dr. Philip Doddridge, is well known, and he is prominently introduced in "Waverley" as commander of the regiment of Dragoons, then designated Gardiner's Dragoons, in which Edward Waverley obtained his commission.

<sup>3</sup> It is usually alleged that a stalwart Celt, known as the "Miller of Invernahayle," cut down Colonel Gardiner. This statement must be erroneous, if the following, written in 1835, is correct:—"Samuel

















Alfama - 11 - 1880  
Alfama - 11 - 1880  
N. M. ...



him, and he was dragged from his horse. When the Colonel fell, another Highlander, who is said to have been executed twelve months afterwards, inflicted the mortal blow on the back of his head. He could only say to his servant as his last words—"Take care of yourself." This occurred near the west end of the hamlet, not then in existence, called the Meadow Mill, and not more than a fourth of a mile from his own house. The servant fled to a mill two miles distant, and returned in the disguise of a miller, with a cart, about two hours after the conflict had terminated. The Colonel was found breathing, though insensible, plundered of his watch, money, and every article of value, and even stripped of his boots and upper clothing. As his mansion was in possession of the Adventurers, he was conveyed to the then manse of Tranent, where he was laid in bed, and continued frequently groaning till about eleven in the forenoon, when he expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.<sup>1</sup> He was interred on Tuesday, the 24th of September, within the parish church of Tranent—an edifice supplanted by the present structure, erected in 1800. No monument has been reared to the memory of this most worthy hero, whose very grave was long forgotten, until it was accidentally discovered, and the Colonel's skull retained the mark of the stroke of the Lochaber axe, while his military "club," bound firmly with silk, dressed with hair-powder, was almost quite fresh.

Many anecdotes were long preserved of the Highlanders in connexion with the conflict. They indiscriminately plundered friend and foe, literally acting as thieves, and rifling the pockets of those who had resorted from the villages to view the scene of battle. They eagerly appropriated every article on which they could lay hands; and from their ignorance of the value of the spoils, especially watches, they often committed ludicrous mistakes. A pit was excavated below Tranent churehyard to inter some dragoons, into which they were thrown undivested of their clothes. A Highlander happened to pass, and seeing boots on one of the soldiers, he desired the person who was filling the pit to draw them off: This was refused, and the mountaineer, after some hesitation, commenced operations. While stooping, the indignant rustic struck him with his spade on the head, and he was inhumed unceremoniously with the dragoons. Many deserted, and returned to their fastnesses and glens with the plunder, convinced that they had acquired a competency for life.

## TANTALLON CASTLE.

THE position of Tantallon or Tantallan Castle, the former stronghold of the once powerful Douglasses, appears in remarkable contrast to the objects in East-Lothian already described. We now leave the smooth or undulating fields of the most celebrated district in Scotland for cultivation, and proceed to the coast, where a broken line of rocks, rough and brown, or of the darkest hue, in reality an almost iron-bound continuation of rugged and wild precipices, overlooks the entrance to the Frith of Forth and the broad expanse of the German Ocean. On the most conspicuous of these stern projections are the ruins of Tantallon Castle, a fortress prominently introduced by Sir Walter Scott as the stronghold in which Marmion took leave of Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, commonly designated the "Great Earle" and "Bell-the-Cat." This vast pile, which was once some distance from the sea, is three miles east of North-Berwick and eight miles north-west of Dunbar, on the summit of an extensive and lofty promontory of trap-tuff, which is hollowed into inaccessible precipices by the action of the waves, and is surrounded on three sides by the sea.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the erection of Tantallon Castle is unknown. Sir Walter Scott states that the Fortress

Anderson, who by his Lochaber axe killed the pious and brave Colonel Gardiner, was a native of this parish (Kilmalie). His grandson is one of the elders at present. He used to say that he and his comrade acted in self-defence, for the Colonel galloped up and attacked them.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Inverness-shire, p. 121.

<sup>1</sup> The manse now occupied by the parish minister of Tranent was built in 1781, and must not be mistaken, as it commonly is, for the house in which Colonel Gardiner died, and from which he was carried to the church for interment.

<sup>2</sup> The situation of the fortifications of Tantallon Castle is thus briefly described in "Marmion,"—

"Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,  
And held impregnable in war.  
On a projecting rock they rose,  
And round three sides the ocean flows.  
The fourth did battled walls enclose,  
And double mound and fosse.

“is believed to have belonged in more ancient times to the Earls of Fife, the descendants of Macduff. It was certainly in the possession of Isabel, the last Countess of that renowned line, and was comprehended in the settlement which she made of her honours and estates upon Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith, whom she recognised by that deed as her lawful and nearest heir in 1371.” This Earl of Menteith, who married Margaret, Countess of Menteith in her own right, grand-daughter of Murdoch eighth Earl, was the third son of Robert II., and was afterwards Earl of Fife, Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland. Their son Murdoe, second Duke, who succeeded his father in 1419, and also obtained the Regency while James I. was a captive in England, was the next proprietor. He was beheaded, with two of his sons and the Earl of Lennox, at Stirling, in May 1425, the year after his Duchess, who was implicated in the sudden arrest of himself, his family, and adherents, had been transferred as a prisoner from the hall to the dungeon of the Castle which she at the time inhabited. In 1427, Alexander Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, who had been the leader of a rebellion in the Highlands, was after his submission to James I. committed to Tantallon under the charge of George, fourth Earl of Angus, the King’s nephew, and father of “Bell-the-Cat,” and who obtained a grant of the King’s Castle of Temptallone,” and the adjacent lands, which were constituted a Barony in June 1452. This acquisition by the House of Douglas was confirmed to “Bell-the-Cat” in October 1479. After the downfall of the chief of that family the Fortress and Barony were obtained by a younger branch, whose increasing power endangered the throne.

In July 1528, James V., then a youth of about fifteen years of age, escaped from the thralldom of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, against whom a war was commenced to seize his strongholds; and the operations to reduce Tantallon indicate its strength as a fortress to resist the rude artillery of that time, although its position is commanded from all the adjacent fields. In September an act of attainder was passed against the House of Douglas, and the forfeiture of their possessions included Tantallon. An army of 12,000 men, with a train of artillery, invested the fortress, and after a siege of twenty days were compelled to desist. The Earl of Angus was absent in Berwickshire, declining to hazard himself in any place of strength, and observing the maxim of his predecessor, that “it was better to hear the lark sing than the mouse cheep.” Two of the cannons brought against Tantallon were known as “thrawin-mouthed Meg and her Marrow.” James V. was obliged to return to Edinburgh, and withdrew his forces, leaving a small detachment to protect the artillery. Angus suddenly issued from his retreat at the head of one hundred and sixty followers, routed the detachment, and captured the leader, whom he released after conveying the artillery to some distance in its destined passage, telling him to assure the King of his loyal services, and that his hostility was solely directed against his evil advisers. The proceedings to crush the House of Douglas were eventually successful, and the Earl fled to England. Tantallon was surrendered on the 4th of December, 1528, to the royal forces by Simon Penango, who had intimated to Angus that he was “evill victualled,” and wanted ammunition and artillery, which the Earl was unable to supply. James V. rewarded Penango, placed in Tantallon a sufficient garrison with ample stores, repaired the walls, and conferred the command on his favourite, Oliver St. Clair. The King visited the Fortress in 1537 to inspect its condition and the artillery. While in the possession of the King the fortifications appear to have been enlarged and considerably strengthened.<sup>1</sup> After the death of James V., in December 1542, the Earl of Angus returned from exile, was restored to all his castles and estates, and rendered Tantallon stronger than it had been at any time; but he never recovered his former power, and in reality he came to Scotland by the favour of Henry VIII. Sir Ralph Sadler resided some time in Tantallon Castle for his personal security, while the unpopular negotiations which he was sent to superintend were in progress with the young Prince Edward and the infant Queen Mary, and he has recorded a notice of the declining resources of the House of Douglas. The Earl of Angus was unwilling that he should inspect the bareness of his establishment, and he sent his servant, who reported that the Castle was “cleanly unfurnished both of bedding and all manner of household stuff, and none to be bought or hired, nor no manner of provision to be made thereof, nor any kind of victual nearer than this town, which is twenty miles off.” Sadler again observes, that though Tantallon is “easily” or “poorly” furnished, and “slendour lodging in it, yet, I assure you, it is of such strength as I must not fear the malice of mine enemies, and therefore do now think myself to be out of danger.” The Earl of Angus died in Tantallon Castle in 1556. Another English ambassador was an inmate of the Fortress in

<sup>1</sup> In the Lord High Treasurer’s Books is this entry, under date 6th October, 1536 — “To Olypher Sinclair at the King’s command to the Works at Tamtallome, lxxv li. xiijs. iiijd.”—Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 298.

1572. This was Killebrew, who was sent by Queen Elizabeth, secretly instructed, to devise the execution of the captive Queen Mary in a manner the least likely to excite a dangerous sensation, and his first residence was in Tantallon, in which the Earl of Morton was then confined by indisposition.

In 1639 the Covenanters besieged and secured Tantallon Castle, to revenge the loyalty of William eleventh Earl of Angus and first Marquis of Douglas, who adhered to Charles I., and they garrisoned the Fortress against the king. In January 1651, the Captain of the Bass seized an English vessel laden with stores, on the voyage to Leith, and some of the crew were imprisoned in Tantallon. General Monk resolved to reduce the Fortress, and advanced with three regiments of horse and infantry. He stationed his artillery on the high ground south of the spring, known as St. Baldred's Well. The garrison under Alexander Seton refused to surrender, and Monk plied his mortar-pieces two days. These made little impression, and his battering guns were more successful. Sir James Balfour states that the siege continued twelve days, and that the assailants entered by a large breach, the stones of which filled the ditch. The garrison entrenched the tower and obtained conditions. This was the last military operation against Tantallon, and closes its historical career.

This huge pile was considered so impregnable, that to "ding down Tantallon," and to "mak' a brig to the Bass," were by the local peasantry long held to be equally impossible.<sup>1</sup> The latter difficulty is undeniable, but the events of 1639 and 1651 disproved the former. Nevertheless, so strong is the position of Tantallon Castle, that the adage would apply before the invention of artillery. The only entrance is from the west, where the Fortress was defended by two ditches, the vestiges of which are still very distinct, and the interior, close to the principal part of the pile, rendered steep by the scraping of the rock. The remains of considerable works are beyond the area of the outer ditch. The Fortress was also secured on the west side by massive towers, and here was the drawbridge in connexion with the gateway, which led into the main court. The enclosed area is cut off by these towers and curtains, and the dilapidated edifices rise immediately over the precipices on the west. The central portion of the Fortress may be said to be a rounded front, which projects considerably forward from two extensive curtains of a lofty wall stretching obliquely towards the sea. On this edifice are seen the remains of a coat of arms, the only piece of sculpture on the gloomy pile, except a slightly perceptible moulding round the circular arch of the doorway beneath, at which are the indications of buttresses, probably connected with the drawbridge of the inner moat. Tantallon consists of three circular and square towers, the walls of enormous thickness, united by lofty ramparts. The east and west towers and the curtains are the oldest portions, and the central is supposed to be of the time of the sixth Earl of Angus. The buildings towards the sea are almost entirely destroyed, yet the Castle was habitable before it was dismantled by Lord President Sir Hew Dalrymple, who died in 1737. The interior displays broken staircases, inaccessible apartments, and fragments of roofless chambers. Beneath the piles of ruins are arched vaults and dark excavated dungeons, in which many acts of cruelty were inflicted on the miserable captives in feudal times. One of the deepest and most dismal is without the Castle, at the north-west angle, and is conjectured to have been the donjon-keep of the guard-house. These vaults were long the haunts of smugglers, and the unsuspected receptacles of their commodities.<sup>2</sup> The neglected garden, fringed on the north and east by thickets of diminutive elder-bushes, is the

<sup>1</sup> This ancient familiar proverb for centuries characterised supposed exploits which cannot be achieved, and is an old military tradition said to have formed the burden of the "Scots March." It is usually presented as a half stanza—

"Ding down Tantallon,  
Mak' a brig to the Bass."

Hamilton of Gilbertfield complimented Allan Ramsay, the author of the "Gentle Shepherd," that—

"Nowther Hielanman nor Lawlan,  
In poetrie,  
But mocht as weel ding down Tantallon  
As match wi' thee."

Time, however, is fast "dinging down" the stately and massive towers of Tantallon Castle.

<sup>2</sup> A band of thieves, headed by an old sailor who had been wrecked

on the rocky islet of Fidra, near North-Berwick, entrenched themselves in the upper apartment of Tantallon Castle. They had constructed a ladder of ropes, which they could use and remove at pleasure, and for weeks they sallied out at night, plundering the neighbourhood of clothes and provisions. Some of the North-Berwick fishermen had seen lights at night twinkling in the upper part of the ruins, from slit-openings and shot-holes, which, as these lights were considered supernatural, excited no suspicion. A Highland servant, while planting ivy at the base of the old walls, was invisibly pelted with pieces of lime, and superstitious fear constrained him to be silent. At last the general dismay was relieved by some young women, who, while working in the Castle garden, was startled by perceiving a weather-beaten face intently gazing at them from a window in the fourth storey. They fled and raised the alarm, which was soon followed by the capture and punishment of the marauders.—*Geology of the Bass*, by Hugh Miller, in the "Bass Rock, its Civil and Ecclesiastical History," &c., 8vo. 1848, pp. 75, 76.

only memorial of the scene admirably described in "Marmion" as the favourite resort of the Lady Clare, and was certainly, with the sight of the Bass, the opposite Island of May, the expanse of the Frith of Forth, and the German Ocean, a most appropriate locality for meditation. The whole is now one of the many remains of extinct feudal grandeur and lordly power.

### THE BASS.

NEARLY opposite Tantallon Castle, and apparently close to the ruins, though in reality at least two miles distant, is the "sea-rock immense, amazing Bass," which rises abruptly from the sea upwards of four hundred and twenty feet, and from the fathomed depth of the water probably six hundred feet of elevation. This huge and wondrous mass of clinkstone, the abode of myriads of sea-fowl, is peculiarly perpendicular, and appears in dark and isolated grandeur, presenting a series of rude columns bent forward on the shelves formed by cross-jointings, on which the sea-fowl rear their young. The highest side is on the north, and on the south the surface is conical, sloping rapidly towards the sea. The Bass is fully a mile in circumference, and the area of grassy surface, nearly seven acres, affording pasturage to a few sheep. A cavern, nearly thirty feet high, and five hundred feet in length, perforates the Rock from north-west to south-east, which can be explored at ebb tide, and is entered by a natural niche upwards of one hundred feet high, the roof displaying minute tufts of rock-fern. The interior contains nothing attractive, and the roof closes at the entrance, where a projection excludes the daylight. In the centre of this cavern is a dark pool of three or four feet water at low ebb, and within the south-eastern entrance an accumulation of boulders occupies the remaining portion of the length. Near the north-west opening is a gravel beach, chiefly covered at spring tides, when it is lashed by the violence of the waves, but generally the surrounding channel is free from rocks or sand, and is of great depth.

The only landing-place on the Bass is on the south-east side, beneath the now ruinous fortifications, and is remarkably steep and difficult. This landing-place, which is cut out of the solid rock, leads to the first of three terraces of the sloping acclivity. This terrace contains the ruinous Fortress, so constructed that a single line of wall built across the point from east to west renders it inaccessible, and completely secures the whole island, joining at one extremity a steep cliff which rises towards the second terrace, and terminates with the rock-edge descending perpendicularly into the sea. On this middle platform or terrace, which is exactly above the cavern, are the remains of the Chapel. The upper and largest terrace is immediately under the summit of the rock, on which was the flag-staff. Here is a levelled space, formerly the garden, enclosed by a dilapidated wall, and in the centre is a deep square excavation called the Well, the water of which is very disagreeable. All the doors of the ruins are open, with the exception of one, by which the tenant protects the upper part of the Rock, and the sheep and unfledged birds, from rude visitors. This door divides the surface of the Rock into two unequal lower and upper parts, confining the sheep to the latter, while over the surface of both range a colony of rabbits.

The Bass is one of the most stupendous natural curiosities in Scotland, and rises from the sea like an enormous eruption of a former world. From the opposite coast of Fife the view is peculiarly impressive, especially when the setting sun reflects on its huge columns, or the foaming billows dash against its massive sides.<sup>1</sup> The earliest notice of the Bass is connected with religious seclusion. At the end of the sixth

<sup>1</sup> Boece, in the sixteenth century, describes the Bass, in his antiquated phraseology, as "ane wonderful crag risand within the sea, with so narrow and strait hals (passage), that no schip nor boat may arrive bot allenarlie at ano part of it; and (is) unwinnabil be engine of man." He also states that "every thing in that crag is full of admiration and wonder," and he describes "ane multitude of fish callit by the pepil bassinates,"—evidently seals or sea-dogs, which frequent the mouth of the Tyne at Tynninghame House, and no longer excite the terror of man, or cause murrain to cattle. Monsieur Beague, in "the Regency of Mary of Guise," states that the Bass is an "impregnable rock of a small extent and oval figure, cut out by the hands of nature. It has only one avenue that leads to it, and that is

towards the castle, but so very difficult and uneasy, that by reason of the hidden sands that surround the Rock, nothing can approach it but one little boat at a time.—Those that enter the castle must climb up by the help of a strong cable thrown down for the purpose, and when they have got with much ado to the foot of the wall, they sit down in a wide basket, and in this position are mounted up by strength of hands. There is no getting into this wonderful fortress by any other means."—Beague's History of the Campaigns, 1548 and 1549, between the Scots and French on the one side, and the English and their Foreign Auxiliaries on the other, 8vo. 1707, translated from the French by Dr. Abercromby. The assertion that "hidden sands" render the Bass difficult of access is erroneous.









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century flourished St. Baldred, the apostle, as he is called, of East-Lothian, and designated "Doctor of the Picts," though Christianity is said to have been preached in East-Lothian a century earlier. St. Baldred is traditionally alleged to have selected the Bass for his devotions, and he is consequently known as St. Baldred of the Bass. He is said to have been a disciple of St. Mungo of Glasgow, and a credulous authority represents him as the successor of the same St. Mungo in that Sec.<sup>1</sup> It is also stated, that though he selected the Bass as his residence, his pastoral care extended from the Lammermuir range to the Esk at Musselburgh—that he performed numerous miracles—and that he died on the Rock in March, A.D. 606. Sundry remarkable prodigies are recorded of his interment.<sup>2</sup> This anchorite has transmitted his name to various localities on the shore, which were long held in veneration, and well known to the peasantry of the respective vicinities.<sup>3</sup> Whatever credit may be assigned to St. Baldred and his labours, a chapel existed on the Bass in remote times. The Rock anciently formed a parish, and the "kirk in the Crag of the Bass" was consecrated in honour of the holy man in 1542, by the authority of Cardinal Beaton.<sup>4</sup> This was the present ruinous chapel, erected on the site of St. Baldred's cell, which was used for divino service till after the Reformation, when the want of inhabitants rendered a preacher unnecessary.<sup>5</sup> The Bass is now parochially annexed to North-Berwick, the incumbent of which, as representing the vicar, receives annually twelve solan geese "entire with feathers."

The earliest known proprietors of the Bass were the family of Lauder, the chief of whom was usually styled "Lauder of the Bass," though their residence is supposed to have been in the burgh of North-Berwick. A charter from William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, in favour of Robert Lauder, one of the companions of Sir William Wallace, was dated 4th June, 1316.<sup>6</sup> In the aisle of the old church at North-Berwick was long visible the tombstone of this proprietor's father, containing the pompous inscription—"Here lies the good Robert Lauder, the great Laird of Congalton and the Bass." This monument existed in 1722, and the original inscription, with its doubtful date, was carved in Saxon letters.<sup>7</sup> It is said that the Priory of St. Andrews possessed a right to a part of the Bass, but the Lauder family had acquired the greater portion of this singular property long before the date of Bishop Lamberton's charter, and it is ascertained that the Rock belonged to them nearly five centuries.

In 1405 Robert III. placed his son, afterwards James I., on the Bass, for security from the projects of his brother the Duke of Albany, till a vessel was prepared to convey him to France, and the young Prince embarked from the Rock to be seized by the English off Flamborough Head—the very misfortune which his father was anxious to avoid, and when informed of it in Rothesay Castle, caused his death in bitter anguish in 1406. James I. returned from his captivity of nineteen years in 1424, when Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, was committed a prisoner to the Bass. The Island is seldom subsequently mentioned in the records of the Parliaments. The family of Lauder refused the solicitations of successive monarchs to sell the Rock. About 1569 or 1570, the Earl of Morton attempted to obtain it, and some

<sup>1</sup> Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1829, vol. i. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> St. Baldred was so much esteemed, that the three mainland parishes of Alibame, Tynningbame, and Preston, claimed his remains. As it was impossible to satisfy rival demands, and to prevent a conflict for the body of the holy man, the disputants were advised to devote the night to prayer, and in the morning they found three biers with three bodies decently covered, and so like each other that no man could perceive the least difference. Each corpse was joyfully carried by the parties to their respective churches, and interred with great solemnity.—St. Baldred of the Bass, and other Poems, by James Millar, 8vo. 1824, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> A rock near the mouth of the Tyne is called "St. Baldred's Cradle;" another rock, which the holy man miraculously removed from the middle of the channel between the Bass and the mainland, is known as "St. Baldred's Boat;" half a mile south of Tantallon Castle is "St. Baldred's Well;" and his alleged statue, which was broken by an "irreverent mason," was long in Prestonkirk churchyard.

<sup>4</sup> Under date 1542 it is stated—"The v. day of January, M. Villielm Gibson, Byschop of Lihariensis, and Suffraganens to David Beton,

Cardynall and Archbyschop of Santandros, consecrat and dedicat the parish kirk in the Craig of the Bass in honour of Sant Baldred, Byschop and Confessor, in presence of Maister John Lawder, Archdeane in Teuidal, noter publick."—*Extracta ex Chronicis Scocie*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. 1829, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> In the "Buik of Assignations of the Ministeris and Reidaris Stipends," for 1579, it is stated, "Bass and Aulthamo neidis na Reidaris." A curious incident occurred on the Bass in more recent times. This was the reception into the Roman Catholic Church of a young lady in presence of her father and the tenant and his boat-assistant. The ceremony was performed by the officiating priest in the ruinous chapel consecrated to St. Baldred.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Haddingtonshire*, p. 331.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Lamberton's charter, which was confirmed by John de Forfar, Prior of St. Andrews, was stolen from the Grango House, near Edinburgh, with a number of other documents and articles, on the night of the 18th September, 1836, and was never recovered.

<sup>7</sup> Nisbet's *Heraldry*, folio, 1722, vol. i. p. 443. Nisbet adds, in reference to the date, "Some read mcccxi, and others mcccxi."

notices of his designs are preserved.<sup>1</sup> In 1581 James VI. visited the Bass, and was anxious to secure it for the Crown, which appears from the reply of the proprietor to have been in temporary possession.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that the Lauders of the Bass, never very opulent, decayed as a family in the seventeenth century. During the Civil Wars the proprietor of the Bass was a zealous royalist; and his daughter, whom some identify with the heroine of Anstruther or Anster Fair, is mentioned as a lady of masculine qualifications. In 1649 the Earl of Haddington and Hepburn of Waughton were conjunct proprietors, and about the time of the restoration of Charles II. the Bass was the property of Sir Andrew Ramsay, of Abbotshall, in Fife, who was several years Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and who sold the Rock to the Government for 4000*l.* in 1671. The Bass was then constituted a state prison, and the Chapel was the magazine for the garrison. Numbers of the turbulent Covenanters were consigned to safe custody on the Rock in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. A list of thirty-nine individuals is recorded, the first of whom was a Robert Gillespie, who was sent to the Bass in 1672. The most conspicuous of those prisoners were John Blackadder, minister of Troqueer, father of Colonel John Blackadder, Sir Hugh and Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, Alexander Gordon of Earlston, and Major Learmonth, a Covenanting officer. Blackadder died on the Bass in 1685, after a confinement of five years, and was interred in North-Berwick churchyard, in which a large flat stone, with a poetical inscription, marks his grave. A wretched apartment, called "Blackadder's Cell," is shown, its three small iron-barred windows looking to the west. It is curious that all those "martyrs of the Bass," as they are foolishly designated by their admirers, were offered liberty, if they would promise not to molest the Government; and some of them were, by their obstinacy, imprisoned years. James Mitchell, who attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews in the High Street of Edinburgh, in July 1668, and Fraser of Brae, a noted Covenanting preacher, were brought to the Bass on the 30th of January, 1677, under a guard of twelve horse and thirty foot. The last Covenanting prisoner was John Spreul, a fanatical apothecary in Glasgow, who was committed in July 1681, and released in May 1687, in which year Major Learmonth was liberated on account of his health, after a domicile of five years. The Government, however, sent persons to the Bass who were not Covenanters. One of them was a Leith Quaker, for railing at his parish minister; a second was a Roman Catholic priest, named George Young, whose offence in 1769 is not recorded; and a third was John Philip, the episcopal incumbent or "curate" of Queensferry, who was deposed for refusing the "Test," and was accused before the Privy Council in March 1683 for denouncing the Duke of York as a "great tyrant," who was "detestable to the subjects;" for asserting that the Bishop of Edinburgh and the Lord Advocate—Dr. John Paterson and Sir George Mackenzie—were "bloody and cruel men, and that he hoped to see them suffer for it;" and for maintaining that the Earl of Argyll had been unjustly forfeited. This political "curate" was fined 2000*l.* sterling, to be paid within a fortnight, declared infamous, and ordered to be imprisoned for life on the Bass, where his avowed principles would render him a more suitable companion to the Covenanters than the Leith Quaker and the Roman Catholic priest.

The garrison of the Bass refused to acknowledge the Revolution, and held out under Charles Maitland, the deputy-governor, in the name of James II. till 1690, when they surrendered. In that year some adherents of James II. contrived to obtain temporary possession. They had been sent as prisoners, and having expelled the garrison, they were supplied with provisions by their friends on shore, plundered merchant-vessels, exacted tribute from every ship which approached within reach of their artillery, and resisted every attempt to dislodge them for four years. Their commander was David Blair, son of Blair of Ardblair, who caused Andrew Fletcher of Salton, the Revolution governor, considerable trouble and expense. William III. at last sent two large ships of war against them, which, assisted by small vessels, intercepted their provisions, and compelled them to capitulate in 1694. They obtained easy terms, probably by a stratagem of their leader, who, having some bottles of excellent French wine and brandy, and a quantity of biscuits, regaled the deputation sent to negotiate, and pretended that he had abundance of supplies. He also ordered all the hats and coats to be placed on muskets, which he ranged close

<sup>1</sup> Wishart of Pitarrow told the Regent Moray—"I hear say my Lord of Morton is trafficking to get the house of the Bass, which, if he does, he will stop some devices your Grace knows; and therefore, were I in your Grace's stead, I would go between the cow and the corn. I tell you the auld Crag is a good starting-hole; at least it will serve

to keep them that you would be sure of."—Richard Bannatyne's *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, 1560-1573*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1836, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> The reply was, "Your Majesty must e'en resign it to me, for I'll have the auld Crag back again."







Remains of the Temple of Bel at Babylon  
1845





to the walls, as if the Fortress was full of soldiers; and this device had its influence on the Privy Council. The fortifications and defences were reduced to ruins in 1701, and in 1706 the Bass was granted to Sir Hew Hamilton Dalrymple, Bart., the Crown reserving the assumption of possession. The King of the Belgians, while Prince Leopold, visited the Bass in 1819. The landing-place was prepared in 1822 for George IV., who was contented with the salute from the artillery brought from Leith Fort. One corroded gun is the only memorial of the former cannon. The buildings, in front of which was a small parade ground, were long accessible only by ladders, or a bucket raised by a chain at the crane bastion. Subsequently the ingress was and still is by three flights of steps, protected by as many gates, which have disappeared. Though roofless and in complete desolation, the ruins are externally entire, and the garden produces some wild flowers, such as the common daffodil and the pale narcissus. Fraser of Brae mentions cherry-trees, of the fruit of which he occasionally partook. Formerly visitors were constituted "burgesses of the Bass" by drinking the water of the well, and receiving a flower out of the garden.

The Bass, in its ocean solitude, has been long inhabited by sea-fowl, a colony of rabbits, and a few sheep, and is superintended by the tenant or keeper, who resides in the hamlet of Canty Bay on the mainland. The gannets, or solan geese, the puffin, large black gull, kittiwake, common marot, or guillemot, razor-billed millot, or common puffin, falcon or hawk, large raven, cider duck, cormorant, and innumerable flocks of smaller birds, resort to and breed on the Bass. The solan geese are annual migratory birds, arriving at the Bass early in February in successive myriads. Their gannets are taken in the beginning of August, after which the parents depart, though many linger till October, and thousands often remain throughout the winter, attracted by the herring shoals, the movements of which regulate these sea-fowl.

## DUNBAR CASTLE.

THE royal burgh and seaport of Dunbar, eleven miles from Haddington and twenty-eight miles east from Edinburgh, was originated by its Castle, which was anciently enclosed by a strong wall, and was entered by three ports or gates. Dunbar Castle is of such antiquity that it was burnt in A.D. 856 by Kenneth II., according to the tradition related by Buchanan. The same suspicious narrator of fabulous Scottish history gravely asserts that the town derives its name from a warrior called Bar, though it is more likely that the appellation describes the situation of the stronghold on the summit of cliffs projecting into the sea. In 1072 Malcolm III. bestowed the manor on Cospatrik, Earl of Northumberland, the reputed first Earl of Dunbar and March, who appears to have held the Castle. This personage, who was the ancestor of a great and martial family, came to Scotland in 1063 with Edgar, the deprived heir of the Saxon line, and his sister Margaret, who became the Queen of Malcolm. It is unnecessary to detail the adventures of Cospatrik after the conquest of England by William the Norman, with whom he was at one time in favour, and obtained the government of Northumberland, of which he was deprived in 1072. Dunbar Castle, or "Earl Patrick's Stronghold," was the principal baronial residence of his descendants, who during four centuries maintained an almost regal power and authority in the eastern districts of Scotland. Lord Hailes alleges that the account by Boece of this family is an "ignorant fiction," and ridicules his narrative that the founder was a Patrick Dunbar, who attacked a formidable band of robbers about the year 1061, killed six hundred of them, hanged eighty, and presented the head of their commander to King Malcolm, who as a reward created him Earl of March, and granted to him certain lands, with the privilege of displaying a banner on which the bloody head of a robber was painted.<sup>1</sup>

Patrick, fifth Earl of Dunbar and March, invited his relatives and neighbours to celebrate Christmas, in 1231, at Dunbar Castle, and after an entertainment of four days he received the monastic habit from the Abbot of Melrose. In 1285 Patrick, seventh Earl, was visited by no less a personage than Thomas Larnmonth, called the "Rhymer," renowned for his supposed prophetic gifts, and who on that occasion announced to the Earl the fate of Alexander III., who was killed by a fall from his horse near Kinghorn in Fife. The Rhymer arrived at the Castle on the night preceding the accident, and in the course of conversation he was asked if the following day would produce any remarkable event. "Alas for to-morrow!" replied the Rhymer; "a day

<sup>1</sup> Annals of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 18.

of misery and woe. Before the twelfth hour shall be a blast which wind and tempest never before caused in Scotland." After this declaration, and other mysterious announcements, the Rhymer retired to his apartment. As the prediction was believed to refer to the weather, Earl Patrick and his friends watched the forenoon of the next day, and as no commotion of the elements occurred, they concluded that the Rhymer was a pretender, and sat down to their repast. The Earl had scarcely commenced his refection, and was upbraiding the soothsayer, when a messenger arrived on horseback at the gate of the Castle, and demanded instant admittance. He was introduced to the Earl, to whom he said—"I indeed bring tidings most lamentable, and to be deplored by the whole realm of Scotland. Our renowned King has ended his fair life on yonder coast near Kinghorn." "This," exclaimed the Rhymer, who had now secured his reputation, "is the direful wind and tempest which shall be a calamity and trouble to the kingdom of Scotland."

Patrick, eighth Earl, surnamed "Black Beard," adhered to the English interest. His Countess Marjory, daughter of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, surrendered Dunbar Castle to the Scottish forces in 1296, which induced Edward I. to commission Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, to recover the Fortress. The Scots agreed to submit, unless relieved within three days. On the third day the entire Scottish force appeared in battle array on Doon Hill, nearly three miles south-east of Dunbar—the eminence on which the Covenanted army encamped under General Leslie in 1650 before his defeat by Cromwell, and the result was similar. The Earl of Surrey advanced against the Scottish forces, who rashly left their advantageous position, and rushed down tumultuously on the English. They were completely defeated, and many of the fugitives were received into Dunbar Castle. This conflict occurred on the 28th of April, 1296, and was one of the last disasters which terminated the short and feeble reign of John Baliol. On the day after the battle Edward I. appeared with the remainder of his army, and Richard Seward, the governor, surrendered the Fortress to the English monarch.<sup>1</sup> The Earls of Atholl, Ross, and Menteith,<sup>2</sup> four barons, thirty-one knights, one hundred esquires, and others of lesser note, were taken prisoners. Three years afterwards the English monarch allowed 200*l.* to the Earl of Dunbar, to furnish the Castle with stores and provisions.

Patrick, ninth Earl, also adhered to the English interest, and opened the gates of the Castle to Edward II. in 1314, after his memorable flight from Bannockburn. The defeated monarch was protected from his pursuers by the Earl, who hospitably entertained him, and conveyed him in a fishing-boat to Berwick; but the Earl also submitted to King Robert Bruce, who was his cousin, and in 1333 demolished Dunbar Castle, to prevent the stronghold falling into the hands of the English. He was, however, persuaded to rebuild the Castle by Edward III., from whom he received some important distinctions. This Earl seems to have been a dubious politician in the matter of allegiance. On the 28th of January, 1337-8, was commenced the most noted siege in the history of the Fortress. The Earl was absent, and the proceedings of his Countess indicate that he was in arms against the English and the supporters of Baliol. This Lady, who from her dark complexion was surnamed "Black Agnes," was the daughter of Randolph, Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, nephew of King Robert Bruce, and she resolved to defend her husband's Fortress to the last extremity.

The besiegers, under William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, assailed the massive pile with battering engines, and hurled large stones against the walls, yet Black Agnes was undaunted, and in scorn ordered her female attendants to wipe off the dust with their napkins. She beheld with indifference the "sow"—an enormous machine of timber, the ridge of the wooden shed or covering of which resembled a hog's back, and in derision advised Salisbury in a kind of rhyme—"Beware, Montagow, for farrow shall thy sow." An immenso stone was dropped from the walls on this machine, which was crushed to pieces. As the English fled to escape from the stones and arrows, Black Agnes called out—"Behold the litter of English pigs." An arrow killed an English knight near Salisbury, who exclaimed—"That is one of my lady's love-tokens; Black Agnes' love-shafts pierce to the heart."

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Balfour (*Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 83) accuses Seward, whom he designates a "base and villanous wretch," of treacherously betraying Dunbar Castle to Edward I. Lord Hailes says—"This charge is manifestly unjust. Seward had agreed to surrender the Castle if it was not relieved within three days, and it was not relieved."—*Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> According to Sir James Balfour, the Earls of Ross and Menteith were "taken, and instantly killed, contrary the tyrant's faith given." The reverse was the fact. The Earl of Ross was sent a prisoner to

London, and Edward I. ordered Jehn de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, his governor of Scotland, to allot to the Countess "one hundred pounds of land" for her support. As to the Earl of Menteith, it is asserted by Trivet and Walsingham that he was released from confinement by engaging to serve Edward I. in his foreign wars. Lord Hailes says—"It is generally believed, without sufficient evidence, that Edward put the Earl of Menteith to death."—*Annals*, vol. i. p. 239.

The resistance of the garrison was so determined and indomitable, that Salisbury resolved to obtain possession of the Fortress by stratagem. He offered a considerable sum to the keeper of the principal entrance, if he would leave the gate in such a manner as to allow easy access to the besiegers. The money was accepted, and it was agreed that a small party were to be admitted. The Countess was informed by the warder of this bribery, and exulted at the design. At the time appointed the gate was found open, and the Earl was about to enter, when Copeland, one of his officers, hastily preceded him. The portcullis immediately fell, and Copeland, mistaken for his commander, was a prisoner. Black Agnes witnessed the affair from the battlements, and addressing the Earl by his family name, jeeringly shouted—"Farewell, Montague. I intended that you should have supped with us to-night, and assisted us in defending the Castle against the English."

Salisbury now turned the siege into a blockade, and prepared to starve the garrison into a surrender. Ramsay of Dalhousie resolved to achieve their deliverance. He contrived to elude the vigilance of the English, and entered the Fortress by a postern, the ruins of which are still visible. Instantly sallying out, he attacked the advanced guards of the English, whom he drove to their camp. Disheartened by this exploit, and at the length of the siege, the English commander, on the 10th of June, agreed to a cessation of arms, and withdrew his forces, leaving the heroic Black Agnes in possession of the Castle.

George, eleventh Earl of Dunbar and March, his grandson, was most unjustly deprived of his titles and estates on the 10th of January, 1434-5, and the Castle was seized by the Crown. Hepburn of Hailes was appointed constable, one of the ancestors of the Earls of Bothwell, who rose to power and influence on the ruin of the ancient Earls of Dunbar and March. The Castle and estates for a time after the deprivation of the last Earl were held by the Duke of Albany, and latterly changed possessors, though always considered the property of the Crown. Jane Seynour, the Queen-Dowager of the murdered James I., died in the Fortress in 1446, and was interred at Perth. The Duke of Albany landed at Dunbar Castle after his escape from Edinburgh Castle in 1475, and thence sailed to France. He returned and regained possession of the Fortress, which he was compelled to leave in 1483, and the English garrison surrendered to James III. in 1486. On the 17th of October, 1488, the Castle was ordered to be destroyed from the foundation, and never to be rebuilt, because it had occasioned "great skaith in time bygone," and it would be dangerous to the realm if it were "negligently kept or reparit again."<sup>1</sup> This was not enforced till nearly a century afterwards.

Dunbar is painfully associated with the career of Queen Mary. The Earls of Bothwell appear to have acted as constables, and on the 19th of April, 1567, the notorious Earl obtained a "ratification" of the "Queen's Castle and Strength" and the "Captancie" of Dunbar.<sup>2</sup> This was a legal infestment which Bothwell, who was rapidly advancing in the Queen's favour, obtained for his insidious services. In 1566, after the murder of Rizzio, Bothwell assisted in Mary's escape from Holyrood-house, and after a brief sojourn at Seton she retired to Dunbar Castle. The Queen was again at the Fortress in November of that year, and was an inmate six days. On two subsequent occasions Mary was resident in Dunbar Castle, before her paramour fled to elude the merited punishment of his crimes. On the 21st of September, 1567, the Regent Moray sent four companies of soldiers to secure the Fortress, which was surrendered on the 1st of October, and was ordered to be demolished in terms of the Act in 1488. The artillery was removed to Edinburgh, and the destruction was most efficiently performed.<sup>3</sup>

The present ruins of Dunbar Castle convey no idea of a pile which was long considered impregnable. The fragments occupy a projecting reef of trap rocks, rising like bastions thrown up to protect the remnants of feudal power from the sea, which penetrates through rugged caverns, fissures, and arches, with a fearful noise in violent storms. The main portion of the ruins measures about one hundred and sixty-five feet from east to west, and in some parts upwards of two hundred feet from north to south. The south tower, supposed to have been the keep or citadel, is on a detached perpendicular rock seventy-two feet high, accessible only on one side, and connected with the fragments by a passage measuring sixty-nine feet. The interior is of octagonal form, fifty-four by sixty feet, and five of the "arrow holes" remain. The

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 550. In the earlier part of that century Dunbar Castle was occasionally a state prison.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 81. Previous to 1561 the Fortress was often garrisoned by French auxiliaries, and by the English, and was in 1550 the

retreat for security from the violence of the Reforming party, of the Queen Regent Mary of Guise, accompanied by D'Oysel and a number of French soldiers.—Sir James Balfour's Annals, vol. i. p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Balfour's Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 311.

other ruins are arched, and extend eight feet from the outer walls fronting an open court-yard. Near the centre of the Fortress is a gateway, above which are the armorial bearings of the eleventh Earl of Dunbar. When entire the towers had communication with the sea. North-east of the front is a large natural cove of black and red stone, supposed to have been a dungeon. It is accessible by a rocky inlet from the shore on the west, and may have been the postern by which Sir Alexander Ramsay entered to relieve Black Agnes in 1338. This cavern was a secure refuge for the boats belonging to the Fortress. In the north-west part of the ruins is a chamber, probably twelve feet square, which tradition connects with Queen Mary.







EAST CASTLE, FROM THE SEA.  
From an original drawing by H. Pugh.

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 Lammermur, 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," Svo. 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 Gowrie 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 bidden 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, alchemy, 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 Dunlugas, 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. 170. 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. 385, 386.







1852 - 1857  
L. 111  
H. P. H. N.



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 escapea 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 secluded 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 band; 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. 285.

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.D. 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 Landerdale, 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 Alnwiek, 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, "Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Dryburgho *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 Fundationis 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. Marie de Dryburgh," 4to. 1847, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. lxix.

<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. Marie 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 squire, William Haliburton of Mertoun, and Janet his spouse, of the plew-lands of Butchercoits," 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 be 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 1552 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 Sowby, 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 huilded." 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 Crossnop,

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 reuts 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 voto 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 48l., "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, Kirkeudbright, 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."—Hurleian 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 301*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 200*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 1000*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 Assize 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. 320-305.

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-laugh, 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. Thuvuan. 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 Drythelme, 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 terquoquo deno  
Et sexto Christi Melrose fundata 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 Abby 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 (1319), 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 ruddy-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. 781, 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.—*Scottichronicon 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.









View of the West Front of the Cathedral of Amiens



Walthoof'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 Hassenmean 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 execution 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 Walthoof, 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 1418; William was Abbot in 1400; 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 "baillie" 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 Latoun and Sir Ralph Egre considered 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 1500, 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 Crauer, 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 monis 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 Scoticæ," 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, 276.

<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 Life-futurement 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 Murdieston and Rankleburn, now Buccleuch, granted to the Monks the lands of Hinkery in Esterick 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 firiot, 1½ peck; barley, 84 chalders, 13 bolls, 1½ peck; oatmeal, 14 chalders, 19 bolls, 1 firiot, 3 pecks; oats, 78 chalders, 3 firlots, 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 14*s.* per stone; cheese, 33 stones; salt, 4 chalders. The "fishing of the watters and hay of the medoes delivered to the furnishing of my Lord's (Abbot) house 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> Keilh'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, 51 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 storks or bullocks between one and two years old, 11,963 calves, 8215 common sheep, 344 wether sheep, 8044 mutton sheep, 5000 hogs, and 22,520 sheep for wool.—"Summa Animalium Monasterii de Melros Temporibus Antiquis," from Falher 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 Kiblucho district of Peeblesshire. In Wedale, or Slow 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 Lammernuir, 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 Cistercians 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 41 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 : tyen : callt :  
was : I : born : in : Paryaso :  
certainly : and : had : in : keepng :  
al : mason : work : of : Santan :  
droys : y' : hys : kirk : of : Glas  
gu : Melros : and : Paislay : of :  
Nyddeslayll : and : of : Galway :  
Pray : to : God : and : Mari : both :  
and : sweet : Sanct : John : to : keep : this : haly : kirk  
fra : skalth.

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 builder or master-mason. The inscription is a laconic admonition—

Sa gays y' compass cryn about,  
Sa truth and laute do bot (without) doute.  
behauilde to y' head q. Johno 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 Sancto Marie de Melros, vol. i. Preface, p. xxii.

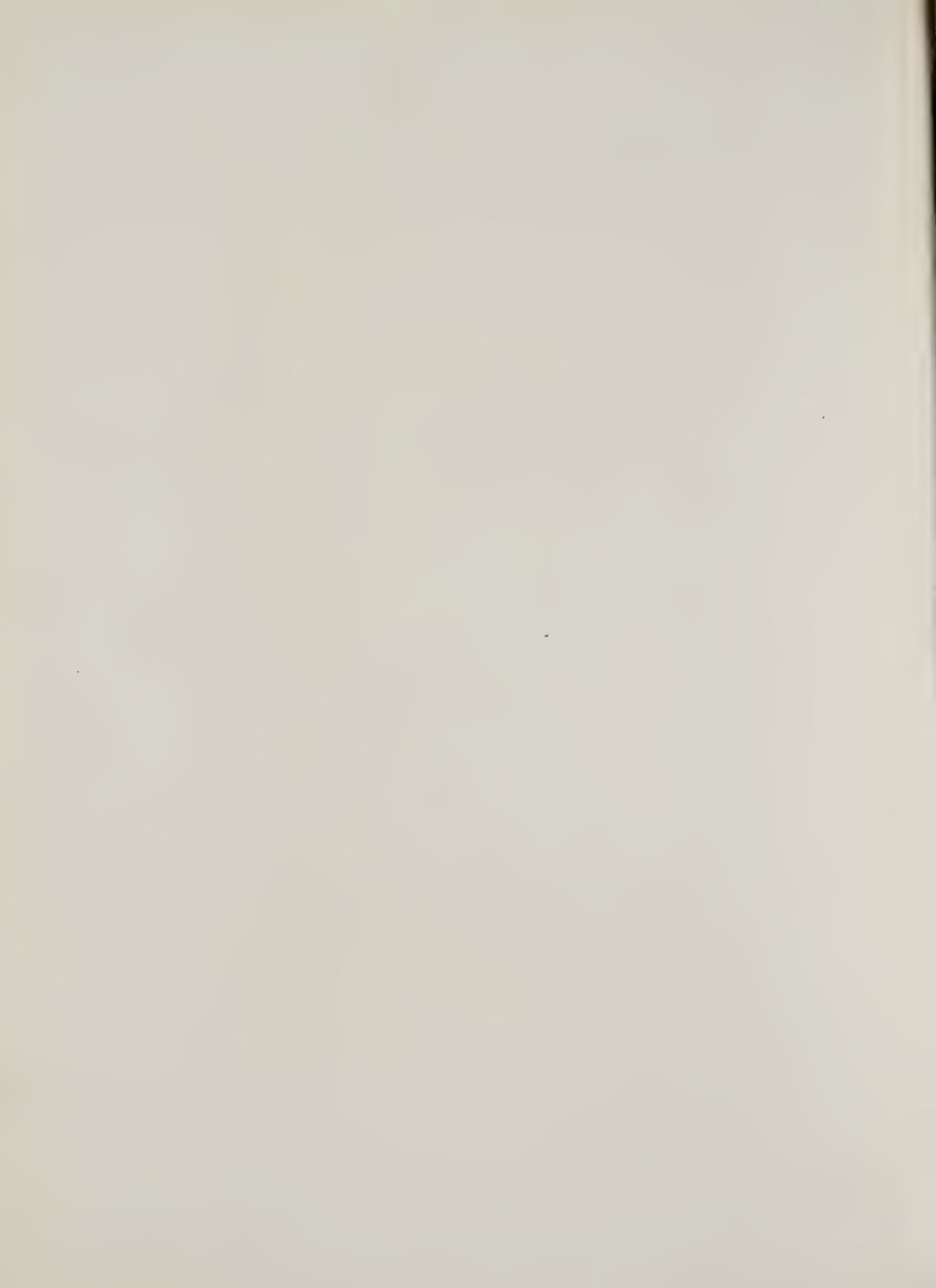
<sup>4</sup> Among the localities are Prior's Wood and Cloister Close, and in the Tweed the Abbot's and the Monk's Fords. St. Mary's, St. William's, St. Helen's, and St. Dunstan's, have been for centuries the designations of the principal spring wells, but St. Cutbert has been apparently omitted.

<sup>5</sup> A description of this bridge, and a view, with Melrose Abbey in the back-ground, is in Gordon's "Itinerary 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

















WINDMILL ABNEY  
WINDMILL ABNEY  
WINDMILL ABNEY



Sir Walter Scott states that he had often seen the foundations of the piers, when drifting down the Tweed to take salmon by torch-light. The village of Newstead is a mile east from Melrose on the road to Lander. After the extinction of Old Melrose an ecclesiastical structure was here reared, and was known as Red Abbey Stead, from the colour of the sandstone. The pleasant suburb of Gattonside, embosomed amid orchards and gardens, is about a mile from Melrose. A church is supposed to have been at Gattonside, and some remains of vaults are visible. Drygrange was a granary of the Monks, and another was near the haulet of Eildon, on the opposite side of the Tweed. A mile above Drygrange is the Hill of the Cowdenknowes, the "bonnie broom" of which is celebrated in Scottish song.

On the side of the middle Eildon Hill is an artificial tumulus called the "Bourjo," of some extent, and traditionally alleged to be the memorial of Druidical rites.<sup>1</sup> The road to this locality is called the Haxalgate, and on the north-eastern summit are the vestiges of an alleged Roman Camp, with two fosses and mounds of earth nearly two miles in circumference, and a level space in the centre. Its identity as a Roman camp is disputed, and the enclosure may have been simply a Border fastness to which the cattle of the neighbourhood were driven on the approach of an enemy.<sup>2</sup> The fortification has at least the advantage of commanding a most extensive range of country. On the Eildon Hills sixteen terraces can be traced in the staircase manner, similar to the Parallel Roads of Glenroy.

The localities of Melrose abound with superstitious legends of fairies, as voracious as those connected with the ancient devout men of the Abbey. Immediately below the renowned mansion of Abbotsford, like Melrose the annual resort of many a visitor, the Gala Water, celebrated in song, enters the Tweed within three miles of the Abbey. This tributary passes the manufacturing town of Galashiels, the name of which implies the "huts of shepherds upon the full stream." From the hill at Galashiels the view towards Melrose is peculiarly beautiful, including finely wooded banks, slopes of elevations, and the windings of the Tweed, which disappear between the eminences above Drygrange.

## KELSO ABBEY.

THE town of Kelso, a burgh of barony under a magistrate appointed by the Duke of Roxburghe, is delightfully situated on the north bank of the Tweed, opposite the confluence of the Teviot with that river. The name was formerly written Kellesowe, and more anciently Calkou, Calchou, and Kelchou.<sup>3</sup> It is supposed to be derived from the Chalkheugh—an elevation of gypsum and other calcareous earths overlooking the Tweed, on which a part of the town is built. This eminence, one of the most remarkable objects in the locality, and commanding a view of the finest landscape scenery, is now sloped into terraces and gardens, and is defended by a strong wall from the impetuous and undermining floods of the Tweed.

The earliest notice of Kelso is, in 1128, the year of the foundation of the Abbey, in the charter of which is mentioned "the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the bank of the river Tweed in the place called Calkou." The town and environs are deservedly admired. Patten, the military historian of the Duke of Somerset's second invasion in 1547, notices Kelso as a "a pretty market town," and Pennant, in

the bridge was erected or repaired by Pringle of Galashiels, afterwards of Whytbank, the proprietor—

"I, Sir John Pringle, of Palmer stead,  
Give an hundred marks of gowd and Reid,  
To help to build my brig ower Tweed."

From this bridge a path called the Girthgate runs up the valley of Allan or Eldwand Water, leading to the Sanctuary of the Holy Trinity on Soutra Hills. In the valley are the old towers of Hillslap, Colmslee, and Langshaw, in ruins. Hillslap, or Hillstop, is assumed pertinaciously to be the Tower of Glendearg in "The Monastery," which the author expressly denies, alleging that not one of the old towers in the Vale "bears the most distant resemblance to the descriptions in the romance."

<sup>1</sup> Hutchison's "View of Northumberland and Excursions to

Melrose," vol. i. pp. 299, 300. The name *Borjo* or *Aborjo* is supposed to be a corruption or transposition of *Choabor*, the *Temple of the Parent of Light*. A large stone, known as the *Eildon Frer Stone*, near Melrose, marks the spot where Thomas the Rhymer frequently met the "Queen of Fairyland."

<sup>2</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire, p. 55. Hutchison, in opposition to Pennant, alleges that this was the scene of a decisive engagement in the eighth century between Ethelwald, King of Northumberland, and Oswyn, who claimed that local monarchy, and in which he was killed.

<sup>3</sup> No town in Scotland has been known under such a variety of appellations, all derived from the original, as Kelso. Almost every old writer who mentions the town has his own orthography, and the burgh of the Abbots is duly chronicled under at least twenty different appellations.—Haig's Historical Account of Kelso, 8vo. 1825, p. 2.

1775, describes this Border burgh as a "neat place, built much after the manner of a Flemish town, with a square and a town-house." The tenements are chiefly built of a light-coloured freestone and roofed with blue slates, pleasingly contrasting, when viewed from a distance, with the surrounding wooded hills and knolls. The prominent deformity is the parish church, erected in 1773—a most hideous octangular edifice of rough freestone, the abortion of a superlatively absurd architect, which has been likened to a mustard-pot:—the cemetery surrounding this pile is of spacious extent.

The bridge connecting the town with the once parochial suburb of Maxwelllough, in which the Regent Morton possessed a residence, is a splendid structure of light-coloured stone, commenced in 1800, and completed in 1803, at the expense, including the approaches of about 18,000*l.*, from a design by Rennie, and adopted by that eminent engineer as the model of his grand Waterloo Bridge at London. This bridge supplies the loss of one a short distance up the Tweed, built in 1754, and destroyed by an inundation in 1797.<sup>1</sup> The present structure displays on each side polished double columns in six sets, and ornamental parapets, each of the five elliptical arches seventy-two feet in span, the piers fourteen feet, the entire length nearly five hundred feet, and the greatest height from the foundation, which is fifteen feet below the bed of the river, fifty-seven feet. The edifice forms the centre of a variety of scenery which must be seen to be appreciated, combining the majestic Tweed at the confluence with the Teviot, the ruinous Abbey, and the agreeable town and the wooded heights on the back-ground of the magnificent seat of Floors Castle. Leyden, whose native village of Denholm is in "pleasant Teviotdale," five miles from Hawick, has celebrated the loveliness of Kelso.<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Scott, whose boyhood was passed at Sandyknowe, near Smailholm Tower, six miles from the town, and who was familiar with the district from his infancy, ascribed to its influence his love of natural scenery, more especially when "combined with ancient ruins, or remains of piety and splendour."

The junction of the Teviot and the Tweed above Kelso Bridge enhances the beauty of the landscape.<sup>3</sup> Tweed extensively bends within two miles above the town, and the Teviot, as if rivalling the absorbing river in curving beauty and the richness of the banks, placidly approaches the confluence, the former river at least in width nearly five hundred feet, and the latter, in some parts, two hundred feet. Both rivers are often simultaneously flooded, and flow with irresistible force. The Teviot, however, issuing nearer the mountains from which it descends, is more liable to inundations than the Tweed, and after the confluence forces the current of the Tweed against the north side of the channel, often exhibiting a distinct colour some distance along the south side before the waters amalgamate. Every attempt to protect a wooded islet below the confluence has been unavailing, and only some fragments of the rude bulwarks are occasionally visible. Above Kelso Bridge are two islands in the Tweed, and the intervening verdant peninsula between that river and the Teviot is called St. James's Green, or Friars, on which is held annually, on the 5th of August, the large St. James's Fair and Market. On an eminence, about two miles north-east of the town, is the obelisk erected to the memory of the poet Thomson, in his native parish of Ednam, of which his father was the pastor. The village is pleasantly situated on the Eden, a tributary of the Tweed.

The most conspicuous object in the rural capital of "pleasant Teviotdale," which retains no other indication that it was an old monastic town, is the ruin of the Abbey Church, prominently appearing in melancholy grandeur above the domiciles and villas of the modern "Calchou." This portion of the Abbey exhibits

<sup>1</sup> A bridge anciently crossed the Tweed at Roxburgh, which was often destroyed and renewed in the contests for that long extinct Castle and town. Patten, noticing the return of the English from the battle of Pinkie in 1547, records that the victors were at Roxburgh on Friday, the 23d of September, and encamped in a "great fallow field" between Roxburgh Castle and Kelso, about a quarter of a mile from the latter town. He says in his quaint phraseology—"Betwyxte Kelsey and Rokesborowe hath bene a great ston bridge with arches, the which the Skottes in tyme past have broken, bycaus we shoold not that we cum to them."—*Expedicion into Scotland*, in Sir John Graham Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, 4to. p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> The lines by Leyden in his "Scenes of Infancy Descriptive of Teviotdale," published in 1803, have been often quoted:

"Bosom'd in woods, where mighty rivers run,  
Kelso's far vale expands before the sun;

Its rising downs in vernal beauty swell,  
And, fringed with hazel, winds each flowery dell.  
Oron spangled plains to dimpling lawns succeed,  
And Tempo rises on the banks of Tweed.  
Blue o'er the river Kelso's shadow lies,  
And copsie-clad isles amid the waters rise."

<sup>3</sup> The confluence of the Teviot with the Tweed attracted the notice of Patten, who in describing the situation of Roxburgh Castle, then in ruins, says—"It is strongly fenced on eyther syde with the course of two great rivers—Tivet on the north and Tuede on the south, both which joyning somewhat nie togyther at the west ende of it, Tivet by a large compas showte the fieldes we lay in, at Kelsey doth fall into this Tuede, which with great depth and swiftness runneth thence eastward into the sea at Berwyk, and is notable for two commodities specially, salmons and whetstones."—*Expedicion into Scotland* in 1547, pp. 86, 87, in Sir John Graham Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, 4to. 1798.

the progress of architecture between the middle of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and is a noble relic of the Saxon or Early Norman style, erroneously described by Pennant as a Greek Cross, in which the compartments are of equal length. Pennant seems not to have observed that, contrary to the usual practice, the head of the cruciform at Kelso is towards the west, and the eastern division was as long as those commonly displayed in the Latin Cross.

While the extinct town of Roxburgh, connected with that burghal Parliament, known as the "Court of the Four Burghs of Scotland," was prosperous, the Castle of Roxburgh was the occasional residence of David, Prince or Earl of Cumberland, afterwards David I. In 1113, while heir-presumptive to the Scottish throne, he induced a colony of thirteen monks from the Reformed Benedictine Abbey of Tiron to proceed to Scotland. The brethren, whose Order was instituted by the Elder St. Bernard in 1109, were designated "Tironenses," or Tironensians, from the name of the woods near Ponthieu, in Picardy, where they finally settled. Prince David located his Tironensian emigrants at his forest castle of Selkirk, and endowed them with ample possessions.<sup>1</sup> The Monks, however, were dissatisfied with their situation on the banks of the Etterick, and after the succession of David I. to the throne he removed them from Selkirk—a "place unsuitable for an Abbey"<sup>2</sup>—and founded their monastery, dedicated to the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist on the Tweed, beside Roxburgh, "in the place called Calchou," which, as already observed, is the first notice of Kelso.<sup>3</sup> The first charter of David I. is dated in 1119 and 1124, and refers to Selkirk, and the second in which Kelso is specified, is dated 1147–1152. The Monks continued at Selkirk fifteen years, and removed to Kelso in 1128, the year of the foundation of their Monastery.

St. Bernard, the founder of the Tironensian Order, known as the Elder St. Bernard, must not be identified with the Great St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the eloquent theologian, who died in 1153. The Elder St. Bernard enjoined his religious fraternity to observe rigidly the monastic rules instituted by St. Benedict, adding some regulations of his own, requiring each of the brethren to practise a mechanical art within the Convent, to prevent idleness, and to aid in the maintenance of their community. The Tironensian Monks were in consequence respectively painters, carvers, carpenters, masons, smiths, gardeners, and husbandmen, and the productions of their industry were applied to their sustenance. The enlightened policy of David I. in introducing and encouraging those monastic artizans is obvious. It is said that he proceeded to France to visit St. Bernard, who died before his arrival.

When first stationed at Selkirk, the Abbot of the colony was nominated by David I. his chaplain, which he confirmed after his accession to the Crown, and the removal of the Convent to Kelso, ordaining that the Abbots were to be chaplains to his successors. The foundation of the church was laid on the 3d of May, 1128, and most of the fabric was the manual labour of the Monks. The first Abbot was Ralph, one of the French monks, who presided at Selkirk four years, and returned to the parent Abbey at Tiron, of which he was elected the superior at the death of St. Bernard in 1116 or 1117, as was also his successor William. The third Abbot was Herbert, a monk of the Order, in whose time the Convent was transferred to Kelso.<sup>4</sup> This removal was accompanied by a considerable increase of endowment, a perpetual exemption from all episcopal dues and restrictions, and the donation of the church of the Blessed Virgin at Kelso, granted by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, in whose Diocese the Abbey was situated. The Convent was subsequently the parent establishment of the Priory of Lesmahago in Lanarkshire, the Abbeys of Kilwinning in Ayrshire, Lindores in Fifeshire, and Aberbrothock in Forfarshire. Abbot Herbert resigned in 1147, when he was promoted to the See of Glasgow, and was succeeded by Arnold or Ernald, who presided thirteen years, and

<sup>1</sup> Liber S. Marie de Calchou—Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Tironensis de Kelso, A.D. 1113–1507, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1846, vol. i. pp. iii. iv. The Register of the Charters of Kelso Abbey is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, and is a volume of 210 vellum leaves. On the eighth leaf is the inscribed title—"LIBER SCE. MARIE DE CALCHOU," and is properly the commencement of the charters. The previous leaves contain a "ROTULUS REDDITUM," or record of all the property in lands and tithes written before 1300. The Register has some defects, yet it is important among those of the Scottish Religious Houses for its historical information.—Ibid. vol. i. p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> In the original charter it is stated of Selkirk, which is not very complimentary—"Quia locus non erat conveniens Abbacie."—Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The first settlement at Selkirk was also dedicated to the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist.—Carta Comitis David Filii Regis Malcolm de Fundatione istius Monasterii (ad Sebechyie scilicet) A.D. 1119–1124.—Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. p. 3. Simon of Durham assigns the year 1113 as the time of the arrival of the Tironensian colony at Selkirk. Fordun places them at Selkirk in 1109, and agrees with the Chronicle of Melros that the Abbey church of Kelso was founded in 1128.

<sup>4</sup> Abbot Herbert is the alleged author of an account of the rebellion and punishment of Sumerled, Thane of Argyll.—Dempsteri Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Scotorum, vol. ii. p. 316. It is remarkable that the historical Abbot Herbert of Kelso could be profound in the disturbances and insurrections constantly occurring in the Western Islands.

in whose time Henry Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, the only son of David I., was interred in the Abbey Church in June 1153. In the following year the Monks lamented the decease of their munificent royal founder and patron. Malcolm IV., son of Earl Henry, imitated his grandfather in instructing and civilizing his subjects, and granted several donations to the Convent at Kelso. In 1159 this monarch ratified a general charter of confirmation of all the lands and other possessions of the Monks. On the 13th of November, 1160, Abbot Arnold was elected to the See of St. Andrews, which had been declined by Waltheof, Abbot of Melrose.<sup>1</sup>

John, the fifth Abbot, was a personage of aspiring pretensions and ambition. In 1165 he obtained from Rome the rank of a mitred Abbot for himself and his successors. His proceedings indicate, that though only half a century had elapsed from the date of the original settlement of the Convent at Selkirk, the Abbey of Kelso had acquired very considerable riches by the liberality of benefactors and the judicious management of the active artizan members. Abbot John claimed precedence for himself and his successors over all the superiors of Religious Houses in Scotland, which was disputed by the Augustinian Prior of St. Andrews and his successors, and the ecclesiastical litigation was not adjusted till about 1420 by James I. in favour of the latter. In 1176 Abbot John was engaged in a controversy, no account of the termination of which is preserved, with Walter, Abbot of the parent Monastery at Tirou, in reference to subjection, which evinces the power and wealth of the Monks of Kelso, as it was always an acknowledged rule that religious houses not specially exempted were subordinate to the fraternity from whom they emanated. In 1178 Abbot John granted to Henry, first Abbot of Aberbrothock, a charter exempting him and his successors from any control or subjection. Abbot John died in 1180, after presiding over the Abbey twenty years.

The sixth Abbot was Osbert, Prior of Lesmahago, who, in 1182, went to Rome with Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold, Abbot of Melrose, to procure the removal of the excommunication and interdict of the Kingdom issued against William the Lion by the proud and haughty Pope Alexander III. The Pontifical absolution was obtained from Pope Lucius III., who granted to the Convent at Kelso an exemption from any future sentence of excommunication unless it proceeded directly from the Holy See, which was confirmed with other privileges and immunities by Pope Innocent III. about 1201. The Convent were to pay one merk of silver annually as a recognition of their dependence on Rome, and for their other privileges a piece of gold, or two pieces of silver.

About the time of Geoffrey, the seventh Abbot, who had been the Prior, Pope Innocent III. issued two Pontifical epistles in reference to the Abbey. The one, addressed to the Chapter, enjoined the application of the revenues to the maintenance of the brethren, hospitality to travellers, and the relief of the poor; and the other prohibited all bishops and other dignitaries, from molesting or injuring the Abbey. The succession of thirteen Abbots is recorded previous to the election of William of Dalgarnock, the twenty-first Abbot, who had been preceptor to the young king, David II., and who granted a charter as Abbot in April 1329. Of the intervening Abbots, little is recorded except their names or initials in the charters. Patrick, a monk of the Convent, was elected as fourteenth Abbot in 1259, from which he was removed in 1260 by the intrigues of Henry of Lambden, who obtained at Rome a rescript from Pope Alexander IV., appointing him Abbot. On the day of his arrival Abbot Patrick immediately resigned, and deposited on the high altar the crosier and mitre, which Henry of Lambden assumed, and secured himself as fifteenth Abbot. It appears from the Chronicle of Melros that he was considered an intruder, and at his death in 1275 it is therein recorded,—“Let him see to it how he entered to that pastoral cure, for, whether by the Divine vengeance or the good pleasure of God we know not, he was cut off by sudden death at his own table at the beginning of his early meal, and was buried that same day after the second refection of the Convent, perhaps because they would not watch his body.” In 1291 Richard, the seventeenth Abbot, was one of the commissioners to examine the claims of the competitors for the crown, and in August 1296 he swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, which was followed by the Convent acquiring the restoration of their estates from the English monarch. Walran, the eighteenth Abbot, presided over the Convent during the wars of the succession, when, according to the representation of William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, the Abbey of Kelso was severely dilapidated from its exposed situation on the Borders, and was so much destroyed by fire and plunder.

<sup>1</sup> Abbot Arnold, or Bishop Arnold, was inclined to literature, if Dempster is to be credited, as a treatise on the “right government,” whether of the Church or of the State, is not specified by the credulous writer, is ascribed to him.—Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 44.

that the brethren and novices visited the other religious houses for their food and clothing as mendicants.<sup>1</sup> The assailants of the Abbey and the other Border Monasteries were chiefly military freebooters, who "converted the war into an opportunity and licence to commit every sort of disorder, returned the monks evil for their good, and made their peaceful halls and cloisters a theatre of rapine, extortion, and bloodshed."<sup>2</sup> The nineteenth Abbot was Thomas of Durham, an Englishman, who is accused by Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, of extravagantly spending and appropriating to his own use the revenues of the Abbey, and of the priory of Lesmahago; and the same Prelate alleges that he was Abbot of Kelso by usurpation.<sup>3</sup>

William of Dalgarnock, previously mentioned as the twenty-first Abbot, retired with David II. to France in 1333, when Edward III. invaded Scotland under the pretence of supporting the claims of Edward Baliol. David II., attended by the Abbot, was absent nine years, and the Monastery was entrusted to William of Hassendean, who was styled Warden, and to whom the English monarch granted letters of protection and restitution of property in 1333 and 1334. The Abbey had been again injured by the English, for in the year 1344, David II., two years after his return, allowed the Monks to cut wood in the Forest of Selkirk and Jedwart to repair the fabric. William, Abbot of Kelso, is mentioned in charters dated in 1342 and 1354, but it is uncertain that he was William of Dalgarnock. After those years the list of the Abbots is obscure.<sup>4</sup>

Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, held the Abbey of Kelso with that of Fearn in Ross-shire, till his death in June 1518. It is conjectured that this Bishop was the legally recognised Abbot, having obtained the benefice in 1511, and that the disturbed state of the Borders, and the distance from his usual residence, exposed the Abbey to various intruders. On the 9th of September, 1513, the night after the battle of Flodden, Andrew Ker of Fernihirst, commonly known as Dandie Ker, forcibly entered the Monastery, and expelled the acting superior. This violence was probably achieved in favour of his brother Thomas, who was certainly Abbot in 1519 and 1528. The powerful Border Family of Ker of Fernihirst would not be neglectful of their own interests. Abbot Thomas Ker, a "right sad and wise man," was the last who held the office. James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., was nominated Commendator of Kelso and Melrose, in the fourteenth year of his age, apparently before 1536, and the King appropriated the revenues to his own use, for which he obtained the Papal sanction in 1541. This Commendator, who was a pupil of Buebanan, died in 1558, and both Abbeys were granted by the Queen Regent to her brother Cardinal Guise, who never received any advantage from the benefices, of which the Reformation deprived him in 1559. Though the spiritual office of Abbot was suppressed, the title long continued as the temporal designation of the individual who was intrusted with the confiscated ecclesiastical property, or who obtained grants from the Crown. One of the Kers of Cessford was styled Abbot of Kelso in 1566, when he was killed by a relation.<sup>5</sup> This titular or lay Abbot seems to have acted as superior to the surviving Monks, and granted leases with their consent of certain lands and tithes.<sup>6</sup>

Towards the end of July 1522, a numerous army, under the Earl of Shrewsbury, committed many ravages in "pleasant Teviotdale," before the invaders were compelled to retreat. In this expedition Thomas, second Lord Dacre, pillaged Kelso, and burnt one-half of the town, without injuring the Abbey, which the Earl of Northumberland intended to demolish. In the following year a more formidable invasion was intrusted to the Earl of Surrey, and Abbot Ker induced the Queen-Dowager, Margaret, to intercede with her brother Henry VIII. that the monastery and the town might be spared by the English commander. The application was unsuccessful, and on the 30th of June, 1523, Kelso was plundered and burnt by the said Lord Dacre. The Abbot's residence, the adjacent buildings, and the Chapel of the Virgin, in which were stalls or seats of elegant carving, were reduced to ashes. The English also demolished the dormitory, and unroofed every part

<sup>1</sup> Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. Preface, p. xii. and pp. 249, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> William of Bolden was Abbot in 1370 and 1372, and his successor was Patrick, who was Abbot in 1398 and 1406. William was Abbot in 1426, and in September 1434 is mentioned as recently deceased. On that occasion appearance was made for his successor, whose name began with the initial letter S. Another William was Abbot in 1155

and 1411. Alan was Abbot in 1464 and 1466. Robert was Abbot in 1473 and 1475; George, in 1476; and a second Robert in 1476 and 1505. Much uncertainty envelopes those ecclesiastical dignitaries and their actual successors.

<sup>5</sup> Birrel's Diary, in Sir John Graham Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Collection of Notes out of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland in Harleian MSS. vol. ii. cited in Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 104.

of the Abbey, the result of which was, that the interior and the walls were long afterwards exposed to the injuries of the weather, the religious services were suspended, and the Monks retired to one of the nearest villages in depression and poverty. In a letter to the Earl of Surrey, dated the 1st of July, 1523, Lord Dacre narrates his career of devastation, and states that he had destroyed "all the town that would burn by any labour," and "cast down the gatehouse of the Abbey." In the war which commenced in 1542, the monastery and town were again burnt by the English under the same Earl of Surrey, who was then Duke of Norfolk. After that disaster the annals of the Abbey present a succession of similar inflictions, in which the English in their ravages were willingly assisted by the predatory inhabitants of the Borders, and Kelso was peculiarly exposed to the marauders. In 1545 Teviotdale was overrun by an English army of 12,000 men under the Earl of Hertford. Whatever had escaped in former incursions was then utterly destroyed, and the four great Border Monasteries were completely ruined. The only resistance was at Kelso, where about three hundred persons who attempted to defend the Abbey, were killed or taken prisoners. It was either on this occasion, or in 1560, that the east and north sides of the stately tower of the Abbey were demolished, and the choir almost levelled to the ground. The English under Hertford, in his second invasion as the Protector Somerset in 1547, found little to plunder or destroy; and Patten records that the inhabitants of the "pretty market-town" of Kelso fled at their approach.<sup>1</sup> The state of the ruins indicates that the fabric was assailed by artillery from the north-east, and two arches with their superstructure are the only remains of that part of the choir.

Kelso Abbey was thus wantonly destroyed by the English sixteen years before the Scottish Privy Council enjoined all "places and monuments of idolatry" to be removed, yet the Reformers could not desist from their destructive propensities. In 1560, when a part of the church was still used for divine service, and the buildings of the Monastery sheltered a few of the Monks, the excited populace defaced the remaining images and ornaments which had escaped the violence of war, and burnt the relics and the internal furniture. The devoted pile was again dilapidated in 1580, and subsequently some hideous innovations were erected on the ruins. A low gloomy vault was thrown over the transept, which was constituted the parish church, and dismally contrasted with the original grandeur of the fabric. This mass of deformity continued till 1771, when one Sunday the fall of a piece of cement from the roof induced the congregation to retreat in terror, excited by an alleged prediction of Thomas the Rhymer, that "Kelso kirk would fall when at the fullest." Though the alarm proved false, the lieges could never be persuaded to re-assemble in their dark cavernous tabernacle, which from that day was deserted. Above this deformity was constructed another vault, called the outer prison, from which access was obtained to an inner prison, or smaller arched apartment on the top of the cross over a kind of aisle.<sup>2</sup> In 1805, William, fourth Duke of Roxburgh, commenced the removal of the deformities, which were doubtless constructed of the materials of the ruins, and were completely cleared, in 1816, by his successor James, fifth Duke. The fabric was repaired and strengthened in 1823 by local subscription, and is protected by an elegant enclosure.

Kelso Abbey in its entire state was one of the grandest specimens of Saxon ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. The only remains are the central tower, the walls of the transepts, the west end, and the two arches of the choir already mentioned, the exterior of all of which is very imposing. The walls of the tower are five and a half feet thick, solidly built, and, like many ancient churches, contain internal narrow passages communicating with galleries. It appears from the ground-plan that the nave was ornamented by a porch at the western entrance twenty-three feet square. The choir consisted of three divisions, and the two existing arches spring from massive tiers, with slender circular pillars attached, and bold, projecting capitals. In the north and west fronts are many Saxon mouldings, such as the deeply-displayed circular arch and its enrichments, the zig-zag, the nail-head, the chevron, and the diagonal ornaments. A part of the superstructure is inferred to be of the Norman style, from the blank ranges of intersecting arches placed round the walls in the interior and externally, and the double arcade of small circular arches supported by slender shafts, which were carried

<sup>1</sup> The massive ruins of Kelso Abbey were the occasional resort for shelter and defence from the sudden inroads of the English Borderers. In April 1546 Lord Eure reported to Henry VIII. that the garrisons of Wark, Cornhill, and Norham, took the "churche of Kelso, wherein were xxxvi. fotemen;" and in June of that year another attack by the garrison of Wark is mentioned, when sixteen men "had heildit them a

strength in the old walles of the steeple."—Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Scott, who in his youth frequently resided at Kelso, admirably describes, in "The Antiquary," this den as the prison of Edie Ochiltree, the gaberlunzie, or blue-gown man, one of a privileged class of mendicants under legal protection.



round the entire walls over the massive Saxon arches. In the tower are also some fragments of Early English, and the ruins contain a specimen of most exquisitely finished interlacing arches.<sup>1</sup>

The cloister was a large square on the south side of the choir. No trace now exists of the probable site of the chapel of the Virgin, the dormitory, the Abbot's hall and residence, the gateway, and other buildings of the Monastery. It is not surprising that so little of the church remains, and the "great and superfluous buildings of stone" which impeded the English engineers in their plans of fortification have disappeared. The conventual edifices were abstracted by the lieges of the lordly Abbot's burgh of Kelso, and few memorials of the former inmates are now to be found.

Two Rentals are preserved of the Abbey of Kelso, the one written before 1300, and the other, which is in the charter-room at Floors Castle, in 1567. The former enumerates all the property of the Convent in lands and tithes, and the towns, villages, parishes, and widely scattered localities, from which the revenues were derived.<sup>2</sup> At the Reformation the revenues, according to the Government valuation, amounted to 3716*l.* Scots, including the Priory of Lesmahago.<sup>3</sup> Another account limits the rental to 2945*l.*<sup>4</sup> In the "Books of Assignation of the Thirds of the Benefices" the money is 2501*l.*,<sup>5</sup> and in the Books of Assumption, 2057*l.*<sup>6</sup> The Rental is also stated at 1682*l.* and 1983*l.* in money. The Rental of 1567 is 2195*l.*, exclusive of the tithes of twenty-two churches valued at 784*l.*, and eleven vicarages, which amounted to 246*l.*; and it is added, that the sum of the "hail silver" is 2185*l.*, which brings the money revenue to the large annual sum of 4280*l.*<sup>7</sup> The Abbey possessed fourteen "kirks that pay vittall," and a variety of other sources of income. The revenues and payments in kind are so variously stated that it is impossible to obtain any accurate information.

In addition to the above opulence, the Convent possessed large flocks of sheep and herds of swine in various districts, and more than six thousand ewes, dimmots, wedders, and swine, are enumerated. It is conjectured that black cattle were not then reared in considerable numbers on the estates and grazings belonging to the Abbey. The oxen mentioned on the pastures of the Monks were chiefly those used in ploughs. They had a herd of fourscore cows at Witchaw, and smaller herds at other places; and they had sixty swine pasturing at Newton. In the twelfth century they obtained a grant from Odenel de Unfraville, Lord of Prudhoc, of the title colts of his stud of brood-mares, which was extended by his descendants to the tenth colt of the mares pastured in their forest westward of Cottoneshop. Those title colts were marked, and were allowed to follow their dams in the forest till they were two years old. The Abbot's waggons were usually sent to Berwick for commodities, and a special resting-place was allotted to them on the lands of Simprin. Seven granges or farmsteads are mentioned, each of which, occasionally visited by a monk, was superintended by a resident lay brother, who rendered his accounts to the cellarer of the Monastery.

Most of the estates of Kelso Abbey were acquired by Sir John Maitland, Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1567, created Lord Maitland, and father of the first Earl of Lauderdale. On the 8th of March, 1565, he exchanged the Abbey of Kelso for the Priory of Coldingham with Francis Stewart, afterwards Earl of Bothwell; but in 1587 Sir John Maitland was again Commendator of Kelso, and it appears that all the monks were dead before July in that year.<sup>8</sup> He had new transactions in the same year with Bothwell,

<sup>1</sup> Description of the Ruins of Kelso Abbey Church, by George Smith, Esq. Architect, in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 107, 108. Mr. Morton states the dimensions of the Church as follows—Length of the transept within the walls, 71 feet; breadth, 23 feet; height of the central tower, 91 feet; breadth, 23 feet; thickness of the walls, 5½ feet; height of the pointed arches under the tower, 45 feet; width, 17 feet; diameter of the columns in the choir, 7 feet. No buttresses appear on any part of the fabric. The windows are numerous, almost all along, narrow, and circular-headed, without any tracery. One in front of the north transept forms a complete circle, and two on each side of the central tower are quatrefoils set in circles.—*Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 74, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Liber S. Marie de Calchou—*Rotulus Reddituum*, vol. ii. pp. 455–473.

<sup>3</sup> The payments in kind were—Wheat, 9 chalders; bear, 106 chalders, 12 bolls; oats, 4 chalders, 11 bolls; meal, 112 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots.—Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 159

<sup>4</sup> Harclian MS.

<sup>5</sup> The other payments—Wheat, 9 chalders; bear, 42 chalders, 6 bolls, 2 firlots; meal, 92 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots, 1 peck; oats, 1 chalders, 3 bolls; hay, 1 siller; pepper, 1 lb.—Keidre's *History of Church and State in Scotland*, folio, Appendix, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> With wheat, 9 chalders; bear, 40 chalders, 4 bolls, 3 firlots, 1 peck; meal, 65 chalders, 6 bolls, 2 firlots, 3 pecks; oats, 8 bolls.

<sup>7</sup> Kelso, 319*l.* 10*s.*; Barony of Bowden, 392*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; the property in Tweeddale, the Merse, Lothian, and other parts, 315*l.* 15*s.*; the Barony of Lesmahago, 1197*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*—*Rentall of the Abbacie in Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, vol. ii. pp. 489–493.

<sup>8</sup> *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. iii. p. 454. In 1587, when the King's "Thirds of the Benefices" were ordered to be collected, the royal share from Kelso and Lesmahago was the sum of 533*l.*, and in 1593 the revenues of both were valued at 1933*l.*, exclusive of wheat, 3 chalders; oats, 57 chalders, 14 bolls; meal, 8 bolls.—Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 149, 150.

who was again in possession of Kelso and Coldingham. After Botbwell's attainder in 1592 the Abbey of Kelso and the Priory of Coldingham were annexed to the Crown, and though he was pardoned before his renewed treasons finally expelled him from the kingdom in 1594, his possessions were not restored to him. Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, who was created Lord Roxburghe about 1599, and Earl of Roxburghe, obtained grants of the greater part of the Abbey lands of Kelso. The estates, with the exception of the patronage of twenty of the parish churches belonging to the Monastery, which the Earl resigned to Charles I. in 1639, remain with his descendants and representatives the Dukes of Roxburghe. In 1747 when the hereditary jurisdictions were abolished, Robert second Duke received 1300*l.* as a compensation for the regality of Kelso.

The historical notices of the "Abbot's burgh of Kelso" are briefly enumerated. In 1209 Herbert, Bishop of Salisbury, fled from his See, and resided for a time at Kelso; and in 1219 William de Valoines died in the town, from which his body was conveyed for sepulture to Melrose Abbey. Henry III. of England and his Queen Eleanor of Provence visited Kelso and the adjacent royal castle of Roxburgh in the summer of 1255. Edward I. crossed the Tweed at the town with an immense army, who had assembled at Newcastle for the invasion. The town was occasionally selected for arranging treaties and truces between the two kingdoms, one of which was concluded in 1380 and another in 1391. James III. was crowned in Kelso Abbey in August 1460, while a mere infant, immediately after the disastrous fate of his father at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. In 1487 commissioners met at Kelso to negotiate a peace. The Regent Duke of Albany arrived in the town in 1515, and received complaints from the inhabitants of the oppressions of the Earl of Angus, Lord Home, and others. In that century Kelso was repeatedly plundered and burnt by the English. Queen Mary was two nights in the town in 1566, and held a council in the Abbey in her progress to Berwick. In 1639 the town was occupied by the Covenanting army, and from its situation was subsequently the frequent resort of the contending parties. In 1684 Kelso was almost destroyed by an accidental fire, and a proclamation was issued recommending a general collection to relieve the sufferers and rebuild the town.<sup>1</sup> A similar calamity occurred in 1738, and to some extent in 1801 and 1815. The Adventurers in 1715 entered the town on the 22d of October under the Earl of Mar, by whose orders the Chevalier St. George was proclaimed in the market-place on the 24th by Seton of Barns, who assumed the title of Earl of Dumfermline.<sup>2</sup> The Adventurers received no encouragement from the inhabitants, and never returned. Prince Charles arrived at Kelso at the head of one of his divisions, consisting of between three thousand and four thousand men, on the night of the 4th of November, 1745, and on the 6th entered England.

With the exception of the ruins of the Abbey, no antiquities of any note exist in Kelso, which "reposes on the sunny banks of the beautiful rivers which unite near the Chalkheugh." The vicinity abounds with traditions of religious edifices which have entirely disappeared. The present parochial district includes the three parishes of St. Mary, or Kelso Proper, in the Diocese of St. Andrews, and St. James and Maxwell in the Diocese of Glasgow, in each of which were chapels. On the Teviot, close to the site of the former town of Roxburgh, was a monastery of Franciscans or Grey Friars, in which Edward I. lodged on Monday the 14th of May, 1496, the day before he obtained possession of Roxburgh Castle. This monastery of the "Friars near Kelso" was burnt by the English in 1545. Those ecclesiasties seem to have been very poor, and their remaining buildings were repaired, and occasionally inhabited by the first Earl of Roxburghe. The Castle of Roxburgh was for centuries the object of military strife. The English garrisoned this extinct fortress in 1346, which they retained till the siege in 1460, when James II. was killed by the bursting of a piece of ordnance rudely constructed, and the spot where the King fell is marked by a holly-tree within the park of the Duke of Roxburghe. The fortress was demolished to the ground by the Scottish forces, and only a few vestiges are now to be seen of this calamitous pile and the defunct town. Of Floors Castle, the magnificent seat of the Duke of Roxburghe, on which large sums have been expended by James,

<sup>1</sup> This calamity is erroneously dated 1686 in the New Statistical Account of Scotland.—Roxburghshire, p. 315. The year of the conflagration was 1684.—Law's Memorials, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. p. 261; Lord Fountainhall's Chronological Notes, 4to. 1822, pp. 35, 91.

<sup>2</sup> On Sunday, the 23d, the Viscount of Kenmure enjoined the Rev.

Robert Patten to preach in the "great kirk of Kelso, and not at the Episcopal meeting-house." The edifice was completely filled by the Highlanders. Mr. Patten was succeeded in the afternoon by the Rev. William Irvine, a Scottish Nonjuror, who fervently exhorted his hearers to be "zealous and steady in the cause."—Patten's History of the Rebellion, 8vo. 1717, pp. 39, 40, 49, 64.







LEONARD ANDERSON

Painted by the artist in 1852

Printed by W. H. LINDSAY



sixth Duke, who succeeded his father in 1823, it would be superfluous to attempt a description. The additions to this grand mansion render the edifice of great extent, and the situation is one of the most delightful in the vicinity of "pleasant Teviotdale."

## JEDBURGH ABBEY.

JEDBURGH, the country town of Roxburgh, and a royal burgh, is two miles above the influx of the river Jed with the Tweed, ten miles from Kelso, and forty-six miles by Lauder from Edinburgh. The ancient name was Jedworth, and the district was known as the Forest of Jedworth; but another Jedworth represented by a hamlet called Old Jedworth, is about five miles farther up the vales of the Jed.<sup>1</sup> The origin of the burgh, like that of many others, was the Castle of Jedburgh, the founder of which is unknown. This extinct edifice was one of the favourite residences of David I., who by the advice of his preceptor John, also designated Achaius, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, induced a colony of Canons-Regular, or Augustines, of the Order of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, from the Abbey of St. Quentin at Beauvais in the department of the Oise, to settle at Jedworth near his Castle. The exact date is variously stated in 1118 and 1147.<sup>2</sup> The first may be the year of the arrival of the Canons, and the second that of the foundation of the Abbey, which was at first a Priory.

Few particulars are recorded of the Abbots of Jedburgh, whose names are involved in obscurity. The first is supposed to have been Daniel, the superior of the original Priory, whose name is recorded in a charter of David I. in 1139. After him appears Osbert, who styled himself Prior, and in the notice of his death, in 1174, he is designated the first Abbot of Jedwood in the Chronicle of Melros. The immediate successors of Abbot Osbert were Richard the Cellarer, who died in 1192; Ralph, one of the Canons, a reputed prophet, who died in 1205; and Hugh, Prior of Restennet, a dependent Priory in Forfarshire. An Abbot named Kennoch, a saint, is mentioned, whose festival was observed on the 14th of November.<sup>3</sup> He is the next on record after Hugh, whose age and infirmities compelled him to resign in 1239. His successors were Philip, one of the Canons who presided ten years; Robert de Gyseborn, another Canon, who died in 1249, the year of his election; Nicholas, who resigned in 1275; and John Morel, a Canon.

A remarkable circumstance occurred at Jedburgh in 1285-6, while John Morel was Abbot. Alexander III., bereaved of all his children, married Joletta, or Jolande, daughter of the Count de Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated in Jedburgh Castle, with unusual pomp, on a Sunday early in February. In the midst of the royal banquet, a theatrical masque, or company of performers, entered the hall, and proceeded through the centre, between the guests. A band of revellers first appeared, playing upon musical instruments, and followed by a party who displayed their agility in varied dances. An individual, one of the masquers, resembling a human skeleton, mixed with the dancers, which excited such terror in the royal bride and ladies, that the revelry was suddenly terminated. Another account states that this figure seemed to glide rather than to walk, and while the company gazed with consternation on the phantom it suddenly vanished. Though this was afterwards ascertained to be a mere frolic, it made a great impression on the public mind, when the King was thrown from his horse over a precipice in Fife, on the 16th of March thereafter, and killed by the fall. The spectral appearance on this occasion was long believed an omen of that calamity.

Abbot John Morel and the Convent of Jedburgh swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick in 1296, nevertheless the Abbey was plundered and destroyed, and the lead taken from the roof of the church, by Sir Richard Hastings. The Canons were reduced to poverty, and the English monarch procured a

<sup>1</sup> Jedburgh is locally pronounced Jethart—a corruption of Jedworth, and means the *farm-hamlet on the river Jed*. A church or chapel was at Old Jedworth, in a cemetery still used for interment. Both Jedworths are said to have been built by Ezred, or Egred, Bishop of Lindisfarne from A.D. 830 till his death in A.D. 845, and it is recorded that he granted his two villages to the Monastery on that island.

<sup>2</sup> Wynton in his Chronicle assigns the year 1118, and Fordun says that the Monastery of Jedburgh was founded in 1147.

<sup>3</sup> This alleged Abbot St. Kennoch is produced on the very doubtful authority of Dempster, who introduces many persons into his biographical details.—*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, vol. ii. p. 419.

refuge for them in houses of their Order in England till their Monastery was repaired. The successors of John were William, Robert, and another John, whose name occurs in charters from about 1338 to 1354. A long interval occurs, in which the Abbots are unknown. Walter is noticed in a deed or agreement, dated November, 1444; Robert was Abbot in 1473; John Hall in 1478; Thomas in 1494; and Henry in 1507 and 1511. John, a son of Alexander, second Lord Home, was Abbot at the time of the battle of Flodden, after which the most disastrous predatory warfare desolated the Borders, and Jedburgh was not overlooked.

The Abbey never recovered the visitation of the English in 1544, and the revenues were annexed to the Crown in 1559. Andrew, son of George, fourth Lord Home, is mentioned as Abbot at the time of the Reformation, and he was alive in 1578. The Kers of Fernihirst had long exercised the office of Bailies of the Abbey and Jedburgh Forest. In 1587 this was confirmed to that family by a grant of James VI. to Sir Andrew Ker, and in 1622 the lands belonging to the ancient Canons were erected into a temporal lordship in his favour, with the title of Lord Jedburgh. This extensive and valuable property is now held by his descendants, the Marquises of Lothian, whose beautiful modern seat of Mount Teviot is in the vicinity.

It is extraordinary, considering the inroads and ravages of the English from 1513 to 1547, and the predatory warfare of the Border freebooters, that so much of the stately Abbey of Jedburgh is entire. Nothing is known of the dispersion of the Monks, who seem to have fled in terror from the invaders. After the Reformation they disappeared, and no members of the Convent are mentioned. The only part of the Monastery remaining is the church, which was dedicated under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin. This grand edifice, in its entire state, consisted of a nave with side aisles, a cross and transept, and a choir with chapels. The east or altar end of the choir, and the cloisters and chapter-house, which were on the south side, no longer exist. Several distinct styles of architecture are apparent in this magnificent fabric. In the choir are massive Saxon pillars with deep circular arches, over which are specimens of the Norman style, and in the superstructure of the nave the Old English is displayed in a long range of narrow-pointed windows, and in the blank arches of the west end. Two splendid Norman doors ornament the church. The one at the west end, which is the principal entrance, is a semicircular arch, seven and a half feet deep, enriched with sculptured mouldings springing into the capitals of slender shafts. Above this door, in front of the edifice, is a radiated circular window or Catherine wheel, which has a superb appearance. The other Norman door, in the south wall of the nave, close to the transept, supposed to have been the entrance from the cloisters, is a fine specimen of workmanship less elaborate. The mixture of distinct styles indicates that Jedburgh Abbey was renewed at different periods. The only decorated Gothic specimens are the windows of the north transept, the cemetery of the Family of the Marquis of Lothian. This transept has buttresses, and was a subsequent addition. The south transept was unfortunately demolished at the alteration of the parish church in the eighteenth century. Above the cross is a lofty square tower, with angular turrets and projecting battlements. This tower and the choir are much decayed, and the marks of the battering of the English in 1544 are still visible. The eastern half of the nave is roofless, and the middle and north aisles in the western part are deformed by the inelegant appropriation as the parish church, with a modern roof lower than the original, which completely destroys the character of the fabric. By the external renovation of the church, and the removal of rubbish to the depth of several feet, the fine proportions and architectural details are now developed.

The revenues of Jedburgh Abbey at the Reformation are, like those of the other Monasteries, variously stated. In 1562 the rental, including the dependencies of Restennet and Canonbie, was estimated at 1274*l.*, exclusive of payments in kind.<sup>1</sup> Another account reduces it to 618*l.*, and a third to 974*l.*<sup>2</sup> The temporal possessions and the "spirituality" of the Abbey were valuable and extensive, yet of the history of this Monastery, and its actual condition, little can be satisfactorily ascertained. Most of the documents perished

<sup>1</sup> These payments were—Wheat, 2 chalders, 2 bolls; barley, 23 chalders; meal, 36 chalders, 13 bolls, 1 firiot, 1 peck.—Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Keith's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, folio, Appendix, p. 185. In the "account" of the Thirds by Robert, Lord Boyd, Collector General for 1576, the Third of the Abbey of Jedburgh

was rated at 339*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, exclusive of payments in kind—Wheat, 11 bolls, 1 firiot, 3 pecks; bear, 7 chalders, 10 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks; meal, 12 chalders, 4 bolls, 1 firiot, 3 pecks; and Third of the altarage of St. Ninian in Jedburgh, 3*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* In an Order to collect the King's Thirds of the Benefices in 1587, Jedburgh was to pay 200*l.*, and Restennet 100*l.*—Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 54.



in the hostile incursions of the English, or were lost or destroyed by interested parties after the Reformation. No chartulary is known to exist, and only a few isolated deeds are preserved.<sup>1</sup>

The old royal burgh is beautifully situated on the west side of the river of its name, and is surrounded by hills of considerable height. The sylvan scenery of the vale of the Jed, the course of which to the Teviot, from its rise at the base of the Carlintooth mountain on the confines of Northumberland, is little more than twelve miles, is uncommonly romantic, and the town, with its venerable Abbey, and modern Castle or prison, is intermingled with ancient orchards, gardens, and plantations in rich profusion. The view of the Abbey, rising majestically above the houses, is grand and imposing, while the adjacent heights screen the town, and impart a sequestered and rural aspect. Jedburgh is of great antiquity, and its Castle is mentioned in the earliest Scottish annals. This Castle, of which no vestige appears, was a favourite residence of Malcolm IV., who died within its walls in 1165, and William I. and Alexander III. were frequent occupants. Prince Alexander, son of the latter, was born in Jedburgh Castle in 1263, and the extraordinary appearance at the revelry in honour of the marriage of the same monarch is already noticed. The English retained possession from the time of the battle of Durham, or Nevill's Cross, in 1346 to 1409, when the Castle was taken and demolished by the Teviotdale Borderers. So strong was the Fortress, that it was proposed to levy a tax of two pennies on every hearth in Scotland to defray the expense of time and labour necessary for its destruction, but the Regent Albany was afraid to hazard this tax, and the Crown revenues furnished the supplies.<sup>2</sup> The site is now that of the modern Castle of Jedburgh, and is pleasantly situated on an eminence at the Townhead.

In Jedburgh were convents of Carmelites or White Friars, and Franciscans, and a Maison-Dieu, of which the only memorials are the names of some localities in the town.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the bridge, next the suburb of Bongate, is a large stone displaying indistinct representations of animals, which was probably a part of an ancient obelisk or cross. In the vicinity is a bridge over the Jed of great antiquity, consisting of three semicircular arches. The old Cross stood at the head of the Bongate, between the High Street and the Townhead.

Jedburgh is prominent in the Border wars and inroads. The usual retreat of Sir James Douglas the "Good" was in Jed Forest, and for his services in protecting Teviotdale from the English garrisons he was rewarded by King Robert Bruce with a grant of the Castle, Forest, and town of Jedworth. In 1334 Edward Baliol ceded to Edward III., for pretended assistance in recovering the kingdom, certain rents and lands on the Borders, of the annual value of 2000*l.* sterling, and in this "donation" was included the town of Jedburgh, of which Robert de Maners was ordained to take possession, while the Castle and Forest were to be under William de Prestfen. This arrangement was altered on the 23d of September that year, when the English monarch assigned to Lord Henry Percy the Castle, Forest, town, and constabulary of Jedburgh, and the villages of Bonjedworth and Hassindean, receiving Annandale in return, which he granted to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Lord High Constable, who had obtained Annandale from Edward I. But the Borderers would not be the subjects of Edward III., and in 1338 Sir William Douglas, of Liddesdale, expelled the English from Teviotdale, which they recovered, and held from 1346 to 1409.

The town was burnt by the English in 1410, when they invaded the vales of the Jed, the Kale, and the Rule. A similar calamity was inflicted a few years afterwards, and a third time in 1464 by the Earl of Warwick. For years after the battle of Flodden the town was severely ravaged by the English, yet the Earl of Surrey, in a dispatch to Henry VIII. in 1523, states that Jedburgh contained "two times more houses than Berwick, and well built, with many honest and fair houses in garrison, and six good towers." Those towers or bastel houses, in one of which Queen Mary is said to have lodged, have been long removed. The Earl of Surrey stormed and burnt the town in 1523, and dilapidated the Abbey by fire. Jedburgh soon recovered those disasters, and also the injuries sustained from the wild and lawless Border chiefs. Sir Ralph Eure, in a letter to the Earl of Hertford, dated 11th March, 1544, describes

<sup>1</sup> The Convent garden is still known as the "Lady's Yards," and another as the "Friars' Garden," both containing very old fruit trees.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*—Introduction, vol. i. p. liv.

<sup>3</sup> In the Carmelite Convent of Jedburgh lived and died Adam Bell, author of "*Rota Temporum*,"—a history of Scotland down to 1335,

the original of which is said to have been destroyed at Roslin by the mob who invaded that Chapel at the Revolution. A chapel on the south side of the choir was long the grammar-school, at which the Poet of "*The Seasons*" received his elementary education. This building, which was entered from the Canongate, is now removed.

Jedburgh as the "strength of Teviotdale, which, once destroyed, a small power would be sufficient to keep the Borders in subjection." On the 12th of June that year the town received a hostile visit from the English under Eure and his son, who pillaged the Abbey, loaded five hundred horses with the spoils, and secured some pieces of artillery in the market-place. Upwards of one hundred and twenty of the inhabitants were killed in their flight to the woods. In subsequent years several ravages were committed, especially after the battle of Pinkie in 1547, when some companies of Spanish soldiers were stationed in the town to overawe the surrounding districts. To prevent the fortifying of Jedburgh by those foreigners, a number of French auxiliaries, under D'Esse, marched to dislodge the Spaniards, who fled at their approach.

The French auxiliaries, consisting of fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse, continued some time at Jedburgh, and were compelled to retire from the Borders to avoid an English army of 8000 men, under the Earl of Rutland, who found the town deserted, and the houses unroofed. The Regent Arrau, accompanied by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, and sundry of the nobility, held a court of justice at Jedburgh in the autumn of 1552, when some of the principal Border leaders were rewarded with knighthood for their good conduct, and offenders were compelled to deliver their nearest relatives as pledges for their future behaviour. In 1561 the future Regent Moray, then Lord James Stuart, was sent to Jedburgh, and inflicted summary punishment on some of the most guilty marauders.

Queen Mary was at Jedburgh in October 1556, and rode to visit the Earl of Bothwell, who was lying wounded in Hermitage Castle. The Queen accomplished her long journey to and from that stronghold in one day, through dangerous morasses and dreary valleys. When she returned to Jedburgh, the fatigue induced an illness which threatened to be fatal. The house in which the Queen resided is a large tenement of thick walls, with small windows in the Backgate—a lane parallel to the High Street. A broad stone stair leads to the Queen's apartment, and it is said that a part of the tapestry of the walls is still preserved.<sup>1</sup> After Queen Mary escaped from Lochleven Castle, the burgesses espoused the "King's cause," in opposition to their powerful neighbour, Ker of Fernihirst, who was devoted to the Queen's interest. A poursuivant, countenanced by Ker, was sent to them in the Queen's name, to announce that all their proceedings without her authority were illegal. The Provost allowed him to read a part of the proclamation, and compelled him literally to "eat his letters," inflicting on his naked person a flagellation with a bridle, and threatening that if he ever entered the town with a similar message he would be put to death.<sup>2</sup>

To revenge this exploit of the stalwart burgesses of Jedburgh and other quarrels, Ker of Fernihirst seized and hanged ten of them, and burnt the whole store of provision deposited in the town for the winter.<sup>3</sup> About the time of this retaliation the enraged baron, who was always a dangerous personage, was prevented from burning the town by the advance of an opposing force.<sup>4</sup> This was probably the English under the Earl of Sussex, who entered Jedburgh on the 18th of April, 1570; and as he was well received by the magistrates and burgesses, who had not been connected with some recent hostilities, he spared the town, and returned to Berwick by Hawick on the 23d, after destroying upwards of fifty peel towers and fortalices, and three hundred hamlets and farm-steads. Those excesses were terminated in 1575 by an encounter known as the "Raid" of the Red Swire—a lull on the limits of the two kingdoms, in which the burgesses of Jedburgh decided the victory, and their war-cry was—"Jethart's here! A Jedworth! A Jedworth!" In 1601 a serious riot occurred between the Kers and the Turnbills, in which some were killed, and some of the leaders were capitally punished.

The reproachful phrase of "Jethart justice" is still proverbial, and means that persons accused of crimes were executed summarily, and then tried—a procedure by no means uncommon in the unscrupulous times of the Scottish Wardens of the Borders, who often resorted to this mode of procedure.<sup>5</sup> It is more directly supposed to have originated in the severity inflicted on some irreclaimable offenders in 1608 by George Home, Earl of Dunbar, who is said to have condemned and executed them without trial.

<sup>1</sup> In the Privy Council Record this tenement is designated the "house of the Lord Compositor." A group of pear-trees in an adjoining garden is traditionally believed to be the offshoots of a large tree destroyed by a storm on the night James VI. entered England to assume the Crown.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Bannatyne's *Memoriales* (Secretary to John Knox), printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 176, 177.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*—Introduction, vol. i. p. lxxi.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*—Introduction, vol. i. p. xcv.

The ancient charters of Jedburgh, which dates as a royal burgh from the reign of David I., perished in the conflagrations of the English and Border wars. Those documents were renewed in the name of Queen Mary in 1566, and the magistrates obtained a charter in 1569, conveying to them the property and revenues of the Abbey within the parish for the erection of hospitals, and the support of the poor and infirm, which was ratified by the Parliament in 1597.<sup>1</sup> No infestment, however, was obtained, and those revenues were never acquired.

In the channel of the Jed, about a quarter of a mile south of the town, is a section of rock geologically interesting, as displaying the junction of the greywacke formation with the old red sandstone. It is one of the most complete instances of the kind to be found, and was first noticed by Dr. James Hutton in 1769. In some parts of the course of this romantic stream remarkable breaks occur, and the general tendency of the strata falls in an opposite direction.<sup>2</sup> Caves excavated out of the solid rock for refuge and the concealment of property are in various parts of the precipices of the Jed, and are now almost inaccessible. Above the cave at Lintalee are the remains of the camp constructed by the "Good" Sir James Douglas for the defence of the Borders while King Robert Bruce was in Ireland, and described, with the battle which ensued in the glen of the Lintalee rivulet, in Barbour's Bruce.<sup>3</sup> This fierce encounter was between Douglas and the English, who invaded Jed Forest to level the timber in 1317, under the Earl of Arundel. Douglas drew the English into ambush, compelled them to fight, and defeated them.<sup>4</sup> In this battle was killed Thomas de Richmond, the English Warden, whom Barbour assumes to have been the commander, and who he alleges fell by the hand of Bruce.

Jed Forest, which included many hundred acres, was finally levelled in the eighteenth century, though numerous trees have germinated from the old stocks. A few specimens of the ancient Forest, chiefly birch-trees, are in the vicinity of Fernihirst. Two venerable surviving oaks are about a mile from the town. One is known as the "King of the Wood," and towers above the other trees, its circumference near the ground fourteen feet. The other is the "Capon Tree," believed to be upwards of a thousand years old, and its circumference twenty-one feet. Beyond these trees a narrow path, overshadowed by the branches of ancient oaks, leads to Fernihirst Castle, on a steep bank overlooking the Jed, three miles above Jedburgh. This original seat of the Earls and Marquises of Lothian, the grey turrets of which rise amid lofty old trees, was erected about the end of the fifteenth century by Thomas Ker, of Kersleugh, who designated the stronghold Fernihirst, and consists of a lofty square tower, with smaller buildings forming a court-yard half ruinous, and occupied as a farm-house.

Fernihirst and its owners figure considerably in the Border wars. The Castle was taken by the Earl of Surrey and Lord Daere in 1523, after a brave defence by Sir Andrew Ker, the son and successor of the founder. His son, Sir John Ker, recovered his Castle in 1549, by storming the walls, assisted by a party of the French auxiliaries then in Jedburgh. The savage Borderers inflicted dreadful cruelties on the English garrison, whose eyes they tore out before they put them to death, to retaliate for their licentious and barbarous oppressions.<sup>5</sup> In 1570 Fernihirst Castle was demolished by the Earl of Sussex and Sir John Foster, to revenge an incursion into England by Sir Thomas Ker, Scott of Buccleuch, and other Border chiefs, on the day after the murder of the Regent Moray, of the design against whom they were evidently aware, and exulted at its success. The Castle was rebuilt in 1598 by Sir Andrew Ker, first Lord Jedburgh.

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scott. folio, iv. p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The Bruce and Wallace, 4to. 1820, vol. i. pp. 322-326.

<sup>4</sup> Annals of Scotland, by Lord Hailes, 4to. vol. ii. p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> The governor of the English garrison, after Fernihirst Castle was scaled by means of long poles instead of ladders, offered to capitulate, on the condition that their lives should be spared. D'Esse, the commander of the French auxiliaries, would listen to nothing else than an absolute surrender, and the English leader submitted to two French officers, imploring them to protect his life, rather than leave him to encounter the furious Borderers, who had forced an entrance by the gate into the lower court. One of the latter, recognising him as the

ravisher of his wife, came suddenly behind, and struck off his head with such a well-aimed blow, that it fell some paces from his body. The other Borderers vied with each other in mangling and insulting the corpse. Not satisfied with the victims whom they secured, they even purchased those taken by the French, on whom they exercised such cruelties as their ferocious revenge suggested.—Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 39-41, Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. xxxv.; Beaugue's History of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549 between the Scots and French on the one side, and the English and their Foreign Auxiliaries on the other, translated by Dr. Abercrombie, 8vo. 1707, Book III. chap. ii.

## NEWARK CASTLE—BATTLE-FIELD OF PHILIPHAUGH.

THE ancient royal burgh of Selkirk is the designation of a county long and still traditionally known as "The Forest," including the vale of the Etterick, called Etterick Forest. This name is no longer applicable to the district, which is a continuous sheep-walk, thinly peopled, the surface consisting of lofty mountains green to the summits, and deep lonely glens, the mossy beds of which are traversed by the tributaries of the Yarrow, the Etterick, the Tweed, and the Borthwick Water—the last-mentioned stream entering the Teviot, and all absorbed in the Tweed. The pastoral character of Selkirkshire is indicated from the parish of Yarrow, which extends eighteen miles at the greatest length, and is sixteen miles broad, the assumed area one hundred and eleven square miles, or 71,410 acres, of which only three thousand acres are capable of cultivation, upwards of six hundred acres are under natural or planted wood, and the immense assemblage of mountains and vales an uncultivated sheep-walk. The woods of "The Forest" were gradually levelled, and the only memorials are considered to be a few old small and stunted oaks on a mountain known as West Faldshope Hill. At Hangingshaw, formerly the residence of the "Outlaw Murray," are many splendid trees, which ornament that part of the Vale of Yarrow, and the soil is so congenial to the growth of timber that copses shoot up spontaneously in the enclosed grounds.

The Vale of Yarrow, beyond the woods of Hangingshaw, is enclosed by green mountains relieved by opening glens. The parish church, truly pastoral in its situation, and said to be an erection of the year 1640, is a pleasing object in this retired and lonely Vale. A short distance westward of this humble edifice are two massive upright stones at the distance of eighty or one hundred yards, displaying almost illegible inscriptions. This is said to be the locality of the ballad known as the "Dowie Deas of Yarrow," which is similar in theme and sentiment to another fragment entitled "Willie's drowned in Yarrow." Some allege that these rude stones commemorate a conflict in which the leaders were slain, and the bodies of their followers thrown into the "Dead Lake"—a marshy pool in an adjoining haugh. Others suppose the event described in the ballad to refer to a duel between John Scott of Tuskielaw and Walter Scott of Thirlestane, which was fatal to the latter, though it is ascertained that this encounter occurred at the locality of Deuchar Swire farther distant. Three stones are also identified with a feud in which a son of Scott of Harden, residing at Kirkhope, was killed by his relative Scott of Gilmanscleuch.

Some miles above Yarrow Church is the solitary glen of the Douglas rivulet, in a wild tract, formerly one of the most ancient possessions of the powerful Family of Douglas, and a retreat of the "Good" Sir James Douglas, when levying forces to support King Robert Bruce. Tradition reports this glen as the scene of the "Douglas Tragedie," and seven large stones on the surrounding heights are said to mark the spots on which the seven brothers mentioned in the ballad were slain. Two miles up the Douglas Water is Blackhouse Tower, one of the old fortalices which abound in Selkirkshire; and onwards, in the direction of St. Mary's Loch, is Dryhope Tower, a lofty square keep near the eastern extremity of the lake, and the reputed birth-place of Mary Scott, celebrated in song as the "Flower of Yarrow," daughter of John Scott of Dryhope. The "Flower" married Walter Scott of Harden, who was as locally renowned for his freebooting adventures as this lady was for her personal attractions, and she was the ancestress by this alliance of the Elliots of Minto and Stobs, the Scotts of Polwarth, and of Sir Walter Scott. Lord Heathfield of the Noble Family of Minto, distinguished for his defence of Gibraltar, was also one of the descendants of the "Flower of Yarrow."

The Yarrow issues from the east end of St. Mary's Loch, a lake four miles in length and one mile in breadth, with a depth in some places of thirty fathoms. The hills, green to the summits, rise from both sides of the lake, which reposes placidly under their protection, and receives their streams and torrents. St. Mary's Loch is connected with the Loch of the Lowes—which means lakes or lochs—a lake about a mile in length, by a small stream which issues from the latter through a narrow isthmus raised by the opposite currents of the Corsecleuch and Oxcleuch rivulets. It is evident that both were originally one lake, and the difference of level is only fifteen inches. On the south side of St. Mary's Loch, about a mile west of Dryhope Tower, is the site of St. Mary's Chapel, its solitary cemetery still the place of sepulture







THE GREAT CASTLE  
from the valley of the Rhine





of some families in the vicinity. Within this cemetery is a mound designated "Birnam's Cross," with a few stones on the summit, the reputed grave of a "wizard priest" who was not allowed to be interred in "company of holy dust." This mountain chapel is alleged to have been injured by the Scotts in a feud with the Cranstouns, though the structure was used for divine service in the early part of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> The vale of Meggetdale opens on the north side of St. Mary's Loch, leading to Henderland Castle, the residence of a noted freebooter named Cockburn, who was hanged over his own gate for his atrocities by order of James V. A mountain-stream rushes through a rocky chasm in the vicinity, and in a cave behind the wife of Cockburn is said to have concealed herself during his execution. The ballad of the "Lament of the Border Widow" commemorates this event. West of the entrance into Meggetdale is the hill of Mercleuch-head, across which the road extends over the opposite mountains into the vale of the Etterick. At the head of the solitary Loch of the Lowes are Kirkenhope on the east and Chapelhope on the west. A few miles onwards in this uninviting region is Birkhill, noted in the annals of the Covenanters as the place where four of them were shot by Graham of Claverhouse. Near Birkhill is the waterfall of Dobb's Linn, in the vicinity of which was a cave, often the refuge of those stern religionists, whose sentinels on the Watch Hill announced the approach of the enemy. Two miles beyond Birkhill, to the north-west, is the majestic cataract of the "Grey Mare's Tail," which issues from the dreary Loch Skene, about two miles distant, and falls over a precipice upwards of three hundred feet high into a gulf near the hollow of the "Giant's Grave."

The utter loneliness of this mountainous region must be seen to be understood. The "hills whence classic Yarrow flows" are the high grounds of the beautiful and romantic Moffatdale, and discharge numerous streams into the Loch of the Lowes and St. Mary's Loch, the principal of which is the Megget Water, or Little Yarrow. The source of that celebrated stream, however, may be traced to the vicinity of Yearnscleuch and Birkhill, assuming the Peeblesshire Megget Water to be a tributary of St. Mary's Loch. Few human habitations are in the solitudes traversed by the Yarrow after leaving its placid lakes, in its course to the Etterick of fourteen miles, yet this was long the region of superstitious legends, and of deeds of violence, the recollection of which lingered after the real events were obscured or forgotten. It is stated that the publication of Sir Walter Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Border" dispelled the traditional charm of the old ballads which had been transmitted for ages to successive generations, and "these relics of Border song, thus laid bare to the light of day, have, like the friendly and familiar spirits of Border superstition, when noticed with peculiar kindness, entirely disappeared, and that, too, in consequence of the very effort made to preserve them."<sup>2</sup>

The vales of "The Forest" abound with old deserted towers, and one of the most prominent is Newark Castle on the south bank of the Yarrow, within three miles of its confluence with the Etterick, and at least five miles of the burgh of Selkirk. This massive and desolate pile, the name of which designates other old castles and residences in various counties, is built on a peninsula formed by the encircling stream in the woods of the Duke of Buccleuch, whose fine seat of "Sweet Bowhill" is a short distance down the Yarrow. The scenery in this part of the Vale is wild and sequestered, yet impressive and beautiful, and is duly celebrated in song and ballad. Hence the comparison of the peel tower on Leader-side, which "stands as sweet as Newark does on Yarrow." Wordsworth, in his "Yarrow Visited," notices the "shattered front of Newark's tower, renowned in Border story," and the fabric is immortalised in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" as the scene of the said "Lay" recited to Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, when it was her residence for a time, after the execution of her husband the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, in 1685.<sup>3</sup> The widowed Duchess, who had "wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb" in her youth, though it is known that they were not on very friendly terms for some time previous to his insurrection, enjoins her domestics "to tend the old man well," listens to his "Lay" of chivalry in the hall, and eventually locates the "Last Minstrel" in a cottage in the vicinity.

<sup>1</sup> Parts of the banks of St. Mary's Loch are ornamented by plantations, which evince the taste of Lord Napier, the proprietor, and the margin is skirted by a few old trees. A graphic description of the scenery is in the Introduction to the Second Canto of "Marmion," in which are celebrated the placidity of the lake, its solitude on every side, and the unbroken slopes of the hills.

<sup>2</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Peeblesshire, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers erroneously asserts in a note (*Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 974) that "Anne, the first Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch, was born in this Castle of Newark." The Duchess was born in Dundee, in 1651, at the time of the siege of that town by General Monk.

Newark Castle is said to have been erected as a hunting-seat for James II., which connects the fabric with the middle of the fifteenth century. The Castle and adjacent lands seem to have been acquired in the seventeenth century by the Buccleuch family, who had long before obtained several extensive grants in "The Forest." In February, 1634, Francis, second Earl of Buccleuch, father of the Duchess Anne, was served heir to this and other territorial possessions of his father, the first Earl, and his elder daughter, the Countess Mary, was served heiress in October of that year. The Duchess Anne was served heiress to her sister on the 17th of October, 1661, the month in which the Countess died at Wemyss Castle in the thirteenth year of her age.<sup>1</sup> It appears from these documents that Newark Castle, otherwise Whitelibræ, Hillbræ, or Catchmurlie, was so called to distinguish the tower from the Cartermauch, or Auldward, the ruins of which were long visible on the south-east bank of the Yarrow, nearly a mile below Newark, in the domain and near the mansion of Bowhill, and this was probably the original royal hunting-seat, which was assigned to the warden of the royal forests in that quarter. It is ascertained that Auldward Castle, popularly so called after the erection of the other, existed in very early times, when none of the nominal proprietors could obtain lime and stone.<sup>2</sup>

William, first Earl of Douglas, acquired the Forest of Selkirk in the fourteenth century. Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, and first Duke of Tourane, dated a lease of certain lands in the Forest to his chaplain, Sir Walter Middlemas, at "the New-wark," on the 2d of March, 1423-4. After the attainder of Earl James in 1455, when the power of the House of Douglas was long prostrated, the whole Forest was annexed to the Crown, with all its jurisdictions, by Act of Parliament.<sup>3</sup> The district was governed by the King's steward for thirty-three years throughout the disturbed reigns of James II. and James III. In February, 1489-90, Alexander, second Lord Home, Great Chamberlain, was appointed by Parliament to collect the Crown rents and casual revenues in the counties of Selkirk and Stirling, and he was then keeper of Newark and Stirling Castles. In 1503, John Murray of Falahill, an ancestor of the ancient family of Murray of Philiphaugh, was Sheriff of Selkirkshire, and he delivered seizin of Etterick Forest, including the manor of Newark, and the Castle within that Forest, to the Princess Margaret of England, as a part of her jointure lands at her marriage to James IV.<sup>4</sup> In 1509, John Murray, then designated of Philiphaugh, and his heirs, obtained from James V. the sheriffdom of Selkirkshire, and it appears that he was soon afterwards killed in a Border feud with the Kers and Scotts.<sup>5</sup>

After the forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas, the Murrays occupied Newark Castle, and the edifice was soon "renowned in Border story." It is frequently mentioned in the records of the Parliaments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the death of his mother the Queen-Dowager Margaret in 1541, James V. resumed his rights to the Forest of Etterick and manor of Newark. This monarch was induced to increase his revenues by breeding sheep, which Sir Ralph told in 1540 was considered derogatory to his station by his uncle Henry VIII., who suggested that he should seize the castles and lands of his rebellious subjects. Such quietness ensued after decisive measures had been adopted against the Border chiefs, some of whom were imprisoned, that the flocks belonging to James V. in Etterick Forest, to the number of 10,000 sheep under the superintendence of Andrew Bell, were as profitable and secure as if they had been pastured in the county of Fife.<sup>6</sup>

It was often the practice of the Scottish monarchs, in controlling the Border districts, to commission one powerful turbulent family to compel their neighbours to subjection. The Murrays of Philiphaugh had probably claims to a part of the lordship of Etterick Forest, which was mixed with their own possessions; and as, like other Border septs, they were fierce and violent, it is not unlikely that they held their lands merely by occupaney, without any feudal title. This seems to have been the origin of the old ballad for centuries popular in Selkirkshire, entitled the "Song of the Outlaw Murray."<sup>7</sup> The scene is supposed

<sup>1</sup> Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio in Publicis Archivis Scotiæ adhuc servantur—Selkirkshire, folio, 1811, cols. 41-70.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. ii. pp. 974, 977.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Etterick Forest and Newark had been the dowry of Mary of Gueldres, the immediate predecessor of Queen Margaret, and mother of James IV. It is ingeniously conjectured that the two farms of Deloraine and Deloraine Hill, between the Yarrow and the Etterick, received the designation from *de la reine*, or afterwards from Mary of

Loraine, or of Guise, Queen of James V.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Selkirkshire, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part i. pp. 68, 69. The descendants of John Murray of Philiphaugh retained the hereditary office, with various interruptions caused by their turbulence, till 1748, when John Murray of Philiphaugh received 4000*l.* for the hereditary jurisdictions.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Lindsay's (of Pitseottie) History of Scotland, folio, p. 279.

<sup>7</sup> This ballad was published by Sir Walter Scott in his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border." Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 991) sneers

by the peasantry to be Newark Castle, which Sir Walter Scott denies, because that was always a royal fortress, and alleges on good authority that the unicorns and other insignia noticed in the ballad were on the old tower at Hangingshaw, now greatly demolished, a residence of the Murrays a few miles up the Vale of the Yarrow, in a romantic and solitary locality on the road to Yarrow parish church. One tradition in Etterick Forest states that the "Outlaw," who was often at deadly feud with the Scotts, was killed by Scott of Buccleuch, or some of his followers, on a mount covered with fir-trees near Newark Castle; and another is, that he was mortally wounded below the Castle with an arrow aimed by Scott of Haining from a ruinous cot-house on the opposite side of the Yarrow.<sup>1</sup>

Newark Castle, which is a large square tower with flanking turrets and projecting battlements, has long ceased to be connected with any historical or remarkable incidents, and the descendants of the "Outlaw Murray" are quiet country proprietors of their patrimonial estate of Philiphaugh. The vicinity of Newark contains several localities of interest, which are enhanced by the profusely wooded Vale of the Yarrow, in its course by Hangingshaw, Broadmeadows, and Newark, from the upper pastoral and mountainous region of the lonely St. Mary's Loch. Nearly opposite Newark Castle is the farm-house of Fowlshiels, where Mungo Park was born, and his residence before his last expedition to Africa. Below Newark Castle and Bowhill is the entrance to the Vale of the Yarrow at the Carterhough, where the Etterick receives the tributary; and the united streams, passing the mansion of Philiphaugh and the town of Selkirk, enter the Tweed, under the name of Etterick, between Selkirk and Abbotsford.

Upwards of a mile from Selkirk, on the north side of the Etterick, is the plain of Philiphaugh, on which the Marquis of Montrose fought his last battle, and was entirely defeated by the Covenanting forces under General David Leslie on the 13th of September, 1645. Montrose, after his important victory at Kilsyth, resolved to enter England, and he expected to be joined in the Border counties by the Earls of Home, Roxburghe, and Traquair, who were rumoured to be favourable to the royal cause. He also expected a reinforcement of cavalry from the King under Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who were totally routed in their advance through Yorkshire, while another body of horse raised by those leaders in Lancashire was dispersed near Carlisle. Montrose halted at Selkirk on the 12th of September, and occupied a tenement shown in the town. He quartered his cavalry in Selkirk, and encamped his infantry on Philiphaugh, not aware that General David Leslie was on the Borders from England, having crossed the Tweed, on the 6th of September, with an army of from 5000 to 6000 men, comprising the very best of the Scottish cavalry. In this army John Middleton, the future Earl of Middleton, held an important command under Leslie, and most efficiently aided in the defeat of the Royalists.

Montrose was surrounded with difficulties, in addition to those disasters in England, and others impending over him of which he was of necessity ignorant at the time, and a surprise by some thousands of men chiefly, if not altogether cavalry, was almost certain to be fatal. The Highlanders had left him after the victory of Kilsyth, with all the plunder they had secured; his Irish infantry were not more than from 500 to 700; his recent levies were peasants who scarcely knew the management of their horses; and the Ogilvies were only sufficient for his body-guard. His entire promiscuous and motley forces were little above 2000 men. The surrounding mountains and vales were enveloped in a dense fog, and as the peasantry were inclined to the Covenanting cause, they were not likely to report any intelligence to the Marquis, whom they refused to acknowledge as the King's Lieutenant. Unfortunately Montrose entrusted to others most essential duties which he usually discharged himself, such as the stationing of his horse patrols in proper quarters, and the sending forth of faithful scouts in every direction—matters arranged on this occasion by the captains of his horse. After entrenching his infantry on the plain of Philiphaugh, under the shelter of the Harehead-wood, on the north bank of the Etterick, which he considered sufficient protection against a sudden assault of cavalry, he continued most of the night at Selkirk in writing despatches to Charles I., which were to be sent at daybreak by a trusty messenger. Rumours, indeed, reached him of the approach of the Covenanting army, but the reply of the officers of the guard invariably

at the "frigid dulness" of the ballad, and in reference to the localities of the Forest which it mentions, the "brave Outlaw" and his "chivalrie," asserts that "the history of Selkirkshire, as it appears in

the chartularies, reprobates the fictitious follies of this 'Sang' as wholly unwarranted by facts."

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 4th edition, vol. i. pp. 82, 83. These statements, however, are mere conjectures.

was, that no cause of alarm existed. At dawn the scouts returned, declaring that they had examined every road and bycpath, and that no enemy was within ten miles.

Leslie had advanced from Melrose on the evening of the 12th, and encamped under the protection of the thick mist within four miles of Selkirk. Before his approach was known in the morning he was less than half-a-mile from Philiphaugh, and his cavalry immediately attacked the Royalists, who were taken by surprise. As soon as he heard the firing, Montrose mounted the first horse he found, and galloped with his guard to the scene of action. The effect of his temporary absence was soon evident, as not an officer was in his place, or a lance mounted, when Leslie's trumpeters sounded the assault. The right wing of Montrose's infantry was opposing the full attack of the Covenanting cavalry, assisted by about one hundred and fifty mounted noblemen and gentlemen. Twice were the Covenanters repulsed with slaughter, yet these successes were of no avail. Leslie ordered two thousand of his cavalry, by an easy detour across the Etterick, to fall on the rear of this chivalrous band, who were sustaining in front the charge of nearly double that number. The defeat may be said to have been effected before Montrose appeared. His infantry, after assurance of quarter, threw down their arms. Montrose with about thirty cavaliers rallied his troopers, and repeatedly attacked the enemy, who surrounded him in masses, and his daring bravery caused the loss of more men than would otherwise have fallen. Imagining that he had no chance of escape, he resolved to die on the field, when his friends, especially the Marquis of Douglas, and Sir John Dalziel, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, forced a passage in a desperate charge while the Covenanters were preparing to plunder the haggage. They were followed by a party of the Covenanting cavalry led by Captain Bruce and two cornets, each carrying a standard. Montrose turned on them, and some of them fell. The Marquis and his few companions went up the Vale of Yarrow, and crossing the rough and mountainous tract of the Minchmoor, along the subsequent post road from the south, entered Peeblesshire, overtaking a party of their own cavalry who had sooner left the field. Sixteen miles from the scene of his defeat the Marquis first drew bridle, and halted at Traquair House. He requested to see the Earl of Traquair and his son Lord Linton, who were denied, though it was well known that both were in the mansion, and purposely avoided an interview.<sup>1</sup>

It is said that a thousand of the Royalists fell at Philiphaugh, and at least one hundred of the Irish prisoners were shot by an ordinance of the English and Scottish Parliaments. Another authority states that comparatively few were slain in the battle, and scarcely any in the flight, and that the principal slaughter was of defenceless prisoners, particularly the Irish, after quarter had been granted. Close to Newark Castle is a field called the "Slain Man's Lee," where the Covenanters cruelly massacred many of their captives. Those of rank and importance were reserved for the public executioner.

It is curious that General David Leslie, who was voted 50,000 merks and a chain of gold for his services at Philiphaugh, was created in 1661 by the inconsistent Charles II. a peer by the title of Lord Newark.<sup>2</sup> Middleton, his minor colleague, received a grant of 25,000 merks, and was created Earl of Middleton in 1660. He died in disgrace or exile as Governor of Tangier in 1673.

The county town of Selkirk, which is built on rising ground overlooking the channel of the Yarrow, contains no remarkable object except the Town Hall, with its elegant spire one hundred and ten feet high. In front of the edifice is a statue of Sir Walter Scott on an isolated pedestal. David I. brought his colony of monks to Selkirk, who afterwards removed to the more inviting and congenial locality of St. Mary at Kelso. In 1309, Selkirk Castle, every vestige of which has disappeared, is noticed as a stronghold in possession of the English. The great event in the annals of the burgh is the battle of Flodden, to which disastrous field a number of the inhabitants, variously stated at eighty and one hundred, followed James IV.,

<sup>1</sup> Montrose and the Covenanters, by Mark Napier, Esq., Advocate, 8vo. 1838, vol. ii. pp. 467-477; Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*,—the Battle of Philiphaugh, vol. ii. pp. 15-32. The chief value of this ballad, in Sir Walter Scott's opinion, consists in the accuracy of its details. It has been long known in Selkirkshire.

<sup>2</sup> The title was derived, not from Newark on the Yarrow, the scene of Leslie's cruelties, but from another Newark, close to the fishing village of St. Monance in Fife—a now ruinous mansion which belonged to the family of Sandilands of Abercrombie and St. Monance, purchased from them by Leslie, in 1649. His Cavalier enemies, after his

elevation, sarcastically remarked, that instead of creating him Lord Newark, the King should have hanged him for his *auld work*. This celebrated Covenanting General had fought, however, for Charles II. against Cromwell, who fined him 4000*l.*, and he was a prisoner in the Tower of London from 1651 to 1660. For these and other privations Lord Newark was also rewarded with an annual pension of 500*l.*, and, as his enemies continued to molest him for his "auld work," he procured a letter from Charles II., in 1667, in which the king declared his entire satisfaction with his conduct and loyalty while he acted as Lieutenant-General in England and Scotland.

who knighted William Brydone, the town-clerk, whose descendants long resided in Selkirk. From that battle a very few returned, with a flag said to have been taken from the English, which is still preserved in the town. The lieges of Selkirk have been popularly known as "Souters," from the trade of shoemaking, or properly the manufacture of brogues—a covering for the feet with a single sole—having been extensively and almost exclusively practised by them. As a sobriquet it is applied to all the inhabitants of the quiet ancient rural burgh, who figure in the ballad—"Up with the Souters of Selkirk, and down with the Earl of Home," which has been applied to the battle of Flodden, and also ascribed to a wager more recently between the Homes and the Murrays of Philiphaugh, when the "Souters" supported the latter, and achieved the victory at a match of foot-ball. It is, however, denied that such a contest occurred; and though the Earldom of Home was not created till 1604, ninety years after the battle of Flodden, the ballad may refer to the bravery of the "Souters," and to Alexander, third Lord Home, who with the Earl of Huntly led the van of the Scottish army, dispersed the English who opposed him, and was one of the few who escaped. His father, Alexander, second Lord, who died in 1506, obtained a charter of the bailiary of Etterick Forest in January 1489-90, and his successors procured a grant of the crown lands of Timis Forest, some miles above Newark Castle on the north side of the Yarrow, in the direction of the rugged and elevated Minchmoor, and the Cat-Crag, in October 1512. Those grants would naturally cause frequent and irritating collisions between Lord Home and the "Souters," who would rejoice at his attainder and execution in 1516, more especially if his successors coveted the numerous acres of the common.<sup>1</sup> His second brother George was restored to the title and crown grant as fourth Lord in 1522, and with numerous other charters he obtained, in 1535 and 1538, two to the Forest of Timis in Etterick Forest.

The Vale of the Etterick, in the parish so called, resembles that of the Yarrow. The summits of the mountains are freely rounded, and covered with verdant turf, or in a few instances with heath. On the south side of a range of hills called the "Back-Bone of the County," the Etterick rises from among a small bed of rushes between Loch-Fell and Capel-Fell, two miles from Pottburn, said to be the highest farmhouse in the south of Scotland. After a course of probably thirty miles in a north-east direction nearly parallel with its tributary the Yarrow, the Etterick enters the Tweed between Sunderland Hall, near Selkirk, and Abbotsford.

In the Vale of the Etterick are several memorials of former times. Proceeding upwards from the confluence with the Yarrow at Carterhaugh, and opposite the woods of Bowhill, is Oakwood Tower, an alleged residence of the famous Wizard Michael Scott. Some miles farther is Deloraine, which designates a hill, a farm, and various localities.<sup>2</sup> The next object of interest is the ruinous Tower of Tushielaw, once the residence of a noted Border family of freebooters. Adam Scott of Tushielaw, whose power and depredations procured for him the sobriquets of "King of the Borders" and "King of Thieves," was convicted in the presence of James V. on the 18th of May, 1529, and sentenced to be beheaded, and two days after a similar punishment is recorded against William Cockburn of Henderland.<sup>3</sup> The Scotts of Tushielaw were long renowned as moss-troopers, and are prominent in song, tradition, and crime.

The Etterick opposite Tushielaw receives the Rankleburn, which traverses a lonely vale formed by a dense mass of hills. In this vale—the theme of the ballad of the "Maid of Rankleburn"—are the two forlorn farm steadings of Easter and Wester Buccleuch, from which the noble family of Scott derive their titles of Dukes, Earls, and Barons of Buccleuch, and supposed to be a portion of their most ancient territorial possessions. It is at least certain that Rankleburn was a very early designation of the Scotts of Buccleuch. In a deep ravine near the road from these farms to Hawick, is the spot where "the buck in the cleuch was slain," which originated the name and title, if the rhyming tradition of Scott of Satchells is to be credited. Nearly two miles above Easter Buccleuch are the almost extinct vestiges of the chapel

<sup>1</sup> As a compensation for disasters inflicted on the "Souters" some years after the battle of Flodden they obtained a grant of one thousand acres adjoining their burgh to be held by the community for ever.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Selkirkshire, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Deloraine gave the title of Earl to Lord Henry Scott, third and second surviving son of the Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch and the Duchess Anne, who was so ennobled in 1706, and the Earldom

became extinct at the death of his grandson, Henry, fourth Earl, without issue, in 1807.

<sup>3</sup> The tradition in Etterick Forest is that Adam Scott was ordered by James V. to be hanged on an ash-tree before his own gate, on the principal branches of which were marks and hollows formed by the ropes by which the freebooter had suspended many an unfortunate captive. This is altogether unfounded, as Scott and Cockburn were decapitated at Edinburgh, and their heads spiked on the Tolbooth.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 144, 145.

in which, according to the same quaint authority, many of the ancient Barons of Buccleuch were interred. Such is an outline of the remote solitude which designates one of the most illustrious families in the British Empire.

Two miles beyond Tushielaw, on the north-west side of the Etterick, is the old Tower of Thirlestane, surrounded by a few venerable ash-trees. In the immediate vicinity is the modern mansion of Thirlestane, embosomed among woods, the seat of the Lords Napier, who represent the ancient family of the Scotts of Thirlestane, and the Napiers of Merehiston Castle at Edinburgh, immortalised by their great ancestor the "Marvellous Napier," the inventor of Logarithms. The noble family of Napier, elevated to the Baronetage and Peerage in 1627 in the person of Sir Archibald Napier, only son, by his first marriage, of the philosopher, are connected with Etterick Forest by their paternal descent from the Scotts of Thirlestane in 1703.<sup>1</sup> Francis, the only son of William and Elizabeth Napier, who succeeded his grandmother, and became the fifth Lord in 1706, though paternally Scott of Thirlestane, assumed the surname of Napier in terms of the new patent granted to Archibald, third Lord Napier in 1677, and was the great-grandfather of William John, eighth Lord, who was appointed Commissioner for regulating the trade with China, in which office he died in China in October 1834. His Lordship added to the modern mansion, which was commenced by his father, Francis, seventh Lord, and was conspicuous for his agricultural and sheep-farming improvements.<sup>2</sup> On the opposite side of the Etterick is the Tower of Gamesleuch, erected by Simon, called "Long Spear," second son of John Scott of Thirlestane, in the reign of Queen Mary or James VI.

In an old cottage at Etterick Hall, about a quarter of a mile from the parish church, was born James Hogg. Among the many contemporary notices of the "Etterick Shepherd," as he designated himself from his avocation as a shepherd, one of the most summary, in reference to his literary adventures as a self-taught individual, is in the Annual Register for 1835. Sir Walter Scott patronised him, and he has obtained a position in Lockhart's biography of that great man, who tolerated his eccentricities and coarse manners. Hogg died in the sixty-third year of his age at Altrive in the Vale of Yarrow, a short distance from his former farm residence of Mount Benger, thirteen miles from Selkirk.

On the south side of the Tweed is the mansion of Ashiesteel. From 1792 to 1802 this beautifully situated mansion was the country residence of Sir Walter Scott, partly from choice, and partly in his official capacity as Sheriff of Selkirkshire. In this seat of his kinsman, Colonel William Russell, distinguished for military exploits in India, Sir Walter Scott commenced his brilliant literary career, and a hillock covered with trees, beneath the shade of which much of his poetry was written, is still known in the phraseology of the peasantry as the "Shirra's Knowe."

Farther up the Tweed, towards Innerleithen, is Elibank Tower, which gives the title of Baron to a branch of the family of Murray of Blackbarony, ennobled in 1643 in the person of Sir Patrick Murray, who had been created a Baronet in 1628, and who was the son of Sir Gideon Murray—a personage who held several high appointments in his time. This ruinous pile, which was either built or enlarged by Sir Gideon Murray on the lands of Eliburn, is situated amid wild and pastoral scenery, surrounded by green hills, and appears to have been a double tower, with subordinate buildings, and a terraced garden on the south and west sides. Sir Gideon Murray, whose public and official transactions are curious, died in 1621, of grief at a false charge of "abusing his office of Treasurer Depute to the prejudice of the King," which was preferred against him by James Stewart, designated Lord Ochiltree, and was interred in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood at Edinburgh.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Francis, fifth Lord Napier, whose mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Elizabeth, Baroness Napier, married William, son of Sir Francis Scott, Baronet, of Thirlestane, inherited that title, which was created in 1666, and his successors are also Baronets of Nova Scotia of that date, but the Baronetcy of 1627 is possessed by the Napiers of Milliken House in Renfrewshire.

<sup>2</sup> In 1822, Lord Napier published a "Treatise on Practical Store-Farming as applicable to the Mountainous Region of Etterick Forest and the Pastoral Part of Scotland in general," which attracted considerable notice, and his Lordship's suggestions were followed by beneficial results.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Gideon Murray was imprisoned some time in Edinburgh Castle on a charge of manslaughter or murder, and after his "remission," or pardon, he acted as chamberlain to his relative, Sir Walter

Scott of Buccleuch, who had retired to France about 1599, in obedience to the royal mandate, and avoided any connexion with the disturbances of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell, who had presumed to calculate on his assistance. While residing in Elibank Tower, Sir Gideon Murray engaged in a feud with the Scotts of Harden, who then possessed Oakwood Tower on the Etterick. Sir Walter Scott, their descendant, relates a curious traditionary story connected with this feud, asserting that it "is established in both families, and often jocularly referred to upon the Borders." The son of Scott of Harden had prepared an expedition against the Murrays, their ancient enemies, and as their possessions were contiguous, they were at no loss for opportunities to exercise their hostility. Young Harden was defeated and secured by the Murrays while driving off their cattle. He was conducted a prisoner to Elibank Tower, and Sir Gideon's lady, whose









BEHIND SCENE TO HEE

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His descendants soon deserted Elibank Tower, which fell to ruin—a memorial of the rude masonry and ferocity of the times of the construction.

The inhabitants of "The Forest" were long and still are a peculiar people. For centuries they were in bondage as serfs, and completely at the mercy of the owners of the fortalices, who were their masters. Many years after the Union their information, such as it was, rarely extended beyond the limits of their own district and their immediate neighbours and relatives. About 1750 not a cart was employed, and manure for the fields and peats from the hills for fuel were conveyed in creels on the backs of horses. The store-farmers removed their flocks into Annandale for winter shelter and pasturage, and the black-faced sheep, the wool of which was of the coarsest kind, and of little manufacturing value, were the principal occupants of the mountains and "walks." The Cheviots, or white-faced, are now preferred, but the introduction of this breed was not effected without difficulty, of which numerous amusing stories, illustrating the credulity, ignorance, and superstition of the peasantry, are recorded.

### GILNOCKIE TOWER.

IN the parish of Canonbie, which is traversed by the Esk in its course to the Solway Frith, and receives numerous tributaries, is a small promontory encircled on three sides by the river, and known as Gilnockie, from which a noted Border freebooter is supposed to have derived a kind of territorial designation. The roofless tower resembles those throughout the district, and the chief attraction is the romantic scenery in the Vale of the Esk in the vicinity. The site is steep and rocky, and is of difficult access except on the land side, which was protected by a ditch. Gilnockie Tower, called from its situation the Hollows, or Hollows House Tower, a few miles below Laugholm, is near the eastward of Hollows Bridge, and is an oblong square, about sixty feet in front length and upwards of forty-six feet in breadth. On each side of the east and west angles are two round turrets with loopholes. The structure, which is at least seventy feet high, is of red sandstone, and was evidently of considerable strength as a Border stronghold. The natural beauty of the situation can scarcely be excelled.

John or "Jolunnie" Armstrong, as he is familiarly designated in ballad and local tradition, the proprietor, or resident in, Gilnockie Tower, or the Hollows, lived in the reign of James V., and was a brother of Armstrong of Mangerton. He was one of the leaders of a numerous Border race of his name, and at the head of a daring band of moss-troopers levied "black-mail," or "protection money," many miles round the Vale of the Esk. The terror of this freebooter was felt even at Newcastle, and his contributions were exacted from the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, part of Northumberland, and generally throughout the West Marches of England. His influence was such that he utterly defied the authority of the Crown, and the complaints against him from the English Borders were importunate and furious. In 1528, James V., who thoroughly disliked the Border leaders for their turbulence and oppression, advanced into their districts under the pretence of hunting, though in reality to repress and punish the aggressors. Armstrong was summoned to appear before the monarch, and his evil genius, or the advice of some designing courtiers, induced him to obey in all the parade of local chivalry, attended by thirty-six horsemen. It is said that Armstrong was aware of his enormities, yet his position induced him to expect favour from a sovereign who had resolved to "danton the thieves of Teviotdale, Annandale, Liddesdale, and other parts of the country," and who had

name was Margaret Pentland, was anxious to know the intended punishment. Sir Gideon announced that he intended to hang him,— "To the gallows," he exclaimed, "with the invader!" "Hoot no, Sir Gideon," answered the considerate matron in her native vernacular, "would you hang the winsome young Laird of Harden while ye hae three ill-favoured daughters to marry?" "Right," said Sir Gideon; "he shall either marry our daughter, muckle-mouthed Meg, or strap for n." When the alternative was proposed to the captive, he at first preferred the gibbet to "muckle-mouthed Meg,"—the sobriquet of the young lady, whose name was Agnes, and only one daughter is mentioned in the Peerage accounts. Young Harden was led forth to

execution, and having no chance of escape he retracted his ungallant resolution. The lady and her compulsory husband were a loving and happy couple, and had a large family. Four sons are mentioned, to each of whom Sir William Scott of Harden bequeathed good estates, viz., Sir William, who carried on the line of the family; Sir Gideon Scott of Highbester, whose son was created Earl of Turras, for life only, at his marriage to Mary, Countess of Buccleuch, elder sister of the future Duchess Anne, of which juvenile union was no issue; Walter Scott of Raeburn, from whom the Author of Waverley was descended; and John Scott, ancestor of the Scotts of Woolf.

previously executed Cockburn of Henderland, and Scott of Tusbielaw, the "King of the Borders," besides committing many other dangerous persons to ward or prison.

The reception of Armstrong by the King is minutely recorded by a quaint writer, and has been often cited. As already observed, he was attended by thirty-six horsemen "richly appavelled, trusting that, in respect of the free offer of his person, he should obtain the King's favour. But the King, seeing him and his men so gorgeous in their apparel, with so many brave men under a tyrant's commandment, frowardly turning him about, he bade take the tyrant out of his sight, saying—'What wants that knave that a King should have?' But John Armstrong made great offers to the King—that he should sustain himself with forty gentlemen ever ready at his service, on their own cost, without wronging any Scottish man—that there was not a subject in England, Duke, Earl, or Baron, but within a certain day he would bring him to his Majesty either quick or dead. At length, seeing no hope of favour, he said very proudly—'If I had known this, I would have lived on the Borders in despite of King Harry and you both, for I know King Harry would downweigh my best horse with gold, to know that I were condemned to die this day.'"<sup>1</sup>

This writer carefully notices that the unfortunate Laird of Gilnockie was "heavily lamented, for he was the most redoubted chief that had been for a long time on the Borders either of Scotland or England," and that he "never molested any Scottish man,"—a statement which may be doubted. The locality at which Armstrong and his followers were silenced is at Caerlanrig Chapel, about ten miles above Hawick on the road to Langholm, and they were interred in a sequestered burial-place, in which their graves are still shown. The peasantry of the district venerate the memory of the Laird of Gilnockie, and maintain that the trees on which he and his followers were executed immediately decayed. It is also asserted that one of Armstrong's attendants escaped by the strength and swiftness of his horse, forcing a passage through the King's assemblage, and conveying the tidings to Gilnockie Tower. In the reign of James VI. the Armstrongs were finally suppressed, their leaders brought to the scaffold, their strongholds destroyed, and their extensive possessions forfeited, and transferred to strangers. It is probable, however, that the leaders of this once ancient and powerful Border sept never had any legal rights to the lands they occupied as independent and unscrupulous freebooters, even admitting that the celebrated Gilnockie "never molested any Scottish man."<sup>2</sup>

One of the descendants of the Laird of Gilnockie, who followed the marauding avocation in a limited way, kidnapped Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, a judge in the Court of Session from 1621 to his death, in 1644. He seized the judge while riding on Leith Sands, and conveyed him blindfolded to Graham's Tower, an old castle in Annandale, in which he secretly immured him three months. This bold stratagem was to promote the interest of the first Earl of Traquair, who was seriously connected with a lawsuit before the Supreme Court, the decision of which his Lordship feared would be unfavourable to his interest by the casting vote of Lord Durie, who was then acting as Lord President. As a contrast to this bold and daring abduction, the extraordinary nature of which induced Lord Durie's friends to consider him defunct, Sir Walter Scott mentions that another descendant of Gilnockie was in his time the landlord of the Tower Inn in Hawick, and, "instead of his ancestor's perilous marauding achievements, levied contributions upon the public in that humbler character."<sup>3</sup> On the banks of the Liddell, some distance from Penton Linns, are the ruins of Harelaw Tower, the residence of Hector Armstrong, who, by the bribery of the Regent Moray betrayed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who had fled to Harelaw Tower for protection, and was treated for some time with confidence and regard. Moray delivered the Earl to Queen Elizabeth, by whom he was consigned to the scaffold, at York, in August, 1572. It is recorded that this Armstrong, soon after his treachery, fell into poverty and disgrace, and was the origin of the Border proverb, as applied to any one who betrayed his friend or guest, that he had "put on Hector of Harelaw's coat."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> History of Scotland from February, 1436 to March, 1565, by Robert Lindsay of Pitseottie, folio, 1728, pp. 145, 146.

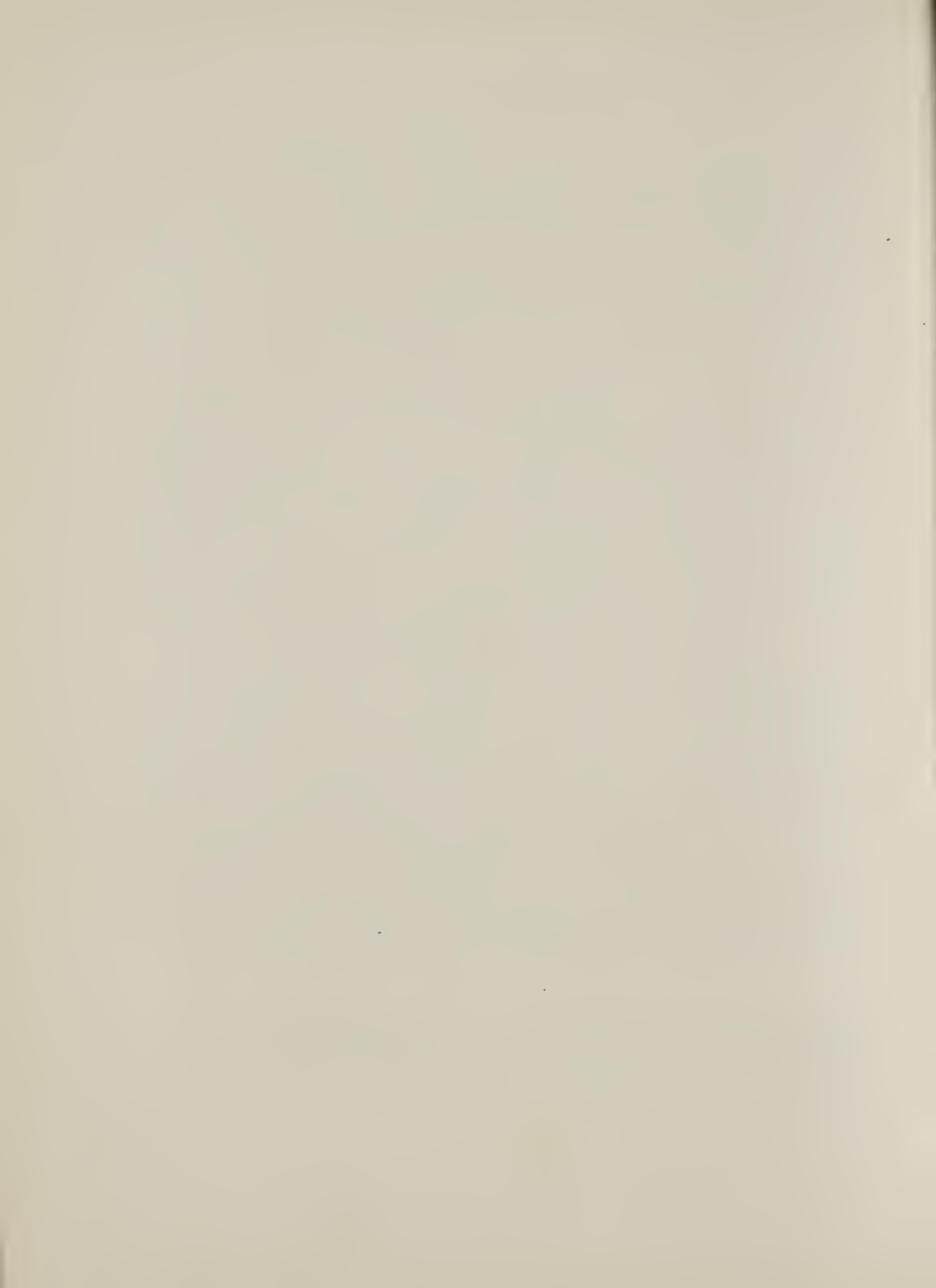
<sup>2</sup> The fate of Gilnockie is noticed by Sir David Lindsay, Buchanan, and other writers of that age. In the "Complaynt of Scotland" John Armstrong's "dance" is mentioned as a popular tune—the said "dance" meaning his execution. The ballad of "Johnie Armstrong"

was first published in 1724, in the "Evergreen," by Allan Ramsay, who avers that he wrote it from the recital of a gentleman named Armstrong, who was the sixth in lineal descent from Gilnockie.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Scott's Border Antiquities, 4to., 1817, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

<sup>4</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Dumfriesshire, p. 489.



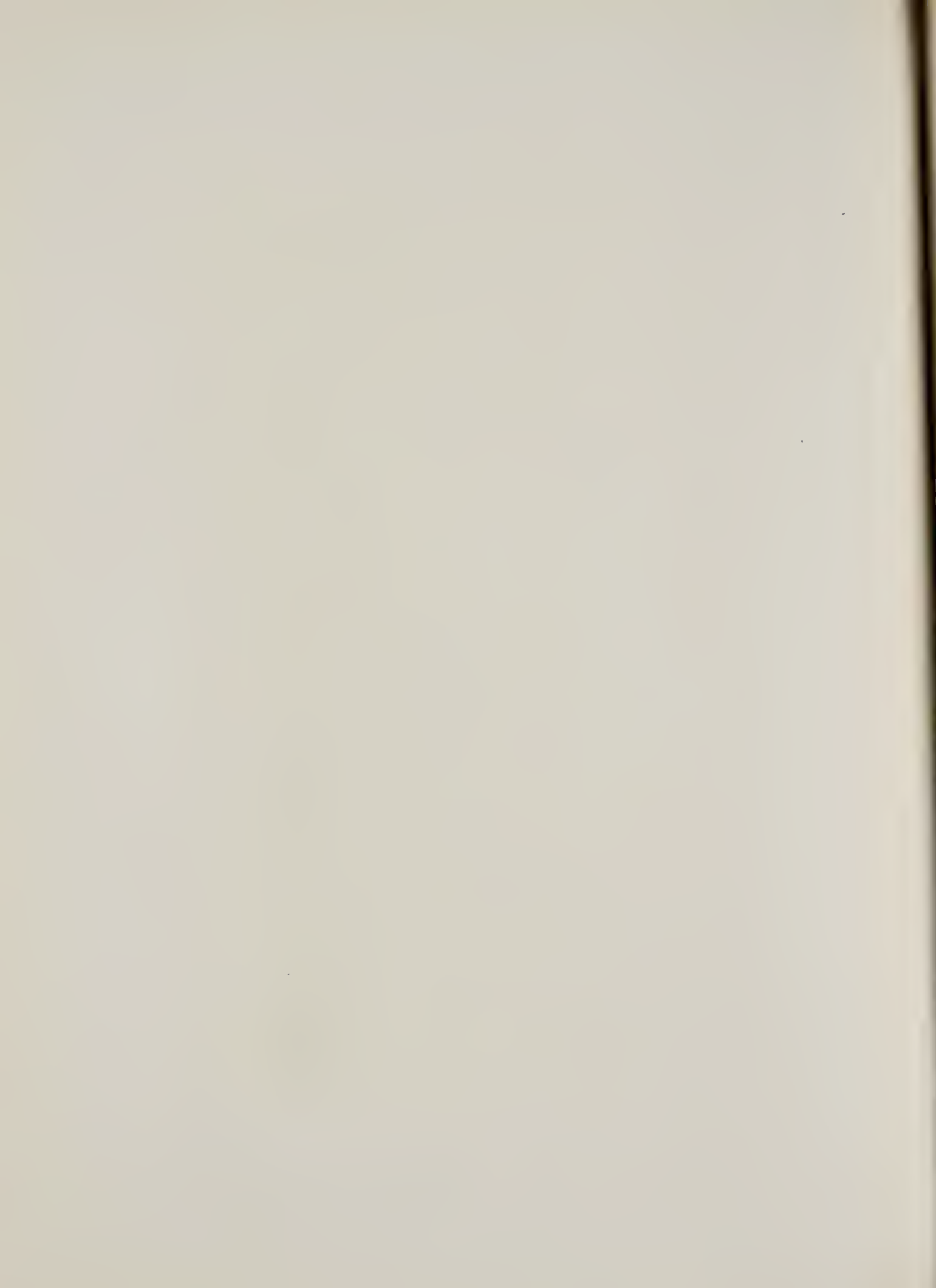




COULTE BAY CASTLES

*View from the Bay of the 11th - 1880*

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## CULZEAN CASTLE—DUNURE—THE KENNEDYS.

THIS grand edifice, or rather series of castellated buildings, sometimes written Colzean and Cullean, the seat of the Earls of Cassillis in the peerage of Scotland, created Marquises of Ailsa in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, in 1831, was commenced by David, tenth Earl of Cassillis, in 1777, from a design by Robert Adam. This mansion is situated on the summit of a perpendicular basaltic cliff projecting into the sea one hundred feet in height, and is remarkable for the magnificence and solidity of the architecture. The whole buildings, including the approach, cover four acres, and the principal apartments command splendid views of the Frith of Clyde and the stupendous Ailsa Crag. On the land side below the Castle are the gardens of the old mansion of Culzean, formed into three terraces, and the "policy" includes about seven hundred acres, ornamented by fine old trees and thriving plantations.<sup>1</sup>

Near Culzean Castle, and below some parts of the fabric, are six caves, known as the Coves of Culzean. The largest of the three towards the west is entered at high-water mark; the roof is about fifty feet in height, and extending inwards, with varying breadth, probably two hundred feet. This cave communicates with the other two, which are considerably less, and of a similar irregular form. The entrance is by a door built of freestone, three feet above which are a window and an apartment commanding the access. The three eastward caves are each nearly of the same dimensions and appearance, and all were evidently from time to time inhabited as secure fastnesses inaccessible to assailants. The want of supplies only could have compelled the occupants to surrender.

The noble family of Kennedy, Earls of Cassillis, have been for centuries connected with the Carrick district of Ayrshire. The Kennedys were the aboriginal inhabitants of Carrick; and previous to his death, in 1256, Neil, Earl of Carrick, grandson of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, granted a charter in favour of their ancestor Roland, in which he is declared the head or chief of his race.<sup>2</sup> Alexander III. confirmed this charter on the 20th of January, 1275-6, and it was ratified by Robert II., on the first of October, 1372. After that grant the family assumed the name of Kennedy, which they derived from Kenneth, an alleged Thane of Carrick. The Kennedys became eventually so powerful as to be the terror of the district, and committed many barbarous, cruel, and oppressive acts in defiance of the Government. The sobriquet of Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, and some of his successors was "King of Carrick," as expressing the almost boundless power which they exercised over the inhabitants of those districts unhappily under their heritable jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup> It would be out of place in this sketch to furnish an outline of the genealogy of this family. Their original settlement seems to have been Dunure, and they date from the said Kenneth, styled Thane of Carrick, who was one of the "captains" of the fabulous King Gregory, though they claim relationship to three previous monarchs who were called Kemeth. This Captain or Thane distinguished himself in the estimation of King Gregory by "rolling down stanes from ane high hill," by which exploit he "wan ane grit battell to King Gregorie." The "Black Book of Scone" locates the founder of the family in the reign of Malcolm II., who was crowned in 1010, and links them with a Mackinnon of the Isles, who and his successors were much engaged in warfare with the Danes. One of those Mackinnons, after the battle of Largs, in which the Danish King Haco was defeated in August 1263,

<sup>1</sup> The former mansion of Culzean is thus described—"The Cove is the Laird of Colvina's mansion-house, standing upon a rock above the sea, flanked on the south with very pretty gardens and orchards, adorned with excellent terraces,"—Description of Carrick, by Mr. William Abercrombie, Minister at Maybole, *apud* Pitcairn's Historical Memoirs of the Kennedys, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the Name of Kennedy, by Robert Pitcairn, W.S., 4to. 1830, pp. 75, 76.

<sup>3</sup> The power of the Kennedys was long expressed in a local rhyme which Sir Walter Scott preserved from tradition; and it is to this effect—

"Twixt Wigton and the town of Ayr,  
Portpatrick and the Crives of Cree,  
No man need think for to bide there  
Unless he court Saint Kennedie."

The older version, however, is probably more significant, and is as follows—

"Twixt Wigton and the town of Ayr,  
And high down by the Crives of Cree,  
Ye shall not get a lodging there  
Except ye court a Kennedy."

"As to the civil jurisdiction of this country," says a local writer, "it is a bailiary, and belongs heritably to the Earl of Cassillis, who exercises his power by a depute, and has the privilege to appoint his own clerk.—The offices of depute or clerk are advantageous posts to any the Earl bestows them upon, for by the plenty of wood and water in this country, which tempt men to cut stob or wattles for necessary uses, they find a way yearly to levy fines for cutting of green wood, and killing fry or fish in prohibite times, that makes a revenue to their offices, and is a constant tax upon the people."—Description of Carrick, by Mr. William Abercrombie, Minister at Maybole, *apud* Pitcairn's Historical Memoirs of the Kennedys, p. 174.

sheltered himself, with his sons, in "ano craig in Carrick, wheroon was ane strength buildit by the Danes low, by the sea-syde," the captain of which the said Mackinnon and his sons killed, and was rewarded by a grant of the "strength" with "certain lands lying thereto," and this was the "first beginning of the name of Kennedy in the mainland. On the strength and craig is now ane fair castle, which the chief of the Lowland Kennedys took their style from for ane long space, and were called Lairds of Dunure, because of the don of the hill above that house. This house remained ane lang tyme in sober estate, not having great rent, nor commandment of the country, for we hear no mention of them in Wallace's days, nor the Bruce's time."

It is said that the original name of the Kennedys was Carrick, which they relinquished in the thirteenth century. Sir John Kennedy of Dunure, who was a personage of great local note in the fourteenth century, had three sons, the second of whom, called John, is the assumed ancestor of the Kennedys of Culzean. Sir Gilbert, the eldest son, married Marion, daughter of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and after her decease Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood. Gilbert, the eldest son, was disinherited by his father, and the reason assigned is thus quaintly narrated,—“King James the First sent ane of his dochters to this Laird of Dunure to foster, wha remanit with him till she was ane woman, at the quhilk time the lady's awin sone having mair credeitt in his moderes honse nor her step-sone, he being in luiff with this young lady, gets her with bairn, and the King her fader, offendit thereat, could find no better way nor to cause him to marie her.” It would be tedious to trace the authenticity or probability of this statement in reference to one of the five daughters of James I., and it may suffice that Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, who was killed by his disinherited brother, married Mary, second daughter of Robert III., father of James I., and widow of George, first Earl of Angus, of the Douglas family. The issue of this alliance were Gilbert, created Lord Kennedy about 1452, or at least before 1457, and the illustrious James Kennedy, successively Bishop of Dunkeld and St. Andrews. David, third Lord Kennedy, grandson of the first Lord, was created Earl of Cassillis in 1510, and fell with his relative James III. at Flodden. Gilbert, the second Earl, was killed by the retainers of Hugh Campbell of Loudon, sheriff of Ayr, on the sands of Prestwick, in December 1527. He was succeeded by his son Gilbert, described as “ane wonder wyse man,” whose third son, Sir Thomas, became “Tutor” and Laird of Culzean at the death of his elder brother, David.

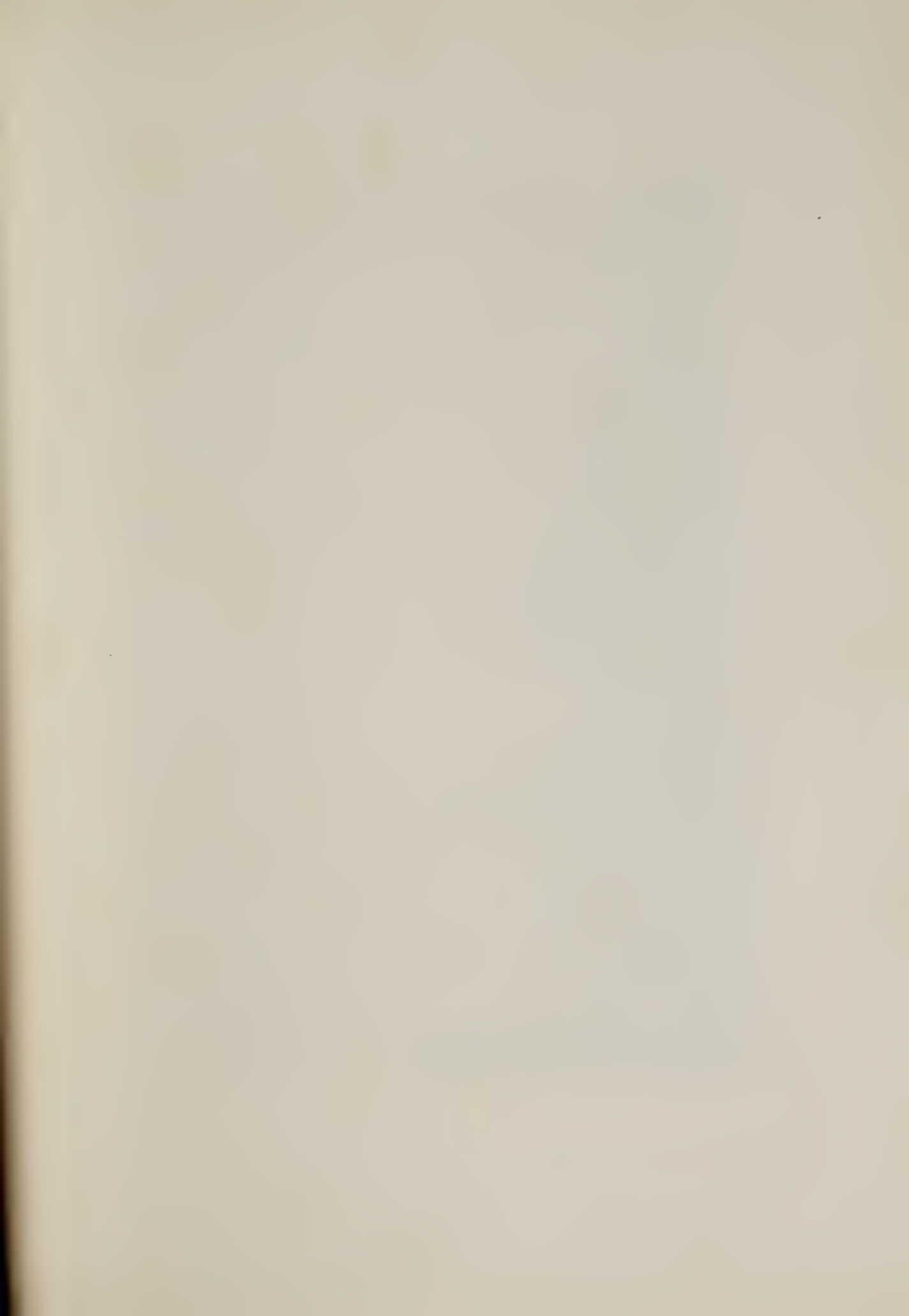
It would be tedious to enumerate all the atrocities committed by the Kennedys, and their numerous feuds are prominent in the criminal records. Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassillis, who succeeded his father in 1558, and died in December 1576, was one of the most unprincipled men of his time. He is described as “very greedy,” and “cared nocht how he got land so that he culd come by the same.” This Earl trafficked with the Abbot of Glenluce to obtain a perpetual lease of the lands of that Abbey, and the death of the Abbot only prevented the alienation. Not to be disappointed, he induced one of the Monks to counterfeit the signatures of the deceased Abbot and of the members of the convent, and having secured the document, he ordered his guilty dupe to be hanged on a charge of theft. His treatment of Alan Stewart, Abbot or Commendator of Crossraguel, was another of his crimes. This act of barbarity, which consisted in literally roasting the Abbot before a fire on the 1st and 7th days of September, 1570, in the Black Vaults of Dunure, is well known in Scottish history. Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, “Tutor” of Cassillis, the Earl's uncle, who was afterwards murdered at the instigation of Mure of Auchindraine, on the 11th of May, 1602, was deeply implicated in this horrible violence inflicted by the avarice of the “King of Carrick.”

John, eighth Earl of Cassillis, who was born in 1700, and died in August 1759, married his consin-german Lady Susan Hamilton, by whom he had no issue. In March of the latter year, while his Countess was enjoying herself at a dancing party, he privately made a strictly entailed settlement in favour of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, Bart., descended from Sir Thomas Kennedy, second son of Gilbert, third Earl of Cassillis, and who, it is previously noticed, fell a victim to the revenge of Mure of Auchindraine.\* This deed of the

\* This country (Carrick) is the ancient seat of the Kennedys, whose principal dwelling was the Castle of Dunure, standing on the sea-syde, on a rockie shoar, in the parish of Mayboll, and gives designation to a barony lying round about it; but this being wholly ruined, their chief mansion is the House of Cassillis, standing upon a high ground, on the south syde of the river Dun (Doon), having the Wood of Dalrimple opposite to it, on the other syde, in Kyle, which gives it a very agreeable prospect of wood and water. The house, in the body of it, is very high, having a fine stone stair turning about a hollow

casement, in which there are many opens from the bottom to the top, that by putting a lamp into it, gives light to the whole turn of stairs.” It is also stated—“The Cove is the Laird of Colvair's mansion-house, standing upon a rock above the sea, flanked on the south with very pretty gardens and orchards.”—Mr. William Abercrombie's Description of Carrick, in Pitcairn's Account of the Kennedys, 4to. p. 168.

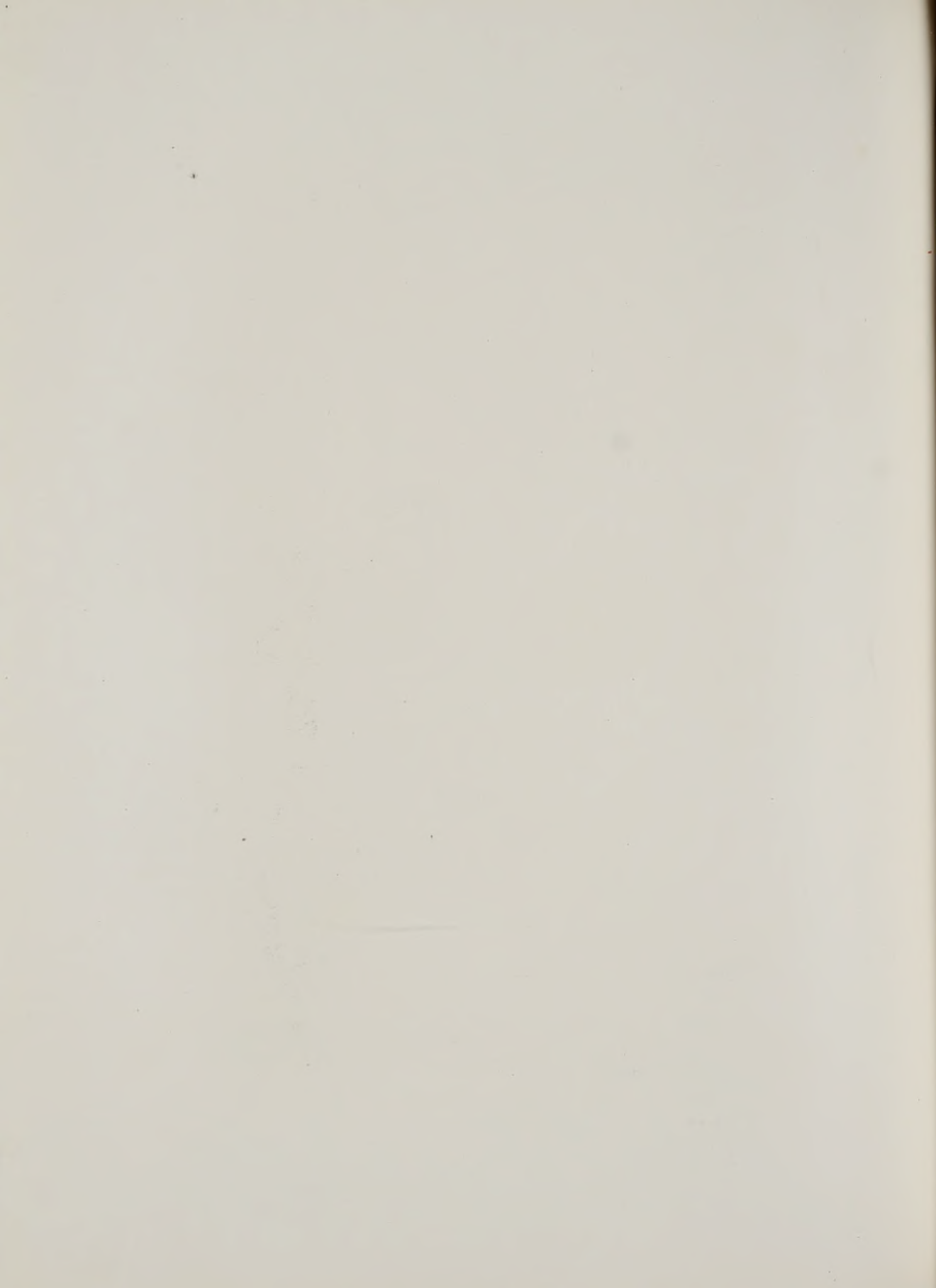
<sup>2</sup> John, fifth Earl of Cassillis, who succeeded his father Gilbert, fourth Earl, in 1576, subscribed a bond to pay 1200 merks annually to his brother Hugh Kennedy, commonly called the Master of Cassillis.

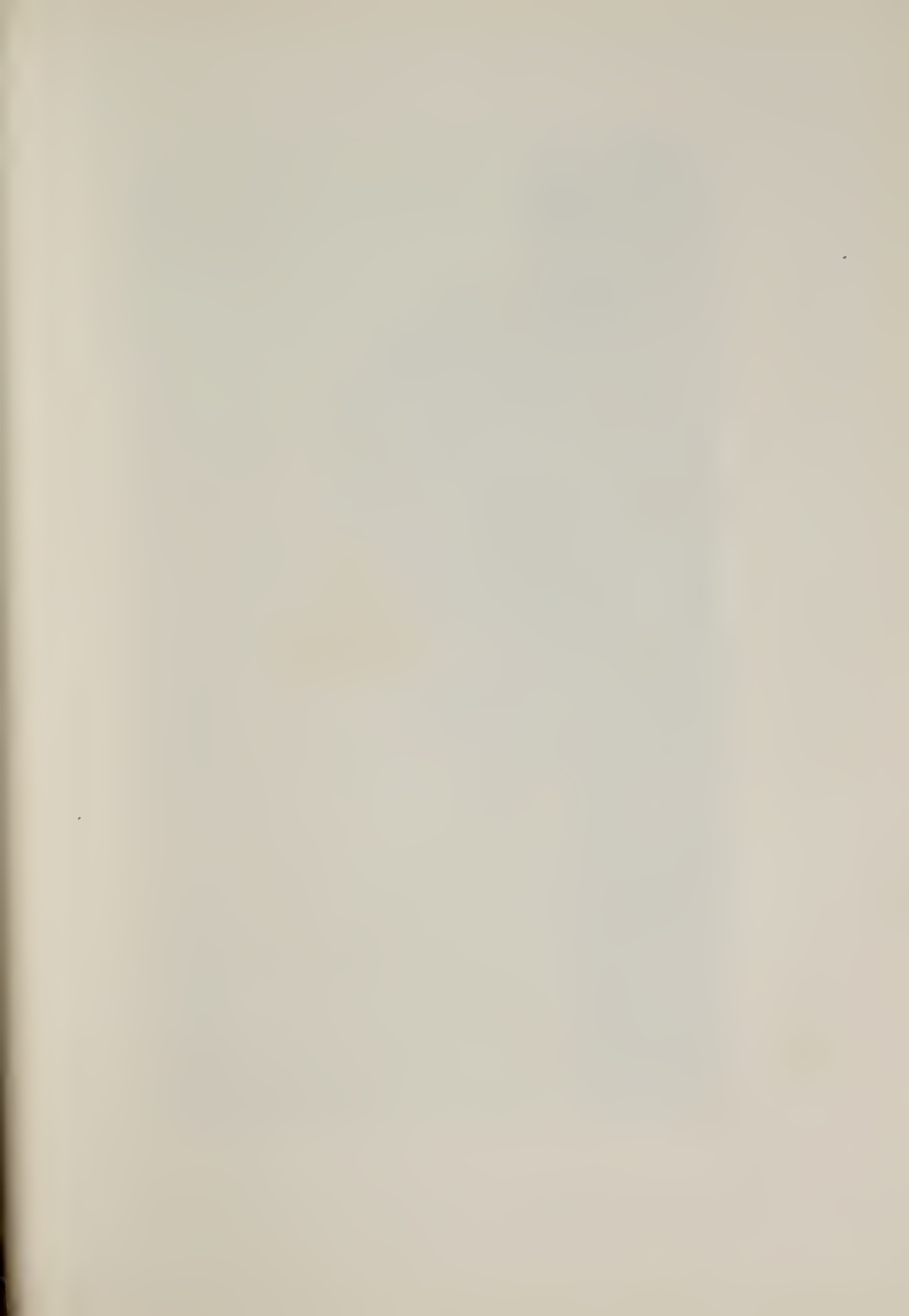






THE B...  
... of ...  
... MURDOCH LONDON













eighth Earl in favour of the then Baronet of Culzean, as the nearest heir male of the family, originated a law process between the said Baronet and William, Earl of March and Rutherglen, grandson of Lady Anne Kennedy, the daughter of John, seventh Earl of Cassillis. This nobleman, who assumed the title of Earl of Cassillis, was opposed by Sir Thomas Kennedy, who claimed under the entail of 29th March, 1759, and was served heir to the eighth Earl. The House of Lords decided in his favour in 1762, and he succeeded as ninth Earl of Cassillis, obtaining possession of the extensive estates. He was never married, and died at the old mansion of Culzean on the 30th of November, 1775. His brother David, who also died a bachelor at Culzean Castle, on the 18th of December, 1792, succeeded as tenth Earl, and the eleventh Earl was Archibald, descended from Alexander Kennedy of Craigoch, second son of Sir Alexander Kennedy of Culzean, the son of Sir Thomas Kennedy, murdered at the instance of Mure of Auchindrane. It may be noticed that Mure and his son were convicted and executed for their crimes in 1611, and their career is the subject of a drama by Sir Walter Scott, entitled "Auchindrane, or the Ayrshire Tragedy."<sup>1</sup>

## AILSA.

THE stupendous insulated rock of Ailsa, between the shores of Ayrshire and Cantyre in Argyllshire, is about eight miles from the nearest point of the Ayrshire coast, and is generally considered as belonging to the parish of Dailly, as it is included in the Barony of Knockgeran, which is the property of the Earl of Cassillis, now Marquis of Ailsa. This huge mass, probably two miles in circumference at the base, and rising to a height variously stated at 1140, 1100, and 1008 feet above the level of the sea, is of a conical appearance when seen from the north or south, and the summit is covered with heath and grass. Ailsa is precipitous on all sides, and is only accessible on the east or south-east, at a small beach formed by the accumulation of *debris*. The cliffs in many places are columnar, and the western side rises perpendicularly from the ocean. Ailsa occupies the same position at the entrance to the Frith of Clyde from the Atlantic as does the Bass at the entrance to the Frith of Forth from the German Ocean, both appearing like vast solitary sentinels, or memorials of a former world, rising abruptly from the deep, and displaying their immense forms as if to show the wonderful operations of nature.

Ailsa, sometimes designated the "Perch of Clyde," is a remarkable object at sea. It is visible from an extraordinary distance, and appears as if defying the billows which have dashed against its dark sides thousands of years. A close inspection and examination increase the awe felt by the sight of this summit of an extraordinary submarine mountain. The world contains many remarkable objects which cannot be adequately described, and Ailsa, like the Bass, Skye, and Staffa, is one of them. Around, hovering over, and clinging to its sides, are myriads of wild sea-fowl, which almost darken the atmosphere when on the wing, uttering the most discordant sounds and screechings. From the landing-place a comparatively easy ascent of two hundred feet leads to the ruins of a square building, said to have been erected by Philip II. of Spain—a circumstance very improbable as it respects that monarch. As Ailsa could not be excelled as a prison for silencing feudal enemies, as its sea-fowl could tell no tales, and the roaring Atlantic beneath would soon close over those who were precipitated into the abyss from the cliffs, it is more probable that this is the memorial of an erection by the powerful family of Kennedy as a prison for those who fell into their hands. It is also conjectured that this ruin may indicate an eremite residence depending on Lamlash in Arran, and it is stated that in this island are the "ruins of an old castle and chapel possessed by the Earls of Cassillis, who hold the same off the Abbey of Corsregall."<sup>2</sup> Above this ruin the ascent is extremely laborious over pieces of broken rocks and large nettles. Near the summit are two copious springs of excellent water.

Though many a dark deed has doubtless been perpetrated on Ailsa, of which the world knows nothing,

and his accomplices, the payment of which was to commence from their taking the life of the Laird of Auchindrane. The bond is dated Maybole, 3d September, 1602. The two brothers for years previously had been on terms of personal hostility, and their mutual friends succeeded, by this murder of their granduncle, to effect a permanent reconciliation.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 622.

<sup>1</sup> All the documents connected with the murder of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, and the trial of the Mures of Auchindrane, are printed in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 124-132.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Balfour's Collection on the several Shores, with Additions by Sir Robert Sibbald, in Pitcairn's Genealogical Account of the Family of Kennedy, 4to. p. 159.

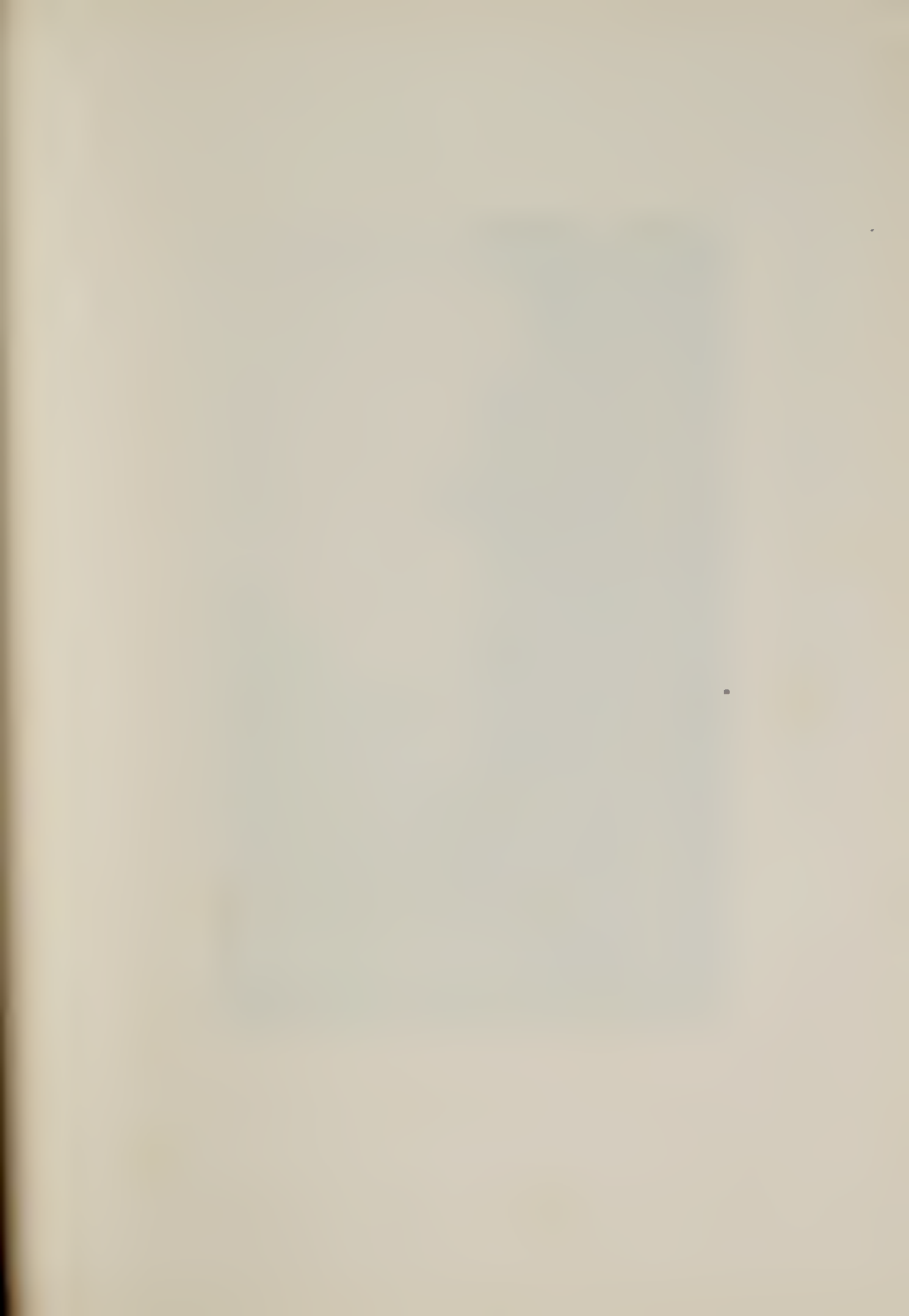
this "craggy ocean pyramid" is not conspicuous in history, and in this respect the "Perch of Clyde" differs from the Bass. The accounts are almost exclusively confined to the appearance and geological details. Dr. Macculloch says that "if a single pillar be examined near at hand, it will be found far less decided in shape than those of Staffa or Skye, while the whole mass appears as if blended together, and not as if each column could be separated; but when viewed in the mass, the general effect of a columnar and regular structure is as perfect as on the north coast of Skye." The diameter of the columns far exceeds those of Skye, ranging from six to nine feet, and in one place attaining an unbroken altitude of four hundred feet, thus affording the largest specimens of columnar basalt known, and exceeding by nearly one hundred feet those of the Fair-Head at the Giant's Causeway. According to the same authority, "nothing can exceed the magnificence of the columnar wall on this side of the rock, and even the high faces of Staffa sink into insignificance on a comparison with the enormous elevation and dimensions of Ailsa. He is an incurious geologist, or a feeble admirer of Nature, who is content to pass Ailsa unscen. The rock is traversed in various parts by large veins of greenstone or basalt. The whole of the island consists of one substance, in which slight differences of appearance here and there occur, but are unworthy of particular notice, and scarcely sufficient to constitute a variety. What Ailsa promises at a distance it far more than performs on a nearer acquaintance. If it has not the regularity of Staffa, it exceeds that island as much in grandeur and variety as it does in absolute bulk. Those who are only desirous of viewing one example of that romantic and wonderful scenery, which forms the chief attraction of the more distant islands, will be pleased to know that within a day's sail of Greenock, and without trouble, they may see what cannot be eclipsed by Staffa, or Mull, or Skye, if even it can be equalled by any of them."

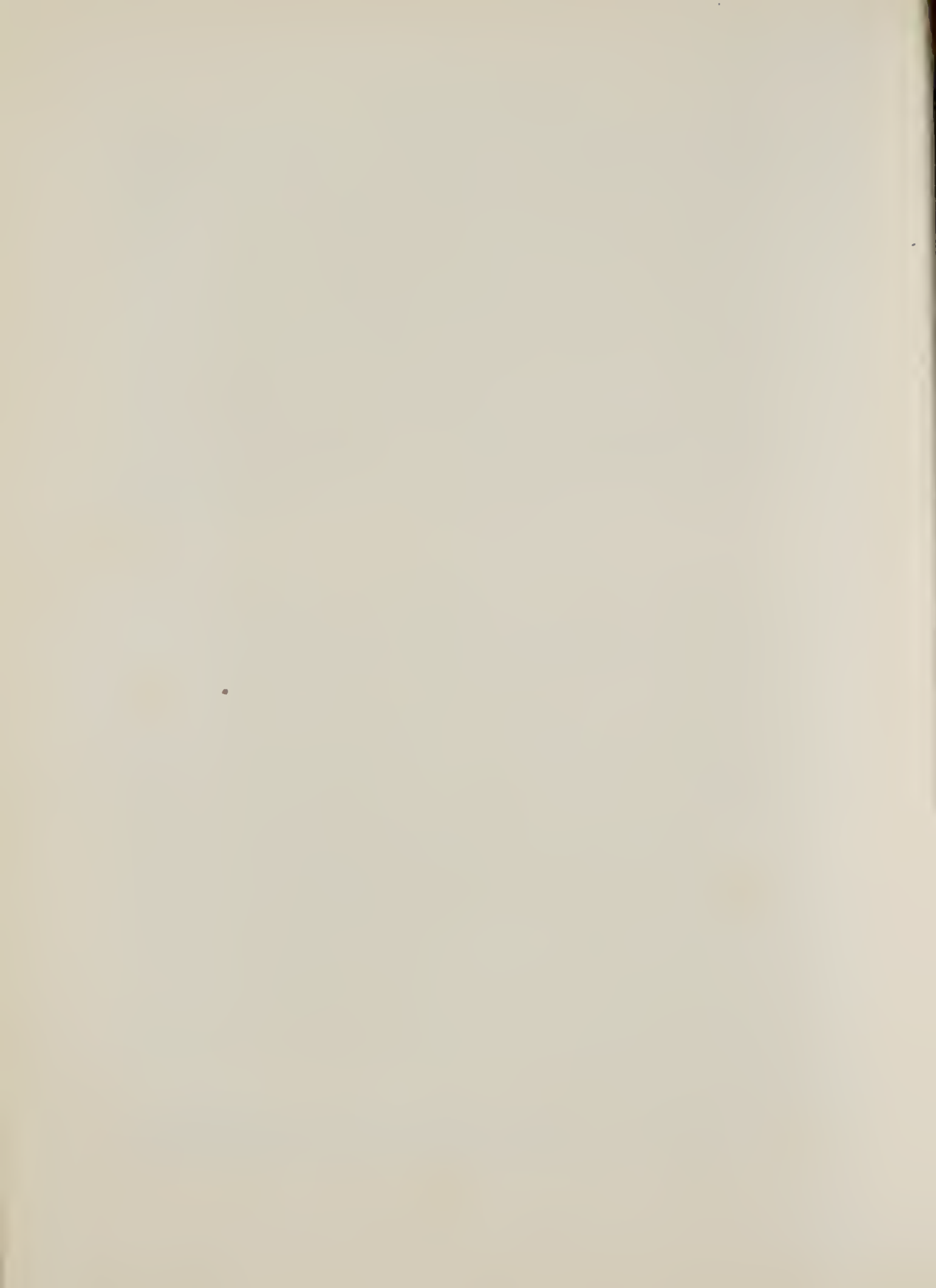
### ROTHESAY CASTLE.

THE ruins of Rothesay Castle, sometimes designated Bute Castle, are immediately adjoining the pleasant and thriving royal burgh of its name, the chief town of the Island of Bute in the Frith of Clyde, at the head of Rothesay Bay, on the north-east side of the Island. The Castle, which originated the town clustering near its walls for protection, is supposed to have been erected or commenced about 1098 by Magnus Baerfaet, or Barfoot, King of Norway, who subjugated the Isles in 1093, and was slain in an expedition against Ulster in 1103. It would be tedious to detail the history of the ancient kingdom of The Isles, of which Bute was an appendage. The date of the ruin of that kingdom is alleged to be 1156, when Goderick the Black nominally ceded the sovereignty to the sons of Somerled of Argyll, the founder of the great family of the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles, and whose origin is involved in all the obscurity of Celtic tradition. By this treaty the Islands of Bute, Arran, Isla, Jura, Mull, several smaller islands, and the Argyllshire district of Kintyre, which by a stratagem of Magnus Barefoot, who practised a deception on Malcolm Canmore, by causing himself to be drawn in a galley across the narrow isthmus between Kintyre and Knapdale, was for centuries classed among the South Isles.

Before the reign of Alexander III., which commenced in 1249, Rothesay Castle, such as the fabric then was in its rude and insignificant condition, is said to have been the residence and property of a family named MacRoderick, or MacRuari, descended from Reginald MacSomerled, King of the Isles, the son of Somerled, and ancestor of the MacRuaries of the North Isles. Somerled is said to have been killed in 1164, while meditating a conquest of the whole of Scotland. The first territorial influence which the Scottish monarchs acquired in The Isles, in opposition to the sway of Norway, was soon after the death of Somerled, when Walter, High Steward of Scotland, seized the Island of Bute, which thus became one of the earliest possessions of the Royal House of Stuart. Angus MacSomerled, supposed to have been Lord of Bute, and his three sons, were killed in 1210, and James, one of those sons, left a daughter and heiress named Jane, who married Alexander, son and heir of Walter the High Steward, and in her right claimed the Island of Bute, and probably Arran.<sup>1</sup> This matrimonial alliance strengthened the

<sup>1</sup> "Alexander, High Steward of Scotland, was born 1214. He married Jean, daughter and heir to James, son to Angus Macrory or Roderick, Lord of Bute, descended of his own family, says Abercromby, so that probably the Isle of Bute was given by Walter [the first High Steward] in patrimony to one of his younger sons, and his posterity to be held of the High Steward."—Stewart's Historical and Genealogical Account of the Royal Family of Scotland, 4to. 1739, pp. 45, 49, 50.







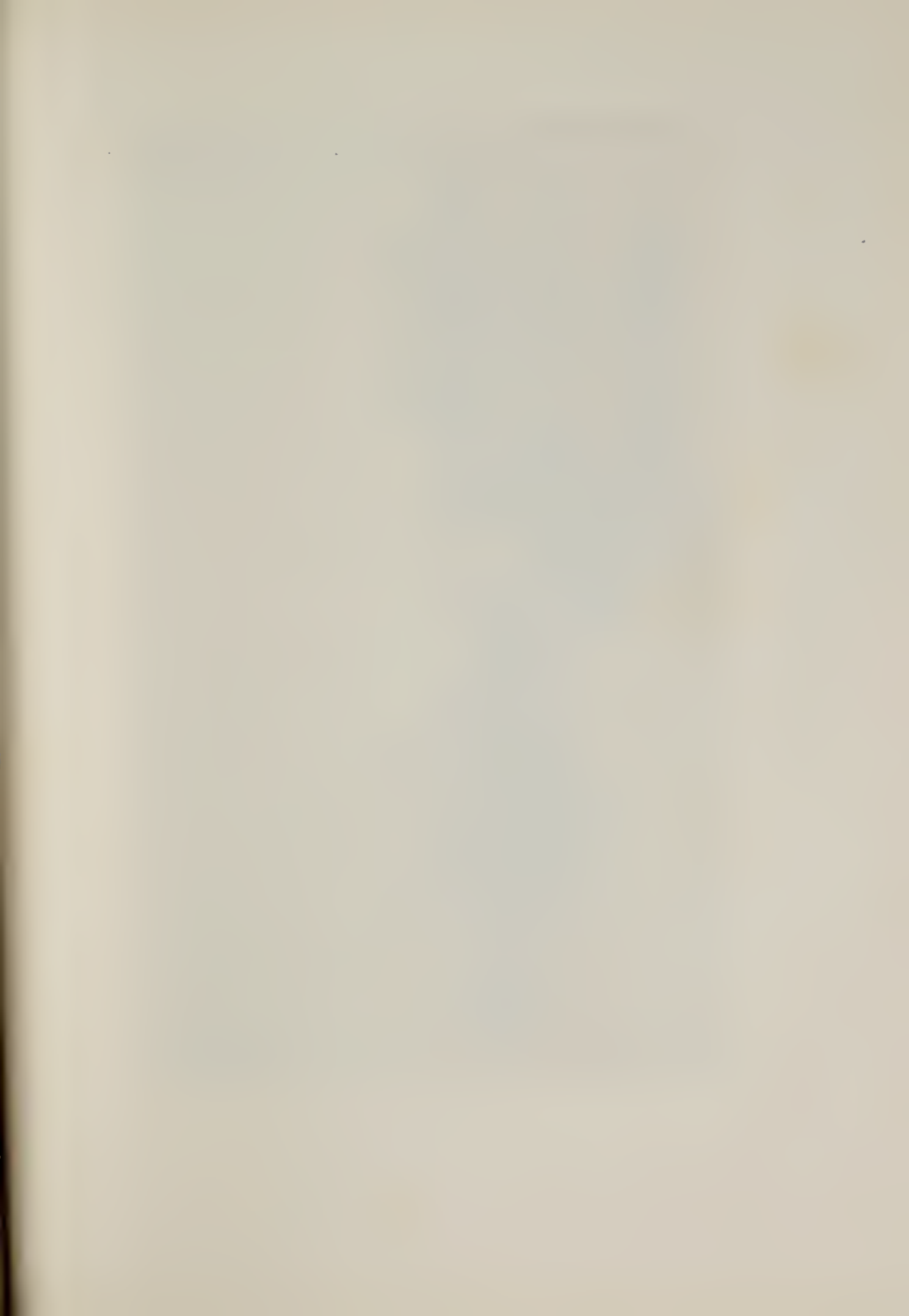
ROMANESQUE CASTLE, ISLAND OF DELOS

1904 - 1905 - 1906 - 1907 - 1908 - 1909

H. G. MULDON LIND











Y. P. ...  
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claims of the family of the High Steward, who eventually obtained possession by the expulsion of the MacRuaries.

The first prominent notice of Rothesay Castle occurs in 1228, in the reign of Alexander II., when it was assaulted by Olive, surnamed the "Black" King of Man and the Isles, one of three of the race of Somerled so designated. He was assisted by a Norwegian chief named Husbac, and he possessed an aggressive fleet of eighty galleys. The Castle was secured by mining the walls, with the loss of nearly four hundred men. After the battle of Largs, which was fought on the 2d of October, 1263, between Alexander III. and Haco, King of Norway, to contest the sovereignty of the Hebrides, the Castle of Rothesay was retaken by the Scottish forces. The English were in possession during the brief and disastrous reign of John Baliol, and in 1311 it is said to have been recovered by King Robert Bruce—a statement doubted by a competent authority, who conjectures that a fortress in Galloway, probably Buittle, which belonged to Baliol's family, is indicated by Fordun in his notice of the "Castrum de Botha," or "de Bute."<sup>1</sup> The subsequent annals of Rothesay Castle can be easily recorded. In 1334 the Fortress was repaired by the partizans of Edward Baliol in the reign of David II., and not long afterwards it was captured by his nephew, Robert II., who succeeded him in 1370, and who, while High Steward of Scotland, was appointed to the Regency at the death of Sir Andrew Moray in 1338. Robert II. resided in Rothesay Castle in 1376 and 1381, and evidently rebuilt a great part of the fabric, which was now considered a royal palace and a military fortress. Robert III. died of grief within the walls in 1406, at the intelligence of the capture by the English of his son and successor, James I.<sup>2</sup> In 1475, John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, was cited by the Parliament for besieging Rothesay Castle, and other exploits.<sup>3</sup> On the 24th of January, 1526-7, the Master of Ruthven obtained a "remission" or pardon for attacking the Castle and burning the town.<sup>4</sup> In 1544 the Earl of Lennox, who entered the Clyde with an English armament, proceeded from Arran to Bute, of which, with Rothesay Castle, he easily obtained possession. Little occurs in the history of this occasional residence of royalty till the time of Cromwell, whose troops cannonaded the walls. The fabric was rendered an utter and irretrievable ruin in 1685 by the brother of the Earl of Argyll. This person destroyed the edifice by fire, and it was left to moulder in decay. The ravages committed by the eighth Earl of Argyll indicate his peculiar hatred to the inhabitants of Bute. The trial, in 1661, of this hero of the Presbyterian Covenanted martyrology, who had been created Marquis of Argyll by Charles I. in 1641, details numerous murders perpetrated by the command of Argyll at Dumoon, opposite Bute. One of the victims was the Provost of Rothesay, who was shot thrice through the body, and finding him still alive, they stabbed him with their dirks and other weapons, and cut his throat. Others were thrown into boles, and covered with earth to prevent their cries.<sup>5</sup> Women and children were also murdered by those savage followers of the Covenanted Argyll, and if only a small part of the charges against him is true, he well deserved his fate at the Cross of Edinburgh in May 1661.

The ruins of Rothesay Castle consist of ponderous masses of dingy red stones, and the embellishment of some imposing ash-trees renders the desolation of this memorial of antiquity more observable, dispelling all the ideas usually associated with a palace. It is appropriately remarked that "as a piece of fortification, even on the ancient principles, it is wretched, and argues very little in favour of the military knowledge displayed in the erection. The gate is neither flanked nor machicolated, and it might have been mined or assaulted at almost every point." As now existing, the ruins form a circular court one hundred and forty feet in diameter, the walls high and thick. On four flanks are round towers, between two of which, on the north-east side, is a projecting structure ascribed to Robert II. The walls are profusely overgrown with ivy, and nourish tenaciously adhering trees and shrubs. John, fourth Earl and first

<sup>1</sup> Annals of Scotland, by Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., Lord Hailes, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 36, 37. This conjecture is supported by the fact that in 1411 King Robert Bruce was in that part of Scotland, and expelled the English from Dumfries, Dalswinton, and other fortresses.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Balfour records—"King Robert the Third, hearing of the taking of his only son James by the English, when at supper in his Castle of Rothesay in the Isle of Bute, was so surprised with grief and sorrow of heart, that he expired within four hours thereafter, on

the 4th day of April, Palm Sunday, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was solemnly interred at Paisley Abbey."—Annals of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 143, 144. The detention of James I. by the English monarch was disastrous to Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I., p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 199.

Marquis of Bute, renovated the interior, and the supposed creations of Robert II. are now easily accessible.

Sir John Stuart the "Black," a son of Robert II., and said to have been one of his many illegitimate offspring, obtained a grant of property in the Island of Bute, and the hereditary Sheriffship of his father's patrimony conjoined with Arran, which was confirmed, in November 1400, by Robert III. His grandson Ninian was appointed Keeper of Rothesay Castle, with a salary of eighty merks, in August 1498. John, the son of Ninian, was invested as Hereditary Constable of the fabric in March 1509. James, his great-grandson, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1627, garrisoned his residence of Rothesay Castle at his own expense, and was appointed Lieutenant of the West of Scotland by Charles I. at the commencement of the Covenanted rebellion. After many privations, and flight to Ireland to avoid imprisonment, he was allowed to recover possession by the payment of five thousand merks, inflicted as a fine by the Covenanted Parliament in 1646. Cromwell's troops seized and occupied Rothesay Castle in 1651, and Sir James Stuart was divested of his hereditary office of sheriff, declared incapable of any public trust, and otherwise severely treated for his loyalty. He died in 1662, and was succeeded by his son Sir Dugald Stuart, who died in 1672. Sir James, son of Sir Dugald, created Earl of Bute in 1703, and interred at Rothesay in 1710, was apparently the last inhabitant of the Castle. His grandson John, third Earl, the celebrated Premier of Great Britain in 1762 and 1763, and conspicuous in the "Letters of Junius," was the father of John fourth Earl, who succeeded in 1792, was created Marquis of Bute in the Peerage of the United Kingdom in 1796, and his successors, who were also Earls of Dumfries, are Hereditary Keepers of Rothesay Castle. Their mansion of Mount-Stuart, a plain edifice, erected by James, second Earl, in 1718, four miles south-east of the burgh of Rothesay on the coast, commands a magnificent view of the Frith of Clyde, the Cumbrae Islands, and the Ayrshire coast, not surpassed in Scotland, while the domain is covered by extensive plantations, and displays many trees of remarkable height and circumference.

Rothesay Castle was merely a nominal royal residence after the death of Robert II., when it was acquired by the ancestor of the Bute family, and the succeeding monarchs of the House of Stuart seldom or never entered within the walls. The distance from the seat of Government, the difficulty of access, and the dangerous proximity to the Argyllshire Highlands, may partly account for this desertion. The now thriving royal burgh of Rothesay was long a mere village connected with the Castle, depending on the prosperity of the proprietors of that structure, and repeatedly captured and plundered by the Norwegians, the Islemen, and the invading English. After the confirmation in 1584 by James VI. of the charter of erection by Robert III. in 1400, the town gradually prospered, and eventually was the great mart for the exchange of commodities between the Lowlanders and the Highlanders and the Islemen. The Island of Bute was then considered by those traffickers as a kind of neutral territory, neither Lowland nor Highland. In 1700 Campbeltown, on the peninsula of Kintyre, was constituted a royal burgh, and the advantages offered to settlers almost extinguished Rothesay. After 1765, however, prosperity revived, and the salubrity of the climate has secured for this insular burgh a deserved reputation.

Rothesay Castle originated the first Dukedom in the Scottish Peerage hereditarily connected with the Royal House of Stuart. The title of Duke of Rothesay was created in a Council held at Scone in 1398, and assigned to David Earl of Carrick, Prince and Steward of Scotland, eldest son of Robert III. The alleged fate of this Prince in 1402 is well known, and the title was acquired by his brother, afterwards James I., which was ratified by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1409. This Act confirmed to the male heirs-apparent of the reigning sovereign the Lordship of Bute, with the Castle of Rothesay, the Lordship of Cowal, with the Castle of Dunoon, the Earldom of Carrick, the lands and Castle of Dundonald, the Barony of Renfrew, with other designations, some of the names of which are not very intelligible. Since that period the nominal dignities of Duke of Rothesay, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew, have been vested in the eldest son and heir-apparent of the sovereign, who for centuries has possessed no territorial property in the localities and districts from which the titles are derived. The only privilege, exclusive of the rank, which is of secondary importance, seems to be the right of voting at the election of the sixteen representative Peers of Scotland, who are summoned for every Parliament.

## DUNBARTON CASTLE.

THE county of Dunbarton is part of the district anciently designated "The Lennox," which included portions of Renfrewshire on the south of the Clyde, and extended into Stirlingshire. This was an Earldom, some of the possessors of which are prominent in Scottish history. Dunbarton Castle was one of the residences of the original or ancient Earls of Lennox, of the surname of Lennox, until about 1238, when the fortress was relinquished to Alexander II., who, in 1222, constituted the town in the plain a royal burgh. The town is separated from the rock by a bend of the Leven at the junction with the Clyde.

The most conspicuous object on the Clyde is Dunbarton Castle, on a stupendous mass of basalt, cleft near the centre, and presenting two conical summits, on which are the fortifications and other buildings. The rock is nearly surrounded by the Clyde and the Leven, and is almost insulated at high water. This was an important position in early times, long considered one of the keys of the Western Highlands, and commanded the navigation of the Clyde. The immense rock, five hundred and sixty feet high, rugged and almost perpendicular, rises abruptly from a flat level, and projects considerably into the river, enhancing the picturesque scenery. The basalt appears as if violently detached from the adjacent Dunbuck Hill by some extraordinary natural phenomenon. The monkish tradition is, that when St. Patrick, who was a native of the neighbouring parish of West Kilpatrick, sailed from the Clyde in a small skiff to convert the Irish, the rock was torn from Dunbuck Hill and thrown after him to prevent his design.

Dunbarton Castle is the Alcluith or Alcluyd of the aboriginal Britons, and the Dunbriton of their Scoto-Irish descendants. Bede mentions the rock as Alcluyd, which means "the rocky height on the Clyde."<sup>1</sup> The rock was a Roman station, the only one beyond the Wall of Antoninus on the western side, and is supposed to indicate the municipal town of Theodosia.<sup>2</sup> When Maldwin, third Earl of Lennox, obtained the Earldom from Alexander II., the fortress and a portion of land in the vicinity were specially excepted from the grant. Along with other royal strongholds the Castle was delivered to Edward I. during the competition of Bruce and Baliol for the Crown, and when the dispute was decided in favour of the latter in 1292 he obtained possession. In 1296 the Castle was again occupied by the English, and Alexander de Ledes was appointed governor by the English monarch. From 1305 to 1309 the fortress was held for the English by Sir John Menteith, the alleged betrayer of Sir William Wallace, who was transmitted from Dunbarton Castle to London in 1305, heavily fettered, and under a powerful escort.

After the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, Sir Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, secured the Castle for David II., and towards the end of that century the fortress was held successively by Sir Robert Erskine and Sir Robert Danielston. The latter died in 1399, when his relative, Walter Danielston, parson of Kincardine O'Neil, forcibly obtained possession, and held the fortress till 1402, when he surrendered to the Crown. The next event of any importance was in 1425. In that year Sir James Stewart, called the "Gross," son of Murdoc, Duke of Albany, ex-Regent, when informed of his father's imprisonment, appeared with a party of Highlanders, burnt the town, and killed Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, governor of the Castle, the uncle of James I., for which he was compelled to obtain a refuge in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> In 1481 the fleet of Edward IV. menaced the fortress, which was successfully defended by Sir Andrew Wood of Largo. The next event occurred in 1489, the year after the assassination of James III., when John, first Earl of Lennox, Governor of the Castle, engaged in an insurrection against James IV., from whom he had received his Peerage, and the command of Dunbarton, which his son Matthew held six weeks against

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 238. "When Harding," adds Chalmers, "visited this rock in 1434, the tide regularly flowed round it. In his Chronicle he says —

"That mai bein hold out long, when ye begyn,  
Save Dunbretain, the sea abouts doth ryn,  
Eche dale and night twice withouten doubt,  
Whiche maie be woone, by famishyng abouts."

<sup>2</sup> Stuart's Caledonia Romana: a Descriptive Account of the Roman Antiquities in Scotland, 4to. 1845, pp. 172, 176.—"As to Dunbarton, the first of the known Municipia it has been our fortune to reach,

every trace of its existence as a Roman-British town has disappeared. Tradition has long pointed to the foundations of a circular building still to be seen near the principal flag-staff as the remains of a Roman lighthouse or watch-tower, but nothing beyond tradition can be referred to as evidence on the subject. The situation of Dunbarton rock must have been at all times regarded as of great military importance, and certainly could not have been left unoccupied by the proprietor of Antouine, standing as it did near the termination of his great rampart."

<sup>3</sup> Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 113.

the royal authority. The garrison at last yielded, and the next Parliament granted a remission to the prisoners.<sup>1</sup> In 1514, this Matthew, second Earl of Lennox, and Cuthbert, third Earl of Gleneairn, in a dark and stormy night, seized the fortress by breaking open the lower gate, and expelling Erskine, the governor. This was to oppose the Queen-Dowager, who immediately after the birth of a posthumous child had married the Earl of Angus—a connexion which under the circumstances enraged the nobility.<sup>2</sup>

The result of the battle of Pinkie in 1547 rendered the care of the infant Queen Mary of first importance, and in February 1547-8 she was removed to Dunbarton Castle from the island of Inchmahome in the romantic lake of Menteith in Perthshire, preparatory to her departure for France. In 1548 the Queen, then in her fifth year, was delivered to Monsieur de Breze, who had been commissioned by Henry II. to receive her. The French galleys sailed from the Clyde with the Queen, her ladies, and numerous attendants of high rank, towards the end of July, and arrived safely at Brest on the 13th of August.<sup>3</sup> On the 14th of July, 1563, Queen Mary was in Dunbarton Castle on one of her numerous excursions, and again on the 17th and 18th.<sup>4</sup>

In 1550, not long after the Queen sailed to France, the governor and captain of the Fortress was a gentleman named George Stirling, an ancestor of the Stirlings of Glorat.<sup>5</sup> It is not stated who was the immediate successor, unless Lord Fleming may be so considered, who defended the Castle in her name. Mary, after she joined her friends and supporters, had resolved for obvious reasons to shelter herself in Dunbarton, which was prevented by the Regent Moray, who intercepted and completely defeated her forces at Langside near Glasgow. Lord Fleming was in possession till May 1571, when the fortress was taken by esalade in a very daring manner under Captain Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, who made prisoners of the garrison, and of several persons of distinction, one of whom was Archibald Hamilton of St. Andrews. In this exploit the assailants lost not a man, and of the garrison only four were killed. It is said that Crawford obtained information of the mode of access from soldiers whom he had bribed, especially from a man who had been a warder, and knew familiarly every step. He explained to his soldiers at Dunbuck Hill the dangerous service on which they were to be employed, providing them with ropes and ladders, and the party reached the base of the rock, the summit of which was enveloped in a dense mist. They commenced their operations, which they found were of no ordinary difficulty. The ladders lost hold with the weight of the soldiers, and, if the garrison had been on the alert, the noise must have betrayed them. They listened, and as the silence was not interrupted, they again placed their ladders, fixing their steel hooks in the crevices, and gained a small projecting ledge where an ash-tree had inserted its roots, to the branches of which they fixed their ropes, and speedily upreared the scaling materials and the rest of their companions. The day was breaking, and they had only reached the middle of the rock, when one of the soldiers was seized with illness, and could not proceed. Crawford tied him to the ladder, which he turned, and ascended with the rest of his men. They were now at the bottom of the wall, with narrow and precarious footing, yet they resolutely fixed their machinery on the eopstones, and three of them effected the ascent. Though instantly discovered, and the alarm sounded by the sentinel, they leaped down, slew him, and sustained the attack of three others until joined by Crawford and his men. Their weight brought down the old wall, and they rushed through the breach, shouting—"A Darnley! a Darnley!" The garrison were panic-struck, and offered no resistance. Lord Fleming, long familiar with the place, escaped down the face of an almost perpendicular cleft or ravine, and passed to Argyllshire in a fishing-boat, leaving Lady Fleming his wife, who was treated with great courtesy, and was ultimately permitted to depart, and to remove all her plate and furniture.

Subsequently Dunbarton Castle was at times a state prison. The ex-Regent Morton was sent thither in December 1580, from whence he was removed to Edinburgh on the 27th of May, 1581, and on the 1st of July tried, convicted, and condemned for his knowledge of the murder of Darnley. His chief accuser was Captain James Stewart, afterwards created Earl of Arran—a worthless, unprincipled, and profligate individual—at the time the King's favourite. When Morton was told in the castle that this man had arrived to escort him, he observed that his doom was fixed.

<sup>1</sup> Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 9.

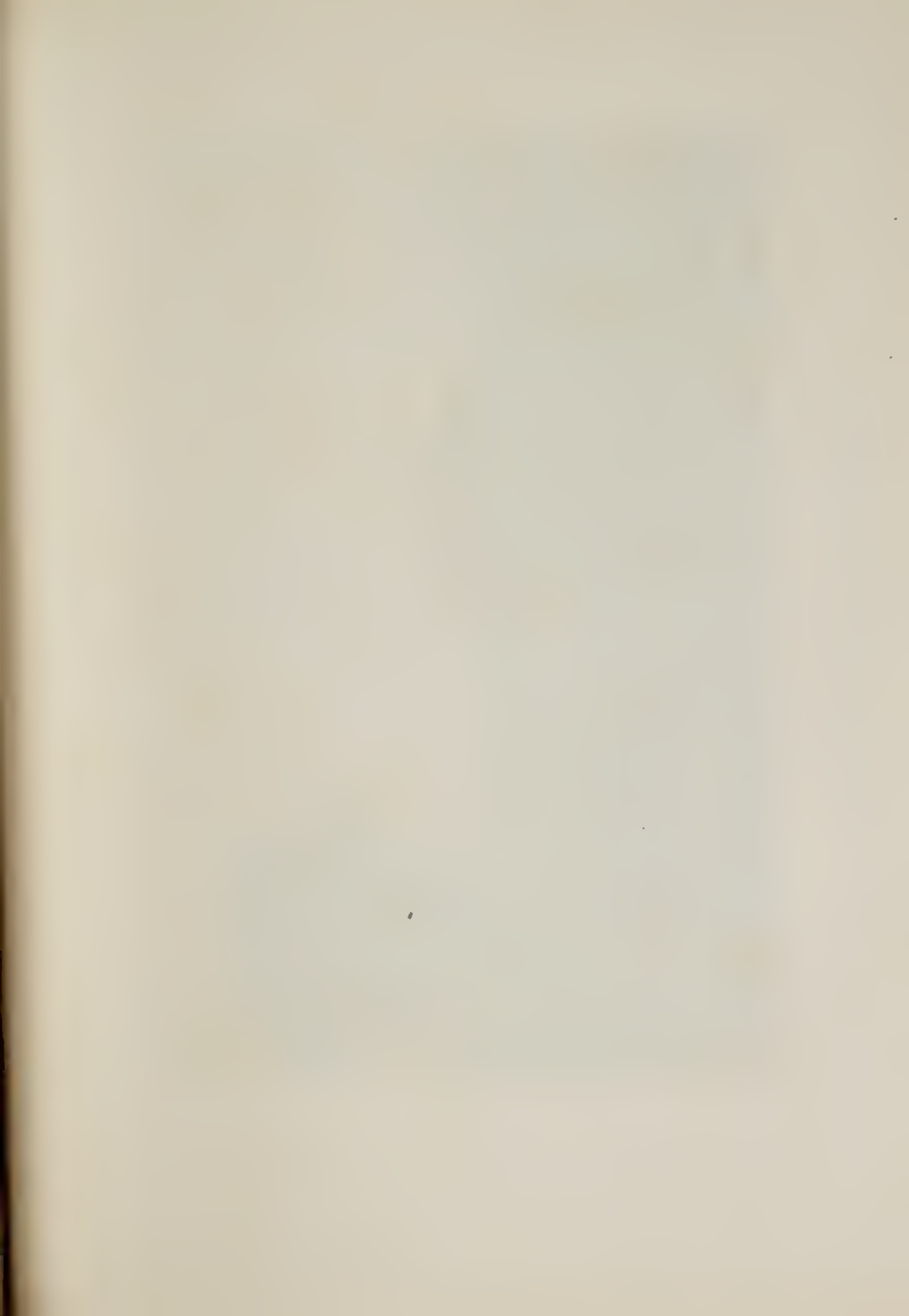
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 125.

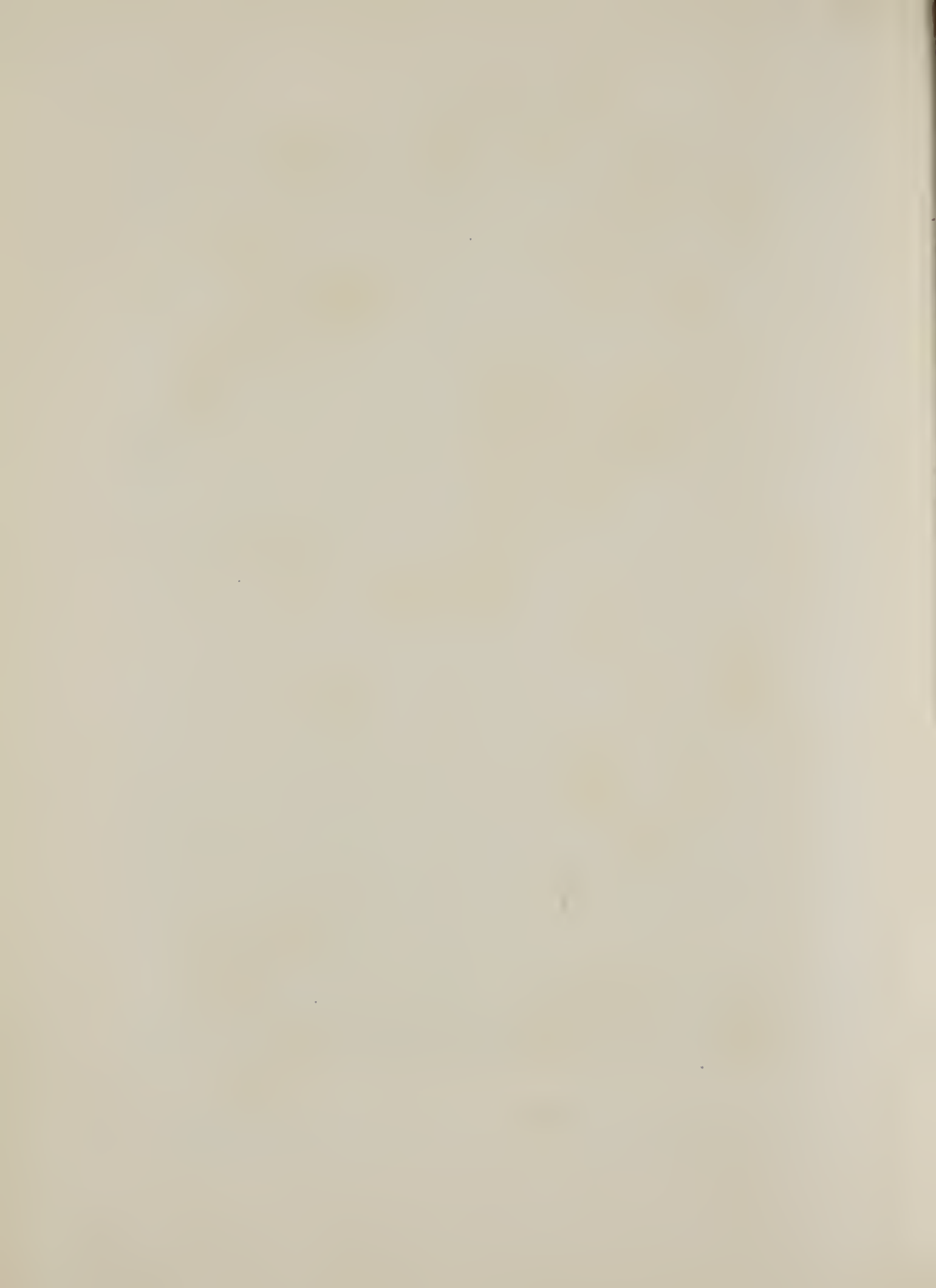
<sup>3</sup> Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. pp. 5, 10, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Stirlingshire, p. 246.



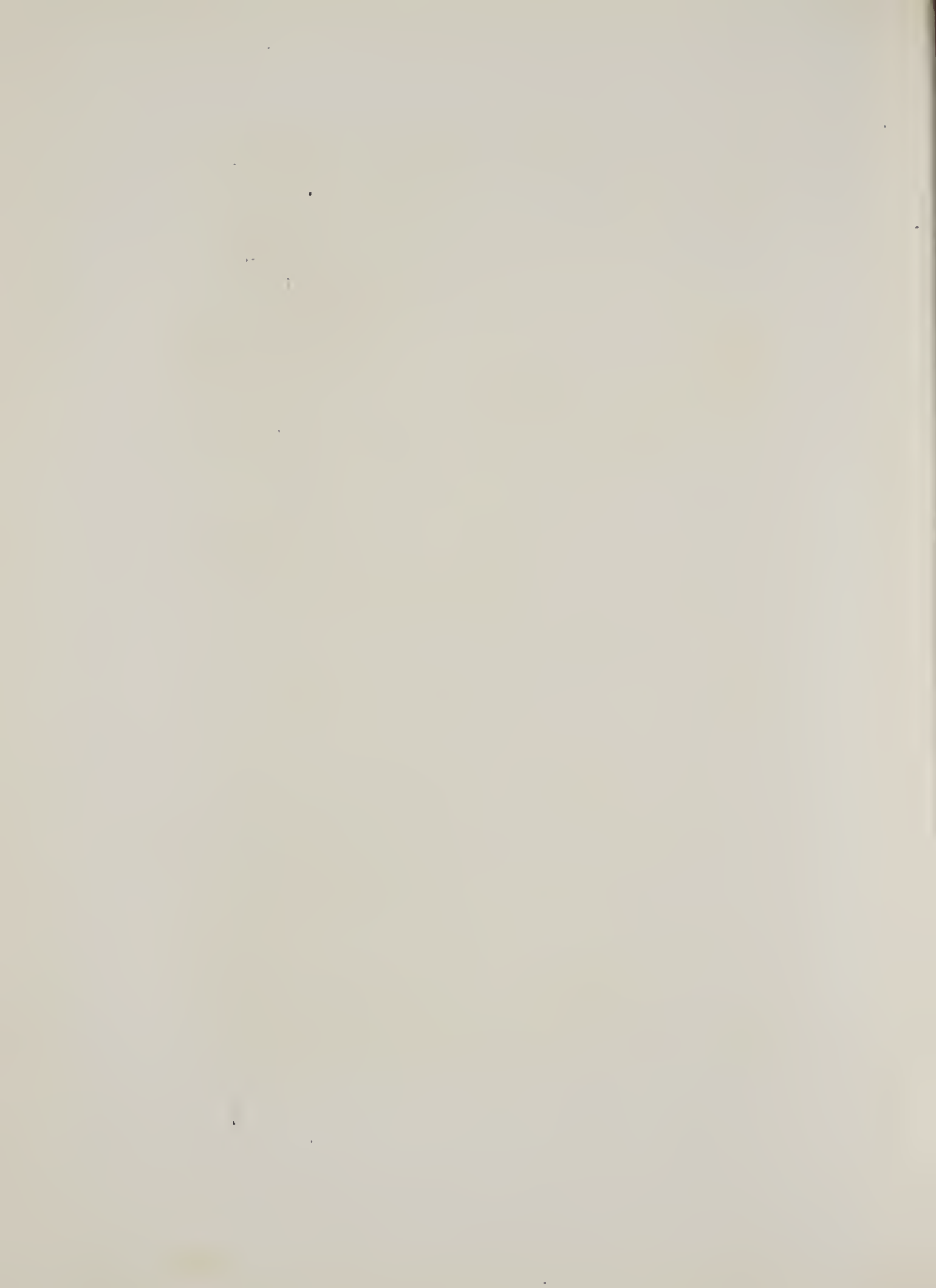






VIEW OF THE LAKE AND MOUNTAINS FROM THE COURSE  
OF THE RIVER - Survey of the Lake District, 1841

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



At the commencement of the Civil War the fortress was in possession of the Government. The insurgents were masters in the early part of 1639, and the King recovered the stronghold in the same year. In 1640 the castle was again in the hands of the Covenanters, and the Scottish ordered the fortifications to be destroyed, which was not obeyed. Cromwell garrisoned Dunbarton in 1652.

About the time of the Union the Duke of Montrose acquired the offices of Hereditary Keeper and Constable of the castle, which in former centuries had belonged to the Earls of Lennox, and latterly the Dukes of Lennox. After the death of the Dowager Duchess of Richmond and Lennox in 1702, the Duke of Richmond and Lennox sold all his property, feu-duties, and jurisdictions, to the Duke, then Marquis of Montrose. The latter resigned those offices, and the castle has been since a royal military fortress, one of the four stipulated to be constantly in repair, and was long a sinecure establishment, consisting of a governor, lieutenant-governor, barrack-master, store-keeper, and surgeon, the first vacant since the death of Lord Lynedoch. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited the Castle in the progress from the Clyde to Balmoral.

The fortress is entered by a gate at the base of the rock, and within the rampart are the guard-room and apartments for officers. A long flight of steps conducs to the division of the rock, at which are barracks, a battery, and well of excellent water. The access to the higher and narrower peak is steep, and this disjunction bears the name of Sir William Wallace, whose huge two-handed sword is shown among the curiosities. Splendid views are obtained from the batteries in all directions.

## LOCH LOMOND.

LOCH LOMOND, often poetically and fancifully designated the "Queen of Scottish Lakes," though not a few others are rivals, has been often minutely described, and, like all lake and marine scenery combined with lofty mountains, must be seen to be appreciated. It is universally admitted that this "pride of Scottish Lakes" and "Lake full of Islands" presents landscapes of beauty and magnificence which can scarcely be excelled. The length is variously stated at twenty-four and about thirty miles, and the breadth at the southern end from eight to ten miles, diminishing at the middle and towards the northern extremity in some places to less than a mile. The broad expanse on the south, terminated by two bays, from one of which, at Balloch on the south, issues the Leven, is diversified by a number of picturesque islands, some of considerable height, and many of the larger finely wooded. At least thirty islands of different sizes are scattered over the surface. In this quarter the hills by which the lake is surrounded are gently swelling, presenting a green and pastoral aspect, and the opening vales traversed by tributary streams display scenes of sequestered and attractive interest. Towards the north extremity the appearance is different, and is thoroughly mountainous, displaying all the features of Highland character. The lake is here narrowed to the appearance of a river, and at the head receives the Falloch stream from the wild and romantic Glenfalloch, overlooked by lofty mountains, and another tiny rivulet. The narrowed lake in this quarter winds among bold and rugged mountains, which appear in some places as if closing over the water to prevent any further expansion. The broken and serrated summits are often enveloped in mist and clouds, and are a great part of the year covered with snow. The valleys are deep and narrow, and the sides are everywhere marked by the rough beds of torrents. The different ranges amidst which Loch Lomond is completely imbedded are the Kilpatrick Hills at the south end, which terminate near Kilmarnock; the mountains of Luss and Arrochar on the western shore; at the upper or northern extremity rise the mountains of Glenfalloch; and on the eastern shore the great chain, of which Benlomond is the conspicuous and towering elevation. These ranges are intersected by deep glens, the streams of which descend into the lake. The Fruin, Luss, Finlas, and Douglas, from their respective vales, drain the mountains of Dunbartonshire. The largest river is the Endrick, which flows into a bay on the south-east shore.

Extensive plantations and numerous splendid mansions ornament the banks of the lake, at the base of the hills, and the openings of the valleys, increasing the natural grandeur by art and cultivation. The view of the lake from Mount Misery on the south-west is most extensive and splendid, and this hill, the name of which is the very opposite of the designation it ought to receive, is often selected by artists.

Duncryne or Duncruin Hill in this quarter commands, with few exceptions, all the objects seen from Mount Misery. The view of the lake from the road on the western shore is often interrupted by luxuriant trees skirting the margin, while Benlomond is continually prominent as the monarch of the mountain range, and surrounded in the distance by Benvoirloch, Benvenue, and Benarthur, or the Cobbler. On this side and on the south, the projecting headlands and receding bays increase the variety and beauty of the fairy islands at the base of the massive Benlomond.<sup>1</sup>

The bed of Loch Lomond is in general a soft mud produced from the deposits of the surrounding mountains, and the greatest depth is where the lake contracts to the northward. In this quarter the lake never freezes, and beyond the village of Luss the depth is at least six hundred fathoms. On the eastern shore the lofty Benlomond rears its giant form, extending north and south in lengthened slopes, the conical summit towering to the clouds, and surveying with dignity the mountains of Arrochar and Glenfalloch. The altitude is variously stated at 3242 feet, and 3175 feet. The journey to the summit is laborious, and from the inn at Rowardennan is about six miles. On the north-east side the mountain is peculiarly formidable, one side of which seems forcibly rent, and leaving a stupendous precipice of two thousand feet to the base. Those who ascend the mountain, which cannot be achieved by strangers without guides, wisely shrink from this fearful precipice, as a stumble would involve certain destruction. Benlomond is chiefly composed of granite, interspersed with immense masses of quartz near the summit, which appear like patches of snow when seen from the village of Luss and the west side of the lake. The mountain rises at the narrowing division, opposite the isthmus which separates Arrochar from Loch Long. The view from the summit to the north is impressively sublime, presenting vast piles of lofty and sterile mountains. On the west are the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, the Frith of Clyde, Ailsa Crag, the Islands of Arran and Bute, the distant Atlantic, and the coast of Ireland. Eastward appear the county of Stirling, the windings of the Forth, the Castle of Edinburgh, the coasts of Fife, Edinburgh, Haddington, the Bass Rock, and the German Ocean. The view on the south includes the Vale of the Clyde, and is bounded by the distant mountains of Cumberland.

The scenery of Loch Lomond was not appreciated by Wordsworth, who resided among the splendid lakes in Cumberland. After stating that "in Scotland the proportion of diffused water is often too great," the poet asks—"Who ever travelled along the banks of Loch Lomond, variegated as the lower part is by islands, without feeling that a speedier termination of the long vista of blank water would be acceptable, and without wishing for an interposition of green meadows, trees, and cottages, and a sparkling stream to run by his side?" To this and other general remarks Professor Wilson replies—"We shall not be suspected of an inclination to dissent on light grounds from any sentiments of Wordsworth;" and after justly remarking that the poet's sentiments are not applicable to Loch Lomond, Professor Wilson says—"It is out of our power to look on Loch Lomond without a feeling of perfection. The 'diffusion of water' is indeed great, but in what a world it floats! At first sight of it how our soul expands! Sea-like, indeed, it is, enclosed with lofty hills and as lofty mountains. We shall not dwell on the feeling which all must have experienced on the first sight of such a vision—the feeling of a lovely and mighty calm. It is manifest that the spacious 'diffusion of water' more than conspires with the other components of such to produce the feeling—that to it belongs the spell which makes our spirit serene, still, and bright as its own. The islands that before had lain we know not how—or we had only felt that they were all most lovely—begin to show themselves in the order of their relation to one another and to the shores. The eye rests on the largest, and with them the lesser combine; or we look at one or two of the least, away by themselves, or, remote from all, a tufted rock; and, many as they are, they break not the breadth of the liquid plain, for it is ample as the sky. And then the long promontories, stretching out from opposite mainlands, and enclosing bays that in themselves are lakes—they, too, magnify the empire of water; for, long as they are, they seem so only as our eye

<sup>1</sup> These headlands are called "Rosses," such as Nether Ross, Middle Ross, Ross-Finlas, Ross-Dhu, and Ross-Arden—the word Ross signifying in Celtic a promontory. Inch-Murrin, on which is a lodge, and at the west end of the ruins of the Castle of the ancient Earls of Lennox, is the most southerly of the Lochlomond Islands. North-east of Inch-Murrin are those of Inch-Crom, For-Inch, and Inch-Caillach, near the latter Clare-Inch, and southward Aber islet,

not far from the confluence of the Endric Water. Onwards are Galbraith, Castle-Inch, Inch-Fad, Inch-More, Inch-Tavanach, Inch-Cruinn, Inch-Conag, and Inch-Loanag, which is the last in the northern direction of the lake. Inch-Loanag, on which are many fine old trees, is a deer-preserve. Inch-Murrin is a deer-park, beautifully wooded, and has a hunting-seat and offices, belonging to the Duke of Montrose.

attends them with their cliffs and woods from the retiring shores, and far distant are their shadows from the central light. Then what shores! On one side, where the lake is widest, low lying they seem, and therefore lovelier—undulating with fields and groves, where many a pleasant dwelling is embowered, into lines of hills that gradually soften away into another land. They soon form into mountains, which become majestic, yet beauty never deserts them. Far off as they are, Benlomond and Benvoülich are seen to be giants. Magnificent is their retinue, but they too are supreme, each in his own dominion, and clear as the day is here, they are diademed with clouds. The upper portion of Loch Lomond is felt by all to be most sublime. Wordsworth says that lakes should be small. The Highlands have them of all sizes, and that surely is best. But here is one which, it has been truly said, is not only 'incomparable in beauty and dimensions, exceeding all others in variety, extent, and splendour, but uniting every style of scenery which is found in the other lakes of the Highlands.' He who has studied, and understood, and felt, all Loch Lomond, will be prepared to enjoy any other fine lake; nor will he admire nor love it the less, though its chief character should consist in what forms one part of that wonder in which all kinds of beauty and sublimity are combined."

Loch Lomond abounds with historical associations and traditions. At the south end of the lake, in the vicinity of the discharge by the Leven, are some fragments of Balloch Castle, the residence of the Earls of Lennox in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Many of their charters are dated from this stronghold, and from these documents it appears that the name of the lake, previous to the fourteenth century, was Loch Leven. The earls of Lennox subsequently removed to the island of Inch-Murrin, and Balloch Castle was left in ruins.

At Cragroyston, on the western side of Benlomond mountain, is a cave, the traditional shelter of King Robert Bruce after his defeat by Macdougall, the powerful Lord of Lorn, in 1306. The battle was fought on a desolate locality since called Dalree, or the "King's Field," in Glendochart near Strathfillan in Perthshire, which is reached from the north extremity of Loch Lomond through Glenfalloch, and is between the hamlets of Crianlarich and Tyndrum. Bruce is said to have passed the night in this cave, attended by a flock of goats, and he was so much pleased with his companions, that he afterwards exempted the owners of these animals from grass-mul or rent. On the following day he went to Malcolm, fifth Earl of Lennox, of the family of Lennox, one of his most zealous supporters, who sheltered his discomfited sovereign till he was enabled to proceed to Kintyre in Argyllshire. Cragroyston was subsequently the property of Rob Roy, and on the north is another cave which was the occasional resort of that celebrated marauder of the Clan Macgregor, to whom most of the northern shore of Loch Lomond originally belonged.

Nearly three miles north of the summit of Benlomond, and a mile inland from the lake, are the ruins of the Fort of Inversnaid, at the confluence of the stream so called with a rivulet which leaves Loch Arklet. This military station was erected in the earlier part of the eighteenth century to repress the turbulent Highlanders of the district, and principally the Macgregors. Inversnaid was garrisoned in the reign of George II., and is interesting as the quarters of General Wolfe when a subaltern. The rivulet traverses a romantic glen after passing the deserted military erection, and near the debouch into Loch Lomond makes a fine cascade. The lake in this quarter is less than a mile in breadth.

In Glen-Fruin, on the south-west of Loch Lomond, between the lake and the Clyde inlet of the Garo Loch, was fought a savage conflict between the Macgregors and Colquhouns in 1603. The Macgregors of Loch Lomond had been long a proscribed clan, and though divested of the best portions of their property by the rapacity of their neighbours and their own deeds of violence, they continued in their mountain retreats, and existed solely by predatory incursions. They were at feud with the Colquhouns of Luss, and their quarrels were fomented by Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, the "King's Lieutenant in the Bounds of the Clan Gregor," who had his own reasons for provoking the strife. The hostile clans met a short distance from Luss in Glen-Fruin, or the "Vale of Lamentation," and the Colquhouns were defeated with considerable loss, while only a few of the Macgregors were slain, one of whom was the brother of their chief, the locality of whose death is marked by a stone known as the "Grey Stone of Macgregor." Tobias Smollett, designated as a Bailie of Dunbarton, who was an ancestor of the novelist, and sundry burgesses of that town, were killed on the side of the Colquhouns. The victors, who committed wanton atrocities, thoroughly plundered their prostrated enemies. The result of the outrage was an Act of the Privy Council abolishing

the very name of Macgregor, and rendering the meeting of four of them together at one time a capital crime. Other enactments against them were occasionally renewed, and those proscriptions were in force until the eighteenth century.

In 1715 occurred the "Loch Lomond Expedition," against the Macgregors, who, in defiance of the laws against them continued their marauding expeditions under the celebrated Rob Roy Macgregor, and were in reality public robbers. They had seized all the boats on the lake, invaded the island of Inch-Murrin, killed many of the deer belonging to the Duke of Montrose, and committed other excesses. A strong force of volunteers from towns in the counties of Renfrew and Ayr was sent against them to recover the boats, assisted by about one hundred seamen from the ships of war in the Clyde, commanded by seven officers. They sailed up the Leven, and were drawn three miles in the course by horses. The contemporary account quaintly states that when "the pinnaces and boats within the mouth of the Loch had spread their sails, and the men on the shore had ranged themselves in order, marching along the side of the Loch for scouring the coast, they made altogether so very fine an appearance as had never been seen in that place before, and might have gratified even a curious person." The Macgregors, however, had disappeared, and the volunteers returned to Dunbarton, after securing the captured booty, without any demonstration of their courage.

The Leven is the discharge from Loch Lomond, and traverses the beautiful vale nearly six miles to the Clyde at Dunbarton Castle. This fine river is navigable for lighters and small boats, and the pureness of the water has attracted numerous bleachfields. The Leven is celebrated by Smollett in his admired ode—"On Leven's banks, while free to rove." A monument, an elegant Tuscan column, with a Latin inscription written by Dr. Johnson, two miles from Dunbarton, is in the native vale of the author of "Humphry Clinker," and numerous other now almost antiquated productions.

## Argyllshire.

### KILCHURN CASTLE—LOCH AWE.

THE splendid lake known as Lochawe, about twelve miles distant from Inverary, extends at least thirty-four miles in length, the breadth not more than a mile, except at the discharge of the river Awe into Loch Etive, where the expansion is upwards of four miles. Lochawe is surrounded by mountains, the most conspicuous of which is the ridge of Ben-Cruachan, rising simple and majestic, throwing dark shadows on the water, and towering as the superior of the adjacent rugged and barren elevations. The dark "Pass" of the Awe is along the western base of Ben-Cruachan. A considerable portion of the mountain appears as if violently separated for the discharge of the lake, and the Awe traverses the "Pass" or ravine, nearly three miles in length, bounded on the east by the almost inaccessible steeps of Ben-Cruachan, which rise almost perpendicularly from the river.

On the south-eastern shore of this grand, wild, and desolate Highland lake is Kilchurn Castle, occupying a projecting rocky elevation near the confluence of the Orchy, and frequently inundated when the rains increase the river and lake. Though now connected with the land by a narrow plain or peninsula of alluvial formation, the rocky site has been evidently an island, and was of some strength in feudal times. The founder of Kilchurn Castle is said to have been Sir Colin Campbell, Knight of Rhodes, third son of Dunearn, first Lord Campbell of Lochawe, and ancestor of the Earls of Breadalbane. The date of the erection is 1440, when the wife of Sir Colin Campbell completed the fabric during his absence. This tower was five storeys in height, and the second storey was entirely the baronial hall. The remaining portions of Kilchurn Castle, which form a square enclosing a courtyard, are more recent than the tower, and the edifice was garrisoned in 1746 by the royal troops. Kilchurn is now a desolate ruin, and, though carefully preserved, is a mere "shade of departed power," which, in the poetical opinion of Wordsworth, is "lost on the aerial heights of the Crusades." It is stated that "the strength of the keep is nearly treble that of the rest of the fortress."









KILLCHEVEN C.A. SMILE

From an Original Drawing by H. C. SMILE

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON









THE GREAT HIMALAYAS  
View from the valley of the Ganges  
Painted by W. A. Woodhouse  
JOHN W. MURDOCH LONDON





The walls are about six feet thick, and within are narrow stairs from the third storey to those above. From the same division to that beneath, in the thickness of the wall, is a secret passage, descending from the niche of one of the south-west casements, and had egress by a trap in the arch over the door, which opens from the room below upon the grand staircase of the keep. The roof and the floors of the Castle are now all gone, and the west angle of the north wing and a great part of the interior walls of the rectangle are in ruins. This dilapidation is not the work of time, but the hand of wilful desolation." It is alleged that Kilchurn Castle was unroofed and dilapidated to procure materials for Taymouth Castle, which were found on arrival and examination to be useless.<sup>1</sup> This outrage is denied in reference to Taymouth Castle, and is limited to "farm-houses and offices in the parish."<sup>2</sup> It is farther stated—"After this outrage on the venerable fortress of Lochawe, it was given up to general spoliation. The church, the inn, and many of the tenants' houses in the strath, were supplied from the pile with sills, window-cases, and corner-stones, and it was thus reduced to a state of ruin."

## STAFFA.

NEARLY nine miles north-east of Iona is the extraordinary basaltic mass of Staffa, celebrated for caves, and, according to Dr. Garnett, "undoubtedly the greatest natural curiosity in Europe, if not in the world." Staffa is five miles from the Treshinish Isles, three miles south of Gometra, and four and a half miles from the nearest part of Gribon in Mull. The most convenient locality from which to proceed to Iona and Staffa is Oban. Another route is through the Island of Kerrara, crossing by the ferry to Auchnacraig in Mull, and thence in the direction of Duart and Aros to the inn on the Island of Ulva, at the entrance of Loch-na-Keal, where a boat can be procured. The island is about a mile and a half in circumference, irregularly oval, presenting an uneven surface resting on cliffs of variable height, and is a most uninteresting mass as seen from a distance. The island is green and fertile, without trees, shrubs, or peculiar plants, and a few black cattle browse on the herbage. No house or hut exists as a shelter from an occasional or sudden storm. The whole is more or less columnar, and the highest point is between the "Great Cave" and the "Boat," which is thirty-two feet lower than the extreme altitude of the island, or one hundred and twelve feet above high-water mark. Towards the west, Staffa decreases in elevation to eighty-four feet, from which the surface varies in height towards the north, and subsides into a flat rocky beach only a few feet above sea-level. From this is a precipitous rise on the north, declining into an irregular rocky shore at the landing-place.

Staffa has no history, and was rescued from centuries of oblivion by Sir Joseph Banks, who visited the island in 1772, and whose account is in Pennant's "Tour in Scotland." Staffa is not mentioned in Martine's Account of the Western Isles, and Dr. Johnson and Boswell were not aware of this extraordinary submarine production, though only a few miles from Iona. Sir Joseph Banks, in a voyage to Iceland, was compelled by the weather to obtain shelter in Mull, and met an Irish gentleman, who told him that on the previous day he had accidentally seen, in his opinion, one of the greatest wonders of the world, of which his Highland friends in the vicinity seemed to be utterly ignorant. Fortunately the curiosity of Sir Joseph Banks was excited, and an expedition to Staffa was the result, where he witnessed this most magnificent display of basalt.

The whole exterior of Staffa, and the arches, sides, and floorings of the caves, strikingly resemble mechanical structures, and have been described by architectural terms. The caves are so numerous that they may be said to almost perforate the island. Those on the north and south sides display neither beauty nor magnitude, and five on the south-east are chiefly noted for loud reverberations of the tumultuous surge. South from the landing-place, the objects of interest are the "Scallop" or "Clamshell Cave," the "Buachaille" or "Herdsman," the "Causeway" and the "Great Face," or "Colonnade," "Fingal's" or the "Great Cave," the "Boat Cave," and the "Cormorant," or "Mackinnon's Cave."

<sup>1</sup> The Bridal of Corchaire, by John Hay Allan, Esq., 8vo. 1822, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Argyllshire, p. 88.

The "Scallop" or "Claushell Cave," thirty feet in height, sixteen or eighteen feet broad at the entrance, and one hundred and thirty feet in length, gradually contracting to the termination, presents columns on one side so bent as to form a series of ribs resembling the interior timbers of a ship, the opposite wall or ends of columns like the surface of a honey-comb, and the whole interior devoid of interest. The rock "Buachaille," or the "Herdsman," is a conoidal pile of columns about thirty feet high, on a bed of curved horizontal columns visible only at low water. "The Causeway," formed of the broken ends of the columns once continuous to the height of the cliffs, presents an extensive surface, terminating in a long projecting point at the eastern side of the "Great Cave," exceeding in diversity and picturesque dimensions the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. The "Great Face" consists of three distinct beds of rocks unequal in thickness, the lowest a rude trap tuff, about fifty feet thick, and disappearing under the sea westward of the "Great Cave;" the middle bed divided into columns placed vertically to the planes; and the upper an irregular mixture of small columns and shapeless rock, producing the fantastic outline of the island. The "Great Face" of Staffa can only be seen to advantage with the morning sun. The "Cormorant" or "Mackinnon's Cave," seldom visited, is of easy access, fifty feet high at the entrance, the breadth forty-eight feet, the interior dimensions nearly the same to the end, and the length two hundred and twenty-four feet, terminating in a gravelly beach, on which a boat may be drawn up. The "Boat Cave," accessible only by sea, is a long opening about sixteen feet high, twelve feet broad, and about one hundred and fifty feet in depth. On rounding the south-east promontory the exterior of Fingal's or the "Great Cave" appears, though the designation from Fingal is not intelligible, as the Gaelic name is "Niamh Binu," or the "Musical Cave," derived from the echo of the waves, and the interior can only be seen from a boat. The entrance, about sixty feet high, and forty-two feet wide, resembles a grand Gothic arch.

Fingal's Cave, deficient in symmetry of position to the effect of the Boat Cave, is perpendicular at the sides, and terminates in a pleasing and elegantly formed arch. The finest views are secured from the end of the causeway at low water, as at full tide it is impossible to comprehend the whole conveniently by the eye. Other views of the opening of the Cave, scarcely less picturesque, may be procured from the western smaller causeway, and much time is required to obtain an adequate notion of the grandeur and variety. The interior sides are columnar throughout, broken and grouped, the ceiling divided by a fissure varying in different places towards the outer part of the cave formed of the irregular rock, in the centre composed of the ends of columns, causing a geometrical and ornamental effect, and at the end a portion of each rock entering into the composition. The sea never ebbs entirely out, and the only surface is the pure green water, which reflects tints from the white channel, varying and harmonizing with the darker tones of the rock. The caves penetrate the island in the direction of north-east by east of the compass. The dimensions are, as stated by Sir Joseph Banks, length from the rock without, three hundred and seventy-one feet six inches; from the pitch of the arch, two hundred and fifty feet; breadth at the entrance, fifty-three feet seven inches; at the farther end, twenty feet; height of arch at the entrance, one hundred and seventeen feet six inches; at the end, seventy feet; height of an outside pillar, thirty-nine feet six inches; of one at the north-east corner, fifty-four feet; depth of water at entrance, eighteen feet; at the bottom, nine feet. Dr. Macculloch records as follows—"The height from the top of the arch to that of the cliff above is thirty feet, and from the former to the surface of the water, at mean tide, sixty-six feet. The pillars by which it is bounded on the western side are thirty-six feet high, while at the eastern they are only eighteen feet, though their upper ends are nearly in the horizontal line. This difference arises from the height of the broken columns, which here form a causeway—a feature which conduces to the picturesque effect of the whole, by affording a solid mass of dark foreground. Towards the west the height of the columns gradually increases as they recede from the cave, but their extreme altitude is only fifty-four feet even at low water. The breadth of this cave is forty-two feet, as near as can be ascertained. This continues to within a small distance of the inner extremity, when it is reduced to twenty-two feet; and the total length is two hundred and twenty-two feet. These measures were all made with great care, however they may differ from those of Sir Joseph Banks."

Sir Walter Scott celebrates the extraordinary symmetry and grandeur of Fingal's cave in expressive verse. He adds—"The stupendous columns which form the sides of the cave—the depth and strength of the tide which rolls its deep and heavy swell up to the extremity of the vault—the variety of tints formed by white crimson, and yellow stalactites or petrifications, which occupy the base of the broken pillars forming the roof, and intersect them with a rich, curious, and variegated chasing, occupying each interstice—the corresponding







ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL, EXETER, DEVON, ENGLAND.

From a drawing by J. G. Mordaunt.

JOHN G. MORDAUNT



variety below low water, where the ocean rolls over a dark red or violet-coloured rock, from which, as from a base, the basaltic columns arise—the tremendous noise of the swelling tide mingling with the deep-toned echoes of the vault—are circumstances elsewhere unparalleled.”

## GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

In any historical narrative of Glasgow the Cathedral must ever occupy the first place, as the only interesting monument of antiquity in that great city of commerce and manufactures. The palace of the Bishops and Archbishops, called the Castle, has disappeared; the localities of the Prebendaries are tenanted by others; and the bridge over the Clyde, erected by Bishop Rae, near the Bridgegate and Stockwell, has been rebuilt in a style to accommodate the exigencies of modern times. The Cathedral reminds the spectator of those centuries when Glasgow was strictly an ecclesiastical city, depending chiefly, if not solely, on the Bishops and Clergy, a burgh of limited extent, and of insignificant population, abounding with religious houses, chapels, and altars. The Bishops and Archbishops of Glasgow were Lords of the Regality, and to the Cathedral must be ascribed the origin of the city, in the same way as all cities and towns of any antiquity are connected with a castle, a religious edifice, or a sea-port. The first streets of Glasgow were clustered near the Cathedral, and were built down the declivity parallel to the Molendinar rivulet, in the line forming the present High Street to the bridge at Stockwell Street, including a few antique streets and numerous diverging alleys, which now form the ancient part of the immense and increasing city of Glasgow.

About the middle of the sixth century flourished St. Kentigern, or St. Mungo, for by both names he is designated, a reputed native of Culross, on the north shore of the Frith of Forth, eight miles above North Queensferry. He is alleged to have been converted and consecrated by Servanus and Palladius, and returning with a party of devoted followers from a compulsory retreat into Wales. He settled them on the site of a Roman station, and continued with them as their founder, pastor, and guide in the exercises of religion and the acts of peaceful life. Such is the traditionary statement, for of the personal history and labours of St. Mungo nothing very authentic is known.<sup>1</sup> It is said that at the time the holy man located his colony of converts, the district was within the dominions of Cumbria, then governed by an independent prince. Of the immediate successors of St. Mungo no information is preserved, except some allusions in connexion with the See of York, which claimed metropolitan jurisdiction over Scotland, and even the names of those successors are alleged to be mustered for that purpose in “suspicious circumstances, at any rate without sufficient evidence.”<sup>2</sup>

It is unnecessary to enter into minute details in reference to the alleged kingdom of Cumbria, which seems to have comprised the territory of the Diocese of Glasgow. David I., while Prince of Cumbria, restored the Cathedral Church of Glasgow and of the Diocese, for of the previous edifice, whatever it may have been, no record or description is extant. The investigation ordered by the pious founder of many churches and religious houses, in reference to the lands and churches belonging to the Cathedral, is the first authentic document. In that narrative, which was framed in presence of Prince David and his Court, the tradition and belief of the district at the time are recorded, which include the foundation of the Church, the consecration of St. Kentigern as Bishop of Cumbria, his death, and his many successors in the See, till the disorders of the country had obliterated all traces of the edifice, and almost of religion.

<sup>1</sup> The ancient fragment of the Life of St. Kentigern, or “Vita Kentigerni,” was written at the desire of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, and is printed in the “Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis,” from the Cotton MSS. British Museum, A. XIX. F. 70. A more copious and modern life of St. Mungo is published by Pinkerton in his “Vita Antiquæ Sanctorum,” in which he absurdly prints *Cumbria* for *Cumbria*, and is described as “far from a good version of this interesting relic.” It is also stated, in reference to the former ancient narrative — “The original is a very careless and ignorant transcript, in a hand of the

beginning of the fifteenth century, with red initial letters.”—Preface to “Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. lix. lx. In the “Officium S. Kentigerni,” in the same volume, Appendix, No. III. the royal though illegitimate descent of the holy man, and of his mother St. Thenaw, is recorded, p. lxxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis: Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitanæ Glasguensis a Sede Restaurata Seculo ineunte XII. ad Reformatum Religionem, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1813, vol. i. p. xviii.

The restoration of the Bishopric by David I. is recorded, and also the election and consecration of John Achaius, commonly designated the first Bishop of Glasgow. The temporal possessions are returned on the oath of five "juratores." The date of this document, according to Father Innes, is about 1116, and the next date connected with the Cathedral is earlier than 1124, the year of David's succession to the throne of his brother Alexander I., the period of the restoration and erection of the Church.

In 1136 the newly-built Church was dedicated, and on that occasion David I. granted the lands of Partick, west of the city, which soon afterwards, with the church of Govan, on the south side of the Clyde, was constituted a prebend of the Cathedral. Various other donations and privileges were conferred, such as the tithes of duties paid in cattle throughout the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, and the eighth penny of all pleas of court in the kingdom or province of Cumbria.

The last Archbishop was James Beaton, or Bethune, Abbot of Arbroath, elected immediately after the demission of Archbishop Gordon, and consecrated at Rome in 1552. He was the nephew of the celebrated Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and grand-nephew of the Cardinal's uncle and predecessor, who had filled the See of Glasgow before his translation to St. Andrews. Archbishop Beaton retired to France in 1560, after the commencement of the troubles of the Reformation, carrying with him all the valuable documents connected with his See, which he deposited partly in the archives of the Scots' College, and partly in the Charterhouse, or Chartreuse, at Paris. This worthy prelate resided in Paris till his death, in 1603, as the respected, accredited, and confidential agent of Queen Mary and James VI. In 1598 his services were acknowledged by the Scottish Parliament, when he was restored to his heritages, honours, and dignities, notwithstanding any sentences affecting him, though he "has never made confession of his faith, and has never acknowledged the religion professed within this realm."<sup>1</sup>

Without any reference to St. Kentigern or Mungo, and those who followed him, a succession of twenty-seven Bishops, four of whom were Archbishops, occupied the See of Glasgow from the time and including the episcopate of Bishop John Achaius to the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Beaton was the last Prelate of the Papal Hierarchy, and the Cathedral demands a special notice.

Whatever were the architectural details of the original church at Glasgow founded by St. Mungo and his colony, the predecessor of the present cathedral was erected by Bishop John Achaius, and the edifice was of wood. In subsequent times the grants and acquisitions of property in various parts of the kingdom to the Church of Glasgow were most extensive and valuable. The church erected by Bishop John Achaius was destroyed by fire during the episcopate of Bishop Jocelin, who formed a society to collect funds for the restoration, under the express sanction and protection of King Malcolm, the husband of the canonised Queen Margaret. The portion of the building which he erected was dedicated on the 6th of July, 1197, but it must have been of limited dimensions, for in the canons of a general council or synod of the Scottish Church, held in 1242, is an ordinance ordering a national collection annually during Lent, to promote the completion of the church. The length of time explains the architectural changes in the style of the edifice during the progress. In 1277 the Chapter purchased from the then baron or proprietor of Luss, on Loehlmond, certain privileges, and from the document it appears that materials were collecting for the erection of a steeple from the timber in that wooded territory. The increase and importance of the Chapter caused various alterations in the fabric of the Cathedral, and in the reign of Alexander III. it was twice projected to remove the episcopal palace, and provide accommodation for the canons. When Edward I. was a fortnight in Glasgow in the autumn of 1301, residing at the "Friars' Preachers," no vestige of whose buildings now remains, he was indefatigable in his offerings at the high altar and the shrine of St. Mungo.

In the reign of Robert Bruce, the only recorded acquisitions of property by the Chapter are some

<sup>1</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iv. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> The succession was—1. John Achaius. 2. Herbert, Abbot of Kelso. 3. Ingelram. 4. Jocelyn, Abbot of Melrose. 5. Hugh de Roxburgh, supposed to have died before consecration. 6. William Malvoison, translated to St. Andrews. 7. Florence (titular), nephew of William I. 8. Walter. 9. William de Bondington. 10. Nicolas de Moffat (titular). 11. Robert Wishart, elected in place of William Wishart, nominated to St. Andrews. 12. Stephen (titular). 13. John

Wishart. 14. John Lindsay. 15. William Rae. 16. Walter Wardlaw. 17. Matthew Glendonwyn. 18. William Lauder. 19. John Cameron. 20. William Turnbull, founder of the University of Glasgow. 21. Andrew Muirhead. 22. John Laing. 23. Robert Blackadder, translated from Aberdeen, the first Archbishop. 24. James Beaton, translated to St. Andrews. 25. Gavin Dnubar. 26. Alexander Gordon. 27. James Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath.



small annual rents by the family of Avenel, and John, Abbot of Holyrood, and the King, granted the prebend of Barlanark in free warren; but at his request the Chapter resigned one of their churches to the Abbey of Kelso, and another to the Abbey of Melrose. Documents are also preserved in favour of the Abbey of Paisley and the church of St. John the Baptist at Ayr. Roger de Auldton, by a valuable gift of property, obtained the privilege of a sepulture for himself and his spouse in the choir of the church of St. James of Roxburgh, and Walter Fitz-Gilbert, described as the first of the family of Hamilton, granted to the church of Glasgow, in an indenture, certain vestments and plate, expressly reserving the use four times in the year in the chapel of Machan, now the parish of Dalserf, near Hamilton.

The edifice commenced by Bishop Joeelin was never completed, and its chief additions were by Bishops Bondington, Lauder, and Cameron, and Archbishops Blackadder and the first Beaton. No vestige of the church erected by Bishop John Achaius is supposed to exist. This stupendous and magnificent memorial of old Saxon architecture is on the elevated bank on the west of the ravine traversed by the Molendinar rivulet, which separates the surrounding cemetery<sup>1</sup> from the modern, called the Neeropolis, in the former Merchants' or Fir Park. The locality is known as the Townhead, in the north-east quarter of the city, and is an extensive and open space at the upper end of the High Street. Before the repairs and alterations in progress in 1847 the edifice measured three hundred and nineteen feet from east to west, the width sixty-three feet, height of the nave ninety feet, and of the choir eighty-five feet. The interior contains one hundred and forty-seven pillars, and one hundred and fifty-nine windows, many of them of exquisite workmanship, ornament the edifice. A splendid tower, surmounted by a spire, rises from the centre, at which were to be the intended transepts; the south one, partly erected, is now a place of interment.<sup>2</sup> This is known as the "Dripping Aisle," on account of the perpetual dropping of water from the roof without any apparent source. The grand entrance is on the west end, and was long deformed by a clumsy tower, the work of a blundering architect of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and doors are on the north and south. Formerly the interior of the Cathedral was completely deformed by the partition into two places of worship, known as the Outer and Inner High Church, the former occupying the nave and the latter the choir; but the Outer High parishioners are now accommodated in an edifice called St. Paul's Church, and the whole dimensions of the Cathedral are opened, with the exception of the choir, in which the congregation of the Inner High Church assemble, and is one of the parish churches of the city, under the designation of St. Mungo's. At the east end, behind the Lady Chapel, is the Chapter House. Under the choir and chancel is the Crypt, long used as the parish church of the Barony of Glasgow, before the erection of the incongruous structure near the Cathedral. The Crypt is not surpassed for architectural effect by any structure in the kingdom, and has been restored to the ancient purpose as a place of sepulture, a recumbent statue of St. Mungo, over his reputed grave, occupying the east end.<sup>3</sup> It is now ornamented by stained glass windows, which greatly add to its appearance.

The Bishops and Archbishops of Glasgow were possessed of great revenues, and ranked as metropolitans next to the Primates of St. Andrews. They were Lords of the royalty and barony of Glasgow, known in later times as "St. Mungo's Freedom." They possessed eighteen baronies in the counties of Lanark, Dunbarton, Ayr, Renfrew, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Dumfries, and a large estate in Cumberland, which was called the "Spiritual Dukedom." The episcopal palace or castle, which is intimately associated with many important historical events, stood on the site of the present Royal Infirmary, on the north-west of the Cathedral. One of the country residences of those Prelates was at Partick, west of the city, where

<sup>1</sup> A great part of the surrounding churchyard of the Cathedral is literally covered with flat tombstones, and on the north side is a monument commemorating certain Covenanters. A large addition has been made to this ancient cemetery by the purchase of the grounds of Spring Gardens on the north from the Managers of the Glasgow Blind Asylum, and is now called "St. Mungo's Cemetery," completed in 1832, but since enlarged.

<sup>2</sup> In this part of the Cathedral, and in the choir, are several monuments or mural slabs, especially one in honour of Lieut.-Col. Calogian, of the 71st, or Glasgow Regiment of Light Infantry.

<sup>3</sup> M'Ure, the garrulous historian of Glasgow, a place which he

considered the most wonderful and important in the world, thus describes this region of death, which must have been most forbidding as a place of worship:—"The Barony Kirk, which is exactly under the Inner Kirk, in the time of Popery was only a burial-place, in which it is said St. Mungo the founder is buried. It is of length 108 feet, and 72 feet wide; it is supported by 65 pillars, some of which are 18 feet in circumference, the height of each 18 feet; it is illuminated with 41 windows." The description of the interior of the Crypt, when used as the Barony Kirk of Glasgow, is finely narrated by Sir Walter Scott in *Rob Roy*.

the Kelvin joins the Clyde. They had also a residence at their "manor of the Loch," still known as Lochwood, in the parish of Old Monkland. Whether the house of Ancrum in Teviotdale, in which Bishop Bondington died, belonged to the See, or was his own patrimonial property, has not been ascertained.<sup>1</sup> Some of those Prelates were persons of high rank and important family connexion, and filled the highest offices in the kingdom.

In former times thirty-two dignitaries of the Cathedral had manses in the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> Those residences were chiefly in the curious old streets of the Kirkgate, High Street, Drygate, and the Rottenrow south-west of the Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> In the reign of Alexander II. the Diocese is said to have been divided into the two Archdeaconries of Glasgow Proper and Teviotdale. The Diocese included the counties of Lanark, Dunbarton, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Berwick, and after the erection of the Archbishopric the suffragan Sees were those of Galloway, Argyll, and the Isles.<sup>4</sup>

The upper and lower Church or Crypt contained numerous altars, most of which had permanent endowments for chaplains and the maintenance of lights. The high altar, the furniture and ornaments of which were placed under the special charge of the sacrist in 1459, was endowed by William the Lion with one hundred shillings from the revenues of the sheriffdom of Lanark. On the 2d of August, 1301, Edward I. offered at this altar an oblation of seven shillings, which he repeated next day, and presented on that day and on the 3d of September the same sum at the shrine of St. Kentigern. The altar of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, Martyrs, was behind the high altar, and was endowed in 1486 by James Lindsay, Dean of Glasgow, with half of the lands of Scroggs in the Barony of Stobo, an annual sum of ten merks from St. Giles' Grange, near Edinburgh, and other rents. The nave had a most liberal profusion of altars. On the south side were the altars of St. Kentigern, founded by Sir Walter Stewart, Knight, and endowed in 1506 by his son Andrew, Archdeacon of Galloway; and St. Cuthbert's altar; and on the north side were St. Machan's altar, at the third pillar from the rood-loft, and the altar of All Saints, at the fifth pillar from the rood-loft, endowed in 1495 by David Cuninghame, Archdeacon of Argyll and Provost of the collegiate church of Hamilton. In the nave were the altar of St. John the Baptist, near which was an image of St. Mary of Consolation, and also the altars of St. Blasius the Martyr at St. Cuthbert the Confessor, founded and endowed in 1467 by the Dean, Sub-Dean, Treasurer, and others. St. Christopher's altar, Corpus Christi altar, at the fourth pillar from the rood-loft, founded in 1487 by Robert, Canon and Prebendary of Glasgow, and the altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Archbishop and Martyr, founded by Adam Colquhoun, canon of Glasgow and rector of Stobo, who died in 1542, were in the nave. St. Andrew's altar, the altar of the Holy Blood, the altar of the Holy Cross, and St. Servan's altar, rebuilt and endowed with an annual grant of 10*l.* to the vicars of the choir, are also mentioned without reference to the precise locality. At the south entrance to the choir was an altar dedicated to the Virgin, or St. Mary of Pity, and in the choir was the altar of St. James the Apostle, between the altar of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence on the south, and the altar of St. Martin on the north, endowed with rents by Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Diocese, in 1496. Behind the south

<sup>1</sup> The parish church of Ancrum belonged to the See, and many of the lands held of the University of Glasgow. When the episcopal establishment of Lindisfarne or Holy Island on the coast of Northumberland was dissolved, Ancrum, with Teviotdale, was annexed to the See, and the district was constituted an archdeaconry in 1233.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire*, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> M'Ure mentions one of these manses, which is historically interesting:—"The Parson of Campsie, Chancellor of the Chapter, whose office it was to keep the seal, and append it to all acts and deeds of the Archbishop and his Council, had his manse in the Drygate, in that place called the Limmerfield. Henry Lord Darnley lodged in this house when he came to meet his father, the Earl of Lennox, from Stirling." The Drygate is a curious old street at the head of the High Street, diverging eastward into the ravine of the Molendinar Burn.

<sup>3</sup> According to M'Ure, the Parson or Rector of Cadzow, now Hamilton, was the first member or Deau of the Chapter, and Vicar-general of the Diocese during the vacancy of the See. His house was in the Rottenrow Street, at the Dean-side Yard. The Sub-Dean was the Rector of Monkland, who was Dean in vacancy, or absence, and

Vicar of Calder. His house was on the south side of the Cathedral, near the Molendinar Burn. The Parson of Campsie, whose house was in the Drygate, was Chancellor of the Cathedral, and the Rector of Cardross had a manse in that street. The Rector of Cardross was Treasurer, the Rector of Kilbride was Precentor or Chanter, and the Parson of Glasgow was the Bishop's Vicar, whose house was east of the Bishop's Castle. The Prebendaries were the Rectors of Baldernock (who was connected with the Barony of Provan), Ancrum, Cambuslang, Carstairs, Erskine, Cardross, Renfrew, Eaglesham, Govan, Kirkmahoe, Tarbolton, Killearn, Douglas, Eddleston, Stobo, Peebles, Morebattle, Luss, Ayr, Roxburgh, Durisdeer, Ashlirk, Sanquhar, Cumnock, and Polmadie or Strathblane.—M'Ure's *View of the City of Glasgow*, pp. 49-55. Seven of those prebends were founded after the return of James I. from his captivity in England.—*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i. p. xliii.

<sup>4</sup> Such are the arrangements of the Suffragans in the Province of Glasgow, as enumerated by Bishop Keith; but it is also stated that the Suffragans were the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyll.—*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i. p. 1.







BATTLE OF BLOIS, 1431. — THE BATTLE OF BLOIS.

From the original drawing by G. G. G.

JOHN C. MURDOCH LONDON



door of the church, towards the west, was the chapel or aisle of St. Michael the Archangel, the chaplaincy at the altar of which was endowed in 1478 by Gilbert Reriek, Archdeacon of Glasgow, with the stipulation that on St. Michael's Day the chaplain after divine service should distribute twenty shillings in food and drink among thirty poor individuals. The altar of the Name of Jesus, founded and endowed in 1503 by Archbishop Blackadder, was on the north side of the entrance of the church. On the south side aisle, at the first pillar from the rood-loft, was the altar of St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas, endowed in 1524 by Roland Blackadder, the Sub-Dean. A chapel called the Darnley Chapel is also mentioned.

In the Crypt, or lower church, was the altar of St. Kentigern near his reputed tomb, which, before 1200, received from William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, a grant annually of a stone of wax to maintain the lights at a daily mass to be said at that altar. In 1400 an annual rent was bestowed for the lights; James III., in 1475, confirmed an ancient grant of three stones of wax from the lordship of Bothwell, half of which he directed to be used for the lights above St. Kentigern's tomb; and Archbishop Blackadder founded a chaplaincy at the altar in 1507. An altar dedicated to the "Glorious Virgin Mary of Consolation" was endowed before 1290 by Robert, a burgher of Glasgow, and his wife, with a tenement for the augmentation of the lights; in 1460 David Hynde, burgher, donated the sum of twelve pence annually from a tenement in the Saltmarket, and in 1507 Archbishop Blackadder founded a chaplaincy. In the Crypt were also the altars of St. Nicholas and of St. Peter and St. Paul, the latter between the altars of St. Nicholas on the north and of St. Andrew on the south.

In addition to the chaplains connected with these altars and chapels, others were endowed in the Cathedral for general and special purposes. Ten are mentioned in the records of the Church, one of which was the foundation of Robert II., while Steward of Scotland, as the price of the papal dispensation for his marriage to Elizabeth More. The secular vicars also celebrated numerous obits, or anniversaries for the persons by whom they were founded or endowed. The maintenance of the lights for the service of the Cathedral was provided by the gifts of Walter Fitz-Allan before 1165; King William the Lion, from 1165 to 1189, and many others. In 1481 Bishop John gave six stones of wax annually to be used in candles in brazen sconces between the pillars from the high altar to the entrance of the choir. In the reign of James II. a new functionary was appointed as keeper of the vestments, plate, and furniture within the "gemma doors" entering into the choir.

The constitution and customs of Salisbury Cathedral, and the ritual of the same Church, prepared by Bishop Osmund in 1076, were established by Bishop Bondington in the last year of his life as those of Glasgow Cathedral, and were constantly followed before the Reformation. This Bishop preceded the measure by a charter, granting to the canons the free election of the Dean, confirming the existing right, and founded or endowed a number of "vicarii de residentia," or cathedral vicars, vicars of the choir, or "vicarii," whose vocations were different from the acting clergy who had cure of souls.

Sir Allan Stewart of Darnley was one of those who presented ornaments to the Cathedral, and in the reign of James I. careful inventories were prepared of the relics, jewels, vestments, and books, with codes of statutes for the government of the canons and residentiary vicars. Among the church treasures were jewelled mitres and croziers, precious stones, relics and reliquaries, and arras hangings of the life of St. Kentigern. The collection of books is described as extensive, and was partly in the choir for the service of the Cathedral, partly in chests and presses, some of which were in the nave, and partly in the Library; but the list "is most unfortunately full of careless abbreviations in the record, and it has been registered by a scribe of unusual ignorance, inasmuch that some of the abbreviations seem intended to cover his defect of the commonest knowledge of Latin."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i. Preface, p. xliii. Cosmo Innes, Esq., the learned editor of that transcript, and the author of the Preface, classifies the Library of Glasgow Cathedral into five divisions. The first consisted of the Old and New Testaments, of the separate Gospels and Epistles, Psalters, anthem books, collects, rituals, breviaries, pontificals, legends of Saints, books designated "Passionaria," and the lives of St. Kentigern and St. Servan. The greater number of these volumes remained constantly in the choir,

and were chained to the desks or stalls of the canons and vicars. The second division, which was in presses not within the "Library," was miscellaneous, and consisted of theological, devotional, classical, legal, and controversial books. The same description applies to the books in the "Library," comprising the third, fourth, and fifth divisions, all of which are enumerated in the "*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*," vol. i. Preface, p. xliii.-xlvi., and prove that the collection in Glasgow Cathedral was both valuable and curious.

In connexion with the Cathedral was the "rector" or "parson" of Glasgow, constituted by Bishop John Achaius, incumbent of the "parish of Glasgow, and one of the prebendaries." The rector was the Bishop's "Vicar in the Choir," and the vicarage was also constituted a prebend before 1401, under the title of "Glasgow Secundo." The patronage of the rectory and vicarage was vested in the Bishop.<sup>1</sup> It appears that the rector could also hold the vicarage.

The Cathedral, according to tradition, would have been levelled twice to the ground by fanatical violence, and was preserved on each occasion solely by a casualty. It is said that at the Reformation the populace were anxious to demolish this grand fabric, and that it was preserved by the judicious ingenuity of the Provost of the city, who pretended that he was equally anxious for the removal, but he thought it would be prudent first to build a new church, to which they assented, and dispersed. Thus saved from the tempest of the Reformation, and from the destructive propensities of the leaders, the citizens appear soon to have recovered their wonted attachment to the edifice,<sup>2</sup> for in 1579, when Andrew Melville, then Principal of the University, and some preachers in the city and neighbourhood, are alleged to have induced Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill and the magistrates to sanction the demolition, and were preparing to commence, the Incorporated Trades and the magistrates to sanction the demolition, and threatened with instant death the first individual who armed themselves, took possession of the Church, and offered to injure or remove a stone. The magistrates were compelled solemnly to declare that the Cathedral would be preserved, otherwise the consequences would have been serious. This latter statement, however, is denied.<sup>3</sup>

The outbreak of the Reformation caused the flight or retirement to France of James Beaton, second Archbishop of that name. He carried with him all the plate, relics, records, muniments, and registers belonging to the See, which, with a most important collection of his diplomatic correspondence during the period of forty-three years he acted as Scottish ambassador at the French Court in the reigns of Queen Mary and James VI., he deposited partly in the Scottish College at Paris, to which he was a most munificent benefactor, and partly in the Charterhouse of that city, constituting that convent the overseers of his donations to the Scottish College. Transcripts of a number of the charters have been procured and are preserved.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The rectory of Glasgow is valued at 226*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, expressed by the title, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in Baiamond's Roll, and at the same sum in the "Libellus Taxationum Spiritualitatis concessarum Regi." At the Reformation it was valued at 60*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, 32 chalders 8 bolls meal, 9 chalders 3 bolls bear, 3 barrels herrings, and 16 merks money. The vicarage is valued at 66*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in Baiamond, at 80 merks in the 'Libellus Taxationum,' and the same in a MS. of the Assumptions, 1561, where it is noted that the 'special rental of the vicarage consists in corps presents, uest claihs, teind lint and hemp, teinds of the yards of Glasgow, a third part of the boats that arrives to the brig, Paschmes teinds of the browsters (brewers), and the oblations at Pasche.' It was leased for 103 merks."—*Origines Parochiales Scotie*, edited by Cosmo Innes, Esq., Advocate, and the Rev. William Anderson, 4to. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The Cathedral of Glasgow nevertheless underwent a "purifying" at the Reformation, and according to the excellent authority of Andrew Fairservice in *Ron Roy*, the "idolatrous statues of saints (sorrow be on them!) being taken out o' their neuks, and broken in pieces, and flung into the burn, the Auld Kirk stood as crouse as a cat when the flaes are kamed aff her, and a' body was alike pleased." A local writer (Denholm, in his *Historical Account of Glasgow*, p. 15) states that Glasgow Cathedral was not only "robbed of what was valuable within, but even stripped of its leaden roof." He refers to the Records of the Town Council, and adds that the Magistrates contributed 200*l.* Scots to the repairing of the Church, under protestation that this was to be no precedent, as they considered the possessor of the See bound to uphold the fabric.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. M'Crie (*Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i. pp. 84, 85) vindicates Melville from the charge of endeavouring to demolish Glasgow Cathedral, inserting in his Appendix a long extract on the repairing of the edifice from the Records of the Town Council. He firmly contends that Melville, the other ministers, and the Magistrates, "so far from wishing to pull down the Cathedral, were anxious to uphold and repair it," and that they "made repeated declarations to the

King and Privy Council on this head." It is also objected by Dr. M'Crie that this charge against Melville "rests solely on the authority of Bishop Spottiswoode," in his "History of the Church of Scotland," folio, p. 304. But the fact is also mentioned in all the local narratives of Glasgow (Cleland's *Annals of Glasgow*, 8vo. 1816, vol. i. p. 57; Denholm's *Historical Account of Glasgow*, 12mo. 1797, pp. 15, 16); and as it respects Archbishop Spottiswoode, that Prelate, having filled the See eleven years before his translation to St. Andrews in 1613, must have known the account of the affair as currently reported in his time, and still believed in Glasgow, the citizens of which are vain of the tradition.

<sup>4</sup> An interesting account of those charters, by Cosmo Innes, Esq., Advocate, forms the commencement of the Preface to the first volume of the "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB. It details the correspondence on the subject by the University and Magistrates of Glasgow, Lord Hailes, then Mr. Dalrymple, and the Curators of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, in 1771; the labours of Father Thomas Innes, the learned author of the "Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland," who died in 1744; of his great-grand-nephew Father Alexander Innes, and the Abbé Paul Macpherson, afterwards Rector of the Scottish College at Rome, who in 1789 obtained information of the fate of the records from Alexander Innes after the storm of the French Revolution, and procured some of the documents, which he deposited with the late Bishop Cameron at Edinburgh, by whom they were transferred to Bishop Kyle in Aberdeenshire. It is supposed that all the other records are now lost, at least they cannot now be recovered. It was stated in the Scottish newspapers in 1839 that most of the records of Glasgow Cathedral were returned to Scotland that year, and were deposited in the Roman Catholic College of St. Mary at Blairs, in Maryculter parish, in Kincardineshire, near Aberdeen, but the present writer was informed by the Rev. George Griffin, one of the Professors, that this statement is erroneous.









AD. JAMES  
JOHN H. H. H.



The Episcopal palace or castle occupied the site of the present Royal Infirmary, for the erection of which it was removed. This was a large castellated building of considerable strength, the walls of great thickness or breadth; but latterly, when the means of defence became less necessary, the residence was more conveniently altered, with gardens and courts. The great tower was erected by Bishop Cameron in 1426, and another tower, with the walls and bastions, by Archbishop James Beaton. His grand-nephew, Archbishop James Beaton, received the Magistrates in the "inner flower-garden" of his palace on the 3d of October, 1553, on the occasion of their appointment as Bailies for the future year by the Archbishop, in presence of some members of the Chapter.<sup>1</sup> The Episcopal palace is described as an uninhabitable ruin in 1720 by Mr. Robert Thomson, merchant in Glasgow, who considered it his duty to represent to the Barons of Exchequer the flagitious conduct of his fellow-citizens in "carrying off the stones, timber, slates, and other materials belonging therunto, and applying the same to their own particular use, to the shame and disgrace of the Christian religion." It appears from the views of the archiepiscopal castle when in ruins, that the edifice had no architectural pretensions.<sup>2</sup> The pile was removed immediately before 1792, the date of laying the foundation-stone of the Infirmary.

## CASTLE CAMPBELL.

On a knoll in a narrow glen of the Ochill range of mountains in the parish of Dollar and county of Clackmannan, and overlooking the romantic scenery of the South Devon in its course to the Forth, including the Crook of Devon, and such localities as the Rumbling Bridge and the Devil's Mill, are the massive and solitary ruins of Castle Campbell, anciently and most appropriately designated "Castle Gloom." The name of the parish is supposed to express a dark or sombre district, and tradition furnishes the explanation. A daughter of one of the Scottish monarchs is alleged to have been expelled for improper conduct from the royal palace of Dunfermline, a few miles distant, and immured in this Castle, which was termed "Castle Gloom." This imaginary Princess, whose name is unknown, called the hill on the east of her prison Gloom Hill, a name which it still retains, and she conferred the titles of "Care" and "Sorrow" on two streamlets meandering on the east and west sides of the Castle.

The lordship of Campbell, on which the Castle is situated, was in 1465 the property of Colin, second Lord Campbell, created Earl of Argyll by James II. in 1457. This lordship continued in the possession of his successors, the Earls and Dukes of Argyll, till 1805, when it was sold by John, fifth Duke, to Crawford Tait, Esq., the proprietor of the adjoining estate of Harvieston. Whatever authority may exist for the above tradition of the captive princess, the ancient or original name of the Castle was "The Gloom;" and in 1489, in the reign of James II., the name was altered to Castle Campbell, which has since designated the ruins. It is stated in the Act of the Scottish Parliament—"Our Sovereign Lord of his royal authority, at the desire and supplication of his cousin and trusty counsellor Colin, Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorn, his chancellor, has changed the name of the castle and place which was called the 'Gloom;' pertaining to his said cousin, and in this his present Parliament makes mutation and changing of the said name, and ordains the same Castle to be called in time to come Campbell."<sup>3</sup> The origin of this "mutation" is not stated, and it is difficult to ascertain when the great family of Campbell of Argyll acquired property so far distant from their hereditary possessions in the West Highlands. The territory on the Ochills, however, seems to have been obtained by the first Earl of Argyll as the marriage-portion of his Countess, who was Isabella, daughter of

<sup>1</sup> Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, vol. ii. p. 580.

<sup>2</sup> Two views of the ruined archiepiscopal palace are given in Dr. Smith's (of Cruthersland) "Burgh Records of Glasgow." In Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ," folio, published in 1693, and again in 1713, three views are inserted of Glasgow, in one of which, representing the Cathedral and the then city, the episcopal palace is prominent, and is apparently accurate. It was, from that delineation, a large edifice, in the style of the old baronial castles, the principal part a keep or tower, flanked by circular battlements, and entered by a gateway. A

view of the Royal Infirmary as it appeared when the drawing was taken in 1799, is in "Scotia Depicta," from etchings by James Fittler, Esq., and drawings by John Claud Nattes, published in 1804. In this view of the edifice which succeeded the archiepiscopal palace, the east gable, surmounted by a spire, of the chapel of St. Nicholas, as it then existed, is introduced among the old houses in that antique and curious quarter of the city. An account of the "Bishop's Castle" is in Stuart's "Glasgow in Former Times," 4to. 1848, pp. 9-17.

<sup>3</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 222.

John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn and Innermeath. As his brother succeeded him, that nobleman left no son, and he had three daughters, of whom the Countess of Argyll is supposed to have been the eldest. The lands of Lord Lorn were divided among his three daughters, and the "Gloom" is in that portion of his estate inherited by the Countess, which is detailed in a charter of confirmation by James IV. Her sister Margaret married Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, and her other sister married Arthur Campbell of Ottar, from which it may be inferred that the ladies were considered wealthy heiresses by their Highland spouses. A sasine, dated 9th April, 1465, records "all and hail the third part of the lands of Dollar and Gloom in favour of Duncan Campbell, son of Sir Colin Campbell, Knight," and this is conjectured to indicate Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. A second sasine, of the same date, is in favour of Dame Isabella Stewart, Countess of Argyll, and a third sasine, also of the same date, is in favour of Marion, sister of the Countess, and wife of Caupbell of Ottar. The third of the lands possessed by Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy through his mother, the daughter of Lord Lorn, was acquired by the first Earl of Argyll, in 1481, by a deed of renunciation on the part of the said Duncan Campbell of all right he possessed to the third part of the lands of Dollar. The Earl of Argyll obtained, either legally or by force, the other third part held by Marion Stewart, and in a charter of confirmation by James IV. of a charter of George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld, in whose Diocese the district was included, it is expressly stated, under date 11th May, 1497, that the said Bishop granted to Archibald, second son of Argyll, "all and hail the lands of Campbell," formerly "Dollar" or "Gloom." It would thus appear that the lands belonged to Lord Innermeath, and were inherited by the third Lord's three daughters as heirs-portioners, while his brother Walter, the fourth Lord, succeeded to the other estates. The Lorn property in Argyllshire had been added to Innermeath by John Stewart of Innermeath, who about 1386 married Ergradia, a daughter of the Celtic proprietor.<sup>1</sup>

The Earls of Argyll frequently resided at Castle Campbell, which seems to have been their favourite retreat until the conflagration by the troops of the Marquis of Montrose in 1645. Various feu charters to certain inhabitants of Dollar specify the services they were to perform to the family, such as the supplying of bread, animal food, beer, coals, and oats for the horses. Some of the vassals were bound to convey wine from the port of Alloa, and others were to furnish horses for the transit of the Earls and their household from Stirling. In 1556 Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, entertained John Knox in the Castle, and the Reformer edified him by sermons. It is even asserted that Castle Campbell was the scene of the first administration of the Eucharist after the Reformation, which is contradicted by authentic statements, though it is probable that the dispensation was observed, as Knox records that he was the guest of the "old" Earl of Argyll some days.<sup>2</sup>

Castle Campbell was burnt by the Marquis of Montrose in 1645, as already noticed. He was on the march to the Southern and Western counties, after his important victories at Auldearn and Alford in the North, with the intention of annihilating the Covenanters, which he soon nearly achieved at Kilsyth. He advanced to Castle Campbell from Kinross, and it is probable that he could not prevent the infliction of summary vengeance on the stronghold of his mortal enemy, to retaliate the depredations committed by the Campbells in the Hebrides. The Macleans were the parties in Montrose's army who consigned Castle Campbell to the flames.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of a tenement which was supposed to belong to the Abbey of Dunfermline, another thought to have been within the parish of Fossaway, and a sheep-cot, the Macleans burnt all the houses of Argyll's vassals in the parishes of Dollar and Muckbart. Castle Campbell was nevertheless habitable for a small garrison in 1715, and is now an impressive ruin. A considerable part of the pile has disappeared, and the remaining portion is hastening to decay, though it is still in its romantic solitude a stately memorial of feudal power and baronial grandeur, resisting every storm, and as if surveying with indifference the lovely and captivating scenery which it overlooks. The tower, the oldest part of the ruin, is nearly entire, and is ascended by a spiral stair to an oblong summit covered with turf. This tower is of considerable height, and the view it commands is one of the finest in Scotland. The outlines of the hall with its lofty ceiling, and other large apartments, are easily traced, and the narrow openings for windows in walls of enormous thickness indicate that the edifice was built as a stronghold, when the Scottish barons

<sup>1</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland — Clackmannanshire, pp. 105, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, by John Knox, fol. 1732, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Montrose and the Covenanters*, by Mark Napier, Esq., Advocate, vol. ii. p. 434.

were continually at war with each other. The Castle was erected at different times, or large additions were made to the original keep or tower. Extensive vaults were under the south division of the Castle, for stables, cellars, prisons, and other purposes, and are supposed to extend under ground to a considerable extent beyond the walls.

The ruins of Castle Campbell are of difficult access, and the road or approach is steep and rugged. The view from the public road from Stirling to Kinross is peculiarly romantic and impressive, but the grandeur and variety of the scenery can only be appreciated by a near view. After crossing the bridge in Dollar village, and advancing northward along the banks of the rivulet which descends from the castle, and traverses the ravine of Campbell Wood, entirely covered with trees, the mass of ruins appears as perched on a conical hill embosomed in the surrounding mountains. The acclivities on each side of the ravine are densely wooded, and render the localities particularly romantic. Some have attempted to reach the Castle by following the bed of the stream upwards, and have forced their way to the junction of another rivulet, both of which surround the lofty knoll, but the overhanging rocks, nearly meeting at the top, present an insuperable barrier. The Castle, however, is accessible on foot on the east and west sides of the wooded ravine, and that on the east, through the village of Dollar, is the only approach for vehicles. This road is steep and rugged, passes the Castle on the east, then winds round to a bridge, and forms the entrance on the north, at the only point where the prominence is connected with the surrounding mountains. The approach on the west side, which is no regular foot-path, is interesting for the diversified views of the ruins, and the wooded banks on the opposite side. After reaching the highest part of the bank on the west side, nearly in front of the Castle, a narrow winding foot-path, every turn of which presents new views, leads to the bottom of the ravine below; and a rustic bridge made of the trunks of two trees, without any hand-rail, is thrown over the often violent torrent descending from the mountains, and flowing round the Castle on the west to the junction with the stream on the other side immediately south. Several beautiful cascades on this stream are almost obscured by the woods. A steep path leads from the bridge to the carriage-road, which conduces to the entrance at the back of the Castle, where are the remains of the principal gateway looking to the north. In the vicinity of this entrance are a few ancient and splendid sycamores, which represent the former avenue. The area round the Castle is so narrow, that the walls cannot be left for a few yards without the danger of falling into the depths below. On the east side the steep acclivity is so abruptly occupied by the walls as to preclude any passage. A beautiful green area of some extent slopes gradually from the base of the ruins on the south side to the margin of the precipice in front. Near the south-western extremity of this area is the formidable chasm in the rock called "Kemp's Score," and adjoining are the remains of an old outwork, imparting additional interest to the scenery. Passing this outwork, and advancing a few paces to the brink of the precipice, is a half-formed foot-path extending down the wooded front of the rocks, and leading to a projection about twelve feet above the bed of the torrent, which forces its passage, almost concealed from view, beneath shelving masses. The descent of this path is extremely dangerous, as one false step would be most fatal, and the locality can only be examined by laying hold of shrubs and roots of trees. About thirty yards from the entrance to Castle Campbell on the north is a group of old plane-trees, one of which measures eighteen feet in circumference at about eight feet from the ground, and is known as the "Maiden Tree."

The remarkable fissure, or chasm, called "Kemp's Score," or "Cut," in front of the Castle, is supposed to be an artificial opening for obtaining water from the rivulet. It is said that steps were cut in the rock down to the stream, which, if existing, are completely concealed by loose earth several feet thick. The chasm is dark and repulsive, upwards of one hundred feet in height, and six feet broad, and the ascent steep and difficult. Tradition alleges that this chasm was the work of a man of gigantic stature and strength, and of a bold and resolute temper, named William Kemp. He is said to have committed many depredations, and on one occasion he abstracted the King's dinner from Dunfermline Palace. A young nobleman, who happened to be in disgrace at Court, killed this freebooter in a conflict, and threw his body into a pool of the Devon, since designated "Willie's Pool."

The scene round the ancient Castle Campbell or "Gloom," consisting of rocks, woods, rivulets, cascades, glens, and mountains, captivates the spectator by the pleasing mixture of the beautiful, the picturesque, and the romantic in nature.

## Fifeshire.

## FALKLAND PALACE.

IN the north-west of the county of Fife is a conspicuous range of hills, known as the East, Mid, and West Lomonds. The East Lomond, which is conical, and rises one thousand four hundred and sixty feet above the level of the sea, is terminated by the West Lomond in Kinross-shire, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one feet above the level of the sea,<sup>1</sup> overlooking the capacious lake of Lochleven.<sup>2</sup> The Mid Lomond diverges northward from the two, and the sloping sides of the three form beautiful and interesting features in the district.

On the north side of the East Lomond, at the head of the beautiful vale known as the Howe of Fife, traversed by the Eden, is the very antique and sequestered parish village of Falkland, originally a burgh of barony under the Earls of Fife, and constituted a royal burgh by a charter of James II. in 1458, which was renewed by James V. in 1595. The position of this curious specimen of the Scottish burghs of the sixteenth century is such that the denizens are precluded from the sun during the winter quarter of the year. The town consists of a principal street, from which diverge most primitive streets and alleys in all directions up and down the slope; and as the place is remote from any principal road, the old thatched dwellings have never been replaced by more substantial tenements, and only a few are slated and of modern erection. The houses are small, and generally display in front the date of erection, armorial bearings, initials of the original proprietor, and in some instances emblematic representations of his trade or profession. The inhabitants are chiefly weavers—a race also of “baskers in the sun, it being quite customary, after their long summer day’s work is over, to stretch themselves, with all their children around them, on the unequal streets, to enjoy the glories of the waning light. They live contented in the homes of their fathers, practising the same trades, eating the same food, entertaining the same ideas, and at last sharing the same graves.”

The preamble to the charter constituting Falkland a royal burgh alleges as the reasons for granting it, the frequent residence of the sovereigns at the Manor of Falkland, and the inconvenience sustained by the prelates, peers, barons, and others, for want of hostelries or inns, which in modern times would be designated hotels. The denizens, however, appeared to have considered the honour with indifference, and though governed by a town-council, whose municipal revenues amount to the annual sum of about 60*l.*, they never exercised their right of sending a member or commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. Probably their inability to pay their representative was one of the causes. Their privileges were in consequence overlooked in the classification of the Fife royal burghs at the time of the Union. Though now a mere country village, it is still a royal burgh in other respects. The Town-House was erected in 1802, and the magistrates hold courts to decide petty offences and questions of civil contracts occurring within their jurisdiction. Some memorials of the former influence of the burgh exist in the names of the humble localities, one of which is dignified as the “Parliament Square,” a second is the “College Close,” a third is the “West Port,” and some of the residences of the officers of James VI.’s household erected by him still remain, with grateful inscriptions on the walls. Yet for centuries the finely cultivated plain on the east was so marshy, that in 1611, when the King issued a mandate to the Presbytery to meet in future at Falkland instead of Cupar-Fife, the members refused to comply, assigning as a reason that the burgh could not be approached in winter, nor after heavy rains in summer.<sup>3</sup> This was certainly an extraordinary district for the erection of a royal palace in times when draining was unknown. The Wood of Falkland, which consisted chiefly of oaks, and was stocked with fallow-deer for the

<sup>1</sup> The above heights are stated on the authority of the Trigonometrical Survey made by order of the Board of Ordnance. In Mudge’s Trigonometrical Survey the height of the East Lomond above the level of the sea is calculated to be 1480 feet, and that of the Wester Lomond 1720 feet.

<sup>2</sup> The Lomonds are thus noticed in the commencement of an old song—

“On Easter Lomond I made my bed,  
On Wester Lomond I lay,  
I lulkit down to bonnie Lochleven,  
And saw three perches play.”

<sup>3</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Fifeshire, pp. 936, 937.









GRAND ENTRANCE TO FALKLAND PALACE

*from an Original Drawing by J. G. Murdoch*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



hunting amusement of the sovereigns, has entirely disappeared. This Forest in Queen Mary's reign was rapidly decaying.<sup>1</sup> In the following century Cromwell's troops demolished the remaining timber.<sup>2</sup> The Park of Falkland is noticed as having three wild boars in 1541, which were procured from France by James V. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, whose patrimonial property so called is only a few miles distant, duly celebrates the happy days he passed at Falkland.<sup>3</sup>

In 1129 Macbeth is mentioned as Thane of Falkland, and, in conjunction with Constantine Earl of Fife, collecting forces to protect the Culdees of St. Andrews and Loehleven from the threats of Robert de Burgoner, who demanded one-half of the lands of Kirkness near St. Andrews. It is impossible to ascertain whether this Thane of Falkland had any territorial possessions or residence in the district, and Falkland soon afterwards was the property of the crown. In the subsequent century, in 1267, William, ninth Earl of Marr, ratified two charters at Falkland, which Morgund, Earl of Marr, his grandfather, had granted to the Prior and Convent of St. Andrews.<sup>4</sup> This implies that a castle or fortress had been erected. It is stated by a learned writer that Duncan, sixth Earl of Fife, married Ada, niece of Malcolm IV., and that Falkland was part of her dowry. A part of the royal grant on this occasion, dated at Edinburgh, in 1159-60, is cited in reference to this marriage.<sup>5</sup> It is farther alleged that the lands of Falkland continued with the subsequent Earls of Fife till 1371, when Isabel, Countess of Fife in her own right, only child of Duncan, twelfth Earl, conveyed the estates to Robert Stuart, Earl of Menteith, third son of Robert II. The Countess had three husbands, who each became Earl of Fife in her right, and by none of whom she had issue. Her second husband was Walter, second son of Robert II., who died in 1360. The brother-in-law of the Countess became the thirteenth Earl of Fife, and also retained the title of Earl of Menteith in addition. He was created Duke of Albany at Seone in 1398, and at the death of Robert III. in 1406 was constituted regent and governor of the Kingdom, occasioned by the seizure and imprisonment of his nephew James I. in England. The Regent Albany closed a long and active life in 1490, aged upwards of eighty years, and was interred in the Abbey Church of Dunfermline. His son Murdoch succeeded as second Duke and fourteenth Earl of Fife, and as Regent of Scotland. He achieved the release of his cousin James I., who in 1425 caused him to be tried at Stirling on various charges, and seized Falkland and his other Castles. He was convicted, attainted, and executed at Stirling on the day after the trial, and his sons Walter and Alexander were at the same time found guilty, and beheaded. The Tower and lands of Falkland reverted to the Crown.<sup>6</sup>

No vestige is preserved of the Tower of Falkland, the predecessor of the Palace, and the precise site is unknown. The building is supposed to have occupied a mound immediately on the north of the present Palace. Before the forfeiture of Murdoch, second Duke of Albany, the edifice was called the Castle or Mar of Falkland, though in ten different charters by the first Duke of Albany, as Regent and Governor, he simply dates from the Manor of Falkland. This Castle or tower is mentioned in an indenture between the Countess Isabel and her heir, in which she stipulates that Albany, then Earl of Fife and Menteith, is to be the Keeper of the Castle and Forest of Falkland—that he was to place a constable therein at his pleasure—that she was to reside within the Tower when it suited her convenience—and that the whole village of Falkland, over against the said Tower, shall be let on lease.<sup>7</sup>

The date of the decease of Isabel, Countess of Fife, is not recorded, which is of little consequence, as

<sup>1</sup> In 1555 an Act occurs—"It was fundin be ano assayse, that the said Wod of Falkland, for the maist part thairof, was auld, failzeit, and decayit, and neid to be cuttit downe for the comoun weill of the realme, and to be packit, hanit, and keptit of new for policie thairof,"—which means that the Wood was to be replanted with what is quaintly designated in the Act "young growth."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 497. In 1511, when James IV. was building his large ship, the Great Michael, the Wood of Falkland was untouched, while all the other oak-forests in Fife were cut down for timber.—History of Scotland, by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, folio, 1728, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Lamont records—"This yeare the English beganne to cut downe Faekland Wood; the most part of the trees were oaks."—Chronicle of Fife, or the Diary of John Lamont, of Newton, from 1649 to 1672, 4to. 1810, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> In the "Second Epistle of the Papingo directed to her brethren at Court," Sir David Lindsay writes—

"Farewell, Falkland, the fortress sure of Fife,  
Thy polite Park under the Lowmond Law,  
Some time in thee I led a lusty life,  
Thy fallow-deer to see them rack on raw,  
Court-man to come to thee they stand great awe,  
Saying, thy burgh been of all burghs bail,  
Because in thee they never got good ale."

<sup>4</sup> Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1841, pp. 309, 310, 311.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas' Peerage of Scotland, by Wood, vol. i. p. 574.

<sup>6</sup> The mode of acquisition of Falkland by the Crown is uncertain. The statement that the lands were obtained by the attainder of Murdoch Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife is opposed to the assertion in a law-plea, decided by the Court of Session in November 1829, that the property at Falkland was purchased by the then sovereign from the Earl of Fife.—Halkorston's Treatise on Privileges of the Palace and Sanctuary of Holyrood house, 8vo. 1831, pp. 128, 140, 150.

<sup>7</sup> New Statistical Account of Scotland—Fifeshire, p. 924.

Albany was Earl of Fife in 1371, the year of her acknowledgment of him as her heir, and he possessed the title without any dependence on her life. His father, Robert II., was advanced in years; and as his elder brother, afterwards Robert III., was unable from bodily debility to be useful in the management of public affairs, a Parliament was held in 1389, in which the then Earl of Fife was solemnly declared by the Estates to be governor of the kingdom. Robert III., who succeeded in 1390, constantly resided at his Castle of Rothesay in Bute, and the Earl continued to his brother's death in 1406 to discharge the duties of his office, when he was, as already observed, constituted governor. The little burgh of Falkland, the Castle or "Mar" of which was Albany's usual abode, when not engaged in military expeditions or progresses in various parts of the kingdom, was for thirty years the seat of government, and the "Mar" was in reality a palace, with all the attractions of a Court in its then rude splendour. His fraternal relationship to the King, as one of the blood-royal, his high office, which invested him with all the powers of the State, and other advantages, rendered the manorial burgh of great importance, and the resort of many a prelate, abbot, and noble of high rank. Centuries have elapsed, and all this ancient pageantry is in oblivion.

The old Castle or "Mar" of Falkland derives its only historical notoriety, while the first Regent was the proprietor and occupant, as the scene of the death of David, Duke of Rothesay, eldest son of Robert III., and nephew of Albany, which occurred on the 26th or 27th of March, 1402. If the popular and generally received accounts are correct, Albany, assisted by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, surnamed the Grim, whose sister Lady Marjory or Elizabeth had married, in February, 1400, the Duke of Rothesay, and John, Earl of Buchan, the son-in-law of Douglas, murdered this unfortunate Prince in a most atrocious manner. Rothesay, though high-spirited and chivalrous, was young, wild, and reckless, and, according to the old historians, by unbounded licentiousness had destroyed the peace of families, degraded his high rank as heir to the Crown by associating with profligates, and had excited against himself a multitude of enemies. His life was a daily scene of turbulence, immorality, and dissipation, and his marriage, which was probably the result of political convenience rather than of inclination, had failed to improve his conduct. The old age of Robert III. was disturbed by incessant complaints of the excesses of his son, whose conduct towards the Lady Marjory Douglas, his wife, by whom he had no children, would naturally exasperate her brother the "Grim" and powerful Earl of Douglas to connect himself with any plot which would accomplish his destruction. Rothesay, with all his violence and debauchery, evinced occasionally generosity, honour, and courage, which promised reformation, and he delighted to expose the selfish cunning of his uncle Albany, whose carefully concealed ambition he detected. Albany was deep, cold, and unprincipled; his vindictiveness was such that his victims when once in his power had no chance of mercy, and his command of temper enabled him to facilitate his designs. He hated Rothesay, and had long resolved to remove him as the obstacle of his projects and the fearless detector of his intrigues. After the death of the Queen Annabella Drummond, his mother, Rothesay perpetrated some of his frequent excesses, and his father eventually issued an order for his imprisonment. This was effected by the agency of Sir John Ramorny, one of Rothesay's profligate companions, and Sir William Lindsay of Rossie, whose sister Euphemia he had loved and forsaken, or who had been affianced to him and rejected, and who never forgave this insult to his family. Ramorny is said to have at one time suggested the assassination of Albany to Rothesay, who denounced the proposal with horror and indignation, and the refusal animated him with the most inveterate contempt and hatred. After alarming the fears of the old and decrepid monarch, who was, as usual, at Rothesay Castle, far distant from the scene of action, and convincing him that his son would no longer listen to counsel or restrain his youthful passions, Ramorny and Lindsay hastened with the command for Rothesay's temporary imprisonment, addressed to Albany, who soon had an opportunity of securing the doomed victim. It happened that Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, had recently died in the Castle of St. Andrews, and Albany, who had received the order for the duration of Rothesay, induced Ramorny and Lindsay to inveigle him into Fife, on the pretence that he should take possession for the King, as was the custom of those times in the case of vacant episcopal castles and residences, of the Castle of St. Andrews, until the appointment of another Bishop. Another account is that Rothesay, jealous of the resumption of power by Albany, resolved to seize the episcopal castle of the deceased Bishop, before he was anticipated by any command of his uncle or of his father, and this illegal design, of which Albany was aware, afforded him an opportunity to accomplish his purpose. Rothesay, while riding to St. Andrews with a few attendants to occupy the Castle, was arrested near Straththyrum, in the vicinity of that city, by Ramorny and Lindsay, and strictly confined in

the same Castle until Albany and Douglas, who were then at Culross, should determine his fate. As this had been long resolved, Albany and Douglas soon appeared at the Castle of St. Andrews with a strong party of soldiers on a day peculiarly stormy, dismissed Rothesay's retinue, compelled him to mount a miserable horse, threw a coarse russet cloak over his splendid dress, to protect him from the rain, and hurrying rudely and without ceremony to the "Mar" of Falkland, which had been named his prison, he was thrust into a loathsome dungeon. He was suffered to remain fifteen days without food, under the charge of John Wright and John Selkirk, ruffians who were appointed to watch his agony till it ended in death. His body was privately interred in Lindores Abbey, on the Tay, in the north-west of Fife, and a report was circulated that he died of dysentery.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the popular narrative of the fate of David, Duke of Rothesay, elder brother of the first James, and which is prominent in Sir Walter Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth." It is also stated that the wretched prisoner was sustained for a time by a poor woman, who, in passing through the garden of Falkland, was attracted by Rothesay's groans to the grated window of the dungeon, which was level with the ground, and who became acquainted with his situation. This woman resorted thither at night, dropped small cakes of barley through the grating, and supplied him with drink from her own breasts, conducted by a pipe to the Prince's mouth; and that his two keepers, suspecting from his appearance that he had some means of obtaining a secret supply, watched and detected the benevolent female. Buchanan records that two women were concerned, the one supplying Rothesay with the cake, and the other with her own milk, before they were discovered, and the sufferer consigned to famine. It was also believed that after his death his body indicated that in the extremities of hunger he had gnawed his fingers and torn his flesh.<sup>2</sup>

Albany was loudly accused as the murderer of his nephew Rothesay, whose cruel death made his follies and licentiousness be forgotten, and his better qualities remembered. As Albany was in consequence denounced with scorn and detestation, it was necessary that he should endeavour to clear himself from the odious imputations which the conspiracy involved. He produced the King's letter ordering his son to be arrested, affirmed that every act was in compliance with the injunctions he had received, persisted in maintaining that dysentery was the cause of the Prince's death, and defied any one to prove that the slightest violence had been inflicted, appealing to and demanding the judgment of the Parliament. This meeting was held in the Abbey of Holyrood, on the 16th of May, 1402, and Albany and Douglas were examined. No record is preserved of the proceedings of this Parliament. Albany and Douglas confessed the imprisonment, and imputed the death to divine providence. They were acquitted of a crime which it was evident could not be sufficiently or minutely investigated, and a public remission, under the King's seal, declared their innocence, which in the opinion of Lord Hailes, who first printed the document, is expressed in "terms as ample as if they had actually murdered the heir-apparent." Albany resumed his office as regent or governor under the infirm Robert III., who lamented the fate of his son, and probably well knew who were the perpetrators; but preparations for continuing the war in England now occupied the public attention, and the fate of the Duke of Rothesay in the "Mar" of Falkland was forgotten.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tytler's History of Scotland, 8vo. Edin. 1826, vol. iii. pp. 118-124; Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 67, 68, 69. "His body," says Boece, "was buryit in Lundoris, and kithit mirakles mony yeirs after, quhill at last King James the First began to punish his slayaris, and fra that time furth the miraklis ecissit."

<sup>2</sup> Boece, who accuses Albany of the murder of Rothesay, says that "ane woman, havand commiseratioun on this Duke, let meill fall down throw the loftes of the toure, he quhilkis his life was certane dayis saivt. This woman, fra it was knawin, was put to deith. On the same maner, ane other woman gawe him milk of her panp throw ane lang reid, and was slane with gret crueltie fra it was knawin. Then was the Duke destitute of all mortal supplie, and brocht finalie to sa miserable and hungry appetito that he eit, nocht allenarie the filth of the toure quhare he was, but his own fingeris, to his gret marderome." Another version of the story is, that one of the women was the daughter of the governor, and the other was employed in the family as a wet-nurse. It is added that both wero put to death for their humanity.—Jamieson's Royal Palaces of Scotland, 4to. 1850, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>3</sup> A learned critic on Tytler's History of Scotland, contends that the Duke of Rothesay actually died of dysentery, though "a report was circulated that he died of hunger," alleging that the story is "of much the same character with that of Richard II. of England," and that in "regard to the manner of his death a controversy has arisen as keen as that relative to the fate of Richard."—"The authorities on the subject may be stated in a sentence. Winton narrates the fact of the death and burial, without a word of the perpetration of the murder. Mr. Tytler appears to account for this by saying (after Pinkerton, from whom he appears to have borrowed it), that as his Chronicle was written in Fife, during the regency of Albany, he was afraid or unwilling to detail the horrid truth. But when we find Bower expressly stating that the Prince died of dysentery, adding merely the remark, as if it were a foolish popular rumour, that a report arose of his having died of hunger, we can see no ground for the theory as to Winton's silence, but considerable room for the charge, that history here has been sacrificed to effect. The words of Bower are, that he was kept in the castle by John Selkirk and John Wright, until, having wasted away by dysentery, or as others will have it (*volunt*) by hunger, he

After the forfeiture and execution of Murdoch, second Duke of Albany, and son of the alleged murderer of Rothesay, Falkland Castle was secured by the Crown. The "Mar" was evidently neglected in the reigns of James I. and James II., and probably was in a ruinous condition, when it was resolved to rebuild the edifice in a more appropriate style of architecture as the hunting retreat of the Scottish monarchs in the "Kingdom of Fife." The "Mar" was accordingly levelled to the ground, and even the Duke of Rothesay's prison-vault has disappeared.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to ascertain whether James III. or James IV. commenced the present Palace, as both monarchs were partial to architecture, and employed mechanics at Falkland, which was not a special royal resort till the reign of James V., who completed the edifice under the inspection and skill of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, steward of the royal household, and superintendent of the various palaces. On the top of a basement supporting Corinthian pillars are the initials of that monarch and his second consort Mary of Guise.<sup>2</sup> The roof was then thatched, and was continually requiring renovation.<sup>3</sup>

James V. was attached to Falkland, where he gratified his taste for hunting and hawking. It was here that, in July 1528, under the pretext of preparing for a grand hunting party, he planned and effected his emancipation from the thralldom of the powerful House of Douglas. Having given orders to warn the tenantry and assemble the best dogs, he retired to rest, on the plea of being obliged to rise next morning before daybreak. When all was quiet in the Palace he stole from his couch, disguised himself as a groom, and, attended by two faithful domestics, mounted on fleet horses, reached the Castle of Stirling before daybreak. The Earl of Angus had proceeded to the south of the Frith of Forth to adjust his affairs, leaving the King in the charge of Sir Archibald Douglas his uncle, Sir George Douglas his brother, and James Douglas of Parkhead, captain of the royal guard; but it happened that the uncle had travelled to Dundee to visit his mistress, and the brother to St. Andrews, to conclude an advantageous lease with Archbishop James Beaton, and a guard of one hundred men, commanded by Douglas of Parkhead was considered sufficient to control the movements of the sovereign. Sir George Douglas returned to Falkland at eleven in the evening, and in the morning was awakened with the unwelcome tidings that the King had escaped. After a vain search throughout the Palace he exclaimed—"Treason! the King is gone." A messenger was sent to Angus, who returned without delay, and soon felt the downfall of his name and family. James V. was then in his seventeenth year, and he subsequently enlarged and improved the Palace. The conduct of his forces at the Solway Frith on the 1st of November, 1542, induced him to hasten from Caerlaverock Castle to Falkland, and he died in the Palace broken-hearted on the 14th of December, in presence of Cardinal Beaton, the Earls of Argyll and Rothes, Durie his physician, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and a few others who were in the apartment. The announcement of the birth of his daughter Queen Mary, on the 7th of December, afforded him no consolation, and turning in his bed, he ejaculated in anguish, in reference to the Kingdom—"It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl."

Mary of Guise, the widow of James V., and for some time Regent, often resided at Falkland. The Queen Regent was in the Palace in June 1559, when she heard of the destruction of St. Andrew's Cathedral, and afterwards reluctantly signed the armistice concluded at Cupar Muir between the Duke of Chastelherault and Monsieur D'Oscell on the one side, and the Lords of the Congregation on the other. Her daughter Queen Mary first visited Falkland in September 1561, on her journey from St. Andrews to Edinburgh, when a plot was alleged to have been concocted by the Earl of Bothwell and the Hamiltons to murder her illegitimate brother Lord James Stuart, afterwards the Regent Moray. They had resolved to secure the

died on the 7th of the calends of April. This report having arisen, there was a natural desire in the persons implicated to clear themselves from the heinous charge. Hence the parliamentary investigation which Albany insisted for, and in which, as appears from a document printed by Lord Hailes, he was entirely acquitted. With regard to the congregation of accessory horrors which have given a gloomy interest to the story of the unhappy Prince, we rejoice to think that they originated in that copious storehouse of such existing topics—the fertile imagination of Hector Boece. It was a glorious theme for that rare fancy to work upon. The Prince is made to die the most excruciating of deaths, and the story naturally winds up with a miracle.—North British Review, 1845, vol. iii. pp. 382, 383.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Sibbald observes—"There is hard by the Palace, to

the north, a fair large house built by David Murray, Viscount of Stormont, then steward of Fife, in the very spot where (some think) stood the old castle where David Duke of Rothesay was fished to death by his ambitious uncle."—History of Fife, pp. 386, 387.

<sup>2</sup> The initials are I. R. (James Rex) and M. G. (Mary of Guise) and the date 1537.

<sup>3</sup> July 17, 1525—"Comperet Jhone Betoun of Criech, and protestit that siii he has the keping of the Palace of Falkland, and the samin is riven, the thak thereof broken, and will tak gret skaith without it be hastelie remedit. Therefor to cause the falts be mendit, or ellis gif him comand to do the samin on the Kingis expens, and mak him allowance thereof, and gif that failzeit, that na thing be laid to his charge."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, p. 296.



Queen's person, that she might be completely in their power, and Bothwell urged that it could be effected without any difficulty. In the vicinity of Falkland was a small wood in which stags were kept, and to which the Queen often resorted with a small retinue. It was proposed to surprise the Queen at this place, and murder Moray. This charge was promulgated in 1562 by the Earl of Arran, son of the Duke of Chastellherault, and who was then considered insane. Mary was alternately at Falkland and St. Andrews in the beginning of 1562, to avoid the feuds of Arran and Bothwell, her mornings diversified by hunting in the Vale of the Eden, or practising archery in the garden, and her evenings in reading the Greek and Latin writers with George Buchanan, or at chess and music. In February 1563, after her return from her northern progress, the Queen resorted to Falkland, from which she made excursions to places in the neighbourhood. She received at St. Andrews intelligence of the assassination of her uncle the Duke of Guise; and on the 19th of March she proceeded to Falkland, where she endeavoured to dissipate her melancholy by pastimes, and amused herself in her usual manner from the 3d to the 19th of April, when she removed to Lochleven. Mary was at Falkland in 1564, and in 1565, after her marriage to Darnley. Her last visit was after the birth of James VI.<sup>1</sup>

Falkland Palace was the favourite summer residence of James VI., who enlarged the park to the extent of three miles, planted the enclosure with oaks and elder-trees, and enjoyed the hunting of the numerous deer within its limits. After his deliverance from the "Raid of Ruthven," in August 1582, the King retired to Falkland, and summoned his friends to consult on the mode of relieving himself from the thraldom of that audacious attempt. In 1589 James VI. married Anne of Denmark, to whom he consigned Falkland as part of her dowry, which he included in his "Morning Gift" to his consort, and ratified by Parliament in 1593.<sup>2</sup> On the 17th of July, 1592, the turbulent Francis, Earl of Bothwell, made his second effort to secure the King's person at Falkland, and James VI., betrayed by some of his courtiers, and feebly defended by others, was indebted for his safety to the fidelity and vigilance of Sir Robert Melville, and the irresolution of Bothwell's associates. Bothwell was repulsed and fled, after robbing the King's stables, and carrying off many horses from the Park and the town.<sup>3</sup> In 1596, after the riots at Edinburgh, the King proceeded to Falkland, where he employed himself partly in hunting, but chiefly in his determined project to establish the Episcopal Church. The first act of the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy occurred at Falkland on the 5th of August, 1600, when the King was residing in the Palace, and preparing to mount his horse to pursue his favourite sport. The mysterious message was delivered to him by Alexander Ruthven, brother of the Earl of Gowrie, which induced him to ride to Gowrie House at Perth, and the result is well known.

After the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, the Palace of Falkland ceased to be a royal residence, or even the property of the Crown, and hastened to decay. Fairney of that ilk acquired the heritable offices of Forester of the woods and mairs of Falkland, Nuthill, and other lands, all of which he sold in 1604 to Sir David Murray of Gospetrie, Lord Scone, and first Viscount Stormont, for 4000 merks, the King having in November 1601, and in August 1602, granted to Lord Scone the lordship of the offices of the Constable of the Castle, Forester of the Forest, and Ranger of the Lomonds of Falkland, for his services at Perth on the 5th of August, 1600, the day of the Gowrie Conspiracy. Nevertheless the Crown held some interest in the property, as on the 14th of January, 1617, the Privy Council, to provide for the King's sports during his visit to Scotland, issued a proclamation "against the slaying of his Majesty's bucks" in the Park of Falkland, or which might be found straying in the neighbourhood, under a fine, varying, according to the rank of the trespassers, from five hundred to one hundred merks.<sup>4</sup> On the 19th of May, 1617, King James proceeded to Falkland, where he was complimented in the name of the burgh of Aberdeen with the presentation of a long Latin poem, printed in the "Muses' Welcome," which was the production of David Wedderburn, Rector of the Grammar School of Aberdeen, who received a gratuity of fifty merks. The King remained some days at Falkland, where he was on the 17th of July.<sup>5</sup>

In July, 1633, Charles I., after his coronation at Holyroodhouse, proceeded from Stirling by Dumfermline

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, 4to. vol. i. pp. 55, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iv. p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Historie of James the Sext, 4to. 1825, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Progresses, Processions, and Festivities of James I., by John Nicols, F.S.A., 4to. 1828, vol. iii. pp. 327, 328.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. pp. 328, 329, 330.

to Falkland, was three nights in the Palace, from which he went to Perth, and was sumptuously entertained by George, first Earl of Kinnoul, Lord Chancellor. He returned to Falkland, and after a residence of two nights, on the 10th of July he removed to Edinburgh, narrowly escaping from a violent storm in the passage from Burntisland to Leith.<sup>1</sup> In July 1650, Charles II., during his unsuccessful attempt in Scotland, resided in Falkland until the 23d of that month, and on the 10th conferred the honour of knighthood on Mr. Thomas Nicolson, Lord Advocate, in the drawing-room after supper. This was the last royal visit to Falkland, the estate of which was acquired after the death of Lord Stormont in 1631 by John Murray of Lochmaben, first Earl of Annandale, whose son James, second Earl, sold the property to John, second Earl, and first Marquis of Athol. His son and successor, John, first Duke of Athol, who died in 1724, sold the property to Skene of Hallyards in Fife, from whose family the estate was purchased by John Bruce, Esq., of Grangehill, who commenced a repair of the Palace in 1823, converted part of the edifice into an elegant and commodious residence for the factor, and embellished the adjoining grounds as an ornamental garden. The operations of Mr. Bruce may be considered a restoration of the edifice. He renewed the roof and the floors, opened the built-up windows, and the crevices in the walls were plastered with coloured cement. The work was completed after his death by Mrs. Tyndal Bruce, his niece and heiress, whose magnificent residence of Nuthill, in the Elizabethan style, was commenced in 1839, and finished in 1844. The Beatons of Cricch are said to have been the original keepers of Falkland.

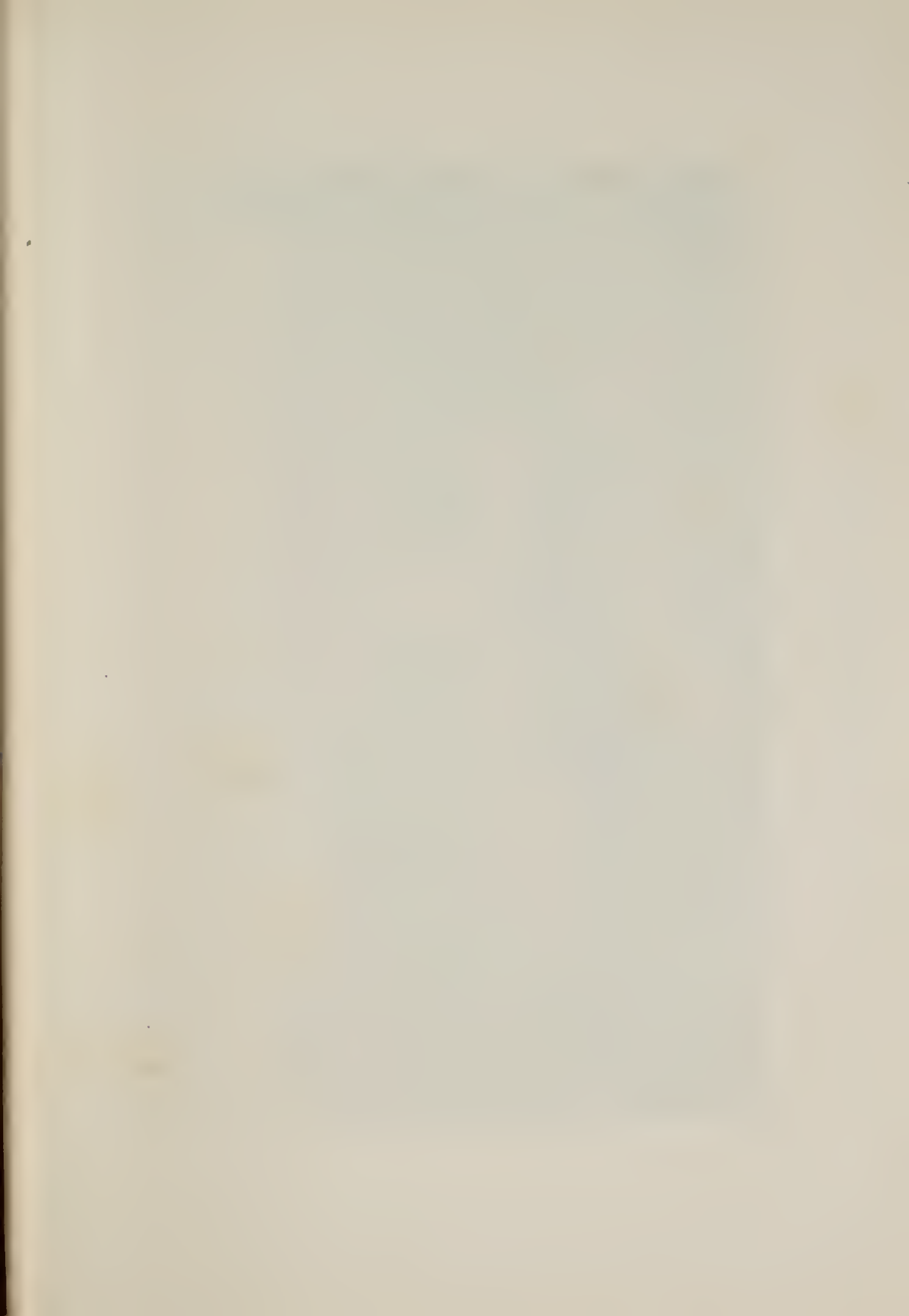
The Palace is incidentally connected with the Enterprize of 1715. After the battle of Sheriffmuir the celebrated Rob Roy Macgregor garrisoned the edifice, and laid the surrounding country for miles under contribution. Though within thirty miles of Edinburgh, he and his lawless followers continued their violent extortions for some time unmolested, and retired with valuable plunder.

The western external front of Falkland Palace consists of two circular towers, resembling those of Holyroodhouse. The south front is the oldest portion, and is still partially inhabited. On each floor are six windows, square-topped, and divided by mullions. Between the windows are buttresses, with niches for statues, the mutilated remains of which are still seen, and these buttresses are terminated by pinnacles rising considerably above the wall. The upper floor consists of a large hall or audience-chamber, the ceiling of which is carved and decorated in the most gorgeous style. The western front is in the castellated style, and of greater height than the two others. A lofty archway between the circular towers forms the entrance to the court-yard, and is secured by strong doors defended by the flanking towers. James V. made considerable additions, and appears to have erected two ranges of buildings of equal dimensions on the east and north sides of the court-yards. As completed by that monarch the Palace consisted of three sides of a square, the western side enclosed by a lofty wall. The buildings on the north side have disappeared, and the bare walls of the western side only remain. Those two portions were accidentally destroyed by fire in the reign of Charles II. James V. assimilated the inner front of the older part by a façade in the same style, ornamented with finely-proportioned Corinthian pillars and rich capitals, and above the windows are medallions presenting a series of heads carved in high relief, some of which are elegantly sculptured.<sup>2</sup> The view from the south parapet of the Palace is deservedly admired, commanding the Lomonds, green to their conical summits, the Strath or Vale of the Eden, and the Howe of Fife from Strathmiglo to Cupar. Some little knolls on a large plain on the east of the Palace are the memorials of islets in the now drained Rose Loch. Such is "Falkland on the Grene,"—as it is designated in one of the most humorous effusions of Scottish royalty, entitled "Christ's Kirk on the Green,"—abounding in delightful associations, its burgh one of the most curious and amusing in Scotland. It is unfortunate that the Palace is so close to the intricate and incomprehensible alleys as to preclude the possibility of enclosure, and the front forming one side of the public street.

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Balfour's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> In Slezer's "*Theatrum Scoticum*" two engravings of Falkland Palace fancifully represent the edifice as seen in 1690. One view, from the north, presents the interior court, and in the east wing all the statues are entire, two on each buttress, or one in the niche and the other in the capital of the pillar. The other is an external view from the east side of the town, and represents the east wing of the

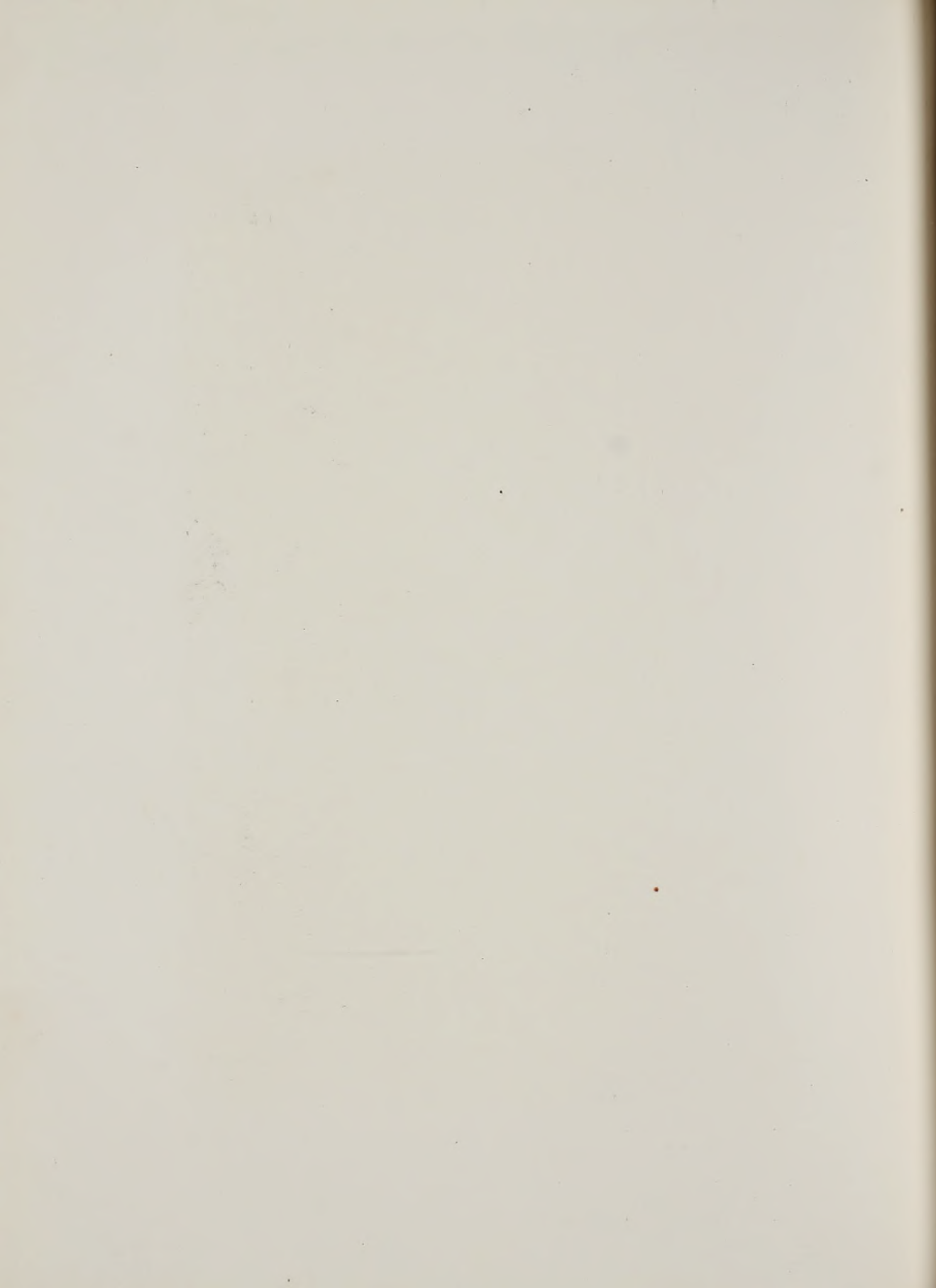
Palace as more entire than at present. Slezer introduces four carriages, one with six horses, one with four, and the two others with two horses, with a body of cavalry, and a company of infantry. He records that "the Duke of Athol is hereditary keeper of this Palace, and hath a considerable rent by the neighbouring lands and stewardry."







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## CHAPTER IV.

**R**OMANTIC grandeur, rich and varied beauty, picturesqueness and sublimity, are the distinctive features of the scenery of Scotland. The steep and stern summits that look down upon the traveller as he journeys onward through "the land of the Gael," the remote and solitary glens, the wild corries, the deep and dark tarns, the rivers, lochs, and sounding shores of Caledonia,

"Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,  
Land of the mountain and the flood,"

are the theme of wonder and admiration to all who behold them, and form favourite subjects of illustration to the poet and the painter. The "wild and majestic," as Byron happily phrased the character of its scenery, have their true home in Scotland, while its old historic castles and venerable ruins possess an imperishable interest from the traditions, national associations, poetry, and song, with which they are in many instances so inseparably invested.

Of many of the most celebrated of its scenes, descriptions have already been given in this Work. Of what remain, the autumnal residence of the Sovereign of these Isles, standing almost within the shadow of

"The steep frowning glories of dark Loch-na-garr,"

the mighty monarch of the Deeside mountains, claims the first place.

### BALMORAL.

THIS celebrated Highland residence of Queen Victoria and the Court during the autumn of every year, is six miles from Ballater, Aberdeenshire, and forty-eight from the city of Aberdeen. It is pleasantly situated on a sloping lawn, encircled by the river Dee, beneath the shadow of the mountain of Craigan-gowan. Its name is said to mean "the seat of the great Earl." Originally the property of the Earl of Fife, it was held in lease from his trustees by the late Sir Robert Gordon, a brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, who was for a considerable period British ambassador at the Court of Vienna. In 1848 it was acquired by Prince Albert. The additions and alterations made on the structure, principally by Sir Robert Gordon when resident there, have rendered its architectural composition peculiarly picturesque. The air of culture which the environs present, forms a striking contrast to the rugged face of Craigan-gowan to the eastward, the oak-clad steep of Craigan-darroch and the Pass of Ballater, with the gorge of Carn-na-Cuimhne and the dark pine-haugh of Invercauld, upon the west. Young shrubberies and trees cover almost entirely the grounds that strictly belong to the Castle, with the exception of the lawn and gardens between the front entrance and the public road, from which the Castle is at a considerable distance. The approaches from the east and west gates sweep down the bank in a semicircle, and meet together in the hollow below, from which, through the shrubberies and walks, there is a slight ascent to the house itself.

## GLEN SANNOX.

THE wild Glen Sannox, in the Loeh Ranza district of the island of Arran, Buteshire, from its solitary grandeur has been compared to Glencoe. It winds close round the north skirt of Goatfell, the highest mountain in Arran, and is celebrated for the sublimity of its scenery. Glen Sannox is the vale of the small river called the South Sannox, there being another streamlet of the same name, the North Sannox. At their mouths they are little more than half a mile asunder.<sup>1</sup> "Glen Sannox," says MacCulloch, "is the sublime of magnitude, and simplicity, and obscurity, and silence. Possessing no water except the mountain torrents, it is far inferior to Coriusk in variety; equally also falling short of it in grandeur and diversity of outline. It is inferior, too, in dimensions, since that part of it which admits of a comparison does not much exceed a mile in length. Perpetual twilight appears to reign here, even at mid-day: a gloomy and grey atmosphere uniting, into one visible sort of obscurity, the only lights which the objects ever receive, reflected from rock to rock, and from the clouds which so often involve the lofty boundaries of this valley." A church, dedicated to St. Michael, anciently stood at South Sannox, and its burying-ground continues still in use. In the vicinity is a monumental standing stone. This beautiful glen is separated from Glen Rosa by a rocky ridge, and is surrounded by high hills on all sides, while it is closed to the east by lofty Cirmhor and Ceum-na-Cailleuch, or the Carlin's Step.

## VIEW FROM THE SUMMIT OF GOATFELL.

THE surface of the Island of Arran, five miles south-west of Bute, and in the same county, is rugged and mountainous. The highest peak, Goatfell, called by the natives *Gaoth-Bhein*, or *Ben-Ghaoil*, "the mountain of winds," is variously estimated at two thousand nine hundred and five, and three thousand five hundred feet, above the sea-level. Composed of immense uoss-covered precipices, it is inhabited by eagles and other wild birds. The ascent may be accomplished with the aid of a guide in about two hours. The view from the summit embraces the coast of Ireland, and the mountains of Isla, Jura, and Mull, as well as England and the Isle of Man. The neighbouring mountains present a wild assemblage of bare ridges, yawning chasms, abrupt precipices, and every fantastic form of outline, while the profound gulfs between them are darkened by eternal shadow. The view towards the range of the Grampians, which is the one chosen by our artist, is magnificent.

## ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

THE town of Elgin, in Morayshire, consisting chiefly of one spacious well-built street upwards of a mile in length, pleasantly situated on an alluvial plain, on the southern bank of the river Lossie, is famed for its ancient Cathedral, the ruins of which stand conspicuously in the centre of the town. The only one of the Scottish cathedrals of the thirteenth century that had two western towers, it was the most magnificent specimen of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland; and in its original state is said "in extent, in loftiness, in impressive grandeur, and in minute decoration," to have exceeded even the far-celebrated Abbey Church of Melrose. Shaw, in his description of it, even ventures to assert that "Elgin Cathedral, when entire, was a building of Gothic architecture inferior to few in Europe." It was founded in the year 1224 by Andrew de Moravia, Bishop of Moray, in the style of his period, on the site of an old

<sup>1</sup> Both streamlets have in their channels extensive veins of a pure sulphate of barytes. In 1839, at the expense of upwards of three thousand pounds, a manufactory was erected for pulverising this mineral, and thoroughly preparing it for market; and in 1840, at a

quarter of a mile's distance, a quay was constructed, where vessels might take on board the produce. The quarry is situated about a hundred yards up the glen.





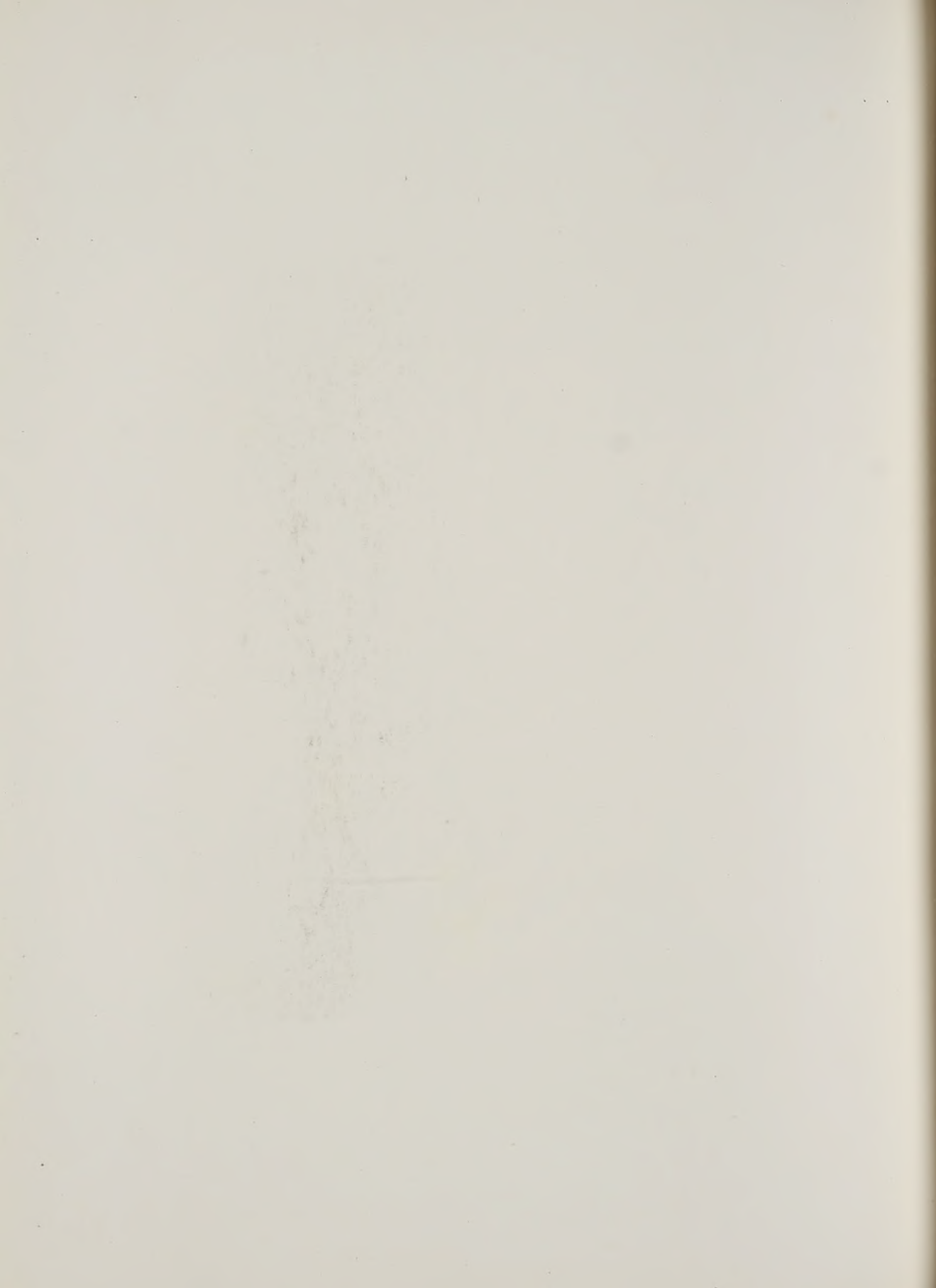




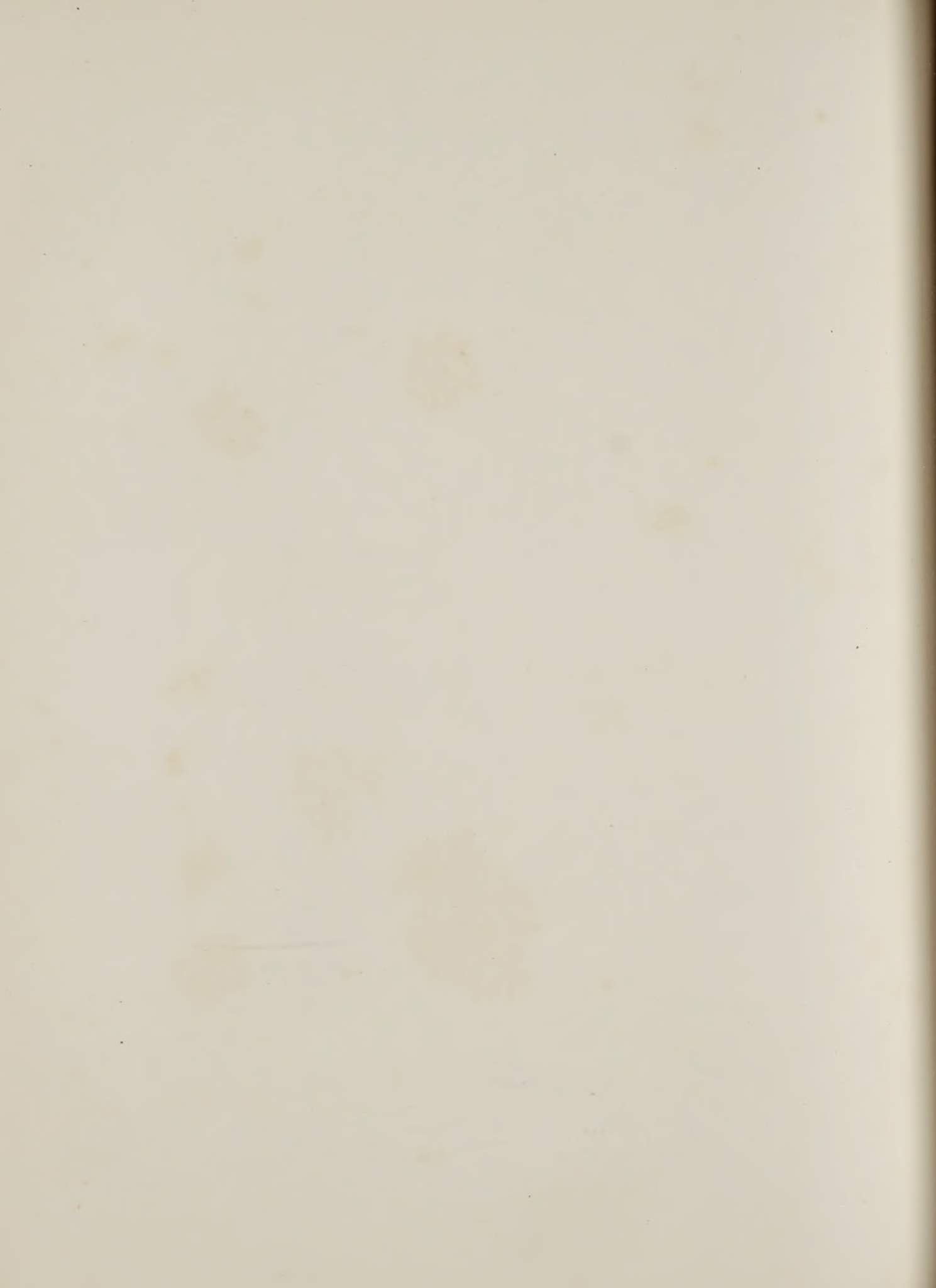
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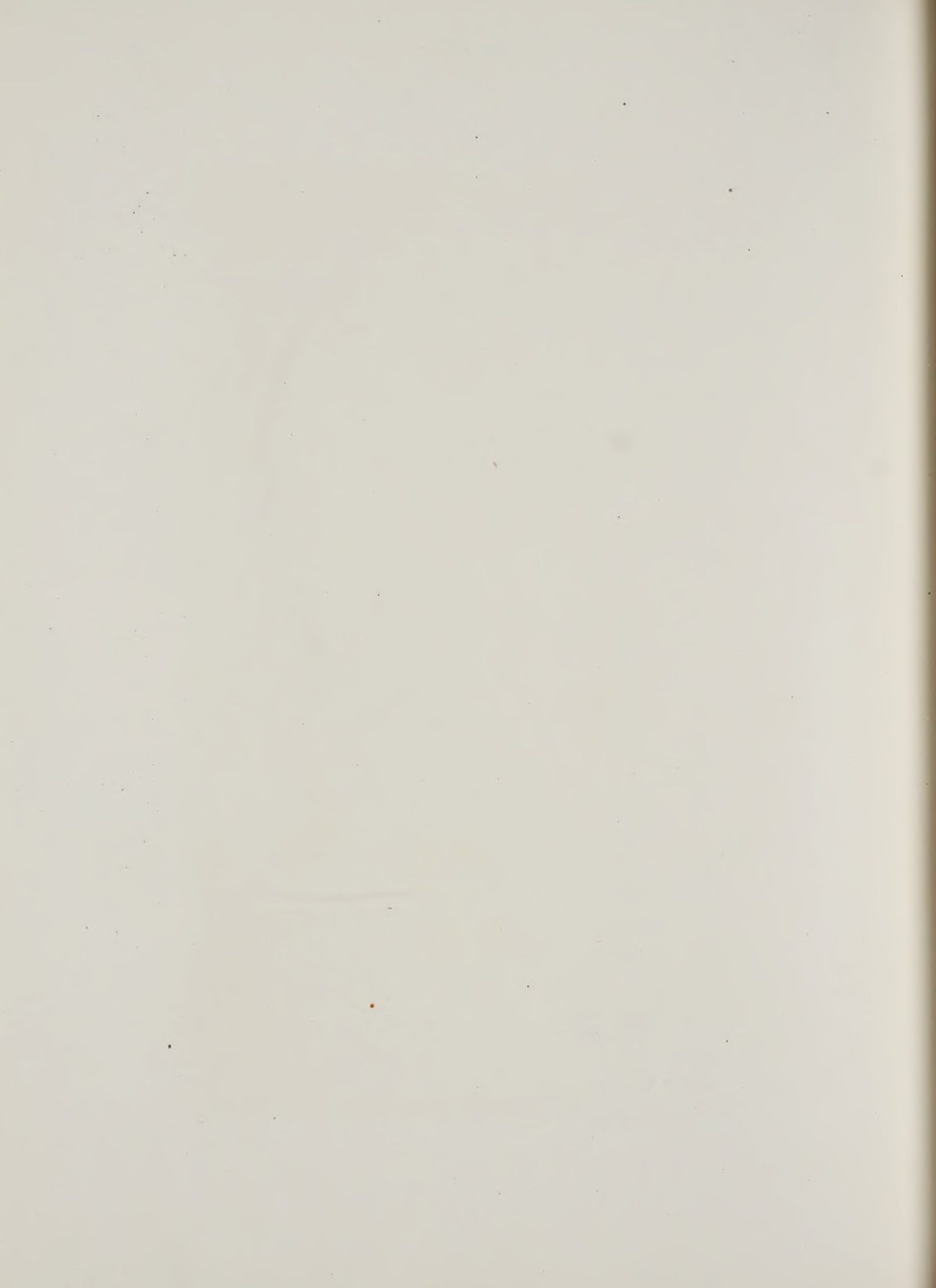




A VIEW FROM THE SUMMIT OF GANTHELL, ISLAND OF AFRICA

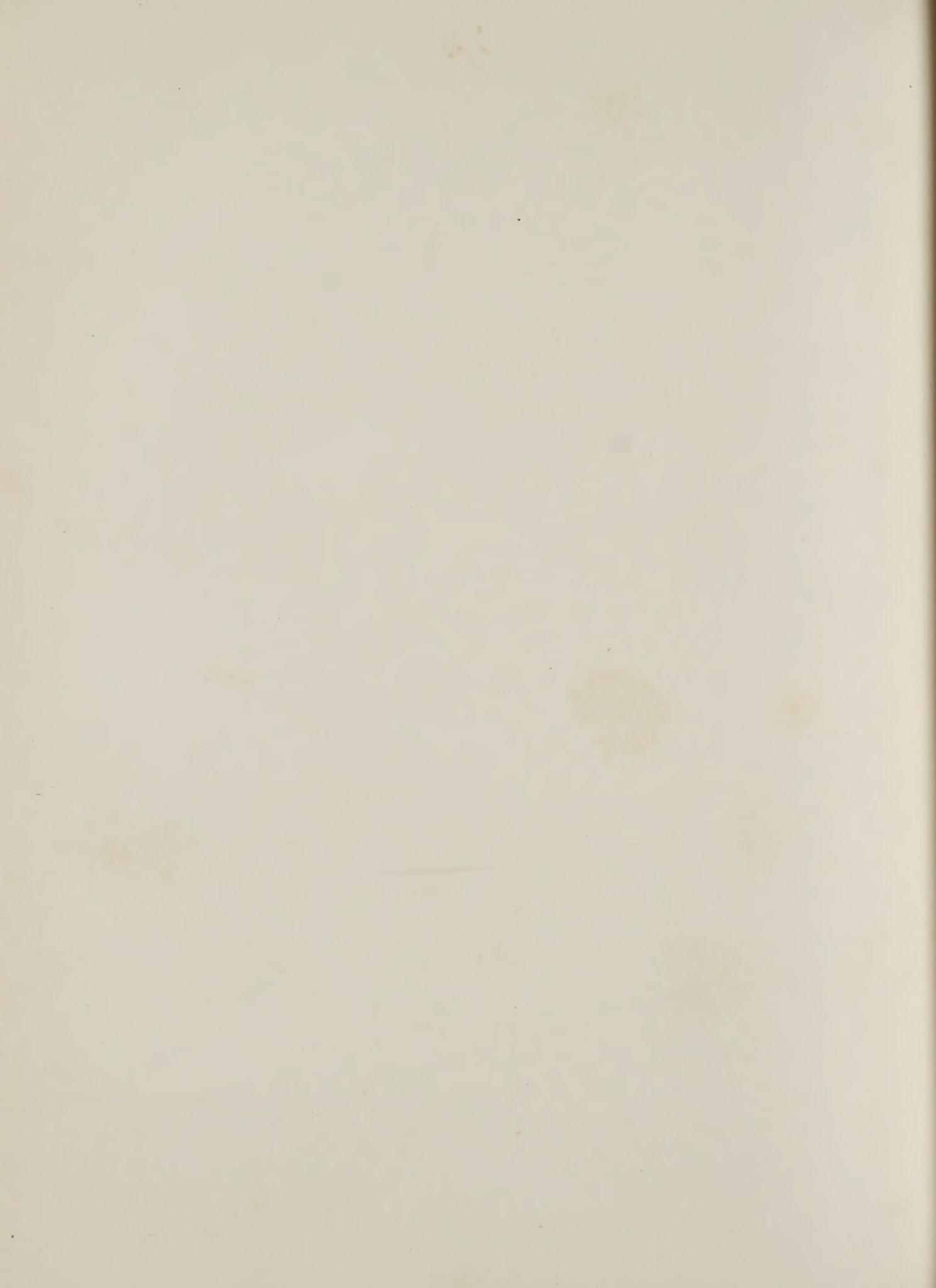
*From the summit of Ganthell*

JOHN W. MURDOCH LONDON











ELY CATHEDRAL

*View from the West*

J. H. G. M. R. H. AND S.



church; but after standing one hundred and sixty-six years, the original fabric was destroyed on the feast of St. Botolph, in June, 1390, by Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch, son of Robert II., usually called the Wolf of Badenoch, who, descending from the hills with a band of savage followers, gave the sumptuous Cathedral to the flames, together with the Parish Church, the Maison Dieu, eighteen houses of the canons, and the whole town of Elgin. The cause of this outrage was his having been excommunicated by the Bishop, for keeping violent possession of church property, and his only punishment was doing penance in the Blackfriars Church at Perth before the altar.

It was soon after begun to be rebuilt by Bishop Barr, and a third of all the revenues of the see for a time, with several royal grants, and yearly subsidies from every benefice of the bishopric, were devoted to this purpose. After being completed in 1506, the grand central tower fell down; but this, too, was repaired, and in 1538 it continued in a state of perfect preservation, till after the Reformation. Although it escaped the fury of the Reformers, who destroyed so many other of the ecclesiastical edifices of Scotland, it was subjected to a singular species of dilapidation, which was the remote but sure cause of its after decay. In 1568 the Privy Council appointed the Earl of Huntly, Sheriff of Aberdeen and Elgin, with some others, "to take the lead from the cathedral churches of Aberdeen and Elgin, and sell the same," for the maintenance of the Regent Murray's soldiers! The vessel with the lead had scarcely left Aberdeen harbour on her way to Holland, where the metal was to be sold, than she sunk with her sacrilegious cargo. After that period the Cathedral of Elgin, unprotected from the weather, gradually went to destruction, though its magnificent ruins still constitute the chief attraction of the ancient city.

The west gate, flanked with two massive but elegant towers, and the chapter-house, appended to the northern cloisters, with parts of the transepts, are all tolerably perfect, the whole displaying workmanship of the most intricate and exquisite beauty. The chapter-house is a most beautiful apartment, being an octagon, with seven windows, thirty-four feet high in the roof, supported by a single pillar of exquisite workmanship. The diagonal breadth is thirty-seven feet, and fifteen each side, within walls. Arched pillars from every angle terminate in the grand pillar, which is nine feet in circumference, crusted over with sixteen pilasters or small pillars, alternately round or fluted. It is lighted by seven large windows; and in the walls are niches, where the oaken stalls of the dignified clergy who formed the Bishop's council were placed, the central one for the Bishop or Dean, being more elevated than the rest. This apartment was richly ornamented with sculptured figures, and it now also contains the grotesque heads and other devices which occupied niches and capitals of the pillars in other parts of the church.<sup>1</sup> The most entire parts of the ruin, however, are the western towers. The great gate between these is ornamented with fluted pilasters; and above it is a central window, lancet-arched, twenty-eight feet high, and originally fitted up with mullions and tracery. The great gate-way, entered by a flight of steps, leads to the nave, which occupied the centre of the church; the aisles at the sides were separated from the nave by rows of stately pillars, rising up to support the roof. The foundations of these alone, and a few of the pedestals, remain. The spire of the central tower, as restored in 1538, rose to the height of a hundred and ninety-eight feet. The great tower fell in 1711. The dimensions of the Cathedral, which are said to be "nearly accurate," are as follows:—Length of Cathedral over walls, two hundred and sixty-four feet; breadth, thirty-five; traverse, one hundred and fourteen; height of centre tower, one hundred and ninety-eight; eastern turrets, sixty; western towers, without the spires, eighty-four; side wall, thirty-six. The chapter consisted of twenty-two canons, chosen from the clergy of the diocese.

The diocese of Moray, of which Elgin was the seat, was a very extensive one, comprehending the whole of the present counties of Moray and Nairn, and also part of Aberdeen, Banff, and Inverness, thus stretching "from the Ness to the Deveron, from the sea to the Passes of Lochaber, and the central

<sup>1</sup> This, like similar choice portions of other ecclesiastical edifices of the middle ages, is called "the Apprentice's Aisle," being built, according to the curious but backneyed legend, by an apprentice in the absence of his master, who, from envy of its excellence, had murdered him on his return (as in the case of the Apprentice's Pillar at Roslin); a legend so general, that probably it never did apply to any cathedral in particular, but originated in the mysticisms of those incorporations

of freemasons who in the middle ages traversed Europe, furnished with papal bulls and ample privileges to train proficient in the theory and practice of masonry and architecture; indeed, to such a common origin have the similarity of plan and execution so prevalent in the gorgeous cathedrals of the middle ages been themselves attributed.—Fullarton's Gazetteer of Scotland, art. Elgin.

mountains that divide the Badcuoch and Athol." The first Bishop on record was Gregory, in the end of the reign of Alexander I., or the beginning of the reign of his successor, David I. From this period till the revolution the see was filled by at least thirty-six Bishops, of whom twenty-eight were Roman Catholic prelates, and eight Protestant. Elgin now forms a portion of the united diocese of Moray and Ross in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

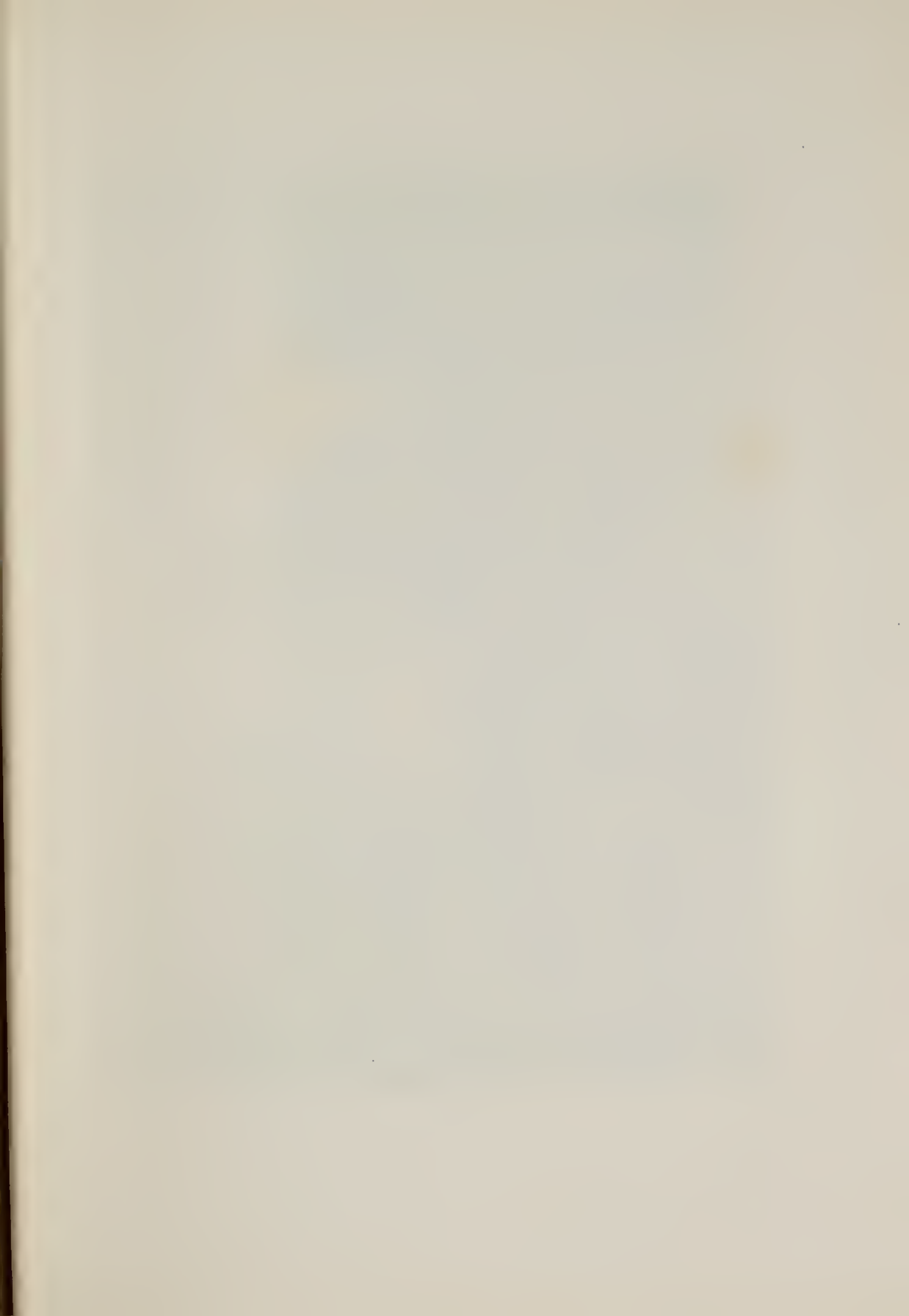
### DUNBLANE CATHEDRAL.

THE curious, old, decayed, and "dirty"<sup>1</sup> town of Dunblane, in Perthshire, situated on the eastern bank of the Allan Water, seven miles from Stirling, and nearly four from the Bridge of Allan, deriving its name from St. Blane, is celebrated for its Cathedral, and was anciently a seat of the Culdees, the earliest Christian clergy of Scotland. The bishoprick of Dunblane, of limited extent, was founded by David I., in 1142. The half-ruinous Cathedral, with its lofty square tower and long line of arched windows, a view of which is given in an accompanying plate, stands on an eminence overlooking the town. It is not known who built the first church, but Clement, Bishop of Dunblane, restored, or rather rebuilt, the Cathedral about 1240. The western doorway is surmounted by a magnificent lanceolated window of three compartments. Two rows of stupendous columns, still entire, extend along the interior, affording a promenade on the top of arches, surmounted by others. The figures of Michael Ochiltree and Finlay Dermott, Bishops of Dunblane of the fifteenth century, lie recumbent under window arches. The latter built the narrow bridge of one arch, by which the town is entered by the Stirling road. Full-length figures of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, and his Countess (1271), are cut in *alto relievo* on a gritstone block in the lobby of the vestry. The choir is kept in repair, and used as the parish church. Its magnificent oriel window is the finest object of the ruin. The length of the building is two hundred and sixteen feet, by seventy-six; the wall fifty feet high; and the tower, probably built at three successive periods, is one hundred and twenty-eight feet in height. Thirty-six seats were appropriated to the choir; and those of the bishop and dean, with thirty-two others, displaying curious oak-carvings, still remain, while in the nave most of the prebendal stalls are entire. Three blue marble slabs in the choir cover the graves of Lady Margaret Drummond, a mistress of James IV., and her sisters Euphemia and Sybilla, daughters of the first Lord Drummond, who were poisoned at breakfast in Drummond Castle, in 1501—it was thought by design of some of the courtiers, to prevent the marriage of the eldest with the King. The Cathedral sustained great damage from the mistaken zeal of the Reformers in 1559. The grand entrance, above which is a splendid window, now repaired, has suffered little injury. At least twenty-six prelates occupied the see before the Reformation, and seven Protestant bishops from that era to the Revolution. The bishop's palace, now only distinguishable by some vaults and part of its western wall, stood immediately south of the church, and overlooked the river. Its remains served as materials for building a house in the main street, near the Cathedral, for the valuable library, about one thousand four hundred volumes, bequeathed to the clergy of the diocese by "the good Bishop," Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, from 1662 to 1670, and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow. The library has been considerably augmented by various additions.

### GLEN FALLOCH

THE wide elevated valley called Glen Falloch, at the northern extremity of Loch Lomond, in the same county, derives its name from the Falloch, a rivulet of Perthshire and Dumbartonshire, which flows through it from Coilater—more downward. The Glen is overlooked by high mountains, the lower acclivities of which, as well as up the vale of Auld Churn, are clothed in plantation.

<sup>1</sup> An Englishman who travelled in Scotland about 1658 designates it, and not cumber our discourse with so inconsiderable a corporation, the town as "dirty Dunblane," sarcastically adding, "Let us pass by it."









THE CATHEDRAL OF BOURG  
FROM AN OPEN PLAIN BY J. M. W. T. 1806.







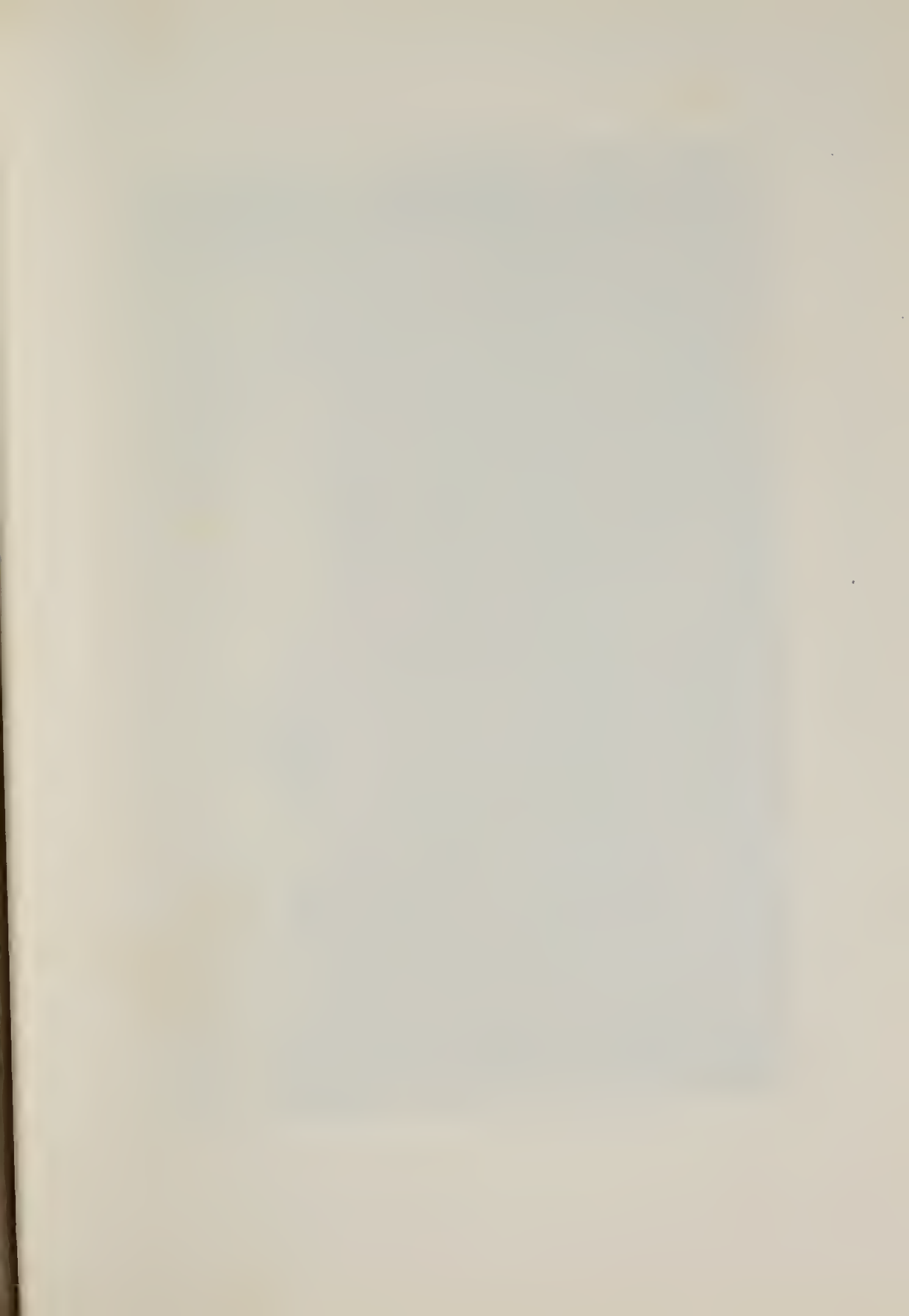


GLENY FALLOUCHI

*From an Original Drawing by G. F. Falloch.*

JOHN C. MURDOCH LONDON





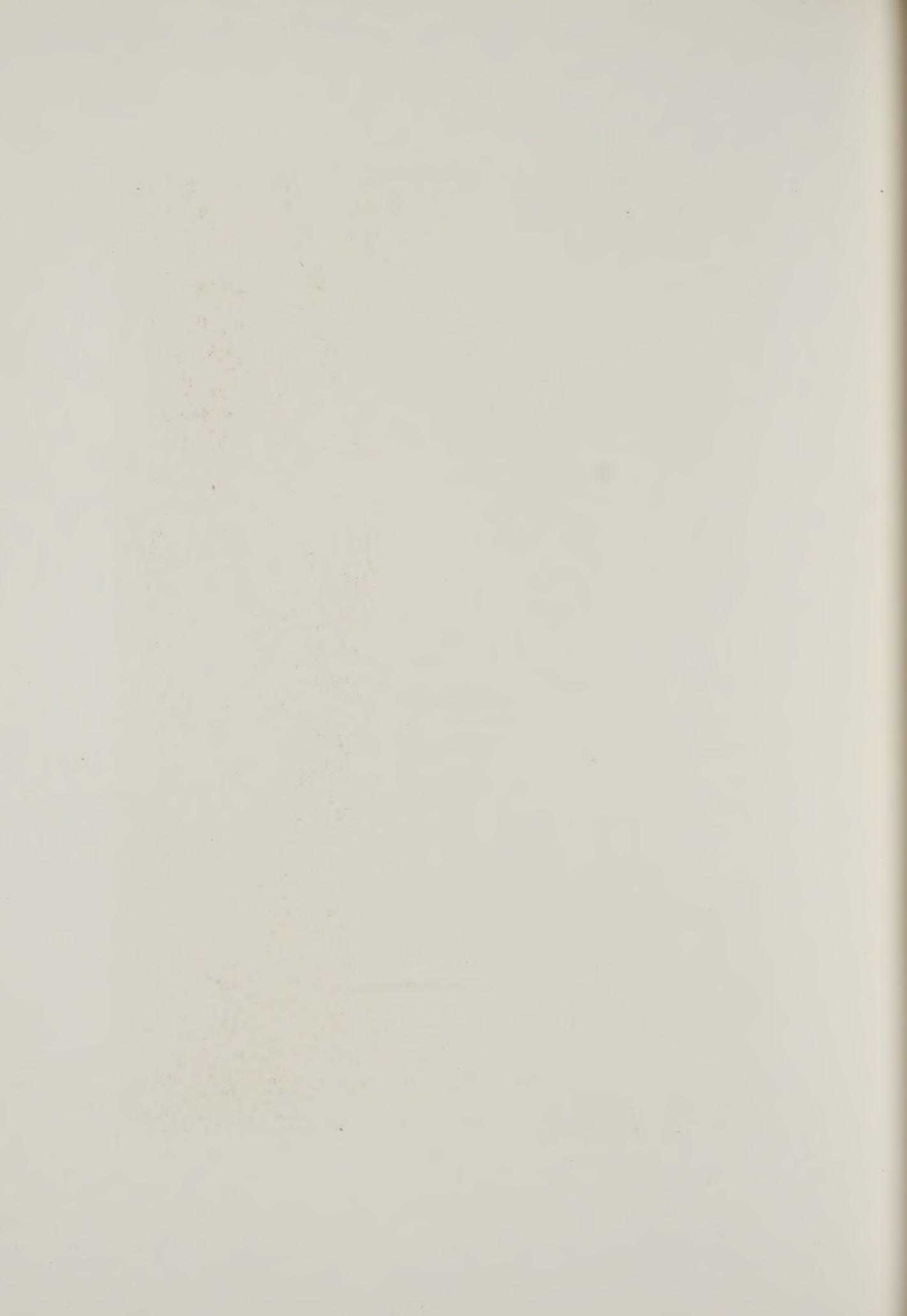






*View in Congoed Draw by H. L. ...*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON









P.A. 116 OF THE C. DEARLE  
From the *Original Drawing* by J. S. Murray  
JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



## BENMORE.

THE lofty double-crested mountain of Benmore,<sup>1</sup> or the Great Mountain, also in Perthshire, the view of which in the accompanying plate has been taken from Strathfillan, rises close to Banean, or "the mountain of birds." The former is three thousand nine hundred and three feet above the sea-level, and the latter nearly the same height. Benmore is in Glendochart, in the parish of Killin, and Banean in the parish of Balquidder. These two districts exhibit Highland scenery of a most magnificent kind, the mountains towering up almost perpendicularly from the straths and lakes. The huge Benmore is of a conical form, and rising in rugged grandeur to the skies, is an object of great attraction to the traveller, as is also the whole range of mountains to the head of Loch Lomond. One of the principal valleys in this district is Glendochart, extending ten miles westward from Killin village, of which Strathfillan, the scenery of which is of an uninteresting character, may be considered a continuation of at least an additional eight miles, a part of it leading in a southerly direction into Glen Falloch. Benmore was formerly a deer-forest, and is now a sheep-walk.

## THE FALL OF THE TUMMEL.

THE Tummel is the name given to the lower part of the northern great head water of the Tay, Perthshire. The Fall of the Tummel, considered the finest in Scotland, is approached by Garry Bridge, near the entrance to the wild pass of Killiecrankie, from the south. Though by no means so high as the Falls of Foyers and of Bruar, it is, nevertheless, equally grand, if not more so, on account of the greater volume of its water. It precipitates itself over the broken rocks with a fury and noise that astonishes and almost terrifies the spectator. The Fall of the Tummel and that of Foyers are both first in rank of the Scottish cascades, each in its distinct character; and though considerably lower than the Falls of the Clyde, the former very greatly excels them in its own attractions. The surrounding scenery is particularly fine. "It is peculiar, and a rare merit in the cascade of the Tummel," says Dr. MacCulloch, "that it is beautiful in itself, and almost without the aid of its accompaniments. Though the water breaks white almost throughout, the forms are so graceful, so varied, and so well marked, that we can look at it long without being wearied by monotony, and without attending to the surrounding landscape. Whether low or full, whether the river glides transparent over the rocks to burst in foam below, or whether it descends like a torrent of snow from the very edge, this Fall is always varied, and always graceful. The immediate accompaniments are, however, no less beautiful and appropriate; and the general landscape is at the same time rich and romantic, nothing being left to desire to render this one of the most brilliant scenes which our country produces." The Fall of the Tummel is only fifteen feet in height, and the river here is wide and deep. North-west of the Fall is a cave of difficult access in the face of a stupendous rock. Here a party of the proscribed MacGregors were surprised, and some killed. The others climbed up a tree growing out of the face of the rock, which their pursuers felled at the root, and precipitated them into the river, where they were drowned.

## LOCH KATRINE.

THIS magnificent lake, one mile from the western extremity of Loch Achray, situated at a level of four hundred feet above the sea, is about ten miles long, two broad, and in some parts nearly five hundred feet deep. It lies in the Highland district of the county of Perth, in the country of the clan Gregor, or, as they were called, the clan Alpine, beyond the great mountain-chain or barrier which separates the Highlands from the Lowlands. Forming the principal locality of "The Lady of the Lake," the publication of that poem in

<sup>1</sup> There is another mountain in Mull of the same name.

1810 made its scenery known far and wide, and it has ever since been visited by every tourist that comes to Scotland. The principal route to it is from the east, by the way of Callander, the road from which passes through the Trosachs. The name is pronounced *Ketturn* or *Ketturrin* by the natives of the district, the latter portion of the word bearing a near resemblance to that of many other places in the Highlands, the appearance of which is wild and savage.<sup>1</sup> Loch Katrine is the spelling of Sir Walter Scott, which has been generally adopted in the Lowlands. A somewhat fanciful derivation of the name is that which considers it to have been assumed from Cateran, a Highland robber. Near the western extremity of the lake the islets are thickly wooded, and on one of them stand the ruins of Macgregor's castle. East of the lake is Ellen's Isle, and opposite it, on the southern shore, and at the base of Benvenue, *Coir-nan-uriskin*, the Gohlin's Cave,<sup>2</sup> a deep circular amphitheatre or hollow in the mountain. Above it is *Beal-nam-bo*, "the pass of cattle," "the sublimest scenery," according to Scott, "the imagination can conceive." From Ellen's Isle the eye takes in six miles of water in length, by two in breadth. A curve in the mountain boundary shuts out the rest. Benvenue (three thousand and nine feet in height), the highest mountain which rises from the lake, and probably one of the most picturesque mountains in Great Britain, raises its thunder-cleft summits on the southern shore, while to the west the Alps of Arrochar terminate the prospect. On the north, Benan (the little mountain), one thousand eight hundred feet in altitude, bears its venerable cone to the skies. In the poem the two mountains are thus correctly contrasted:—

"High on the south, huge Benvenue  
Down on the lake in masses threw  
Crag, knoils, and mounds, confusedly huilt,  
The fragments of an earlier world;  
While on the north, through middle air,  
Ben-an heaved high his forehead bare."<sup>3</sup>

The chief portion of the water-supply of Glasgow is derived from Loch Katrine.

## DOUNE.

THE small but pretty village of Doune, in Perthshire, situated on the banks and near the junction of the Teith and Ardoch, has a market-cross and three modern-looking streets. A new and handsome parish church, in the Gothic style of architecture, erected in 1826, has an elegant tower. Doune Castle, celebrated in "Waverley,"<sup>4</sup> situated on an elevated peninsula at the junction of the Teith and Ardoch, is of a square form, with a central quadrangle ninety-six feet square, the walls forty feet in height and ten thick, and what remains of the tower rises to an elevation of about eighty feet. It was one of the largest castles in Scotland. The interior is accessible by outside stairs. In the entrance underneath the tower the defensive iron gate yet remains. The guard-house and black-hole are seen within on the right, on the left are the janitor's lodge and the thieves' bole. On the east of the quadrangle are the supposed remains of the chapel, and in the wall on the south appear two Gothic and two Saxon windows. The great hall, sixty-three feet long by twenty-five wide, is now roofless. The huge kitchen chimney is supported on a single arch, still entire. A stair leading upwards from this point bears the name of Lord Kilpont's stair. The story of this young nobleman is interwoven in the "Legeud of Montrose."<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> In Inverness-shire *Loch Urn*, or *Loch Urrin*, signifies "the lake of hell," and in Cowal, Argyllshire, *Glenurrin* means "hell's glen."

<sup>2</sup> The Urisks, from whom this cave derives its name, were supposed to be dispersed over the Highlands, each in his own wild recess; but the solemn stated meetings of the order were regularly held in this cave or den. These beings were, according to Dr. Graham, "a sort of lubberly supernaturals, who, like the Brownies, could be gained over by kind attention to perform the drudgery of the farm; and it was believed that many of the families in the Highlands had one of the order attached to it." The name literally means "the den of the wild or shaggy men," and Mr. Alexander Campbell conjectures that it may have originally only implied its being the haunt of ferocious banditti, at one time too common in the Highlands. "But," says Sir Walter

Scott, "tradition has ascribed to the Urisks a figure between a goat and a man; in short, however much the classical reader may be startled, precisely that of the Grecian satyr."

<sup>3</sup> Lady of the Lake, Canto i., Stanza xiv.

<sup>4</sup> The readers of "Waverley" will remember that it was to this fortress that the young hero of that novel was conveyed by his Highland captors after his escape from Gifted Gilfillan and his band.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Kilpont, son of the Earl of Airth, who had joined the royal army under the Marquis of Montrose, was assassinated in September 1644, by one of his own vassals, James Stuart of Ardvairlich, who had long enjoyed his confidence and friendship. His Lordship's father had frequently warned him against continuing his intimacy with this man, whom he always suspected; but he disregarded his father's injunctions,









L. O. CHILKOTTE

*Sierra Nevada Drawing by H. H. Chandler, Esq.*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON









1851  
R. A.











DUNFERMLINE ABBEY.  
*Shown in Original Drawing by J. C. Hill P. S. A.*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



baronial hall in the tower is a spacious room with vaulted roof, communicating at the south-east corner with the black-hole, and at the north-west with the Great Hall. A narrow staircase ascends to Queen Mary's Hall, and to a suite of hexagonal dormitories, terminating at the top of the tower.

The date of the foundation of Doune Castle is uncertain, but it can be traced to the fourteenth century, as being then in the possession of the Earl of Menteith. It was the castle of Murdoch Duke of Albany, beheaded in 1425, and a favourite resort of the Scottish monarchs. Hence, probably, the allusion in the ballad of the "Bonnie Earl of Moray," to the Queen's attachment to that unfortunate nobleman:—

"O lang, lang may his lady  
Look ower the Castle Doune,  
Ere the honnie Earl of Moray  
Come sounding through the town."

It was a frequent residence of Queen Mary, and of her son James VI. during his minority. In 1745, Rob Roy's nephew, Gregor Macgregor of Glengyle, the Ghlum Dhu, or black knee of the Highlanders, kept possession of it with only two hundred men, in spite of the royal forces stationed at Stirling, while Prince Charles Edward, its last royal occupant, was marching into England. After the battle of Falkirk he here lodged his prisoners, among whom was the celebrated John Home, author of the tragedy of "Douglas," then a young man, who had fought in the King's forces as a volunteer. Home devised means of escape for himself and his fellow-prisoners. During the night they twisted the bedclothes together into ropes, and thus descended with four of his companions in safety. With the fifth the rope broke, but the sixth, a brave young Englishman named Thomas Barrow, a particular friend of Home's, in dropping from the broken end, dislocated his ankle, and had several of his ribs broken. His companions bore him off in safety, and the Highlanders in the morning scoured the country ineffectually in search of them. The window on the west of the castle whence they effected their escape, is still pointed out.

### DUNFERMLINE ABBEY.

A VIEW of the ancient Abbey of Dunfermline, in the county of Fife, forms one of our Illustrations. From the ruins which still remain, some idea may be formed of its past grandeur, although, comparatively speaking, they are but a trifling portion of the extensive buildings of which the Abbey at one time consisted. The western portion, or nave, of the Abbey Church, is still in tolerable preservation. It was originally a cross church, and is a fine specimen of the architecture of the age in which it was erected. "It is generally said," observes Mr. Leighton, "to be in the Saxon style of architecture; but the more we have considered the subject, we are the more inclined to think that the style is Norman. There is no building in Scotland which can be denominated Saxon, and it is doubtful if there be any in England, except the crypts of one or two of the oldest cathedral churches, the bodies of which are themselves of later erection. Indeed, the principal difference between the Saxon and the Norman consists only in the greater height and elongation of the pillars, and the additional degree of ornament introduced."<sup>1</sup> The principal entrance to the Abbey Church is from the west, where there is a very finely enriched doorway in the Norman style. Above it is a handsome pointed window, divided by mullions and transoms. In the north side there is another entrance, from what is now the churchyard, by a porch of later erection, in the pointed style. The roof of the nave is upheld by a double row of splendid Norman pillars, from which spring round arches to

and put himself entirely under the guidance of this perfidious person. It is asserted that it was by his advice that Lord Kilpont joined Montrose, and that, wishing to ingratiate himself with the Covenanters, he formed a design to assassinate Montrose, or his major-general, Macdonald; but as he thought that he could not carry his plan into execution without the assistance of his too confiding friend Lord Kilpont, he endeavoured to entice him to concur in his wicked project. He, therefore, on the night in question, slept with his Lordship, and having prevailed upon him to rise and take a walk in the fields before

daylight, he there disclosed his horrid purpose, and entreated his Lordship to concur therein. Lord Kilpont rejected the base proposal with horror, which so alarmed Stuart, that, afraid lest his Lordship might discover the matter, he suddenly drew his dirk and wounded his Lordship mortally in several places. Stuart thereupon fled, and killed in passing a sentinel that stood in his way. A pursuit followed, but owing to the darkness of the morning he made his escape.—*Brown's History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 343.

<sup>1</sup> Swan's History of the County of Fife, vol. iii. p. 213.

support the upper wall, and at the west end by a clustered column on each side. A clustered pilaster, from which springs a pointed arch, also supports the upper wall. These columns likewise separate the body of the nave from the north and south aisles.

The outside of the building is ornamented by two heavy towers at the west end, one of which is surmounted by a spire, and the sides by heavy buttresses, characteristic of the style of the building. Immediately to the south of the Abbey Church are the ruins of the Fraternity or refectory, which formed the dining-hall of the monastery. Its south wall and the west gable are all that remain of it. In the latter there is one of the finest pointed windows in Scotland. The only other portion of the monastic buildings remaining is the gateway of the monastery, now called the Peuds, which exhibits a fine specimen of the pointed style of architecture. It is a massive oblong building, elegantly arched and groined, and constitutes a sort of port or gateway to the town.

On the verge of Pittencrieff Glen, and adjoining the highway, rise the grand and gigantic ruins of the King's Palace, Dunfermline, having been at one time the occasional residence of the Scottish Kings. Malcolm III., surnamed *Caen-mhor*, or Great Head, after his accession to the throne, resided chiefly with his Saxon Queen, Margaret, at the small square tower which still bears his name in the Glen of Pittencrieff. A few feet of grass-grown wall on a projecting bank of the rivulet in the glen, which flows seventy feet beneath, are all that remains of it. The time when the old tower ceased to be a royal residence is not known. At an early period, however, a castle seems to have been erected adjoining the monastery, with which it was connected by the pended tower above mentioned. Over the site of this castle stand the present ruins of the Palace. King James IV., who was more at Dunfermline than any of his immediate predecessors, appears to have either entirely rebuilt or greatly enlarged the Palace, and added to its height, as in 1812 a stone was found in the roof of one of the windows bearing the date of 1500. James V. and his beautiful but unfortunate daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, also resided at Dunfermline. Her son, James VI., previous to his departure for England, appears also to have frequently had his residence in the Palace. The window of the chamber still is seen, and a curious sculptured slab and cypher yet commemorate the event, where the unfortunate Charles I. was born. The birth of his sister, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, also took place here. In July 1633, Charles I. visited Dunfermline, where he held a court. In August 1650, Charles II. remained several days in the Palace, and here he subscribed the National League and Covenant. This was the last occasion of the Palace receiving a royal visit.

The origin of the Abbey Church is obscure, as is also that of the Priory. It is stated on the authority of Turgot, the biographer and confessor of Queen Margaret, that at her request Malcolm *Caen-mhor* founded and endowed a monastery for thirteen Culdees in the vicinity of his own residence, and with its chapel dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. The date of the foundation must have been between 1070, the year of Malcolm's marriage, and 1086, when he and his Queen made extensive grants of land to the church of the Holy Trinity, to which his sons Ethelred and Edgar also made donations of land. Alexander I. and his Queen Sibilla likewise conferred lands upon it. The former is said to have finished the church. David I., who ascended the throne in 1124, not only added greatly to the wealth of the monastery, but introduced into it a colony of the Benedictines, or Black Monks, from Canterbury in England; and to make the change of rules under which they were brought more agreeable to the Culdees, he raised it to the dignity of an abbey, having a mitred abbot for its head. About the period of the death of Alexander III., Dunfermline Abbey had become one of the most extensive and magnificent monastic establishments in Scotland. At this time, says the English chronicler, Matthew of Westminster, its boundaries were so ample, containing within its precincts three carrucates of land,<sup>1</sup> and having so many princely buildings, that three potent sovereigns with their retinues might have been conveniently lodged in it at the same time without incommoding one another.

The Abbey Church was long the place of sepulture of our Scottish kings. Malcolm *Caen-mhor* and his Queen, who, from her piety and benefactions to the church, was canonized under the name of St. Margaret, were interred in the old or western church, then the only existing fabric. In 1250 or 1251, Alexander III. caused the remains of the latter to be removed to a more honourable spot on the right

<sup>1</sup> A carrucate of land was as much as could be tilled with a plough in the year.









ST ANDREWS

*View from the Cathedral, drawing by H. Murdock*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



side of the high altar, within the eastern church. This was called "the translation of Queen Margaret." According to tradition, while the procession was passing, her boues, enclosed in a shriue of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones, balted at her husband's grave, and could not be moved till those of her consort, Malcolm of the Great Head, were also disinterred. Her reputed tomb is immediately eastward of the new church.

Margaret's eldest son, Prince Edward, who was killed with his father at Alnwick in 1093, Edmond, her second son, and another son named Ethelred, who was Earl of Fife, with King Edgar, Alexander I., surnamed the Fierce, and Sibilla his Queen, David I. with his two wives, Malcolm IV., and Alexander III.,<sup>1</sup> his Queen Margaret, and his son Alexander, were also all buried here. A greater than any of them, Robert the Bruce, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, was also entombed at Dunfermline Abbey, with his Queen Elizabeth, and his daughter Christina, the widow of Sir Alexander Moray. Their remains were all interred in the choir, which was long in ruins, and the site of which forms that of the present church. In digging for the foundation of the new church in 1818, the tomb of Robert the Bruce was laid open, and his skeleton found wrapped in lead. A cast of the skull was taken, and the whole of a stone coffin, which had been erected over it, was filled with melted pitch, and then built over with mason-work. The pulpit of the new church now marks the spot where all that remains of the patriotic warrior is deposited.

In 1303, when Edward I. of England overran Scotland, he resided in the Abbey of Dunfermline from the 6th of November that year till the 10th of February, 1304, and on leaving it, under the pretence that the nobles of Scotland had met within it for the purpose of devising plots against him, he caused his army to set it on fire.

As soon as the kingdom was settled under Robert the Bruce, the monastery was begun to be rebuilt, and appears speedily to have been restored to very nearly its former grandeur. At the Reformation the populace attacked and destroyed it. The last Abbot was George Durie, of the family of Durie of Durie in Fife, who held the office from 1530 till the destruction of the monastery. He died in 1572.

The Abbey was richly endowed, and derived part of its extensive revenue from places at a considerable distance. Kirkaldy, Kinghorn, Burntisland, Musselburgh, and Inveresk, belonged to this abbey. The monks possessed a monopoly of the ferry betwixt Queensferry and Inverkeithing, on condition that those belonging to the Court, as also strangers and messengers, should have a free passage across.

The town of Dunfermline, which owes its origin to the neighbourhood of the palace and the monastery, and which stands on an eminence of considerable extent, stretching from east to west, having a pretty steep and uniform declivity to the south, is distant about three miles from the sea, sixteen north-west from Edinburgh, six from North Queensferry, thirteen from Kirkaldy, and thirty from Cupar, the county town of Fifeshire. It derives its name from the Celtic words *Dun-fiar-llyn*, signifying "the fortified hill by the crooked stream."

## ST. ANDREWS.

THE ancient ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland, and the seat of a university and some richly endowed schools, stands upon a rocky ridge projecting into the sea on the east coast of Fifeshire, at the bottom of the bay to which it gives its name. It is a burgh of great antiquity, and has been the scene of some of the most memorable events recorded in Scottish history. A mile in circuit, it contains three principal streets, which are intersected by others of less dimensions. A fourth street, Swallow Street, exists no longer, having been converted into a public walk, called the Scores.

The city is most picturesquely situated, and at a distance has a very imposing appearance. Its most

<sup>1</sup> The old ballad of Sir Patrick Spens, beginning,

"The King sits in Dunfermline town,  
Drinking the blood-red wine,"

commemorates the sailing of the expedition which conveyed the Prin-

cess Margaret, the daughter of Alexander III., to Norway, in 1281, when she was espoused to Eric, king of that country, and the wreck of the ship on its return to Scotland.

remarkable relics of antiquity are the Tower and Chapel of St. Regulus, the huge ruins of the Cathedral and those of St. Andrews' Castle, the scene of Wishart's martyrdom and Cardinal Beaton's assassination, afterwards referred to. The Castle of St. Salvator's, called also the Old or United College, is on the northern side of the town, with St. Mary's, or the New College, directly opposite to it. The buildings belonging formerly to the third college, or St. Leonard's, are towards the east, near the ruins of the monastery. On the site of the Blackfriars' Monastery a splendid range of buildings has been erected for the Madras College, founded by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, a native of St. Andrews, one of the prebendaries of Westminster, and the originator of the Madras system of tuition. On his death, which took place at Cheltenham, in January 1832, among other munificent bequests for the purposes of education in Scotland, he left a sum of fifty thousand pounds in trust for the founding of a seminary within the city of St. Andrews, with which the English and Grammar Schools are now incorporated. The buildings are in the Elizabethan style, and form a handsome quadrangle, with a court within.

According to an early monkish tradition, which, like most others of the fabricated legends of the monastic chroniclers, seems to have had no foundation in fact, the city obtained its name of St. Andrews from the following circumstance:—St. Regulus or St. Rule, a monk of Patras, a city of Achaia, who had in keeping the bones of St. Andrew the Apostle, having been warned in a dream to convey them to a distant region of the west "in the utmost part of the world," obeyed the vision, and, in company of some other religious persons, set sail with his precious charge about the year 365. After passing through the Mediterranean Sea, and coasting along France and Spain, they at length entered the German Ocean. Overtaken, however, by a terrible storm, they were driven ashore near where the city of St. Andrews now stands, and their ship dashed to pieces on the rocks. Although they themselves got all safe to land, they lost everything except the bones of St. Andrew, to the miraculous power of which, if the story reads aright, and as they superstitiously believed, they owed their preservation. The tradition goes on to state, that being very successful in converting to Christianity the Pictish inhabitants, with their King Hergustus, the latter, as a mark of gratitude, bestowed upon them an extensive tract of land called the Boar-Chase, and also erected for them a chapel or religious house. The name of the territory where it stood was in consequence changed from Mucross, which it previously held, to Kilrymont, from the Gaelic words *Cil-rhi-monadh* (Latin, *Cella regis in monte*), "the chapel or cell on the king's mount." Subsequently it was also named Kilrule, "the cell or church of St. Regulus," which name it still retains in Gaelic.

For a second legend, as to the origin of this Chapel, Fordun is responsible. He states that in the beginning of the ninth century Hungus, King of the Picts, was engaged in war with Athelstan, a Saxon Prince, and returning to his dominions laden with spoil after having ravaged the country of his enemy, he was unexpectedly overtaken by the Saxons with a superior force near Haddington. In this extremity he made a vow to God and St. Andrew that if he were delivered from his enemies he would bestow on them the tenth of his dominions. This vow, having been victorious in the battle which ensued, he fully accomplished. The modern name of St. Andrews was not given to what was at first called Kilrymont, and afterwards Kilrule, till after the reign of Malcolm III., who ascended the throne in 1057, when the Saxon language began to be introduced, and he had divided his kingdom into four Bishoprics.

According to Sibbald,<sup>1</sup> the gift of Hungus, the Pictish King, to God, and St. Andrew his Apostle, was meant for the benefit of the Culdees, the earliest Scottish Christian clergy. It is certain that in the tenth century there was a religious house here belonging to the Culdees, of such celebrity that Constantine III., after resigning the throne, went to reside among them, and died their Abbot in 943.<sup>2</sup> It is also believed that one of the Irish *reguli*, or petty kings, became a member of this religious society, for it is said in the Ulster Annals, that in 1033 Hugh Mac Favertai O'Neil, King of Ailech and heir of Ireland, "post penitentiam mort. in St. Andrewes eccl."<sup>3</sup>

The origin of the Bishopric of St. Andrews is attributed to Kenneth Macalpine, who, on the junction

<sup>1</sup> History of Fife, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Wintown says,—

"Nyne hundyr wyntyre and aucht yhere,  
Quhen gayne all Donaldis dayis were,  
Beddis sowne cald Constantine  
King wes thretty yhere: and syne  
Kyng he sessyod for to be,

And in Sanct Andrewys a Kyldie,\*

And there he lyvyd yheris tyve,

And Abbot mad, endyd his lyve."—*Chronykil*, Book vi. c. x

\* Kyldie here means Culdee.

<sup>3</sup> Pinkerton's Inquiry vol. ii. App. p. 310.

of the Scottish and Pictish monarchies in 843, transferred the episcopal see from Abernethy to the Church of St. Rule.<sup>1</sup> The earlier Bishops resided within the college of the Culdees, by whom they were elected. They do not appear to have had any determinate diocese, but exercised their functions where necessary in the surrounding district. Previous to the reign of Malcolm III. there were ten successive Bishops of whom we have any account, beginning with Adrian, who flourished about the year 870. When Malcolm divided his kingdom into four Bishoprics, affixing dioceses to each, which he did about 1074, he gave to the Bishop of St. Andrews the supremacy, under the title of *Maximus Episcopus*, or Chief Bishop. His jurisdiction or see extended over Fife, the Lothians, Stirlingshire, the Merse, Angus, and Mearns. King Alexander I. bestowed upon the Bishopric of St. Andrews the famous tract of land called the *Cursus Apri*, or Boar's Chase; "so called," says Hector Boece or Boethius, whose fables and fictions have in a great measure formed the foundation of the early annals of Scotland, "from a hoar of uncommon size, which, after having made prodigious havoc of men and cattle, and having been frequently attacked by the huntsmen unsuccessfully, and to the imminent peril of their lives, was at last set upon by the whole country up in arms against him, and killed while endeavouring to make his escape across this tract of ground." This took place during the episcopacy of Robert, an Englishman (1122-1159), who had been Prior of Scone, and he is said to have attached the tusks of the hoar with great iron chains to the altar of the church. It was in this Robert's time that the authority of the Pope was first formally recognised in Scotland. In 1472 the Pope granted a bull erecting the Bishopric of St. Andrews into an Archbishopic, and subjecting the whole of the other Scottish sees to its jurisdiction. This was done with the view of putting an end to a pretended claim of superiority over the Scottish clergy by the Archbishop of York, which had been productive of many disputes and much ill-will between England and Scotland.

The Cathedral of St. Andrews, founded by Malcolm IV. in 1159, was not completed till 1318, and its ruins still trace the form of a Latin cross. It was destroyed by a mob in June 1559, during the early progress of the Reformation, in consequence of a sermon preached by Knox against idolatry.<sup>2</sup> "While entire," says Mr. Grierson, "the Cathedral Church had five pinnacles or towers, and a great steeple. Of the towers, two stood on the west gable, two on the east, and one on the south end of the transept or cross church. Two of these towers, with the great steeple over the centre of the church, have long since disappeared. Three of the towers yet remain, the two on the east gable, which is still entire, and one of those on the west. The other, it is said, fell about two hundred years ago, immediately after a crowd of people had passed from under it in returning from an interment. Large fragments of it still remain, which show the goodness of the cement with which the stones have been joined together. The towers are each a hundred feet high from the ground to the summit, and they rose considerably above the roof of the church. The two eastern ones are joined by an arch or pend forming the great east light of the church, till they rise above the height of the roof; and it is evident that the western ones have been in the same state when entire. From each of these towers, to within the Church, opened three several doors into so many galleries along the walls, which galleries were supported by pillars, sixteen in number on each side, and at the distance of sixteen feet from the wall. All that now remains of this once magnificent pile is the eastern gable entire, as has been said, half of the western, the south side wall from the western gable till it join the transept, a length of two hundred feet, and the west wall of the transept itself, on the south side of the Church. The rest is entirely gone, 'every man,' as Dr. Johnson expresses it, 'having carried away the stones who imagined he had use for them.'"

The Cathedral Church consisted of a nave and choir with lateral aisles, a lady's chapel, and north and south transepts. Its extreme length within the walls is three hundred and fifty-six feet. The original design of this church was in the Norman style, having windows with round arches, but during the long period of a hundred and sixty years that elapsed in its erection, a change had been introduced, and the

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan's History of Scotland, Introd. to B. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Tennant, the author of Anster Fair, in his clever poem entitled "Papisty Stormed" (Edinburgh, 1827, 12mo.), quaintly but graphically describes

\*\* The steir, strabush, and strife,  
Whan, bickerin' frae the towns o' Fife,

Great gangs of bodies, thick and rife,  
Oaed to Sanct Androis town;

And wi' John Calvin i' their heads,  
And hammers i' their hands, and spades,  
Enraged at idols, mass, and beads,  
Dang the Cathedral down."

more recent portions towards the west front are in the Early English style. In the south wall of the nave, and west wall of the south transept, are still to be seen the remains of thirteen windows, of which the six nearest the west are pointed, and the other seven round arched; altogether, the church must have been lighted by considerably more than a hundred windows of various sizes. The tower was likewise furnished, according to Martine, "with many fair, great, and excellent bells, which, at the razing of the church, were taken down and put aboard of a ship, to be transported and sold. But it is reported, and certainly believed in this place, that the ship which carried off the bells sank in a fair day, within sight of the place where the bells formerlie hung."<sup>1</sup> In 1826, the Barons of Exchequer caused the interior of the Cathedral, the area of which had been previously filled with stones and rubbish, to be cleared out, and various repairs to be executed, with the view of preserving what remained of this ancient structure. At this time three stone coffins were discovered projecting beyond the pavement where the high altar stood, and near them was found the skeleton of a man, with a deep sword-cut in the skull, conjectured to be the remains of Archbishop Alexander Stewart, who was killed at Flodden. This Prelate was the natural son of James IV., and in his eighteenth year was made Archbishop of St. Andrews, and subsequently Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, offices which he only held for three years, from 1509 to 1513.<sup>2</sup>

The Prioxy, founded in 1144, in the reign of David I., by Bishop Robert, already mentioned, stood in the vicinity of the Cathedral. This Prelate had been Prior of the canons regular of the order of St. Augustine at Scone in Perthshire, and he founded a monastery of the same order at St. Andrews. A subsequent Prior, John Hepburn by name, about 1516, built an extensive wall round the monastery and the College of St. Leonards, which he founded, most of which still remains. This wall, altogether enclosing a space of about twenty acres, is twenty feet high, four feet thick, and about eight hundred and seventy feet in length. It is defended by thirteen round or square towers at different intervals, on each of which there are one or two richly carved canopied niches. It has three gateways, and in several parts may be seen the arms and initials of the Prior, with his motto, "*Ad vitam.*" One of these has the date 1520.

Of all the various buildings (Martine mentions fourteen discernible in his time, 1685) once enclosed within this magnificent wall, only a few vestiges now remain. The cloister occupied the ground immediately south of the nave of the Cathedral, and formed a large quadrangle, in which the great fair called the Senzie Market was held for fifteen days, beginning in the second week after Easter. It is now a garden. The Refectory or Fraternity, which formed the dining-room of the canons, was in length a hundred and eight feet, and in breadth twenty-eight. Fordun relates that Edward I., in 1304, stripped all the lead off this building to supply his battering machines in a projected siege of Stirling. The vestuary formed the eastern side of the cloister; and east of it, and in a line with the south transept, was the dormitory, or sleeping apartments of the monks. East of the dormitory was the Chapter-house, and adjoining it, on the south-east, the *Hospitium Vetus*, or Old Inn, the residence of the Prior. The guest hall, or *Magna aula Hospitium*, stood within what was afterwards the precinct of St. Leonard's College, on the south-west side of the road leading from the principal gate of the monastery to the shore. Here pilgrims and other strangers were entertained at the expense of the monks. The New Inn, or *Novum Hospitium*, the last of the buildings erected within the monastery, was built in 1537 as a residence for Queen Magdalene, the first consort of James V., and was begun and finished in a single month. The Queen, however, never enjoyed it, for she died at Holyroodhouse on the 7th of July of that year, six weeks after her arrival in Scotland. The New Inn became the residence of the Archbishops after the annexation of the Prioxy to the Archbishopric, in 1635.

The ancient chapel of St. Regulus also stood within what was the precinct of the monastery. Mr. Leighton says, if we may judge from the fact of Bishop Roger, who died in 1202, and was a cousin of the King,<sup>3</sup> being buried within it, we would be inclined to think that it still formed the Cathedral

<sup>1</sup> Martine's *Reliquiæ Divi Andree*, written in 1685.

<sup>2</sup> On the floor of the east transept are four flat tombstones, of the respective dates of 1380 and 1513, on two of which only are any inscriptions. There is another in the garden of St. Leonards, of date 1502.

<sup>3</sup> He was a son of the Earl of Leicester, and a cousin of William the Lion, by whom he was made Lord Chancellor of Scotland, Bishop of Dunkeld, and afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews.

Church in the commencement of the thirteenth century. It was no doubt then, he adds, to the high altar in the Church of St. Regulus that Alexander I. brought "his comely steed of Araby, saddled and bridled costlikly," and caused with great pomp to be led round it, on the occasion of his granting extensive lands and privileges to the Church. The chapel which remains is about thirty-one and a half feet in length, by twenty-five feet in breadth, and has four windows, two on the north and two on the south. The tower is a square of twenty feet at its base and is a hundred and eight feet in height. In 1789 it was repaired at the expense of the Exchequer, and a winding stair built in the inside.<sup>1</sup>

The ground on which the monastery of the Dominicans or Black Friars stood, in South Street, ultimately became the property of Dr. Patrick Young, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, who granted it to the town as a site for a grammar-school. The late Dr. Bell, who has been already mentioned, obtained it from the town, and upon it and some other ground purchased by him has been erected the Madras College, in front of which are the remains of the north transept of the Chapel of this Convent. Judging by what is left, it has been an elegant building, in the Early English style of pointed architecture.

The ruins of the Castle are situated on an eminence overhanging the sea on the north side of the town, a short distance north-west of the Cathedral. The Castle was built as a residence for the Bishops about the end of the twelfth century, by Roger, then Bishop of the diocese, a cousin of William the Lion. From its strength it was often besieged and taken. In 1303 it was in the possession of the English, and during that year Edward I. held a Parliament in St. Andrews. In 1305 it was again in possession of the English, as it also was in the following year. In March 1309 Robert the Bruce convened his first Parliament here. Betwixt the years 1318 and 1328 the Castle was enlarged and repaired. In 1336 Edward III. placed a strong garrison in it, but on his return into England, a few months thereafter, the Regent of Scotland, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, in conjunction with the Earls of March and Fife, laid siege to it, while it was stoutly defended for Edward Baliol, the vassal king. Having been captured by the Scots, it was destroyed by them, as they had not a sufficient force to garrison it. Towards the close of the fourteenth century it was rebuilt by Bishop Traill, who was a son of the Laird of Blebo in Fife. In this famed ecclesiastical stronghold King James I. of Scotland resided in his youth, having here received his education under the direction of Bishop Wardlaw; and after the return of that monarch from his long captivity in England, he often visited Bishop Kennedy in the Castle of St. Andrews. Within its walls James III. was born, in 1453.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries St. Andrews acquired a fearful celebrity as the scene of martyrdom of some of the early Scottish Reformers, the most distinguished of whom were Patrick Hamilton, a nephew of the Regent Arran, who was burnt there on March 1, 1527, and George Wishart, also burnt at the stake on the 28th March, 1545. Two months afterwards, his relentless persecutor Cardinal Beaton was assassinated in the castle, which was kept in possession of by the conspirators till the following year, when it was besieged and taken by the French, and by them dismantled to a great extent. A few years subsequently it was rebuilt by Archbishop Hamilton, and became again for a time the residence of the Archbishops. In 1583 James VI. took refuge within it, after his escape from the nobles who were engaged in the Raid of Ruthven. About 1610 Archbishop Gladstones consented to its alienation in favour of the Earl of Dunbar, and it is now the property of the Crown. It appears to have fallen into a state of dilapidation about the time of the civil wars.

The University of St. Andrews, the oldest institution of the kind in Scotland, was founded by Bishop Wardlaw in 1411. It consisted at one period of three colleges, St. Salvator's, founded by Bishop Kennedy in 1455, St. Leonard's, founded by the Prior Hepburn in 1512, and St. Mary's College, founded by Archbishop Beaton, uncle of the Cardinal of that name, in 1537. In 1747, St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's were joined in one, under the designation of the United College.

<sup>1</sup> History of the County of Fife, vol. iii. p. 23.

## GLAMMIS CASTLE.

THIS magnificent Gothic pile, one of the finest specimens of castellated architecture in Scotland, the seat of the Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, stands amidst old majestic woods, about a mile north of the village of Glamis, Forfarshire, at the confluence of the Glamis Burn and the river Dean. The central tower of the castle rises a hundred feet in height, and is evidently of considerable antiquity. The rest is a modernised building, designed by Inigo Jones, and executed by Patrick, third Earl of Kinghorne, and first Earl of Strathmore.<sup>1</sup> At one of the angles there is another tower, which contains a spiral staircase, exclusive of a number of small turrets, with conical roofs. There are also four large wings, chiefly modern additions. The interior contains many remarkable paintings, and a museum, exceedingly rich in ancient curiosities, particularly old armour. A secret room is also mentioned, which is known to only two, or at most three individuals, who are bound not to reveal its precise locality, but to their successors.

Of this princely baronial mansion there are no records prior to the eleventh century. It is first noticed in connexion with the death of Malcolm II., who, according to tradition, was murdered in the castle in the year 1031, although Pinkerton contends that he died a natural death.<sup>2</sup> A passage or room in the centre of the principal tower is shown where the bloody act is said to have been perpetrated. It is also traditionally affirmed that his murderers in their flight lost themselves in the darkness, and as the ground was covered with snow, they entered on the Loch of Forfar, and the ice breaking, all perished.<sup>3</sup>

The Castle of Glamis came into possession of the family by being, with the King's lands of the Thanedom of Glamis, conferred on Sir John Lyon, ancestor of the Earls of Strathmore, on his marriage with the Princess Jane, second daughter of Robert II.

## CORRA LINN.

THE Falls of the Clyde, in the neighbourhood of Lanark, the county town of Lanarkshire, are three in number, viz. Bonnington Linn, thirty feet; Corra Linn (the most majestic of them all, and the subject of the accompanying plate), eighty-four feet in sheer descent; and Stonchyses, eighty feet.

After following a circuitous route, Corra Linn, a dark silent mass of water, is dashed from one ledge of a shelving rock to another, so as to form three different leaps, chafed white with the violence of the descent, and accompanied with a strange hoarse roar that is heard at some distance. Nothing can surpass the striking and stupendous appearance of this cataract, placed as it is amid the most superb scenery of woods and rocks. The ruins which nod upon the beetling cliff above are those of Corehouse Castle, the ancient residence of an old family named Bannatyne. The mansion of the modern proprietors of Corehouse is visible on the opposite bank of the river. Seen from below, the rainbow produced by the light refracted through the spray is indescribably beautiful.<sup>4</sup>

Corra Linn is said to derive its name from the fate of Corra, daughter of one of the Kings of Strathclyde, who, by her horse taking fright, was accidentally precipitated into the surging flood beneath.

<sup>1</sup> One of the wings has been renovated since the beginning of the present century, and other additions made, but not in harmony with Earl Patrick's repairs.

<sup>2</sup> Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Fordun's account is more probable. He states that the King was mortally wounded, in a skirmish in the neighbourhood, by some of the adherents of Kenneth V.—*Scoti-Chron.* b. 4, c. 46. To the eastward of the village, within a wood near Thornton, there is a large cairn of stones surrounding an ancient obelisk, which is called King Malcolm's grave-stone.

<sup>4</sup> This is aptly alluded to in a stanza in Dr. Bowring's poem on the Falls of the Clyde:—

“ And I have worshipp'd Corra Linn,  
Clyde's most majestic daughter;  
And those eternal rainbows seen,  
That arch the foaming water;  
And I have owned that lovely queen,  
And cheerful fealty brought her.”









*View of Regent's Park - Surrey by J. G. Mukdoch*

JOHN G. MUKDOCH LONDON









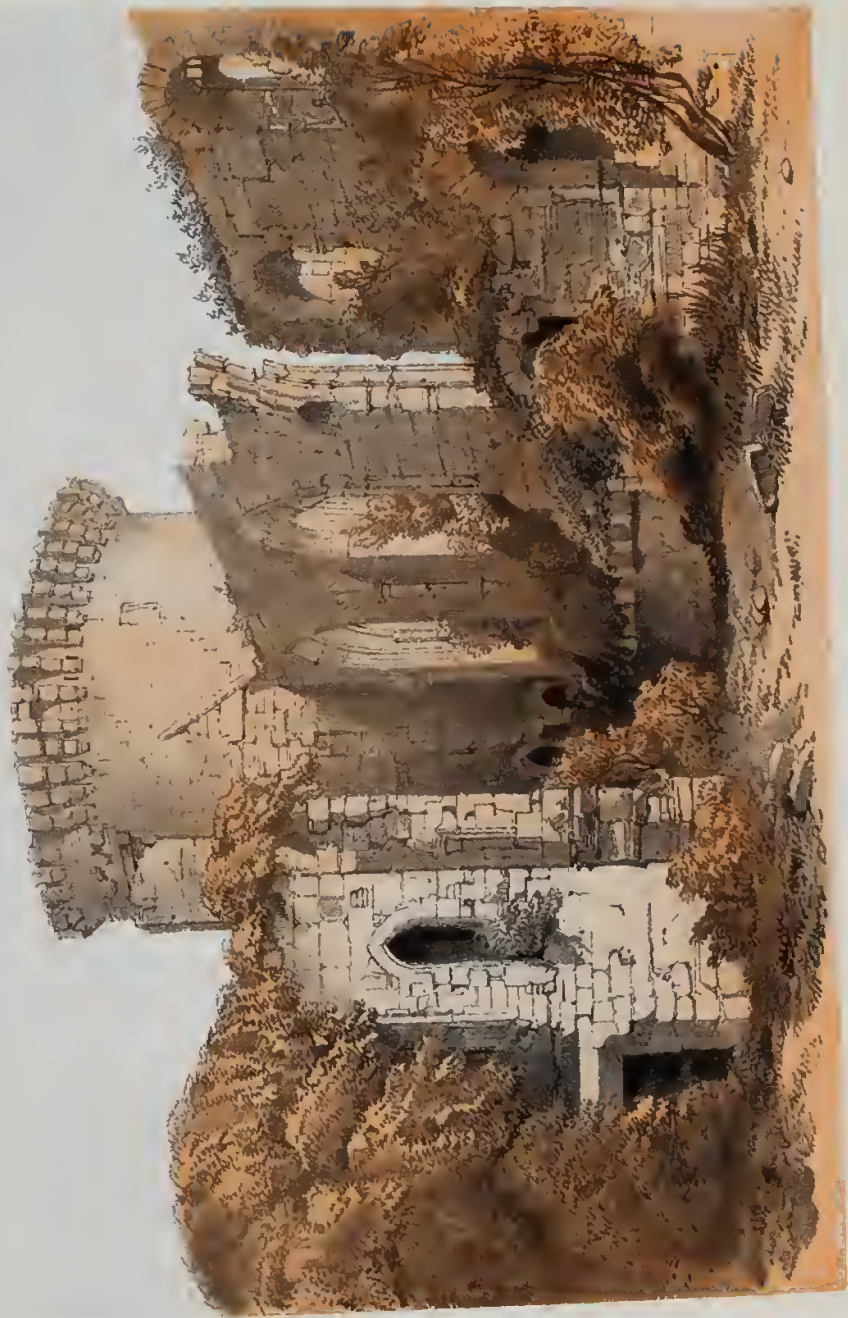
CLIFFS AT FALLS OF THE GREAT FALLS  
you may find  
THEY











15. OUBI WELJUL CASTLE

Apr 21 1891 - 1/2 way of 1/2 1/2

W. & M. BUCHANAN









VIEW OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE MOUNTAIN

Painted by J. M. W. Turner

1845











DUNDEERAWIE CASTLE.

*From an Original Drawing by C. M. J. Phillips.*

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



## BOTHWELL CASTLE, LANARKSHIRE.

THIS ancient and noble structure, the former feudal fortress of the Douglasses, is one of the grandest baronial ruins in Scotland. It is picturesquely situated on an eminence called Bothwell Bank, on the north bank of the Clyde, here a broad river; and on a crag opposite are the fragments of the priory of Blantyre.<sup>1</sup> In the vicinity is Bothwell Bridge, famous for the conflict of the Covenanters with the royal troops in 1679. What remains of Bothwell Castle occupies a space of two hundred and thirty-four feet in length, and ninety-nine in breadth, having two lofty flanking towers on the east, and a great tower on the west. The walls are upwards of fifteen feet in thickness, and in some places sixty feet in height, built of a kind of red grit or friable sandstone. A staircase, yet tolerably entire, in the highest tower, and at a fearful height from the bed of the river, affords a view of great extent and beauty towards the west. The interior area of the Castle is converted into a bowling-green and flower-garden. The Chapel has a number of small windows and two large ones towards the south, which also has a chamber of state adjoining to it. The old well of the Castle, in the corner of one of the towers, penetrating through the rock to an excellent spring, was only discovered about the beginning of the present century. The entrance to the Castle is from the north, nearly in the centre of the wall, and vestiges of the fosse are yet visible. In the front wall is a circular cavern, about twenty feet deep and twelve feet in diameter, familiarly known as *Wallace's Beef Barrel*, evidently the donjon pit or prison. The modern mansion of Bothwell Castle, the seat of Lord Douglas, in the immediate vicinity, is a large and stately edifice, with no architectural pretensions.

## VIEW OF THE CLYDE FROM ERSKINE FERRY, RENFREWSHIRE.

AT Erskine Ferry, ten miles from Glasgow, the Clyde greatly increases in breadth, and at this point presents much of the beautiful and picturesque scenery for which that river is celebrated. In the distance down the Clyde, bold and rugged, towers the castle rock of Dunbarton, while on the rising ground to the left is Erskine House, the magnificent seat of Lord Blantyre, by whose ancestors the estate of Erskine<sup>2</sup> was acquired in 1703. The building, which is in the Elizabethan style, and presents a fine appearance from the river, was commenced by Robert Walter Stuart, eleventh Lord Blantyre, who was accidentally killed while looking out of the window of his hotel at Brussels, during the commotions in that city in September 1830. A handsome obelisk, erected to his memory by the nobility and gentry of the country, forms a striking and appropriate accessory to the scene.

## DUNDERAWE CASTLE.

DUNDERAWE CASTLE, in the united parishes of Loch-goil-head and Kilmorich, Argyleshire, the Gaelic name of which is Dunderauch, signifying "the fort of the two oars," situated upon a headland, is now

<sup>1</sup> Lennox's love to Blantyre and Bothwell Banks must be familiar to the admirers of Scottish music: we have still the first, but the title of the latter only remains with us. Leyden, in his "Scottish Muse, an Ode," thus alludes to Bothwell Banks:—

"And thus, the exiled Scotian maid,  
By fond alluring love betray'd  
To visit Syria's date-crown'd shore,  
In plaintive strains, that sooth'd despair,  
Did 'Bothwell's banks that bloom so fair,'  
And scenes of early youth, deplore."

This he illustrates by an interesting extract from *Verstigan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*—ANTWERP, 1605. How a Scottish maiden had wandered to Venice, and from thence near to Jerusalem, where she

became the wife of an officer in the Turkish army; when an Englishman (more probably a Scotsman) found her caressing her infant, singing to it *Bothwell Bank, thou bloomest fair*—which so astonished him, that he went up to her, and addressed her in her native language. They were mutually delighted to meet with each other; and the Scotchwoman told him that her husband was absent, but would soon return, and entreated him to stay, with which he complied. "And she, for country sake, to show herself the more kind and hountiful unto him, told her husband, at his home-coming, that the gentleman was her kinsman; whereupon her husband entertained him very kindly, and at his departure gave him divers things of good value."

<sup>2</sup> From the British *ir-isgyr*, "the green rising ground."

wholly in ruins. It was a large and strong tower, of an irregular figure. The access to it by land being very difficult and bad, the most frequent communication would probably be by boats; hence its name. This fortress, built in 1596, was once the seat of the M'Naughtons.

### LOCH LEVEN.

LOCH LEVEN,<sup>1</sup> an arm of the sea on the west coast of the Highlands, extends between the counties of Inverness and Argyll in a straight line inland from Loch Linnhe, and forms, as Dr. Macculloch says, "from its mouth to its further extremity, a distance of twelve miles, one continued succession of landscapes on both sides." On the Argyllshire side is Ballachulish, with its slate quarries, while the huge cone of the Pass of Glencoe is seen overhanging the Loch upon the south.

In the basin of Loch Leven are several islets. One of these, St. Mungo's Isle, marked by the ruins of a chapel, and long used as a burial-place, is divided into two distinct knolls, allocated to the people of Glencoe and Lochaber, whose dust is not permitted to commingle. The Lochaber Knoll, however, was that in which the remains of M'Ian of Glencoe were interred, secretly and in dread, by the only survivors of the massacre of Glencoe, referred to in the following article. Thirty years afterwards his descendants removed the remains to the Glencoe Knoll.

Macculloch says,—“Those who have written about Glencoe forget to write about Loch Leven, and those who occupy a day in wandering from the inns at Ballachulish through its strange and rocky valley, forget to open their eyes upon those beautiful landscapes which surround them on all sides, and which render Loch Leven a spot that Scotland does not often exceed, either in its interior lakes or its maritime inlets.”

### GLENCOE.

THIS far-famed valley, one of the wildest and most gloomy defiles in the whole Highlands, the scene of the infamous massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe in January, 1692, by order of William III., lies in the district of Appin, Argyllshire, near the head of Loch Etive, and extends from Ballachulish in a south-east direction ten miles. Lofty, sharp, and serrated precipices rise in frightful and savage nakedness on the north; and even the more rounded mountains which soar bold and high on the south, project irregularly into the glen. In many places the mountains seem to hang over towards each other—the deep furrows worn by the winter torrents, adding to their singularity. Silence and desolation everywhere prevail, the former at times broken by the shrill scream of a solitary eagle, “or savage raven's deep and hollow cry.”

The old house, the scene of the massacre, is a perfect ruin.

### LOCH ECK.

In the centre of the district of Cowal, Argyllshire, lies Loch Eck, the scenery around which is exceedingly beautiful. The Loch is about six miles long, and scarcely half a mile broad. The mountains around it are not lofty, but they are all finely formed, and present a graceful and varied outline, many sloping gently down towards the water, while others are precipitous and rocky.

<sup>1</sup> There is another Loch Leven in Kinross-shire, on an island in which Queen Mary was confined.









THE GREAT MOUNTAINS, 1850. THE GREAT MOUNTAINS, 1850.

THE GREAT MOUNTAINS, 1850. THE GREAT MOUNTAINS, 1850.

THE GREAT MOUNTAINS, 1850.









GLACIER GROUP.

CHS. - HILL - BUCKEN











LOCH ECK.

*Scene on Crags and Drawing by H. Mac Culloch. No. 14*

JOHN A. MURDOCH LONDON









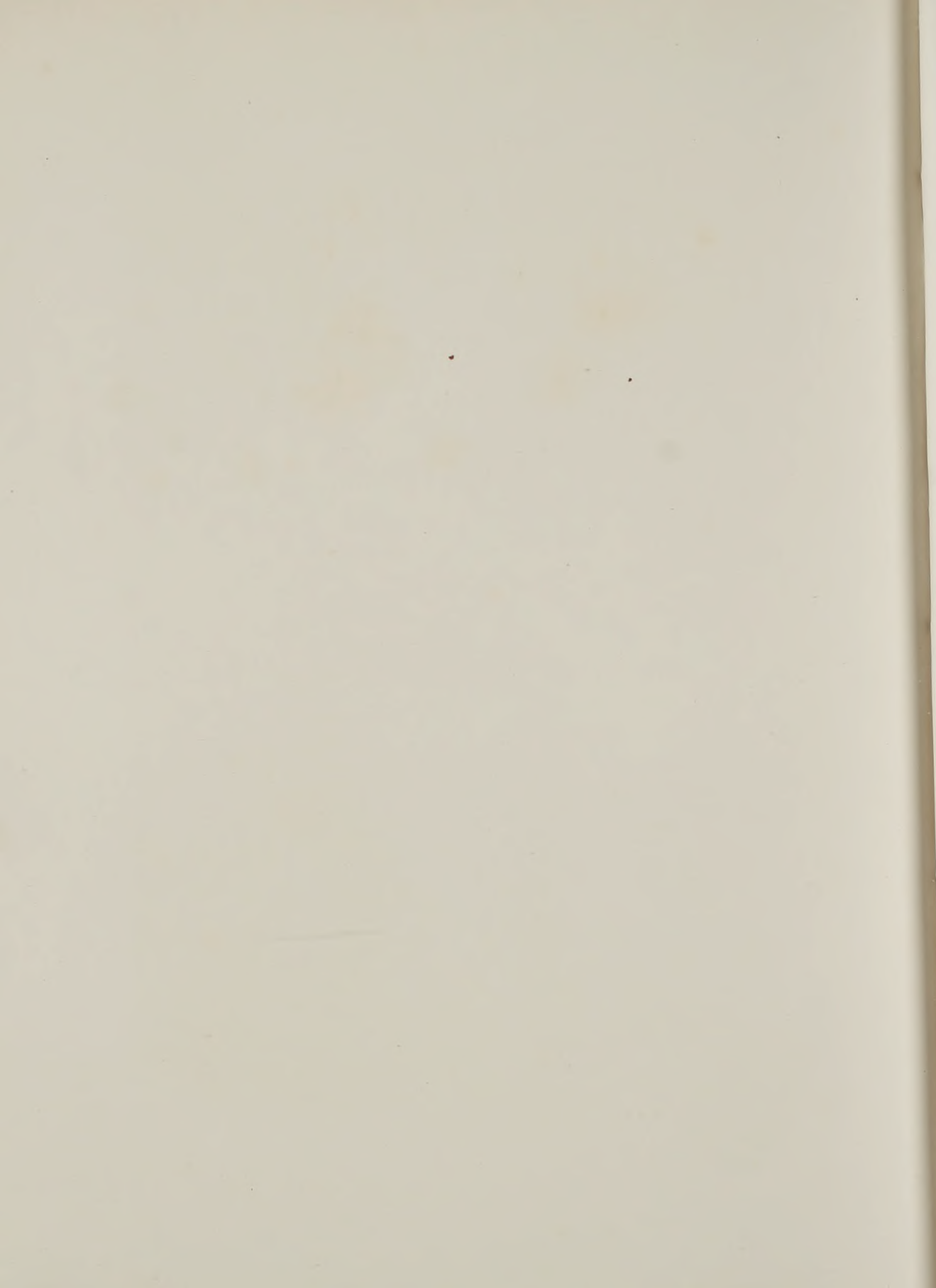
STIRLING CASTLE.

From the Capital Engraving by G. A. Wilson

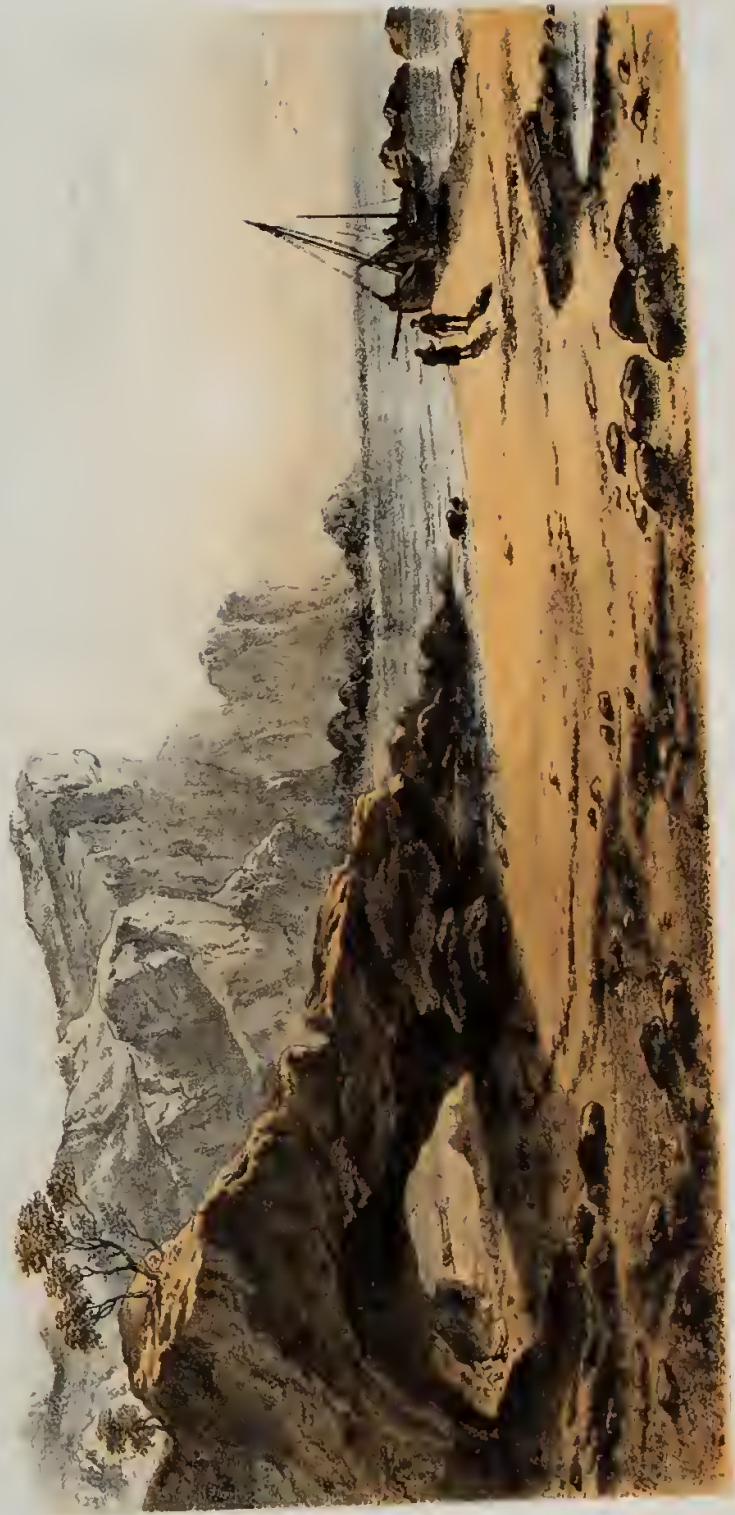
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VUE DE LA TABLE D'OR, CANTON DE VALAIS, SUISSE  
Dessiné par J. C. Murdocch, 1854

JOHN C. MURDOCH LOND N

## STIRLING.

THE royal burgh of Stirling, sometimes called the Windsor of Scotland, and the county town of Stirlingshire, is delightfully situated on the southern bank of the river Forth, and, like the old town of Edinburgh, occupies the ridge and sides of a hill which rises gradually from the east, and terminates in an abrupt crag towards the west, on the top of which stands the castle, two hundred and twenty feet above the level of the plain. The view from the castle is of vast extent, and comprehends the richest variety both of the beautiful and the grand in natural scenery. The field of Bannockburn lies below; there also are the battle-fields of Stirling Bridge, Sauchieburn, Sheriffmuir, Falkirk, and Cambuskenneth.

High antiquity is claimed for "Grey Stirling with her towers and town." The oldest existing charter of the burgh is dated in 1120, but it bears to be a confirmation of former grants; and the fort or castle was a place of importance a considerable time before this. Historians repeatedly mention it in the ninth century. It has undergone innumerable sieges.

In the annals of Scotland, indeed, Stirling bears a conspicuous part. William the Lion died here in 1214; here James IV. was born in 1474. His son James V., born here, was crowned on 21st December, 1513, being then five months and ten days old. His daughter Queen Mary was also crowned here, December 9, 1543. James VI. spent here the years of his minority, under the celebrated scholar and historian George Buchanan. The same monarch was crowned by John Knox in the Greyfriars Church, July 29, 1567, when about thirteen months old.

The Palace was built by James V., who adorned it with a good deal of grotesque statuary. The building is now used as barracks. James III., whose favourite residence was Stirling Castle, built the Parliament Hall, now a riding-room. The apartment is shown on the west of the quadrangle, where James II., who was born here, slew the turbulent Earl of Douglas on 13th February, 1452. The population of Stirling in 1871 was 14,279.

## COAST OF SLEAT, ISLE OF SKYE.

At the south-east end of the Isle of Skye, Inverness-shire, lies the peninsula of Sleat, which forms an irregular belt of twenty-one miles in length, and extends from north-east to north-west. The south-west division terminates in a headland called Sleat Point, looking towards Eig, at the distance of five miles and a half. The pyramidal masses of rock on the sea-coast, with the natural arch beneath, which the view presents, are well calculated to attract the attention of the visitor to its rugged scenery.

