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ST GILES', EDINBURGH

Church, College, and Cathedral

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

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"Whoso knows the Past may divine the Future; the Present binds with a perfecting bond link unto link of the years."—GOETHE

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TO

R. C. L.

WHOSE INTEREST IN ST GILES
WAS CONSTANT AND UNWEARIED,
THIS STORY OF ITS VARYING FORTUNES, THE WRITING OF WHICH
HAS BEEN SOME DISTRACTION FROM SORROW FOR HER LOSS,

is now Dedicated

IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE.

DECEMBER 4, 1888.



P R E F A C E.

AN attempt has been made in this book to give in narrative form the history of the Church of St Giles, Edinburgh. Various sketches of the church and its associations have been already published, but I have thought that there might be room for a fuller and more complete account than has yet been given of a building so interesting to students of Scottish history.

Many particulars are now for the first time brought to light, such as the Bull of the Pope founding the Collegiate Church, and also that which exempted it from Episcopal jurisdiction. The deeds endowing the various altars are also noticed, and generally an endeavour has been made to give the reader a picture of the appearance and inner life of the church before the storm at the time of the Reformation swept down upon it. Its associations in later times have also been traced, and may enable the reader to form some idea of the strange alternations of Scottish ecclesiastical history.

In writing the book it has been necessary to traverse the greater part of the annals of Scotland, and the field of research has thus been extensive. Many charters have had to be examined, deeds of bequest gone through, and contemporary diaries and letters carefully perused and collated for scattered notices and side-lights upon the subject of my study. Possibly some errors may have found their way into the work, but I trust they are few, and I have been careful to give the authority for any statements that are made. I shall be amply rewarded for the labour undergone if I have succeeded in giving the reader, and especially the citizens of Edinburgh, a deeper interest in the venerable church of the Scottish capital. I may add that it has been my constant wish to write in an impartial and unprejudiced spirit, of events that even yet are apt to stir the smouldering embers of controversy. I cannot hope in my estimate of past ecclesiastical transactions to please every one, but I trust I shall be credited with a desire to act fairly.

Thanks are due from me, and are heartily given, to many who have in various ways aided me in my work. To Sir W. Fettes Douglas, President of the Royal Scottish Academy; Sir Noel Paton, Her Majesty's Linner for Scotland; and especially to George Reid, R.S.A., for the beautiful drawings by which the book has been enriched. To the librarians of the Signet and Advocates' libraries,

and to their ever courteous and obliging assistants. To Rev. William Findlay, M.A., Saline, Fife, Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Fergusson, Roderick Forbes, Esq., and Lindsay Mackersy, Esq., W.S., for help in various ways cheerfully afforded me; and to Mr William Paterson, Publisher, Edinburgh, by whose permission I have been enabled to give the full and complete list of the ministers of St Giles appended to the book. I am also particularly grateful to Robert Adam, Esq., Chamberlain of the City of Edinburgh, who at great trouble furnished me with extracts from the Dean of Guild accounts.

J. CAMERON LEES.

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CHAPTER I.

Early Annals—854-1385.

Thay brent all in fire,
Baith kirk and quire.



IN the centre of the old town of Edinburgh stands the great church of St Giles. From whatever point of view the city is looked at, the picturesque crown of the steeple is seen sharply outlined against the sky. Soaring aloft unlike every other spire in its neighbourhood, it seems like the spirit of old Scottish history keeping watch over the city that has grown up through the long years beneath its shadow. Edinburgh would not be Edinburgh without it. The exterior of the church itself is plain and unadorned, and it is evident that unsympathetic hands have been laid upon it and modernised it; but when one enters the building, a vast and venerable interior is presented to him, and every stone seems to speak of the past. St Giles is a church whose history is closely interwoven with the history of Scotland from the very earliest ages; and it has been the scene of many remarkable events which have left their impress on our national character. Of that history, and of these events, it is hoped some idea may be gathered from the following pages.

The history of St Giles takes us back to the far-away time when Edinburgh was a hamlet of Angles clustering together on the slope that leads down from the gate of the Castle, and the sides of

the ridge that lies between it and Holyrood. They were but a handful of people in the early stage of civilisation—their houses thatched with turf and straw. In the midst of this hamlet, there is good reason to believe, there stood a Christian church belonging to some monastic house, probably in England, which had the benefit of its principal revenues, and supplied the duties by the service of a vicar. He may have been one of the brotherhood, or a paid substitute. As early as 854 Edinburgh possessed its parish church, which is called "Edwinsburch."¹ The church belonged to Lindisfarne, a monastery planted by the monks of Iona, and the early home of northern English Christianity. In 1150 we find St Giles in the possession of a monastic house, a circumstance which renders it extremely probable that it was the early church referred to as attached to Lindisfarne.² At that date there were lands lying to the south of Edinburgh which bore the name of St Giles Grange—grange is the name given to a farm-house belonging to a monastic establishment, where lay-brothers of the convent and their serfs carried on the operations of husbandry, and where they gathered their corn and produce.³ It was doubtless the lands attached to St Giles that they cultivated, and whose church the abbey served by a vicar. These lands, which still bear the name of Grange, were gifted by King David I. to an English abbey, that of Holm Cultram or Harehope in Cumberland, on the shores of Morecambe Bay.⁴ Probably the church went along with the lands; at all events, it evidently continued to belong to some monastery. King David Bruce took back the lands and gave them to a distinguished ecclesiastic, Cardinal Walter de Wardlaw, formerly Bishop of Glasgow.⁵ In the reign of that king, the great Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline fell heir to much church property that had hitherto been in English hands, and it is possible, as has been stated, that the patronage of

¹ Simeon of Durham, Surtees Society.

² It is the opinion of the greatest authority on the subject, the late Dr David Laing, *Introduction to Charters of St Giles*, that Edwinsburch was the church within the burgh.

³ Maitland speaks of the farm-house of the Grange being near the Cowgate.

⁴ Fordun, ii. p. 81.

⁵ Coldingham Abbey, Surtees Society, appendix.

St Giles passed into the possession of the Scottish monastery, but of this we are uncertain.¹ In 1393 it belonged to the crown, and Robert III. granted it, as we shall afterwards see, to the monastery of Scone. To that Perthshire house it belonged for some time, remaining still an humble vicarage.

The vicar of St Giles appends his name to a charter of the abbey of Holyrood in 1241.² Documents belonging to the church of Megginch in Perthshire were then collated, and John, who styles himself "of the church of St Giles perpetual vicar," appends to them his seal. This is the first public appearance of the parish priest of Edinburgh.³

In 1243, on the 6th October, St Giles was dedicated by David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews. Previous to this time a Legatine council was held in Edinburgh, over which a Roman cardinal, Otto by name, presided. It would appear that there were churches in use in Scotland that had not been consecrated, and the cardinal seems to have ordered that their consecration should now be solemnised.⁴ It was this order which brought the Bishop of St Andrews to St Giles. We ascertain this fact in a curious way. On the fly-leaf of his pontificale, which has come down to our time, and is in a library in Paris, the bishop records his having discharged his office there. It was the first formal dedication of the church, and it is interesting to know that the very book of devotion used, with its solemn and impressive services, is still extant. The church was evidently re-consecrated subsequently, for we find that the day on which Bishop de Bernham officiated was not that kept in after-years as the feast of dedication.⁵

Of the church that then existed there are now probably few vestiges. A Norman door, with beautiful carvings and quaint sculptured devices, long survived destruction. Possibly some of the

¹ In histories of Dunfermline Abbey, St Giles is given as belonging to it; also in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*. The latter makes the statement on the authority of a charter in the city archives, but that document is not there now.

² Holyrood Charters, p. 55.

³ *Liber Sanctæ Crucis*, p. 55.

⁴ *Pontificale of De Bernham*, introduction.

⁵ See Chap. X.

pillars of the choir, and also the door at the entry to the royal pew, belonged to the first church of St Giles. The pillars are plain and unadorned, and seem to date from an early period. The church was doubtless small, and in keeping with the size of the town and the number of its inhabitants. The revenues also were small, and in a taxation of the ecclesiastical benefices belonging to the early part of the thirteenth century, the church of St Giles is rated at the annual value of twenty-six merks. It must have been then little more than a mere chapel. The inhabitants of the town were few and miserably housed. The parish church could not have been very imposing, or the vicar very highly paid. He received his dole from the monastery to which his church belonged,¹ and it was not very large.

St Giles seems to have suffered from the wars with England which took place during the struggle for Scottish independence. English armies were frequently in Edinburgh, and they always left their mark when they came. The citizens were so accustomed to being burnt out that they ceased to mind it. We have no historic record of St Giles' having been injured, and only learn the fact from a notice in the chartulary of the church which has come down to our day. This collection of documents begins with these words :

“ Because on account of the ravages of war, the mortality of men, and the ignorance of youth, many rents of the church of St Giles of Edinburgh, and the altars built in the said church by the gifts of the burgesses, have been abstracted and passed into the use of the laity, to the diminution of divine worship, the discrete man William Guppild, then alderman of the said burgh, with the consent of the following . . . and with the consent and assent of all the other burgesses of the said burgh : ”

appointed John Rollo, common clerk of the community, to keep a

¹ In a scheme for the taxation of Scotch benefices, published by the Surtees Society, Priory of Coldingham, the church of St Giles is thus stated : “ Verus valor, vj¹ xiiij^a iiij^d ; decima, xiiij^a iiij^d . ”

register and to inscribe therein the charters and deeds of gift belonging to the church. This was done in 1368, and we learn from the document that the "ravages of war" had reached St Giles before then, though to what extent they affected it we are not told.

In 1384 there was held in St Giles a meeting of a large number of Scottish barons and Scottish knights. A body of distinguished Frenchmen, thirty in number, were in Edinburgh. They had come hither in the chivalrous spirit that then prevailed, desiring an opportunity of exhibiting their prowess, and willing to aid the Scots against their ancient enemies of England; and their expedition was commanded by a knight of renown. The king of Scotland received the foreigners with courtesy, but he wished peace, and declined their offers. The barons were, however, in a different mood. They met in the church of St Giles, and resolved, in spite of the king, to make a raid into England. They sent word to the Frenchmen to come to their counsels and to aid them in their enterprise. The old chronicler Froissart gives us an account of the transaction :

"And thus whyle the king and the knightes were at difference, the erle Douglas and the erle Moref . . . and divers other knightes and squires of Scotland, desyryng to be armed, helde a secret counsaile togyther in the churche of Edinborowe, and the knichtes of France ware sent for by them, as Sir Mychael de la Barre and Sir Garnyier, desyryng thame to go to thair companyons and to shew thame their intent, and to keep thair purpose secret."¹

The raid was made, and fifteen thousand Scots, mounted on small horses, broke into the northern counties of England, wasted the country with fire and sword, and returned with much plunder and many prisoners. The incursion was, however, bitterly avenged. In the next year an English army marched into Scotland, under Richard II. He pushed on to the capital. The beautiful abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh were burnt, Edinburgh was given to the

¹ Froissart, Lord Berners, vol. i. fo. cccxvii.

flames, and nothing spared of the town but the monastery of Holyrood. The chroniclers tell us of the fate of St Giles :

Of Edinburgh the kirk brynt thai,
And wald have dune swa that abbay ;
But the Duke, for his curtasy
Gert it that time sawfyd be.¹

“The noble town of Edinburgh,” says Bower, the continuator of Fordun, “with its church of St Giles, they committed to the devouring flames.”

The church stood with blackened walls amid the ashes of the burgh. The pillars of the choir retained to our own day the marks of fire.² The houses of the inhabitants could quickly be restored. “What signifies a war with England?” the Scots said to the Frenchmen. “They burned our houses, it is true ; but that was all, and with four or five stakes and plenty green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed.” The reparation of the church was a matter of greater difficulty.

The endowments of St Giles in those early years were but small, still we can learn from those recorded that there was a desire to sustain the offices of worship with credit, and to make the church worthy of the capital of Scotland. A glance at the charters shows us this.

In 1344-5, Mathew, the son of Juliane, burgess of Edinburgh, gives to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chapel of St Mary of Edinburgh, two shillings from the rents of his holding in the north part of the burgh, and “if it should happen, which God forbid, that the said holding by war or by any other casualty should be destroyed, so that the foresaid two shillings should not be levied,” they were to be paid as soon as the holding should be reconstructed. About the same time Henry Multerer gave to God and to the altar of St John the Baptist in the choir of the Blessed Virgin, and to a chaplain celebrating divine worship, his whole lands of Grothill,

¹ Wynton's *Chronickles*, vol. ii. p. 330.

² This was seen in the late restoration, and probably may be held to establish the ancient character of this part of the church.

with its pertinents, lying within the constabulary of Edinburgh. In 1358, David, king of the Scots, gives to God, St Mary, and St Katherine, and to a chaplain at the altar of the latter saint, the whole land of Overmerchamestoun. In 1362, John de Allyn-crum gave all his lands of Craigruke to found a chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, giving the patronage to the alderman and council of Edinburgh. In 1363, William More, lord of Abeyercorne, endowed with his lands of Raylistoun (Ravelston) a chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin. About the same year William Hare, burgess of Edinburgh, gave to the same altar his land lying between the lands of Simon of Kircaldy and those of Ede. Douw, in the north street of the burgh. These endowments were not large at the time, though some of them afterwards became of considerable value; the lands of Craigcrook, Grothill, and Over-Merchamston particularly so. We learn from the deeds conveying them that the altars then in the church were few—only three are mentioned. The church was small, and there was not accommodation within its walls for more. But the interest taken in it by the burghers of Edinburgh was even in those early times very great; and that interest was destined, as the years went on, to increase. The three altars with which the early church of St Giles began its history were soon to have many added to their number.



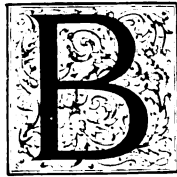
St Giles.

CHAPTER II.

The Patron Saint.

Faith is fresh of hue.

Lyra Innocentium.



BEFORE proceeding with our narrative, it may not be out of place to give here a short sketch of the legendary history of the saint under whose invocation the church and capital of Scotland were placed by our forefathers. Why St Giles was chosen as their patron saint it is impossible to determine. Most of the churches of Scotland were dedicated to saints of Scottish or Irish origin, such as St Ninian, St Mirinus, St Columba, or St Patrick. There were only two churches besides that of Edinburgh which bore the name of "St Giles."¹ This saint, however, was very popular in other Catholic countries, and especially in France, and it is probably to our ancient connection with the latter country that we owe his transference to Scotland. We give his history as it is set forth by his Catholic biographers, and adopting their language.

St Giles or Ægidius (*Aegydius*) was of Greek origin. He was born at Athens during the year 640. His father's name was Theodore, and his mother's Pelagie. His family are supposed to have had royal blood in their veins; at all events they were highly connected. His parents were distinguished for their piety; and

¹ Elgin and Ormiston. Various churches in England are called after St Giles. A most exhaustive history of the saint has lately been written by Abbé Ernest Rembry (Bruges, 1881).

their son, to whom they gave an excellent education, early showed that he inherited in a large measure their purity of heart and life. He marvellously repaid their efforts in his behalf, and made astonishing progress in all knowledge, human and divine. God acknowledged the piety of the young saint by glorious miracles. On his way one day to the church he met a poor man labouring under an incurable disease, and asking alms. He was filled with pity at the sight of the unhappy being, and his cries pierced his heart. He had nothing to give him, but this he did: taking off his own cloak, he placed it on the sick man, who immediately on receiving it was restored to health.

Ægidius lost both his parents while he was still young, and following the counsel of his divine Master, he sold all his goods, and distributed them among the poor. New miracles soon attested his sanctity. One day returning from church he met a man mortally wounded by the venomous bite of a serpent. The prayer of the young saint neutralised the effect of the virus, and the wound was healed on the spot. Another miracle he accomplished under circumstances even more remarkable. It happened on a Sunday that Ægidius sought the church, where he was profoundly occupied with the offices of divine worship, when suddenly fearful shrieks penetrated the temple, and filled the worshippers with terror and dismay. A man possessed by an evil spirit was the cause of the disturbance. After kneeling down and offering a short and earnest prayer, Ægidius, full of confidence in God, placed himself resolutely before the possessed, and commanded the evil spirit to relinquish his prey. The spirit of darkness obeyed, and abandoned the body of his victim without doing him the least harm, uttering as he went forth the most frightful cries.

The fame of these miracles was published throughout all Greece, and caused Ægidius to be held in great reverence by his countrymen. Crowds surrounded him wherever he went, celebrating his virtues, and imploring his aid in their distresses of body and of soul. The humility of the saint shrank from the fame that had suddenly

come upon him, and induced him to make an heroic resolution to cross the sea, and seek, far away from his native land, a place where, unknown and in all freedom, he might serve God. This was about the year 665, when Ægidius was in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He embarked in a ship which sailed for the southern shore of France, and arriving at Marseilles, went to Arles, where he resided for some time. Arles was at that time a Greek colony, evangelised by Greek bishops, and where the Greek language was spoken. There, lost in the crowd of his countrymen, to whom his high birth and brilliant education were unknown, the young saint hoped to lead a life obscure and unnoticed, devoid of those honours which he had found so distasteful to his humility. God, however, who exalts the humble, ordered it otherwise.

St Giles was hospitably received by a rich widow named Theocrite, whose daughter had for many years suffered from a fever which defied all remedies. The servant of God could not refuse her malady the aid of his prayers. He prayed for her, and at once the fever departed. This miracle of healing did not long remain secret. It was noised abroad, and the saint quickly found that he was not likely to enjoy at Arles the quiet he longed for. He decided to leave the town; and crossing the Rhone, directed his steps to the shores of the Garonne. The hand of the Lord led him to a grotto in which lived a pious anchorite of the name of Verdime, a Greek, like St Giles, and who, like him, had gone into exile for the love of Christ. Touching and wonderful was the meeting of these two men, speaking the same language, and desirous of obtaining the same end by the contemplation of heavenly things, and by practising the holy austerities of the eremite life. St Giles obtained from Verdime, without difficulty, permission to share his retreat. He chose him for his master, and under his guidance he made wonderful progress in sanctity.¹ Together the two led a happy and tranquil life, until the noise of the world came to trouble them in their solitude. The retreat of the two eremites

¹ The grotto is still pointed out in the department of Gard and arrondissement of Uzès.

was discovered, and they were troubled by multitudes whom the spectacle of their virtues, and still more the fame of their miracles, drew to the banks of the Garonne. St Giles attributed to his master the merit of these wonders, but by this skilful humility was not able long to avoid the admiration of men, and two miracles mentioned in *The Acts* tended greatly to make him famous. A severe drought desolated the country. The inhabitants had recourse to St Giles, and his prayers obtained a cessation of the scourge. One day when he was alone in his cave, a sick person who was a prey to cruel sufferings appeared and besought the saint to heal him. St Giles excused himself, alleging the absence of his master, whose prayers were alone efficacious, and requesting his visitors to return later. This answer did not satisfy the companions of the suppliant, and in compliance with their entreaties, the humble anchorite asked of God the recovery of the sick man, which was instantaneous and complete. The fame of this miracle was so echoed on every side, that the saint could not quit his cell without receiving marks of public veneration. His humility suffered cruelly, and the strong liking which he had for solitude and the contemplative life, made him take a resolution which went nigh to break his heart—namely, to tear himself away from Verdime, the wisest of masters and the best of friends.

A tradition, which its high antiquity renders eminently credible, lets us see St Giles crossing the Pyrenees, and taking up his abode as an hermit on a mountain of Nuria in Spain, where a miraculous image of the Virgin, said to have been made by him, is still venerated. From Nuria the saint returned to Gaul, and took up his abode in the depths of the Gothic forest, in the neighbourhood of Nismes. The brave anchorite chose for his dwelling a cave near which issued a clear fountain. Water from this pure source served to quench his thirst, and wild herbs and roots afforded him sustenance. But God, to sweeten the austerities of his life, allowed a hind of the forest to share his solitude, and to nourish him with her milk.

While he resided there, the officers of Wamba, king of the Visigoths, organised a hunting-party in the forest. Tracked by the huntsmen, and threatened with certain death, the hind of St Giles could only save her life by taking refuge with her master, and when night covered the forest with its shadows, the followers of Wamba were not able to penetrate the retreat. Being eventually informed of the circumstance, and suspecting some mystery, the king himself came to the forest, accompanied by the Bishop of Nismes, Aregius, and a multitude of knights. As on the preceding day, the dogs would not approach the bushes in which the hind had disappeared, and returned baying to their masters. The hunters having surrounded the place which the bushes and the brambles rendered inaccessible, one of them fired an arrow into the thicket to dislodge the hind. This arrow, instead of reaching the hind, penetrated into the cavern and wounded the man of God. Becoming impatient, the pursuers took their swords, and cutting the cover before them, made their way to the grotto—a poor hermit was before them, clothed in religious dress, his features reduced by want, the blood flowing from his wound, and at his feet crouched the hind, so long the object of pursuit. Wamba and Aregius cast themselves at his feet, asking him his name and country, what had brought him to this fearful solitude, and what was the cause of his wound. The saint answered these questions. He refused the rich gifts which the king offered him, and the monarch and priest, full of admiration at his disinterested piety, left him, after commending themselves to his prayers.

Flavius Wamba returned often to the grotto of St Giles, finding inexpressible joy in conversing with him. The hermit then advised him to found in that place a monastery for a number of monks singing night and day the praises of the Lord. A vast territory was given to the saint, taking after its donor the name of the Flavian Valley, a monastery was founded, and St Giles, much against his own inclination, was compelled to accept the dignity of abbot. Eleven years passed full of blessing and prosperity. At their close

St Giles, in order to perfect his work, resolved to visit the holy see and place his abbey under its direct protection. He received from Pope Benoit II. the boon he sought by a pontifical decree dated 26th April 685.

In July 712 the Saracens invaded the plains of Xeres and the frontier, and in a battle Roderick, king of the Visigoths, fell. The invasion was not confined to Spain, but spread over the borders. St Giles, being warned by Heaven of the approach of the enemy, quitted his monastery and took refuge in Gaul, and it is believed took up his residence in the neighbourhood of Orleans. While there the fame of his virtues reached the court of France, and he was invited to visit it. He accepted the invitation, doing violence to his own wishes, and was hospitably received by Charles Martel, the king, at Orleans.

Although he lived here for two years, St Giles never forgot his monastery, and longed to return thither. At length the time came when he might do so in safety, and by the munificence of the king he was able to rebuild his abbey, which had been destroyed. There, full of years and of merits, he peacefully fell asleep in the Lord on Sunday, the 1st September. The year of his death is uncertain, but it is believed to have been between 720 and 726. He had the supreme consolation to die in his monastery in the midst of his children. A revelation from heaven made known to him that the hour of his deliverance was near: he intimated the happy tidings to his disciples, and besought them to aid him by their prayers, and prepare him for the great passage from time to eternity. The death of the holy abbot was the worthy crown of his life of abnegation, prayer, and penitence. To show how precious his death was in His sight, God permitted the angels to honour with their sweet songs the passage of His faithful servant, and they bore his soul to heaven with praises.

Such is the life of the saint, which we have given as nearly as possible in the language of Catholic writers, and as doubtless in olden times it was presented to the citizens of Edinburgh. St Giles

was buried in the monastery he founded. Afterwards, in 1562, his body was removed to Toulouse, and deposited in the crypt of the church of St Servin, in that city. Relics of the saint are held in veneration in many places on the

Continent. An arm-bone was long the cherished possession of the church of Edinburgh.¹ In the same year apparently that it was brought to Scotland by Preston of Gortoun, another person of similar devotion (William de Grachant) gave an arm-bone of the saint to the parish church of St Giles at Bruges, which he brought from the church of Buzy, in the diocese of Rheims. It was possibly in this latter church Preston also obtained, "by the aid of the king of France," the relic he carried to Edinburgh. The arm-bone at Bruges is still held in great veneration, and is enshrined, as was that of Edinburgh, in a case of great value and richness. St Giles was the patron saint of the Scottish capital, and an effigy of him was represented on its armorial bearings. After the Reformation the figure of the saint disappeared, though that of the hind of the Gothic forest still remains.



The Arm-bone at Bruges.

In the Breviary, as it is called, of Aberdeen, the only complete and specially Scottish service-book that has come down to us from the Roman Church, and which was written by Bishop Elphinstone and published in 1550, there is a service for St Giles' day, the 1st September. It consists of a prayer and six short lections. We venture to give a translation of it in full, as it brings before us an office which must have been held

¹ See Chaps. IV. and X. ; also *S. Gillis, sa Vie*, by the Abbé Ernest Rembry, where there is a full description of the relic kept at Bruges.

in great veneration by the worshippers in the parish church of Edinburgh :

PRAYER.

O God, who on this day made the blessed Giles thy confessor and abbot to penetrate the halls of the heavenly kingdom, grant, we beseech Thee, that we who devoutly glory in his merits may be fostered by his suffrages, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

At Matins. Nine Lections.

FIRST LESSON.

Now the holy Giles was by nation a Greek, and born of illustrious parents. To the docile youth, whose knowledge in a short time surpassed that of the most learned doctors, the grace of God was not wanting to adorn his life with the beauty of fortune. At one time, while on his way to church, he gave away his coat to a sick man. The moment that he put on the coat, the sick man recovered his health.

SECOND LESSON.

A certain person was bitten by a serpent. His flesh began to swell, and he felt that he had absorbed the deadly virus. But the man of God prayed and restored him to health. He also set free from the devil a demoniac, who on a Sunday was disturbing the whole church.

THIRD LESSON.

When the wonderful deeds were followed by the heralding of his praises he left his own country and passed the sea, and came to a certain place near the river Rodan, where was a cave, at the entrance of which a fountain gushed forth with pure water.

FOURTH LESSON.

For three years he remained unknown to men, content with herbs and water only, except that the Lord provided him with a hind, which gave him nourishment with her milk. When the king's huntsmen shot at the hind with their arrows, they grievously wounded the man of God in the arm. The king, when he heard of this, begged and obtained his pardon.

FIFTH LESSON.

Thereafter the king frequently visited the man of God, and by his advice built two churches, and when a number of men were congregated therein for the service of God under monastic rule, St Giles, notwithstanding his resistance at first, was set over them as abbot. Not long afterwards he was honoured by the diadem of priesthood.

SIXTH LESSON.

His fame then reached the ears of the king of the Franks, who called him and asked for his prayers, for the king had committed a foul crime, which he had never dared to confess, not even to the saint himself. On the next Sunday, when the holy man was praying in the mass for the said king, an angel of the Lord placed upon the altar a scroll on which was written what the king's sin was, and that by the prayers of the saint it was forgiven, if the king would but be penitent and desist from it. After this the holy man returned to his monastery, and confirming his brethren in the service of God, and disposing of the monastic affairs, he fell asleep in the Lord.

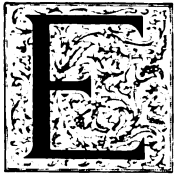


North Entry to Parish Church, St Giles, removed in 1797.

CHAPTER III.

Restoration—1385-1416.

They dreamt not of a perishable house
Who this could build. Be mine in hours of fear
Or grovelling thought, to seek a refuge here.



EDINBURGH was speedily rebuilt after the fire, and the restoration of the blackened and ruined parish church was at once taken in hand by the citizens. The former church was probably roofed with wood, which rendered it a prey to the flames: that which was now erected was, to use the Scottish phrase, "theykt with stane." When the great cathedral of Canterbury was burnt, about the same time, the chronicler of the period tells us how the former roof of wood, decorated and painted, was replaced by one of stone, and how the ribbed arches were formed on a framework of timber, to which was attached the scaffold on which the masons stood. A similar arrangement was doubtless employed here, but of the particulars of the reconstruction we can only gain hints from the charters of the period.

One document has come down to us connected with the restoration which is full of interest. It is one of the oldest written specimens of the Scottish tongue. It refers only to a part of the building, but it leads us to feel sure that similar care was taken of the rest, and it shows how thoroughly solid and substantial the work done must have been. In 1387 the provost of the burgh contracted with three masons to build five chapels on the south side of

the nave of the church. These masons were Scotchmen, the names of two of them being John Skuyer and John Primrose, and the third is designated John of Scone, and perhaps was connected with the great monastery of that place. Instead of any plan of the new buildings being prepared, a model was pointed out which they were to imitate. In the abbey of Holyrood, on the north side of the altar, stood a chapel dedicated to St Stephen, and this chapel they were carefully instructed to make their model. The roofs and windows of the new buildings were specially to be constructed "after the pattern they had seen." Four of the chapels were to have each a window, and the fifth was to have a door as good as the western door of the church itself. They were all to be "thekyt" with stone, to be water-tight, and furnished with gutters "to cast the watir owte and to save the werc fra the watir," and the whole was to be done in a "masonryke" manner. The community were to provide them with the scaffolding, and they were to bring their skill to the work "truely without fraud as true men ought to do." They were to receive six hundred merks in payment for the whole, and forty pounds to account, and to lay in their place twelve hundred hewn stones "astlayr and coynyhe;" on the completion of the buildings they were to warrant the whole water-tight, and until then each was to be security for the others. They were as strictly bound down as any workmen of our time could be, and the contract was duly sealed. John Skuyer appended his own seal, but his two friends having no seals of their own, borrowed those of two acquaintances whose names are duly given.¹

The work thus contracted for occupied a considerable time. During several subsequent years we find receipts given by the three masons for payment of their work, and fifteen years afterwards we have John Primrose, one of their number, granting a discharge; but as the five chapels to which the contract refers could hardly have taken that time in building, this skilled workman was probably employed in the other constructions which succeeded those in which

¹ Charters of St Giles.

he was originally engaged. These five chapels are described as lying in a straight line eastward from the west gable of the church to the great pillar of the steeple. Two of them only now remain to testify to the skill of John Skuyer and his comrades. The others were afterwards swept away.

The king, who was the patron of the church, helped on the work, as did also the citizens, who made the fabric their special care. In 1390 King Robert III. ascended the throne of Scotland. He was a generous benefactor of the church, and there are many tokens of his goodwill to St Giles found in the accounts of the royal chamberlain. At this time there were regularly held in the burghs of Scotland what were called "Chamberlain Ayres," courts presided over by the Lord Chamberlain, which supervised trade, and saw that municipal affairs were properly conducted. They were very strict in their oversight. All tradesmen were called before them, and strict inquiry was made into the accuracy of their weights and measures, and into the quality of the goods they vended. The rules and procedure of the court have come down to us, and they are sufficient to show that the inquisition was both strict and exacting. The fines imposed by this court, when held in Edinburgh, were gifted by the king to help the work of the church. They amounted in 1389 to £26; in 1391 to £29; and in 1395 to £26, 13s. 4d. In certain years there were no courts held, and consequently no fines taken, but the income from this source was on the whole steadily kept up. It was not very large, but it was a substantial token of royal favour, and indicates one of many sources from which the revenues for the rebuilding of the church were derived.¹

There took place at this time another occurrence which marks the connection long continued between St Giles and the royal family. The king ascended the throne immediately after the death of his father, Robert II. The funeral of the latter took place in the abbey of Scone, and it was followed by the coronation of his son on the next day. Both events were celebrated with much pomp and cere-

¹ Chamberlain's Accounts.

mony, and they brought to the Perthshire abbey people from all parts of Scotland. The hospitality of the abbot and his monks was severely taxed. The prelates and nobles of the land were there in great numbers, and their followers camped out on the fields between the abbey and the river Tay. It was harvest-time; the fields were unreaped, and the corn of the monks was trodden down and destroyed. The fathers were bound by their deeds of foundation to entertain royalty on such occasions, and in one of their charters the abbot obliges himself to provide the king with all things needful for his refreshment and comfort. But a royal funeral and coronation within two days taxed the monastic resources too severely. The necessity of the fathers overcame their sense of hospitality, and one of them, the storekeeper, approached the king's chamberlain and respectfully made a claim for compensation. He gained but little by his petition to that official, and was rudely repulsed. He then appealed in a curious way to the generosity of the king himself. Early in the morning, before the king awoke, the monk assembled the labourers and servants of the monastery, armed with kettle-drums, pipes, and other instruments of discord, and bearing before them an image stuffed with straw. They approached, with yells and shouts, the windows of the room where the king slept. The court were filled with consternation, and the monk was at once dragged into the royal presence and commanded to give explanation of his conduct. "Please your Majesty," was his reply, "what you have just heard are our rural carols in which we indulge when our crops are brought in, and as you and your nobles have spared us the trouble and expense of cutting them down this season, we thought it grateful to give you a specimen of our harvest jubilee." The freedom of the answer angered the nobles, but amused the king, who promised to inquire into the matter and make good the damage¹ the convent had sustained from his visit.

One part of the compensation thus ludicrously obtained concerns St Giles. It was in the gift of the king at the time, and was

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*.

bestowed with its revenues on the plundered abbey. The reason of the gift is fully given in the charter conveying it. "Because," so runs the deed, "at the time of our unction and coronation, and also of our predecessors, and at similar times through the many and frequent great gatherings of people necessary for the business of the kingdom, the monastery has sustained great damage in their buildings, and has been burdened with heavy expenses, wishing to relieve somewhat the said monastery and to provide for the sustentation of divine worship in the future, and for the soul of our father who is buried there, we give to the canons of the said monastery the right of patronage which we have of the church of St Giles of Edinburgh, and all lands and possessions belonging, or which in the future may belong to it."¹ This gift was made three years after the coronation, so that the king was somewhat tardy in fulfilling his promise to the monks. They made all haste, however, to make the best of the benefaction. The Bishop of St Andrews gave his consent to the transaction, but in his deed specifies the sum they were to pay, namely, forty-five merks to the vicar of the church, whose name was James Lyon. The canons grudged the modest pension they were burdened with to this official. They were at that time seeking from the pope the privilege of the mitre and ring for their abbot, and took occasion, at the same time, to set forth the grievances they had sustained, and the payment to the vicar among the rest. Pope Benedict gave a favourable answer to their petition, and issued from Avignon a bull granting them liberty, at the decease or resignation of James Lyon, to appoint a fit person from among their own canons to discharge the duties of vicar, and the bishop was ordained to give him admission to the charge.² How long James Lyon continued vicar we have no means of knowing. The monks of Scone became responsible for the services of the church, which does not seem to have suffered from the arrangement. The interest manifested in it by the citizens continued undiminished, so that they appear to have been satisfied.

¹ Charters of St Giles, Bannatyne Club.

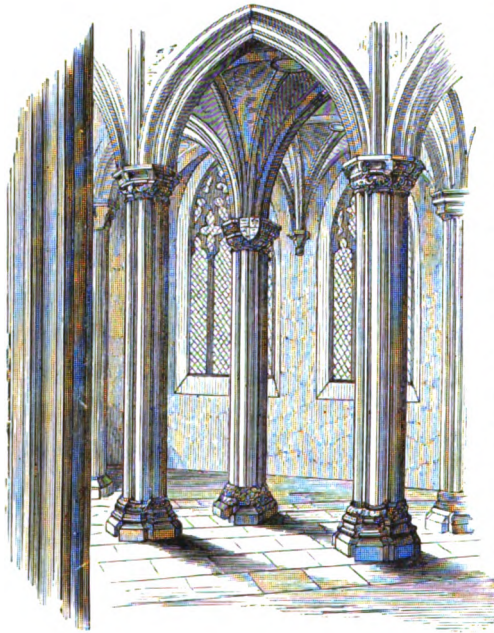
² *Ibid.*

The times were comparatively peaceful, and such times were favourable to the church and the augmentation of its revenues.

The Duke of Albany, who, during the weakness of Robert III., became governor of the kingdom, and whose name figures so largely in Scottish history, was, like the king, a benefactor of St Giles. He seems to have always been careful to keep on good terms with the Church, and this feature of his character has been strongly dwelt upon by contemporary historians.

Ye bischoppis, abbotis, and prelati,
 Throw hym ye jousit well youre statis,
 In kyrkis for thi at youre altaris
 Ye spend for hym devote prayeris.¹

This statement was true, at least so far as concerns St Giles. Various items are found in the chamberlain's records, "out of the gift of the Lord Governor of the Kingdom to the fabric of the parochial



Albany Aisle.

church of the Burgh of Edinburgh." But he not only helped on the work by his donations; he appears to have taken a more direct interest in it. To the north of the nave, near the western entrance, between it and where once stood the Norman door that had probably survived the first stone church, are two chapels still happily remaining. They are divided only by a single pillar of great elegance and beauty, like a stately tree carved in stone, supporting the richly groined roof. These chapels still bear the name of the Albany Aisle. On the pillar are sculptured the arms of the duke, and also those of the Earl of Douglas.

tured the arms of the duke, and also those of the Earl of Douglas.

¹ Wynton, I. ix. chap. 26.

The names of these nobles are often found together in the history of the time, and generally in ominous conjunction. They were accused of the murder of the Duke of Rothesay, heir to the throne, under circumstances of peculiar barbarity. There seems little doubt that they were justly accused,¹ and though they were formally acquitted of the deed, the stain continues to rest on their memory. It is conjectured that these chapels were built by them in expiation of the crime. Such acts of expiation were not uncommon at the period, and by gifts to the Church, offenders frequently sought to show their penitence, and obtain remission for their offences. These two Scottish nobles, however, denied their complicity in the murder of Rothesay, and to have built chapels avowedly in expiation would have only been to confess their guilt publicly. The probability is that it was more to get a reputation for piety, and to obtain the favour of the Church, than as an act of expiation, that they made this gift. They were great allies, and a deed has lately been discovered in which, at Inverkeithing, they enter, in 1409, into a bond for mutual support and defence. It is probable that it was when thus associated they jointly made this offering to the Church, desiring to enlist on their side the ecclesiastical as well as the civil power. They do not appear to have endowed the chapels, and all that tells of their connection with them are their armorial bearings as founders, which are as distinct to-day as when they came from under the sculptor's chisel.

Two other chapels were probably added to the nave about the same time with those founded by the Duke of Albany and his associate. They were on the east side of the Norman doorway, and between it and the transept. One of them has disappeared. The other, dedicated to St Elois, still remains.

The gifts made to the church by way of endowment during the period to which this chapter refers were more numerous than valuable. A rental of the time gives them in detail. They were

¹ See article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, June 1883, which I think leaves no doubt as to their complicity in the murder.

small sums, sometimes not exceeding a few pence, leviable from houses and lands within the burgh. Each altar had its own income, which was payable to the chaplain who served it, and by whom personally, or by his deputy, it was collected from the indwellers. In the year in which the church was burnt, the king confirms a grant by a certain Janet Stury, widow of John Stury, to the altar of the Holy Cross, of certain lands and heritages within the burgh,¹ the rents of which are specified. In 1392, John de Qwylness ratifies and confirms a donation previously made by his father to the same altar² of four pounds, three shillings, and fourpence, payable by certain houses in the burgh, all of which, with their tenants, are minutely specified, stipulating that he and his children should have a burying-place before the said altar. In 1395 King Robert confirms a donation which John de Peebles, a burgess of Edinburgh, makes to the altar of St John the Baptist, situated in the north part of the church of St Giles, and to its chaplain, of ten pounds annually, payable within the burgh of Edinburgh.³ These endowments do not represent large sums. The burgesses needed all their resources for the rebuilding of the city, but anything they could spare went to the restoration of the church, the reconstruction of which went on with great vigour. There seems to have been a cessation of the work for a short time about the year 1416. In that year, according to Bower, the continuator of Fordun, storks came and built their nests on the roof of the church. Living at Inchcolm, the writer probably saw them there in his visits to the town, and notes their coming as an unprecedented event. They were not likely to build over a church where workmen were engaged, and which resounded with the sounds of hammer and chisel. We conclude, therefore, that there was a pause in the erection of the church at this time. It was not of long duration, and the work was soon taken up again and carried on with great energy. As for the storks, they remained a year, and departed to return no more, and "whither they flew," adds the old chronicler, "no man knoweth."

¹ Appendix.

² Charters of St Giles, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

CHAPTER IV.

Benefactions—1416-1460.

They gave their best. Oh, tenfold shame
On us, their fallen progeny,
Who sacrifice the blind and lame,
Who will not wake or fast with Thee !



THE church did not probably remain long in possession of the abbey of Scone. During the period to which this chapter refers there are many indications that it had returned into the patronage of the king of Scotland. We find men appointed as vicars who had taken a prominent part in public affairs, and who held offices attached to the court. Some of the chief benefactors of the church, also, were closely connected with the throne. It seems to have acquired new honour and dignity as the principal church of the capital of Scotland. It was the seat of the consistorial court of the metropolitan, where decrees of divorce were pronounced.¹ It was a place, also, where secular transactions were solemnly ratified, and payments of money were ordained to be made.² Here a solemn mass was publicly celebrated for the soul of James I., who had been murdered at Perth. To defray the expenses of this function, fifty shillings were given from the public treasury "to furnish candles of white wax."³ In the story of the troubles that succeeded the death of the ill-fated

¹ Proceedings in divorce case in St James's Chapel (Hist. MSS. Report, p. 507).

² Earl of Caithness ordained to pay money on the altar (Great Seal Charters).

³ Exchequer Rolls, vol. v.

king, we find more than one incidental notice of St Giles; and it was within its walls that Chancellor Crichton and Sir William Livingston, between whom a feud existed as to the custody of the young king James II., came to a mutual understanding. When their rivalry was at its height, and was likely to be attended by most disastrous effects to the kingdom, two of the bishops, Leighton, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Winchester, Bishop of Moray, induced the disputants to meet for conference. Unarmed and slenderly attended, they repaired to the church of St Giles,¹ where they debated their differences, and a reconciliation took place, the charge of the youthful monarch being intrusted to Livingston, whilst the chancellor was rewarded by an increase of his individual authority.

Three of the vicars of St Giles, who occupied that post in succession, were well-known ecclesiastics, who had taken a leading part in affairs of the state. John Methven was secretary to the king, and provost of the collegiate church of Lincluden, near Dumfries; he was also Master of the Rolls, and Clerk Registrar of Scotland. He was educated at St Andrews, where he graduated as Master of Arts in 1431, and he is always termed Doctor of Decrees, or Decretals, a title which indicates high proficiency in canon law. He seems to have frequently acted as envoy to the courts of England and of France, as we learn from the safe-conducts² which were granted him. In one of these, dated 5th July 1451, he is called vicar of Edinburgh, but he probably held the appointment before that date. Two years previously he had been specially despatched by the king as ambassador to the court of England.³ From the last we hear of him, he was still employed in the same kind of service. In 1454 he is named in a safe-conduct as proceeding through England to France. Whether he returned or not, we have no means of knowing. His successor, Nicolas Otterburn, Master of Arts, occupied much the same position as Methven in the public service. He was a Licentiate of Decrees, canon of Glasgow,

¹ Tytler's History, vol. iv. p. 21.

² See Rymer's *Fœdera* and *Rotuli* for the various safe-conducts.

³ Tytler.

and official of Lothian. He is also called at different times Clerk Registrar, Clerk of the Rolls, counsellor and secretary to the king.¹ He is first styled vicar of St Giles in 1455, in a safe-conduct given him and other dignitaries to negotiate a truce with England at Newcastle; and in order to carry himself with dignity, he received from the public treasurer a fee and a robe.² There are various notices of Nicolas Otterburn in the public records, all indicating his activity in state transactions. In 1448 he was specially chosen with two others to go to France in order to renew the ancient league between that kingdom and Scotland. A more delicate office was also imposed upon him and his companions. They were instructed to choose at the French court a suitable bride for the king. They discharged their duty with much acceptance. Their choice fell upon Mary of Gueldres, daughter of the duke of that name. It was probably as a sequel to the part he acted in this negotiation that in the following year he was appointed to "seek, exact, and receive from Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 20,000 scuti, or part of the same, in French money, in payment of the dowry promised with the queen."³ It may have been for his success in these and other similar transactions that he was rewarded with the benefice of St Giles. He does not appear to have enjoyed his appointment long, as he died on the 31st January 1461;⁴ and a few years afterward masses were founded for the repose of his soul in the two churches with which he was connected—the cathedral of Glasgow and the parish church of Edinburgh.⁵

The year before the death of Otterburn, Thomas Bully is mentioned as vicar. He does not appear to have been so distinguished in public affairs as his predecessors, though he held an appointment which connected him with the court. All we know of him is that he was rector of Crieff in 1450, canon of Glasgow in 1458, bailie of lands belonging to the king within the county of Stirling in 1459, and chamberlain of the king and vicar of Edinburgh in 1460.⁶

¹ Great Seal Charters.
⁴ Registrum Glasguen.

² Exchequer Rolls.
³ Great Seal Charters.

⁵ Great Seal Charters.
⁶ *Infra*.

This last, and the other appointments which we have noticed, seem to indicate beyond doubt that St Giles was in the royal gift, and that it was no longer a dependency of the distant abbey of Scone.

Under the rule of the powerful and able ecclesiastics we have named, the church steadily increased in prosperity, and received many very substantial additions to its wealth and permanent endowments. Of the charters conferring these, with the conditions attached to them, it would be too tedious to give more than an abstract :¹

In 1425 Sir John Fostare, or Forrester, founded a chaplainry at the altar to St Ninian, which he endowed with an annual stipend of six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

In 1426 John de Alncrum, burgess of Edinburgh, gives six shillings and eightpence annually to the altar of the B. Virgin.

In 1428 Thomas de Fayrle gives to the altar of St Cross, immediately to the north of the great altar, twelve marks annually.

In 1437-38 Thomas de Cranstoun, Mariotta de Cranstoun, his wife, and William Cranstoun, their son, give to a chaplain officiating at the altar of St Duthac various annual rents from houses in Edinburgh.

In 1439 Alan de Farinle endows the altar of St Ninian, in the south part of the church, with forty merks seven shillings and fourpence.

In 1439 John de Tours of Innerleith, and lord of Dalry, gives from the lands of Hieriggis twelve merks to the support of a chaplain at the altar of the Trinity, situated in the aisle of St Katherine.²

In 1443 Thomas de Cranstoun adds to his former bequest a further annual payment of ten merks eleven shillings.

In 1449-55 Thomas de Lauder, canon of Aberdeen, and master of the hospital of Soltra, founds and endows a chaplainry in the aisle of the Holy Cross at the pillar west of the altar, to St Thomas and St Martin.

In 1451 William Cameron gives to the altar of St Katherine twelve merks.

¹ Charters of St Giles.

² Great Seal.

In 1454 John Gray, Master of Arts and Medicine, rector of Kirkliston, founds and endows an altar to St Kentigern.

In 1454 Patrick Lesouris founds and endows an altar to St Michael the Archangel.

All these endowments were the gift of men who were closely connected with the city. Most of them had become wealthy through trade. Their benefactions are conferred for the benefit of their own souls and those of their family and relations, in some cases for their fellow-citizens. Some of them make their gifts under certain conditions, such as that they are to have a burying-place before the altar they founded, that the patronage shall belong to themselves and their descendants, and that the priest, before commencing divine service, is to exhort the people present to pray for their souls. In most of the deeds it is stipulated that the priest shall hold no other preferment, and in one that he shall retain no concubine in his house, a practice which was by no means uncommon among the clergy at that time. We have among the deeds of the period an obligation by a certain Alexander Hundby, who was chaplain at the High Altar, which illustrates the duties of the clergy of the church. He had been presented to his office by the provost and council of the city,¹ and before inducting him they receive from him a written promise that he will perform his duties faithfully, and take care of the revenues of his benefice. The obligation of the chaplain is somewhat antiquated in its language, and we give it in more modern phraseology :

“Forasmuch as they (the provost, dean, council, and community of Edinburgh) have granted three pounds fifteen shillings and eight-pence, in augmentation of the chaplainry of Saint Giles altar, given by them to me, that I shall therefore be obliged daily to say mass at the said altar, for the prosperity of our sovereign lord the king, for the souls of his predecessors and successors, and for the prosperity of the said provost, dean, bailies, council, and community, and for their

¹ 1447 (Charters of St Giles).

predecessors and successors, and for the souls of them that have given any annual rents to the upholding of the said service. Also I oblige me to fulfil (undergang) daily the observance of the college¹ of the said kirk, and to keep the statutes as well made, or to be made, and to submit (underly) to the penalties of the statutes; and that I shall be with surplice on feriable days at high mass and evensong, and on festival days at matins, high mass, and evensong, and for the fulfilling of the said things I shall ask no reward from the community or no others. Also I shall not promise the said chaplainry nor lease of it in favour of any person, nor purchase any lordship to make request therefor, nor shall substitute any to serve in it, but when the provost, council, and community make request therefor. And I oblige me to renew these my letters under my seal, and to make them in stricter form, after the advice of the council at any time I am charged to do so. And to all this I oblige me by the faith of my body, and the word of a priest (*in verbo sacerdotii*), and for the greater security thereto, I have set my seal at Edinburgh, the 17 Oct. A.D. 1447."

From this somewhat curious document some idea may be got of the duties performed daily by those serving the various altars of the church.

In the list of benefactors which we have given, there is but one that deserves more than a passing notice. This is Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, who is often mentioned in the history of the period, and who was the son of a distinguished citizen of Edinburgh. His father, Adam Forrester, was a well-known merchant, who had a license to bring grain from England without payment of duty, and who in this and in other ways received many marks of royal favour. He was lord of Nether Liberton, and is mentioned, along with the provost and others, as one of the parties to the agreement with the masons for building the two chapels to the south of the church

¹ The church was not yet collegiate, but probably the clergy had formed themselves into a society, and made rules as between themselves.

which we have given. It is not improbable that it was partly at his expense they were erected.¹ He was twice provost of Edinburgh,² and was afterwards sheriff of Lothian,³ and keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland.⁴ His son was knighted, and occupied an important place in public affairs. He held the office of Lord Privy Seal during the regency of the Duke of Albany. He was a commissioner for the redemption of King James I. from captivity. On the king's return to Scotland, he became master of the royal household, and subsequently Lord High Chamberlain. It was when he was high in royal favour that he founded the altar to St Ninian, for the welfare of the king and queen, and for the souls of his father and mother. About the same time he got the church of Corstorphine, which he formerly had liberally endowed, erected into a collegiate church. This generous benefactor was buried there in 1440, and his sculptured effigy, which has come down to our time, awakens recollections of a family once distinguished in the annals of Scotland, and who were kind friends in their day to the church of St Giles.⁵

A new source of wealth to the church began at this period, and continued during many subsequent years. The various tradesmen of the city had formed themselves into corporations or guilds, for the protection of their common interests. These guilds occupied an important place in municipal life, and in course of time became wealthy and powerful. They possessed special privileges. No one could exercise any trade, or be apprenticed to any trade, without their permission, and paying to them certain dues; and they imposed fines upon those of their body who did not comply with the regulations laid down. They had their own insignia and common seal, and they made provision for impoverished members of their body, and for their families when in want. These corporations founded successively and endowed altars in St Giles.

¹ *Infra*, Charters of St Giles, p. 24.

² 1373-1378.

³ 1382.

⁴ 1389.

⁵ In the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xi., a very interesting account is given of the Forresters of Corstorphine.

The first to do so were the Skinners or Tanners, and the Bakers. In 1450-51, the former founded and bound themselves to support an altar to their patron saint St Christopher, and they executed an instrument which has come down to us in the council records, in which they make statutes for its maintenance.¹ "Each member of the craft, for the period of his life, and according to his means," was "to put helping hands" to the support of a chaplain, and to the repair and ornamentation of the altar. Every member of the craft receiving an apprentice was to pay five shillings for the same purpose, and "no apprentice shall be received by any one of them to the said craft of skinners, unless he has been taken in like manner bound, that after the expiry of the years of his apprenticeship, he shall put helping hands in like manner to the reparation of the said altar—the apprentice also, before he shall be admitted to the craft, shall swear and become bound, so soon as he shall come to the freedom of his apprenticeship, not to receive any apprentice unless he shall pay five shillings to the said altar." The bakers seem to have formed similar statutes in reference to their altar of St Ubert, and a member of the craft, Patrick Donald, who had a burying-place before the altar, promises the town, in 1456,² to pay eleven marks annually, from his house in Toddrick's Wynd, for the privilege of sepulture in that sacred place. It is evident that the interest thus taken in the church by the various corporations of the citizens, must have added greatly to its wealth and importance.

It was during the period covered by this chapter that two additions were made to the church, which rendered it in some degree commensurate to the wants of the increasing population around it, and worthy of the position it occupied as the parish church of the capital of Scotland. The first of these additions was made by the town, and their motive in the erection casts a gleam of romance over the formal and precise charter in which it is set forth.³ A certain William Preston of Gorton,⁴ in the parish of Liberton, near the

¹ Town Council Records; Charters of St Giles, Appendix.

² Town Council Records.

³ Charters of St Giles, p. 106.

⁴ The name Gorton was afterwards changed to Craigmillar.

city, appears to have gone to France, and with the aid of the king¹ and others, to have obtained a precious relic—the arm-bone of St Giles. Returning to Scotland he soon afterwards died, bequeathing the relic to the church of Edinburgh, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of St Giles. Whether there were any relics of the saint in possession of the church before, we do not know, but the gift of Preston was received with all honour by the city. It was inclosed in a richly-chased shrine of gold, and a diamond ring was placed upon one of its bony fingers, and in the subsequent history of the church we hear much of this its most precious possession. In gratitude for the bequest of Preston, the town council obliged themselves to his son, to build that aisle to his memory which still bears his name, and on which his arms are yet to be seen engraved.

“Forsameikle,”² so runs the deed of obligation, “as William of Preston, the father, whom God assoile, made diligent labour, and great means by a High and Mighty prince, the king of France, and many other Lords of France, for the getting of the arm-bone of Sant Gele, the which bone he left to our mother kirk of Sant Gele of Edinburgh, without making any condition, we, considering the



Arms of Preston.

great labours and costs that he had made for the getting thereof, promise as said is, that within six or seven years, in all the possible and goodly haste we may, that we shall build an aisle forth from our Lady Aisle, where the said William lies, the said aisle to be begun within a year, in which there shall be made a brass for his lair, in embossed work, and above the brass a table of brass, with a writ specifying the bringing of that relic by him to Scotland, with his arms, and his arms to be put in hewn work in other three parts of the aisle; also an altar to be made in the said aisle, with book and chalice of silver, and all other *grath* belonging thereto; also that we shall appoint the chaplain of the former Sir William of Preston to sing at the altar from that time forth, and if any other friends like

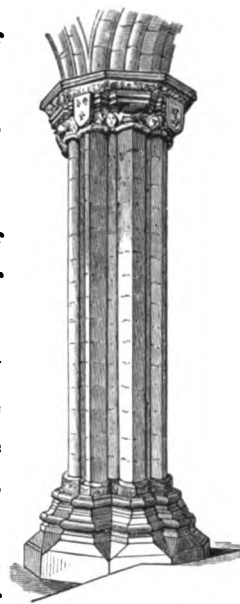
¹ Charles VII.² The old language is slightly modified.

to endow any more chaplains, they shall be thankfully received to sing at the altar ; also that as often as the said relic is borne in the year, that the surname and nearest of blood to the said William Preston shall bear the said relic before all others ; also that from the death of the said William's father there shall be founded a chaplain, for the term of five years, to sing for him ; also we promise that there shall be an obit yearly done for him, such as belongs to the time of the year of his decease. In witness of which things we have set to our common seal at Edinburgh, the eleventh day of the month of Jan. A.D. 1454 years." The interest attaching to this curious charter may perhaps be sufficient excuse for giving it in full. The embossed tomb, the engraved brass, the altar, the book, and the silver chalice that it mentions, have long disappeared, but the spacious chapel itself remains ; and as we stand under the richly groined roof, and see the three unicorns' heads, the arms of Preston of Gorton, this bit of old-world history comes back upon us all the more vividly, that it contrasts so strangely with the religious surroundings of the present day.

Another addition was made to the church probably about the year 1460. This consisted in heightening the roof and adding the clerestory windows, and in lengthening the choir east from the high altar, which stood near the eastmost of the old octagonal pillars. The addition made may easily be noted from the striking change in the style of architecture, from the plain to the ornate. It was in the year we have mentioned, that King James II. was killed at Roxburgh, by the bursting of a cannon, and his widow, Mary of Gueldres,¹ seems to have taken part in the building of this portion of St Giles, probably as a tribute to her husband's memory. Nicolas Otterburn, the vicar, was, as we have seen, one of those who had chosen her as the bride of the king, and it may have been through him that she was led to take part in the pious work of enlarging the church. One of the pillars on the north side of the church, still called the King's Pillar, bears on its foliated capital four coats of

¹ Immediately after the king's death she was engaged in extensive building.

armorial bearings—those of the king, of Mary of Gueldres, a shield denoting an heir or prince, and one with the fleur-de-lis of France, the land whence the queen had come. In the first two shields, what is called the tressure is incomplete, a want which is believed to denote the death of the king and the widowhood of Mary. The pillar is a touching memorial of her bereavement and of the death of the young king, an event which at the time moved greatly the hearts of the Scottish people. The other pillars of this addition to the building bear the arms of men who were much attached to the late king, and who appear to have joined with his widow in paying this tribute to his memory; while the arms of the town of Edinburgh indicate the interest which the citizens took in what may be called the erection of a memorial chapel to their king. On the pillar opposite to the King's Pillar, along with the arms of the town, are sculptured those of Kennedy, Otterburn, and Preston. The first is the name of the patriotic bishop of St Andrews, and of his brother, also a distinguished statesman of King James II.¹ Otterburn was the vicar of the church, and Preston one of its greatest benefactors. On one of the two demi-pillars are the arms of Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston, who was comptroller of the king's household at the time of his death. On the other demi-pillar are what are supposed to be the armorial bearings of Thomas de Cranstoun, a man who was frequently provost of Edinburgh, and was, as we have seen, a benefactor of the church, and who at the king's death held the royal appointment of bailie of Ettrick Forest. The whole work is of great historic interest, and is executed in a manner in every way worthy of its object.



King's Pillar.

¹ A more minute account of these shields is given in the Appendix. Probably both Kennedys united in the work.

It must have been some years before the additions we have mentioned were completed, and the share which the town had in them must have taxed its resources severely. Various methods were taken for raising funds for the building, and for several years we find in the records of the burgh mention of fines for breach of contract, and other offences, which were ordained to be paid "to Sanct Geilles' Wark."¹

¹ Charters, Appendix, ciii ; Burgh Records.



James II.



France.



James III.



Mary of Gueldres.

Shields of Arms from the King's Pillar.

CHAPTER V.

The College—1460-1470.

A life of prayer and fasting well may see
Deeper into the mysteries of heaven than thou, good brother.
TENNYSON'S *Harold*.



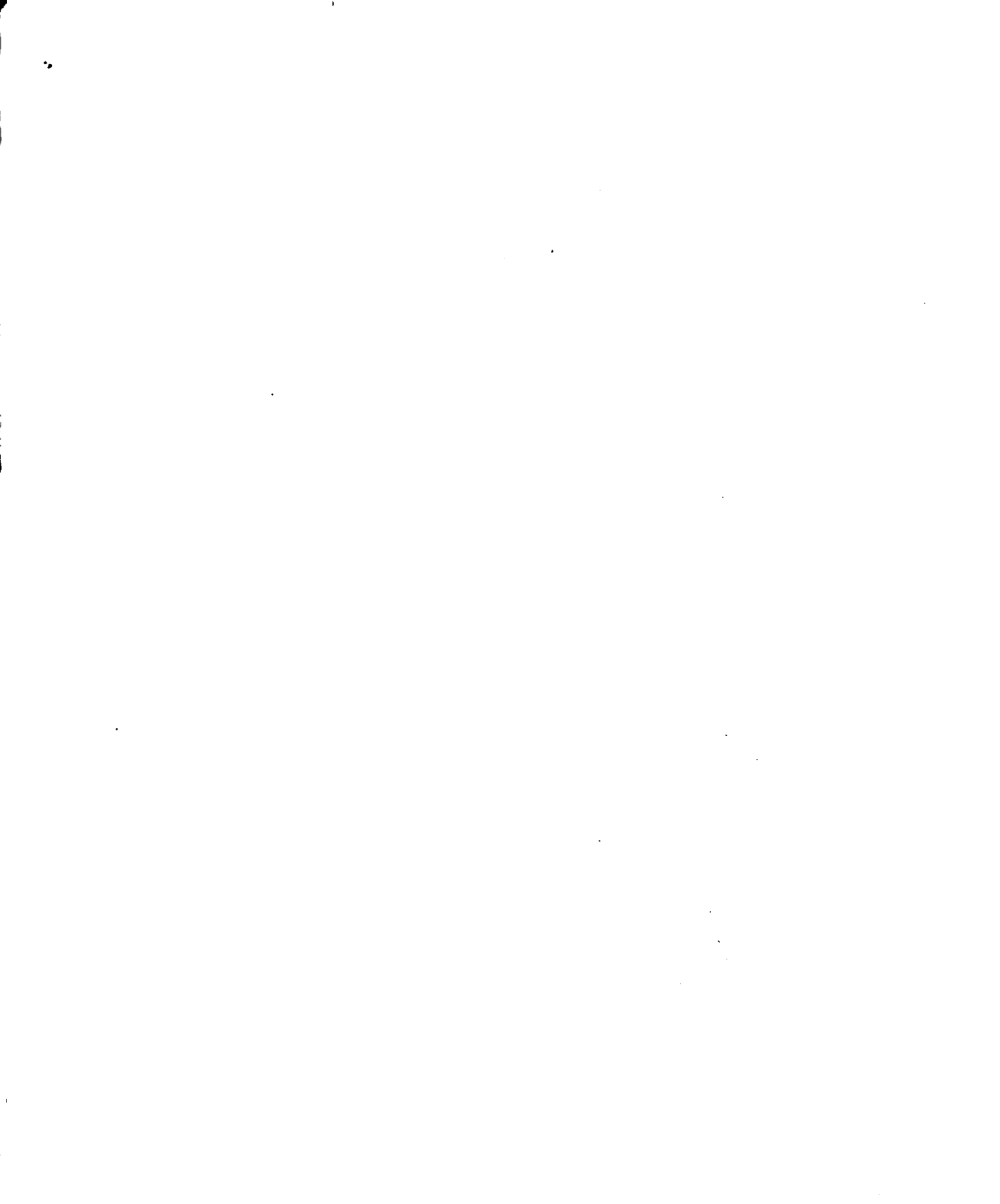
WILLIAM FORBES, canon of Aberdeen, succeeded Thomas Bully as vicar of Edinburgh. He seems to have been known more for his scholarship than his activity in public affairs. Unlike his immediate predecessors, he appears to have taken no part in the state transactions of the time, and the little we learn of him is from the records of the university of St Andrews, where he was reared.¹ He was a licentiate of the university in 1451, and in 1464 was elected rector, as a mark probably of the distinction he had attained during his career. His incumbency of St Giles was notable by the change that took place in the church, which was elevated from the position of a simple parish church to that of a collegiate establishment, an institution answering in some respects, such as ritual and government, to that of a cathedral. Collegiate churches had in Scotland their origin in the rivalry between the secular and the regular clergy, which, though it went on over the whole of Europe, was more pronounced here than elsewhere. The old Church of Scotland was to a large extent monastic. Abbeys and priories were to be met with everywhere. They were wealthy and powerful

¹ Acta Rectorum Univ. S. Andrae.

institutions. The greater number of the parish churches belonged to them, and as in most cases they were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, the influence of the bishops was greatly curtailed, and the position of the secular clergy diminished. This led to an endeavour on the part of the latter to obtain some of the advantages enjoyed by their monastic brethren, and collegiate institutions began to be founded, which were clerical corporations untrammelled by religious vows, and yet sharing in some measure the wealth and social importance that had hitherto belonged solely to the monasteries. Most of these collegiate churches date from the fifteenth century, a time when the power of the religious orders was at its height in Scotland. At the Reformation there were thirty-eight such churches situated at intervals over the whole country, from Tain in the north to Lyncloudan, near Dumfries, in the south. These *Præposituræ*, as they were called, were instituted for secular priests and choristers. They were under the jurisdiction of a dean or provost, and their service was regulated very much as in a cathedral. Their clergy consisted of a number of prebendaries or canons, who with the dean or provost made up the chapter. They had their stalls in the choir, their common seal, and their insignia, and they possessed lands and endowments of their own. Most of these establishments had existed previously as parish churches before they were thus enlarged and endowed by the generous proprietors in their neighbourhood.¹

It was through the exertions of the town council of the burgh that St Giles was erected into one of these foundations. It was now a large and spacious building, and numerous chaplains officiated within its walls. It was worthy of being something more than a mere parish church, and the town authorities entered with great zeal into the scheme for giving to it a higher status than it had hitherto enjoyed. They proposed to make the vicar the first provost, and they allocated an annual pension of two hundred and twenty merks to enable him to support his new position with

¹ Collegiate Churches of Midlothian (Bannatyne).





*Seal of the Chapter of St. Giles, Edinburgh.
Appendix to the Charter, 1602, A.D. 1200*

dignity. Under him, and to be appointed by him, there was to be a curate having care of souls, a minister of the choir, a sacristan, fourteen canons or prebendaries, and four chorister boys. These officials were to be paid chiefly from the revenues already belonging to the church, and these were rearranged and allocated anew. The provost was to receive in addition to his pension certain fruits, rents, and profits from the church of Dunbarnie, Perthshire, together with the adjacent manse or parsonage and glebe belonging to the church, with the right of choosing a curate, to whom he was to allow twenty-five merks annually, with a house beside the church. The prebendaries were supported by the revenues belonging up to this time to certain chaplainries, the duties pertaining to which they probably still discharged in addition to those devolving on them as canons.¹ The provost, and in his absence the curate, was to preside over the chapter. The former was to have great power over his subordinates, and could impose fines as well as ecclesiastical censures for neglect of duty.

The Bishop of St Andrews gave his sanction to the scheme proposed by the town, and the king readily confirmed it by a charter granted at Stirling, October 21, 1466.² He retained, however, the patronage of the provostry and vicarage of the church, which was still to remain with the crown. The appointment to the prebendaries seems to have vested in the town, to which the patronage of most of the chaplainries belonged. Having obtained royal and episcopal sanction to their purpose, the authorities next sought the sanction of the pope, without which, according to ecclesiastical law, no such change as they wished for could be made. The consent of the pope was probably obtained by Patrick Grahame, afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, who was on a visit to Rome seeking his own confirmation to that see.³ The bull granting the request of the

¹ In Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* (p. 275) there is an account of the stipend of each of the prebendaries. He, however, makes them number sixteen, whereas the pope's bull only sanctioned fourteen. Probably his scheme of allocation is one that had not been fully carried out. It is given in the Appendix.

² Great Seal Charters.

³ Tytler, vol. iv.

town, and erecting St Giles into a collegiate church, was issued in 1467, the year after the king's authority had been obtained. It specifies very minutely the nature of the new institution, and as it has never been published before, we give it at length in literal translation.¹ It is interesting notwithstanding its verbosity.

“To the Judges that they may by apostolic authority confirm the erection of the church of St Giles, in the town of Edinburgh, into a collegiate church, made by the Magistrates of the said town.

“Paul, Bishop, &c., to our venerable brother, the Bishop of Whithorn, and our beloved son, the abbot of Holyrood, without the walls of Edinburgh, of the diocese of St Andrew, greeting : Set upon the high tower of the church militant, the Roman pontiff, successor of Saint Peter the celestial Key-bearer, in the manner of a most watchful shepherd, surveying with the eyes of his wisdom the whole world of lands and nations, and with paternal consideration diligently examining the qualities of those dwelling therein, and in virtue of the pastoral office enjoined upon him from above, earnestly desirous of the felicity of the churches, and searching as to which of them he may exalt and succour, and raise to a title of greater dignity, that by this means a place already famous and remarkable for populousness and other things necessary to the advantage of human life, may appear to be deservedly made illustrious ; and by the ministry of erection a title of higher excellency and comeliness may be added to the churches themselves. The pious and profitable vows of the faithful may also chance from which the increase of divine worship may be hoped for, and the welfare of souls advanced, so that the wished-for effect is accompanied with the affection of a pious father, and nourished with paternal favours, and help is imparted more willingly, and labour more devotedly. Seeing, therefore, that a petition lately presented to us on behalf of our beloved sons the provost, bailies, and councillors, laics and university (or community) of the town of Edinburgh, of the diocese of St Andrew, purported that they, prudently considering that the aforesaid town, in which the present King of Scots, and many bishops, abbots, and other

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 455.

nobles of the kingdom of Scotland have been accustomed chiefly to reside, is famous and remarkable among the other towns of that kingdom for its populousness, and that the multitude of the people of the realm gather together thereto; and that the parish church of St Giles of that town, which exists by right of the patronage of the said king, is sufficiently enriched in its fruits, rents, and provents; and that the number of ecclesiastical persons attending therein on the divine praises, might, the Lord approving, be increased in it, they, with consent of the said king, to the praise, glory, and honour of Almighty God, and of his mother Mary, and of all the other saints, pre-eminently of the said St Giles, and for the felicity and adornment of the said town, and the welfare of the souls of the king, his progenitors, the Bishops of St Andrew for the time being, particularly James, of good memory, formerly Bishop of St Andrew, and of many others of the nobles of the said kingdom, and others of the faithful dead, have founded and erected, albeit *de facto*, the aforesaid church into a collegiate church, with collegiate rights and ensigns, and therein one provostry for one provost, and two offices—namely, the sacristy and the ministry of the choir—and fourteen district prebends for so many canons; also, among the rest, that the said provostry should be the principal dignity therein; and that the provost of the said church for the time being should be bound to keep a perpetual vicar, having the cure of the souls of the parishioners of that church. The sacristan, also, should be bound to keep at his own expense a secular clerk to serve the church and the vicar aforesaid; and the minister of the choir likewise to keep a beadle to perform all things belonging to the said office, which, on account of the sacerdotal dignity, are not congruous to the minister of the choir for the time being; also that he should undertake some, and the provost the rest, of the other burdens daily incumbent on the church; and the sacristan, on his own charges, to provide that the organs and bells of the church be played, and to do all other things by law or custom belonging to the office of sacristan; and that he and the rest of the canons should, at the charges of them and the provost and the minister of the choir, sustain four boys, to be taught by the best qualified canon for the time being. And they have willed and ordained in like manner, *de facto*, that the vicar, sacristan, and

minister of the choir be removable, as their faults and demerits may require, at the will of the provost and chapter of the said church ; and they have deputed and assigned rents suitable and sufficient for the sustentation of the provost, sacristan, canons, and others aforesaid, and for their daily distributions certain possessions or annual rents ; and they have also, *de facto*, caused the erection, foundation, will, ordination, and deputation aforesaid to be confirmed and approved by our venerable brother, Patrick, Bishop of St Andrew, the ordinary authority, as in the instruments and letters of the said bishop made thereupon is said to be more fully contained. Since, however, the premises do not subsist with powers, it has been humbly craved of us on behalf of the foresaid provost, bailies, councillors, and community, that we, cherishing them in so pious and wholesome a purpose, would deign, with apostolic benignity, opportunely to provide for them with regard to these things ; we, therefore, who do everywhere with intense affection seek the increase of His worship, much commending in the Lord such a pious purpose, and hoping great profit might arise from the premises to these faithful men, and yielding to the said supplications, do by apostolic writings commit to your discretion, that ye or either of you do forthwith diligently inform yourselves of the aforesaid all and sundry, and if by such information ye should find these things to be true, that ye of new erect and found the aforesaid church into a collegiate church with collegiate rights and ensigns, and a provostry and offices and prebends there as beforesaid, and so many canons therein ; and that the said provostry be the principal dignity therein ; and the provost to keep a vicar, the sacristan a clerk, and the minister of the choir a beadle as is premised ; and he and the said provost to undertake respectively the burdens aforesaid ; and the sacristan to cause the organs and bells to be played, and to perform other things belonging to the office of sacristan as beforesaid ; and they and the other canons shall be bound to celebrate daily in the said church, and at the expense of them, the provost, and the minister of the choir, to sustain four boys to be instructed as aforesaid ; and of new to statute and ordain that the vicar, sacristan, and minister of the choir be removable, as their faults and demerits may require, at the will of the provost and chapter ; also of new to confirm and approve, and by the force of this present writing to make sure the deputation and

assignation of rents, and of the distributions thereof made as is premised, and so far as concerns them, all and sundry, the things contained in the instrument and letters aforesaid, and whatsoever has followed thereon as to this only ; and that ye be careful by our authority to supply all and sundry defects, if perchance any have intervened, notwithstanding apostolic constitutions and ordinances, and others to the contrary whatsoever. Given at Rome, at St Mark's, in the year one thousand four hundred sixty-seven, the 8th Kalend of March, and fourth year of our pontificate."

The bull of the pope was apparently received by the town and the king with great gratification, and the church was henceforth styled "The Collegiate Church of St Giles of Edinburgh," a title which it retained until the Reformation. There was, however, another honour yet in store for it. This was its independence of episcopal jurisdiction, a privilege hitherto chiefly enjoyed by some of the larger monasteries, which were subject only to the pope himself. This freed them from all intrusion on the part of the bishop and his officers, and from ecclesiastical taxation. An amusing instance of the value they set on this privilege is given in the history of the monastery of Paisley, where one of the dignitaries of the church was kept a long time waiting outside the gate of the abbey, on a cold winter evening, and only admitted within the walls under protest that he was simply to receive hospitality, and that his entertainment was not to be held as forming a precedent for the visitation of the bishop or his subordinates.¹

Patrick Grahame, who was Bishop of St Andrews when the church was raised to the dignity of a collegiate foundation, was in disfavour with the Scottish court. The king's mind was poisoned against him, and a conspiracy was formed by Shevez, a royal favourite, which led in the end to his imprisonment in the castle of Lochleven, where he died.² It was probably to inflict a slight upon him that the king set himself to exempt St Giles from his episcopal

¹ My *History of Paisley Abbey*.

² Tytler, vol. iv. p. 201.

jurisdiction. A petition was presented by his majesty to the pope, and concurred in by the town, which dwelt upon the importance of the church of the capital of Scotland having every possible honour given to it. It was "famous and honourable amongst the other parochial churches of these parts," and it was not desirable that its privileges and immunities should be infringed by the Bishops of St Andrews or their successors: whether they had been infringed we do not know. Possibly, during the complicated arrangements for the distribution of the revenues and offices, there may have been some vexatious interference on the part of the bishop or his officers. If so, they could not recur again. The pope granted, in 1470, the royal wish, and issued a bull in which he subjected the church to himself alone, and the provost of St Giles had henceforth no ecclesiastical supervision over him in Scotland, a circumstance which enhanced his personal dignity, and probably conferred substantial benefits on the institution over which he presided. The bull of the pope which bestowed this honour, and which sets forth the reason why it was given, is as follows :

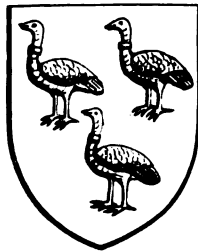
"The Collegiate Church of St Giles, in the town of Edinburgh, at the request of the King of Scots, together with the clergy, is exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of St Andrews, and subjected immediately to the Holy See.

"Paul, Bishop, &c., for a perpetual memorial of the thing. Although the whole churches of the world, and persons employed in them in divine services, are known to be subject to the apostolic see, which by divine institution obtains the principality of ordinary power over them. Nevertheless the said see sometimes, of the plenitude of her authority, subjects certain churches in a more special manner to herself, so withdrawing them and their possessions and goods entirely from the jurisdiction of any other whatever, that they recognise no one save the Roman pontiff, and him whom the foresaid see shall think fit specially to be deputed thereto, as their superior and lord, discerning them by a certain particular privilege to be altogether free and exempt from thenceforth. Forasmuch as it has lately been represented to us on the part of our dearest son in

Christ, James, illustrious King of Scots, and our well-beloved sons, the provost, bailies, councillors, and whole body of the town of Edinburgh, of the diocese of St Andrews, that the said town, compared with other towns of the kingdom of Scotland, was distinguished and populous, and that very frequently prelates and other chief men and magnates of those parts resided, like as they do at present reside therein ; also that to the said town a copious multitude of diverse nations from sundry parts of the world has flowed in, and that the parochial church of St Giles of the foresaid town was famous and honourable amongst the other parochial churches of these parts : we have lately erected and created the said church into a collegiate church, and in it one provostry, that should be the principal dignity therein, and as many more canonries and prebends as may be, and offices and other ecclesiastical benefits, as in our letters thereupon made is more fully contained. Since, also, as the petition lately presented to us on behalf of the king, provost, bailies, councillors, and whole community thereof contained, the said king, who for the most part resides in the beforesaid town, bears a singular feeling of devotion towards the said church, as being notably distinguished in his consideration, and means to distinguish it and the persons engaged in the divine praises therein, with several immunities and privileges : on behalf of the king, bailies, provost, councillors, and whole community aforesaid, it was humbly supplicated unto us, that for the elegance and beauty of the said church, lest the immunities and privileges foresaid should happen here and there to be infringed by our venerable brother Patrick, and his successors for the time being, Bishops of St Andrews, of our apostolical benignity, we should deign to exempt and free it from all superiority and lordship of the said bishops, in like manner as several other collegiate churches of the foresaid kingdom, and to consent to their desire, and opportunely otherwise provide upon these matters. We therefore, who, without the perturbation of any agitation, desire the state of churches and persons thereof to rejoice in the pleasantness of peace and quiet, and with intense longing affect their profit and well-being, being well inclined to the said supplications, do wholly exempt and totally for ever free, as well the foresaid church, as our well-beloved sons, the present and for the time being the provost, and every one the canons, chaplains, vicars, choristers, priests, and other

clerics whomsoever, also dignities, parsonages, administrations, or offices, or other ecclesiastical benefices obtaining in the said church, together with their continual familiar servants, commensals, serving them and the said church, present and to come, and other goods and possessions whatsoever of the foresaids and church aforesaid, wherever they exist, even outside the said church, from all jurisdiction, lordship, power, superiority, and visitation of the foresaid and his successors, for the time being Bishops of St Andrews, and of their vicars, officials, commissaries, and others whomsoever, having power to exercise ordinary jurisdiction in the church, and others aforesaid, of right or custom, and do take them under the protection of St Peter and ours and of the said see, so that the bishops, vicars, officials, commissaries, and others aforesaid, or any other person secular, regular, ecclesiastical, or mundane, with whatever dignity he shine pre-eminent, shall have power in no manner of way to exercise any jurisdiction, power, visitation, exaction, or superiority upon them, all and sundry and their possessions and goods aforesaid, by reason of contract, or delict or question that is in dispute, or to molest the foresaids all and sundry in any manner of way, but they shall be held bound to answer in justice, before the said see and its legates and sub-delegates only: Decerning henceforth all and sundry processes and sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and other sentences, censures, and penalties, peradventure passed and promulgated against the said church or aforesaids, or any of them, by the bishops, vicars, officials, commissaries, and others foresaid, or any of them, to be irrite and void, and of no strength or moment: Moreover we grant by these presents to the said provost that he may freely and lawfully have power to compel the canons, chaplains, and others aforesaid, to reside in the said church, and to serve in divine services with becoming and respectable habits, as well in the choir as elsewhere, as shall be appointed to them, even by the subtraction or retention of the fruits, rents, and provents of the canonries and prebends, and of the dignities, parsonages, administrations, and offices, and other ecclesiastical benefices which obtain therein, and to correct and mulct wanderers, dishonest, dissolute, and rebels, and disobedient thereto, by opportune sentences, censures, and ecclesiastical penalties, notwithstanding constitutions and apostolical ordinances, and others in the contrary whatsoever: It is our will,

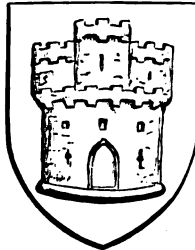
nevertheless, that the provost, canons, and chapter of the said church shall be bound to pay yearly to the apostolic chamber on the vigils of St Peter and Paul, the apostles, one ounce of pure gold for a recognition of this exemption: Let no one, therefore, &c., to infringe our exemption, freedom, taking under protection, constitution, grant, and will, &c. But if any, &c. Given at Rome, at St Peter's, anno, &c., 1470, 30th April, and of our pontificate the sixth year."



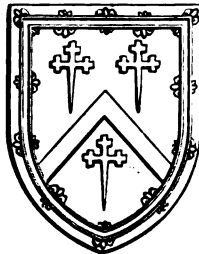
Thomas Cranston.



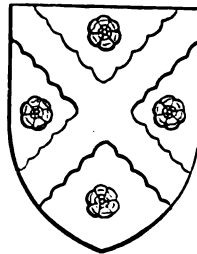
Nicolas de Otterburn.



City Arms.



Lord James Kennedy.



Napier of Merchiston.

Shields of Arms from St Giles.

CHAPTER VI.

The Chaplainries—1470-1492.

Who loved the church so well, and gave so largely to it;
They thought it should have canopied their bones
Till doomsday; but all things have an end.



THE erection of St Giles into a collegiate church seems to have been followed by a great accession to its wealth and endowments. Several new chaplainries were erected, and many bequests were made to those already existing. A chaplainry or chantry was a small chapel or inclosure within a church, in which an altar was erected and consecrated, and a priest appointed to chant prescribed services for the welfare of individuals specified by name, whilst they were living, and also for the repose of their souls when dead. The chapel was regarded as the house of the priest: in some cases he lived in a chamber built above it,¹ and communicating with it by a winding stair. In the case of St Giles this latter accommodation was not provided.

The chaplains seem to have lived in the neighbourhood of the church, in the Cowgate, or in some of the wynds opening from the High Street. As the sanctus bell tolled daily, and often twice a day, for mass at the same altar, they must have been close at hand for the discharge of their duties. They were poor men, outside of the fat things of the church, their stipend probably not averaging more than £5, 6s. 8d. a year, and they were generally men whose

¹ A good example of a chantry priest's chamber is above the chapel of St Mirin at Paisley.

education and acquirements were but slight. Few or none of them seem to have possessed the degree of Master of Arts, that title being borne only by some of those who were prebendaries or chaplains, as they were called, of the choir. The chantry priest was a very humble individual. His ordinary dress was a long frieze cassock, with a leathern girdle round his waist; and his daily food consisted of a mess of vegetables¹ or porridge. In several charters the members of the trades' corporations are held bound to give the chaplain his "meat." The number of such men connected with St Giles must have been very great, even on the supposition that only one priest was attached to each altar. It would appear, however, that in some cases several priests officiated in the same chapel, each paid by some special endowment. There could scarcely be less than one hundred connected at one time with the building.

After St Giles entered on its new career as a college, the character of the bequests seems to have considerably altered. Previously the charters conveying these merely founded a chaplainry, and gave the right of presentation to a special person, or to the town. They now become much more minute in prescribing the duties to be performed by the priest, and especially the offices to be said by him on the anniversary of the founder's death, and some of these documents prescribe with great exactness the ceremonial to be performed, and the payment to be made to those assisting in carrying it out. Generally there is contained in these deeds a provision for distribution to the poor of money or provisions in connection with the celebration, and the amount of charity so distributed must have been very considerable. The bells of the church were rung, and a man with a hand-bell perambulated the town, calling the people to church to pray for the soul of the benefactor, and to receive, if they needed it, their dole of charity. We give some specimens of these bequests, which are most minute in their directions, and which bring before us, as we read them, in a very vivid manner, functions often witnessed within the old walls.

¹ Lancashire Chantries (Surtees Society).

Andrew Mowbray, burgess of Edinburgh, leaves to the altar of St Ninian,¹ in the south part of the church, near the altar of St Laurence, also for distribution to other presbyters and paupers, and other necessary expenses, his land and the double house lately erected by him, and six merks annually, payable from his land, and also his garden; and further wishes that a certain chaplain should receive for his support from the rents of said lands twenty merks, and that anything exceeding forty-four merks from said lands and houses should be placed in safe keeping in an iron safe with two keys, of which one shall be in the custody of the chaplain foresaid, and the second in the custody of another chaplain, and another key in the keeping of the dean of the church. That these three persons shall receive in every third year the money contained in the said safe, of which one part shall be given in alms, chiefly to the successors and relations of the said Andrew Mowbray, and according to the discretion of the three persons foresaid, and another portion shall be expended in the reparation of the said houses as they may need, and in support of the vestments for celebrating low mass, and in ornaments for the altar, and also of lights for the support of the said service. He wishes also that on the anniversary of his death this charter, or a copy thereof, shall be read in the church at the said altar after mass, before the people, and in presence of the dean of the church. He likewise gives to the said altar a silk cope of jacynth colour, with ornaments of gold, also five chasubles of four different silks of diverse colours, and a fifth of *birdealexander*,² with their albs and amices complete, also a golden chalice weighing nineteen ounces, with two golden vials weighing thirteen ounces, also a missal for the altar with a pointed breviary, for celebrating canonical hours at the chapel of that altar, and "if it should happen that the chaplains, or any of them, should sell, alienate, or pledge the foresaid possessions, he shall vacate his chaplaincy; also the chaplain at the altar of St Ninian is held bound to celebrate on the anniversary of

¹ Great Seal Charters, January 1492-93.

² I have not been able to discover what this means.

my death *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with notes, by himself and other sixteen chaplains of the choir, who ought to celebrate the mass, *De requie*, in the private manner, and the great mass, *De requie*, at the said altar, and to pray the people at the beginning of the mass to pour forth prayers for the dead, by saying a paternoster with the angelic salutation, and at the washing of hands in the offertory, the *Psalm de Profundis* for the dead ; to each of these chaplains I give twelvecence. Also, to each of twenty other chaplains celebrating mass on that day, without the choir, in the private way, sixpence ; also I order four candles of wax weighing two pounds, two of which shall be lit on the said altar, and the other two on the catafalque ; and to the sacrist or cleric ringing the bells I give three shillings, that besides ringing the bells at *Dirige* and mass, as is the custom, he is to ring the great bell at noon before *Dirige* in vespers, and after *Dirige* at six o'clock, and also that which is vulgarly called *le monyng*, and at the last ringing he is to ring three times with intervals to excite the people to pray for all the dead in Christ¹ also to the dean of the church, for seeing that these things are done, two shillings, and to the servant of the church, for repairing and arranging the said altar and catafalque, and for carrying the cross and candlesticks, twelvecence, also to four choir boys, twelvecence ; also, for providing bread and wine for the celebration of the masses, three shillings and twopence, also for providing light in the lamp hanging at the said altar, five shillings ; usual money of annual rent from the house of John Bruce. I wish, lastly, that the chaplains and others of them in the last mass should turn themselves to the catafalque, after the beginning of the gospel, and should say the commemoration of the souls of Andrew Mowbra and Elizabeth his wife, and should then say : *May they rest in peace, amen ; O Lord, hear my prayer, and let my cry come to thee. Let us pray. Absolve, we beseech thee, O Lord, the souls of thy servants from the chain of their sins, that being raised in the glory of the resurrection, they may live among the saints and thine elect*, and so, sprinkling the catafalque

¹ Here are entered directions as to food for the poor, as in the other charters, *infra*.

with holy water, he shall say this verse: *Wash me, O Lord, &c.* In testimony of which I have appended my seal.”¹

Another benefactor equally specific in his directions was Walter Bertram, who left to the altar of St Laurence and St Francis, for the support of a chaplain, various small sums payable from houses belonging to him in the burgh,² under the following, among other conditions: “The said chaplain, on the anniversary of the death of the said Walter, by himself and other sixteen chaplains of the choir, to each of whom he gives twelvecence, also with twenty-one chaplains celebrating mass on the same day, without the choir, in the private way,³ to each of whom he gives sixpence, is to say mass for his soul. He orders likewise six shillings for wax candles weighing two pounds, two to be lighted on the altar, and other two above his catafalque; also to the sacrist or cleric ringing the bells thirtypence from the said rents, and to the bellman ringing the handbell through the town fourpence. He gives also to each of four young men of the choir singing versicles, threepence; and to the cleric keeping the cross and candelabra and mortuary ornaments, sixpence. He wishes also the said chaplain to distribute fifty portions of meat and drink to the poor in each year, on the anniversary of his death, and that each portion should contain threepence in bread, threepence in venison, and fourpence in flesh, fish, cheese, or butter, according to the season; ‘of which portions eight are to be given to the brethren of the Observance of Edinburgh, three portions to the lepers, three to the house of the hospital in St Mary’s Vennelle—the other portions to the poor, as their age, poverty, and weakness may demand.’”

The following provisions of a charter of the same time illustrate, in a similar manner with those which we have given, the solemn observances constantly performed within the walls of the church: “Because by the pious prayers which the son shall offer for the sins of his father, we do firmly believe that sins are remitted, the sufferings of purgatory are softened, and the souls of the dead are

¹ Great Seal Charters, 14th March 1494–95.

² Charters of St Giles, p. 136.

³ Low Mass.

frequently freed from them and gathered to the joys of paradise, I therefore found a new chaplainry at the altar of St Ninian in the collegiate church of St Giles of Edinburgh, and I dispoſe to it certain rents within the ſaid burgh. . . . And as it is borne witneſs to in ſacred writ that as water extinguishes fire, ſo almsgiving extinguishes ſin, I give to the ſaid altar, to preſbyters, and to poor, for the ſalvation of the ſouls before mentioned, firſt in the order of their names, an annual rent to be diſtributed by the chaplain of the ſaid altar in the mode and form to be preſcribed—namely, to ten chaplains of the choir of the ſaid church who on the night preceding the anniversary of my death ſhall ſay the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and on that day, with deacon and ſubdeacon decently veſted, ſhall ſolemnly ſing and celebrate at the ſame time ten maſſes of requiem—to each of the ſaid chaplains tenpence; and if they ſhould reſuſe, I will that the chaplain ſhall chooſe ſixteen perſons as chaplains who ſhall celebrate theſe obſequies with low voice at night, and the maſſes of requiem next day; and there ſhall be given to each of them ſixpence. Alſo for four candles of ordinary wax four ſhillings, two of which ſhall be lit on the altar, and two upon the catafalque (*epitaphium*) in the obſequies; alſo to the cleric ringing the bells and repairing honeſtly the catafalque, tenpence; alſo to the bellman ringing through the town fourpence; alſo twelve ſhillings to be diſtributed to the poor in the following manner¹ and that the portions ſhall be placed on a table in the church during the whole of the principal maſs previous to their diſtribution; alſo to the dean of the fabric of the ſaid church (*decano fabricæ*) eighteenpence, to ſee that the foregoing inſtructions are carried out by the chaplain, as he ſhall answer to the higheſt Judge. And I wiſh that all the above ſhall obſerve this my bequeſt, as they ſhall answer in the examination of the laſt day before the higheſt Judge. In witneſs thereof I have placed my ſeal.”

Commemorations ſuch as theſe muſt have been frequent. We ſhould think of them in all charity, while we feel bound to repudiate

¹ As in the previous charter.

the doctrine on which they were based. Those who wished to pay a tribute to the memory of the dead had an opportunity of gratifying their feelings on the anniversary and commemoration of their removal, and sometimes daily throughout the year. Thus names of celebrity were long remembered and enshrined in grateful hearts, and handed down to posterity as if embalmed in the page of history. The memorial pillar with the founder's arms engraven on it, the richly-chased tablet of brass, the window of glowing colours, were not unknown in former days ; and whilst many then, as now, chose these forms as an embodiment of their earnest and devout feelings, and their desire to be remembered after death by the living, others selected the chapel and the priest. Let us not harshly blame them, or look with disdain on the truly pathetic records of their longing to live on in the hearts and prayers of the living after they had passed away from this earthly scene. Rather let us apply to them the charitable verdict of Sir Walter Scott :¹ " Why not class these acts of remembrance with other honours, with which affection in all sects pursues the memory of the dead ? "

Notwithstanding the stream of wealth that seems to have poured into the coffers of the church, and its consequent prosperity, the provost appears to have had some difficulty in getting from the town the stipend which had been promised him. Whether the municipality thought that he could get on very well without it, or whether their funds were not able to bear the disbursement, we do not know, but they appear to have given the dignitary of the church considerable trouble, and he had finally to bring them into court before he obtained payment of his dues. First the king issued a charter under the Great Seal to secure to him his pension, and gave him security over the rents, profits, and multures of the Mill of the Dene.² This did not appear to have been sufficient, and the priest was compelled to bring his case before the Judges or Lords of Court. From them he obtained decree against the town in the fullest form.³

¹ Waverley.

² Great Seal Charters, October 2, 1478.

³ Acta Dominorum, 19th December 1482.

“Anent the complaint,” so runs their sentence, “made by Master William Forbes, provost of the College Kirk of Sanct Geil, against the provost and bailies of the burgh of Edinburgh, for his yearly pension, both the said petitioners being present, the obligation of the said burgh of Edinburgh, together with the King’s confirmation thereon, being shown, seen, and considered, the Lords decreed that the said provost and bailies be ordained to pay the last Martinmas term of the said pension, which is five score and ten merks, to the said William within eight days next thereafter, under pain of the warding of their persons in the Blackness, and that they pay him in time to come after the form of the said obligation, certifying that if he be not thankfully paid his said pension at the times stated in the said obligation, that they shall be ordered to pay his costs and expenses which he may happen to sustain therethrough.” The churchman was triumphant, and the penalty of being imprisoned in the castle of Blackness, a formidable and unwholesome fortress on the Firth of Forth, seems to have produced the requisite effect on the provost and magistrates of the town.

It does not appear that the priest deserved this niggardly treatment at their hands, for, as far as one can learn, he was a man of public spirit and desirous of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants. In 1477, with consent of his chapter, he gave, apparently without compensation, his garden to the town to be used as a cemetery, assigning as a reason that his parishioners had so increased that it was impossible to find sufficient burying-ground within the church. The garden is described as lying to the south of the church and contiguous to the manse of its provost. It extended along the slope between it and the Cowgate, and the loss of the ground must have considerably diminished the amenity of the residence.¹ Nineteen years after, the provost gave also, to increase the cemetery,² the north part of his mansion and glebe immediately adjoining the land and house of the curate, and below the school. He held the town, however, bound to build a new house for the curate, and a suitable

¹ Charters of St Giles, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, p. 179, 1496.

school for the scholars ; also to erect a latrine “ in the house, which is now vulgarly called *le galry*.” For himself he only stipulatés that an obit of *Placebo* and *Dirige* and a mass of *Requiem* for his own soul and the souls of his successors in office should be performed before the high altar on the anniversary of his death, at the expense of the town of Edinburgh. This is the last notice that we have of this official, though in all probability his long incumbency extended till the beginning of the sixteenth century. His term of office was the most prosperous period in the history of the church ; while he was at its head its dignity was increased, its wealth augmented, and its structure enlarged and beautified.

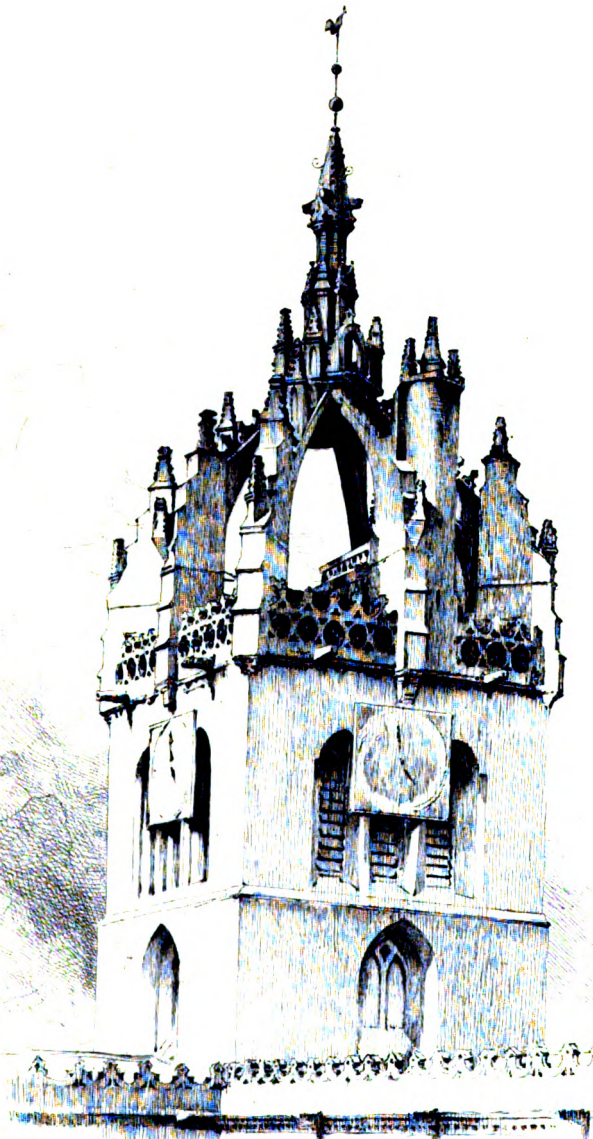
It was in all probability during his rule that the tower of the church, with which all citizens of Edinburgh are familiar, was erected. We would be disposed to place the period of its erection well on to the close of the fifteenth century. At that time large additions were evidently in progress—expedients of all kinds were adopted by the town to raise money for what was called the “ kirk wark.” In 1485 no citizen was permitted to have in his service any person dwelling in Leith under penalty of £10 to the kirk wark, and the loss of his freedom for a year and a day.¹ In 1497–9 ships leaving Leith were bound to pay certain dues for the same purpose.² In 1498 merchants and craftsmen, for the purpose of assisting the authorities to keep order in the streets, were ordained to have in their booths “ defensabil geir, sik as jak, sellet, burgandynis, gluifis of plait, and ane hand axe or sword under the penalty of £20 for the kirk wark.”³ These are a few examples of the means taken to raise sufficient funds for carrying on the additions to the church that were then in progress. But more express confirmation to the extensive character of the building operations, comes from the rules laid down by the town in 1491 for the regulation of the workmen employed, and which imply the presence of a large body of craftsmen. These rules are of so interesting a character that we give them in full.

¹ Burgh Records.

² *Ibid.*, Laing's Charters, Appendix, civ.

³ *Ibid.*





R

“Statutum Penes regimen Magistri Latimi Ecclesie Collegiate Beati Egedii Burgi de Edinburgh.

“The quhilk day the Provest, Dene of Gild, Bailies and Counsale of the burgh of Edinburgh thinkis expedient and als ordanis that thair maister masonis and the laif of his servandis of thair kirk wark that now ar and sal happin to be for the tyme, shall diligentlie fulfill and keep thair service at all tymes and houris as after followis, that is to say—the said maister and his servandis sall begyn thair wark ilk day in somer at the straik of v houris in the morning, and to continue besylie into thair laubour quhill viii houris thairafter, and then pass to their disione, and to remain thereat half ane hour, and till enter agane to thair laubouris at half hour to ix houris before none, and swa to work thereat quhill that xi houris be strikkin, and afternone to forgather agane to thair wark at the hour gane, and than to remayne quhill iiii houris afternone, and than to gett a recreation in the common luge be the space of half ane hour, and fra thinefurth to abyde at thair laubour continually quhill the hour of vii be strikkin; and in winter to begyn with daylight in the morning, kepend the houris above written, and to haif their noneschaks allanerly afternone, and to remayne quhill day licht be gane. And gif the said maister quhatsumeir, or his collegis and servandis, faillis in ony points underwritten, or remains fra his service ony tyme, he to be correctit and punist in his wages at the plesour of the Dene of Gild, that sall happin to be for the tyme as the said Dene will answer to God and to the guid toun thairupon.”¹

While the corporation of the town thus showed their interest in the church and its enlargement, the various guilds and fraternities of craftsmen were in no way behind the municipality in doing what in them lay to promote its prosperity. In 1475 the masons and wrights of the town obtained a grant from the council of the chapel of St John the Baptist, which was henceforth to be specially allotted to them, and which they became bound to maintain. It is defined as the “yle and chapell of Sanct John fra the ald hers of yrn inwart,”

¹ Burgh Records.

and probably consisted of some part of the building screened off by an iron railing. The craftsmen were to occupy the aisle as their own, and on the day of St John the Baptist they were to give special attendance, and to "thig to the licht of the said altar as otheris does in the kirk yherly." They were also held bound to keep it in proper repair.¹ In 1496 the hammermen or smiths received a grant of the chapel of St Elois, which had been founded shortly before.² They were to pay forty shillings towards upholding divine service at the altar of the chapel, and reparation of the ornaments thereof, "and all men of the craft were to pay to the uphold of divine service at the said altar weekly and dayly, and ane honourable chaplain thereof to the craft." In this chapel a banner called the Blue Blanket, which figures largely in municipal history, was hung up. It bore, it is said, upon its folds a Latin inscription from the 51st Psalm, "In thy good pleasure build thou the walls of Jerusalem." The history of this ensign is somewhat mythical. It is supposed to have been carried in the wars of the crusades. "Vast numbers of Scots mechanics," it is said, "having followed in this holy war, taking with them this banner, upon their returning home and glorying that they were amongst the fortunate who placed the Christian standard of the Cross in the place that Jesus Christ had consecrated with his blood, dedicated this banner, which they styled the Banner of the Holy Ghost, to St Elois altar in St Giles Church in Edinburgh, which from its colour was called the Blue Blanket."³ Whether this flag had so romantic a history as tradition assigns to it is impossible now to determine. It is, perhaps, more in accordance with fact to assign its origin to the year 1482, when King James III. presented an ensign called the Blue Blanket to the townsmen, giving, at the same time, the chief magistrates the right of calling out the trained bands and armed citizens to fight beneath it, when the defence of the country required their assistance.⁴

¹ Burgh Records (Laing's Charters, Appendix, lxviii).

² Pinkerton's *History of the Blue Blanket*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Tytler's History, vol. iv. p. 250.

The church is frequently mentioned in the annals of the sovereign we have mentioned. When his son was betrothed to Cecilia, the youngest daughter of King Edward IV., the first instalment of the dowry promised by the English king was duly paid at the high altar on the 3d February 1474-5¹ by certain great functionaries of the English court. This amounted to 2000 merks, and other portions were subsequently paid in the same place. The marriage never took place, a time of war between the kingdoms broke out, and in 1482 the burgesses of Edinburgh, to re-establish a good understanding between England and Scotland, sent back the full amount of the dowry which had been paid in their parish church.² It was probably in order to recompense them for their generosity that the Scottish king conferred special privileges in the same year upon the town. On the 16th November he gave "letter to the burgesses and community of the burgh of Edinburgh that the provost of the said burgh, elected by the community, shall be lieutenant within the said burgh, and that the bailies shall be his perpetual deputies, for which office the provost, bailies, burgesses, and community, shall be bound to cause to be read the mass of requiem with *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with notes in each year on the 4th August in the College Church of St Giles for the soul of King James II."³ The 4th of August was the day on which that sovereign had been killed at Roxburgh. The chief magistrate and his bailies still retain the privileges thus conferred on them, though the possibility of their fulfilling the condition assigned has long since passed away.

King James III., who thus piously made provision for religious rites being performed for the soul of his father, very shortly afterwards had them celebrated in the same place for his own repose on the 5th January 1488. We learn from the chamberlain's accounts that he attended St Giles frequently, and according to the custom of kings and other great men made offerings during mass. "Item, on Sanct Mongoys da in Edingh. to the King to offer in Sanct Geyllis Kirk, xviijs.; item, the same da to our Lady's licht, ixs." Subse-

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 57.

² Tytler, vol. iv. p. 238.

³ Great Seal Charters, 1526.

quently to this visit he was murdered after the battle of Sauchie, the victim of a conspiracy headed by his own son, and payment was made to the priests of Edinburgh "to do dirige and saule messe for him."

The following summary of the endowments that came to St Giles during the provostship of William Forbes, to which this chapter relates, will be sufficient to show how great an impetus to its prosperity was given by its erection into a collegiate establishment.

1466. Alexander Curor, vicar of Dunsire, and John Colyton, chaplain, give to the altar of St Nicolas various annual rents.¹

1470. Robert Auldhoch, burgess of Edinburgh, bequeaths ten pounds annually from land to the altar of St Katharine.²

1477. John Dalrymple founds an altar to St Elois, and endows it with ten pounds and five merks annually.²

1477. James, Bishop of Dunkeld, founds an altar in the aisle of St Cross, at the column west of the altar of St Martin and St Thomas, dedicated to St Columba, and endows it with ten pounds annually, with two merks for the up-keep of three lamps, which are to be lighted before the altars named, at the second bell calling to vespers, and to be kept burning till the doors are shut.²

1478. Patrick Baroun endows the altar of St Andrew, in the south part of the church, with certain rents from properties in Edinburgh.²

1478. John Otterburn, archdeacon of Candida Casa and canon of Glasgow, leaves to the provost and canons for saying mass for the soul of his uncle, Nicolas Otterburn, formerly vicar of the church, at the great altar, an annual rent of twenty shillings.²

1478. John, Bishop of Glasgow, endows St Duthac's altar with five merks annually.²

1478. Walter Bertram, burgess of Edinburgh, gives to the up-keep of a chaplain at the altar of St Francis, behind the great altar, various rents of twelve merks, thirty, and fifty shillings.²

¹ Laing's Charters, p. 113.

² Laing's Charters.

1478. Andrew Mowbray, burges of Edinburgh, founds a new chaplainry to St Ninian, and endows it with various rents, one of four merks, and others amounting to twenty-one pounds twelve shillings.¹

1480. Thomas, Bishop of Dunkeld, founds a chaplainry in the aisle of St Cross, at the column west of the altar of St Martin and St Thomas, the presentation to be with the Bishop of Dunkeld, and endows it with a rent of six merks, and other rents amounting to nine pounds eight shillings.¹

1484. James Townys, burges of Edinburgh, endows the altar of our Lord of Piety, at the north door of the choir, with an annual revenue of fourteen merks, thirty shillings and fourpence.¹

1484. Alan Brown, burges, leaves an annual sum of ten shillings for the up-keep of a wax candle before the altar of the B. Virgin.²

1486. Sir Alexander Barcare, vicar of Pitynane, gives to the altar of St Blase an annual endowment of nineteen merks.²

1488. Richard Robesoun, presbyter and canon of St Giles, for the prosperity of James IV. and the soul of James III., lately deceased, and others, gives to a chaplain at the altar of St Dionysius twenty merks annually.¹

1490. Isobel Bras or Williamson, widow of Thomas Williamson, burges of Edinburgh, gives for the support of a chaplain officiating at the altar of St Laurence, on the south part of the church, near the middle, an annual endowment of eight merks, two pounds and fourpence.¹

1491. William Fowlar, canon of Dunblane, endows a chaplain to officiate in honour of St Gregory Pope, at the altar of St James the Apostle, with forty-four merks and twenty shillings.¹

1492. Andrew Mowbray, burges of Edinburgh, endows two secular chaplains at St Ninian's altar, in the south of the church, with certain lands and houses in Edinburgh and all their rents.³

¹ Laing's Charters.

² Great Seal Charters.

³ Laing's Charters, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER VII.

Before Flodden—1492-1513.

All without is mean and small,
All within is vast and tall;
All without is harsh and shrill,
All within is hushed and still.



THE accession of King James IV. to the throne of Scotland was a fortunate occurrence for the church. Combined with considerable laxity of life, he exhibited great deference to the offices of religion. He seems to have regarded himself as blamable in some measure for the events that led to his father's death, and was frequent in penances and other pious rites in order to make atonement for his transgression. He was constantly making pilgrimages to the holy places in Scotland. He visited the shrine of St Duthac at Tain in the far north, Paisley in the west, and St Ninian at Whithorn in the south, was regular in his religious observances, and liberal in his gifts to the church. St Giles, with many another church throughout Scotland, reaped material benefit from his piety. He was frequently a worshipper at its altars, and a record of his attendance is found in the books of the comptroller of the royal household, who disbursed money to pay for his offerings. It was the custom, when royal personages attended church, that they should make an offering during mass. Those of the king are thus noted :

Sunday, 7 June, Whitsunday.

1489. Item, To ij breddis in Sanct Gellis Kirk.....xviijs.
„ To Sanct Loys licht in the saim da.....xiiijs.

1492. Item, on Sunday 13 May send with the Prothonotar at the king's command to offer in St Gellys Kirk at Schir Johne of Craufordis first mess.....iij unicornis.
 1494. Item, to ane prestis first mess on the Sunday after Yule in Sanct Gellis Kirk.....xviijjs.
 1497. July 11, To the king's offerand on Sanct Gelis bred.¹

Royalty took much interest in St Giles, and aided the work which was still in progress in the extension of the building. It was only to be expected that the provost and clergy should show gratitude for his benefactions. Accordingly, on his entry into Edinburgh with his bride in 1503, they were cordial in their welcome. In all their state and ecclesiastical bravery, they went in procession to the gate of the city. They were clad in their richest vestments, and bore aloft their most precious relic. Their imposing array seems to have specially attracted the notice of Sir John Younge, the Somerset herald, who accompanied the bride in her progress to Scotland, and who has given us a minute description of all the proceedings connected with it.² As we read his graphic account, a vision of pageantry and splendour passes before us. "Ladies mounted on their palfreys, many squires before them." Bishops "well accompanied and honestly arrayed." It was a brave show as it swept onwards from Newbattle Abbey by Liberton to the city gate, and attracted multitudes of people, who were loud in their acclamations. "At the enterying in of the said toune was maid a yatt³ of wood painted with tow tourells,⁴ and a window in the mids, in the which tourells was at the windous revested angels synging joyously for the comying of so noble a lady, and at the said windowe was in lykewyse an angele presenting the kees to the said queene. Within the toun, by the said yatt, came in procession the college of the perysche of Saint Gilles, rychly revested with the arme of that saint, the whiche was presented to the kynge to kisse, whereof he did as before, and began to synge *Te Deum Laudamus*." The whole ceremonial was evidently of an impressive character, and not the least striking part must have been the musical perfor-

¹ Lord Treasurer's Accounts. ² Lelland's *Collection*, vol. iv. p. 259. ³ Gate. ⁴ Towers.

mance of the king, which doubtless was heartily applauded by the multitude, who may be supposed to have been in excellent humour, as the herald lays much emphasis on the fact of there being provided for them "plaunte of drynke."

The greatest benefit which the king conferred on St Giles was the appointment of a new provost to the church, in succession to William Forbes. He called to the post from rural retirement one who is still remembered as a distinguished Scotsman, and who was probably the most celebrated ecclesiastic connected with the church during its long history. This was Gawin Douglas, who seems to have ascended the provost's chair in 1501. He was of noble birth, a son of Archibald called "the great Earl of Angus," and who bore the well-known name of "Bell-the-Cat." Gawin was educated at St Andrews, where he graduated in arts in 1494. Entering the church he speedily obtained preferment, and having powerful family patronage to favour him, was appointed in 1496 to Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, afterwards to Glenquholm (now Glenholm) in Peeblesshire, and shortly after was made parson of Lyntoun and rector of Hauch or Prestonkirk. During the time he held the latter preferment, he devoted himself to literature and began to compose those works which rendered his name famous. It may have been his connection with the powerful House of Douglas that secured for him the provostry of St Giles. More probably, however, it was his flattering reference to the king in the first of his books, the *Palice of Honour*. To such attentions the monarch was always susceptible, and mention of himself as worthy of all the honours both of earth and of heaven was calculated at once to call forth a pleasant response. The poet certainly offered to the throne incense of a very fragrant and pronounced character :

Maist gracious Prince, our souerane James the Feird,
 Thy majisty mot have eternattie,
 Supreme honor, renown of chivalrie,
 Felicitie perdurand in this eird,
 With eterne blis in hevin by fatall weird.

The same year in which these flattering lines appeared, Gawin left his rural retirement and came to the church of the capital.

It would be foreign to our purpose to enter on any detailed account of those literary labours which the provost carried on in his prebendal residence under the shadow of St Giles. The allegorical poem to which we have alluded, and which was written in his country parish, was the longest of his compositions. Afterwards he composed a poem called *King Hart*, an allegory of the progress of human life, but his great work is his translation of the *Æneid* of Virgil, which he began in 1512 and finished in 1513, in a period of eighteen months. It is the first metrical translation of a classic writer published in this country, and is a work of which Scotland may be justly proud. It is "written in the language of Scottis nation." Each book of the *Æneid* is prefaced by a prologue, and in some of these prologues are descriptive passages of a high order. Our space will only allow us to give one of these, modifying the rough Doric in order to make it intelligible to the ordinary reader. It is a description of winter. The poet, from the window of his chamber in the provost's house, which stood to the west of the church and commanded a wide view, describes the aspect of nature around—the trees destitute of foliage, rivers in heavy flood, and the little rills, so sweet and quiet in summer, turned into torrents tearing down their banks. The earth is barren, hard, and unlovely, and the decay of nature begins to remind man of "wintry age and all-subduing death." One can almost imagine him looking out from his elevated residence upon Arthur's Seat, the Pentland Hills, and the shores of Fife, as they still appear on a snowy December morning.

Incessant rains had drenched the floated ground,
 And clouds o'er cast the firmament around,
 White shone the hills involved in silver snow,
 But brown and barren are the hills below ;
 On firm foundations of eternal stone,
 High, rugged rocks in frosty splendour shone.

The hoary fields no vivid verdure wore,
 Frost wrapt the world, and beauty was no more;
 Wild wasting winds that chilled the dreary day,
 And seemed to threaten Nature with decay,
 Reminded man, at every baleful breath,
 Of wintry age and all-subduing death.

From this dreary outlook the poet creeps back to his fireside, and finds consolation in the pages of his beloved Virgil.

It is not, however, with the poetry of Gawin Douglas that we have to do,¹ but with his government of St Giles, and of this we have scanty notice. There are traces in the records that have come down to us which seem to show that there was considerable negligence on the part of the clergy in the performance of their duties during his term of office. He was frequently absent from Edinburgh, in England, France, and Rome,² and the neglect of duty on the part of those under his rule may have arisen from this cause, rather than from any indolence on his part. He was a man of considerable energy, and took a leading position in the affairs of state, and it is difficult to believe him lax in matters more immediately under his control. There was, however, remissness in duty on the part of the clergy, so great as to call for the interference of the civil magistrate. On the 20th November 1501, "on the eleventh hour, George Tours, provost, instantly required and advised in all kindness, and commanded the prebendaries of the collegiate church of St Giles of Edinburgh, to observe their due service in the said church according to the tenor and erection of the said college, under the penalties which might be imposed on the said prebendaries by the said provost, bailies, and council of the burgh."³

The example of the prebendaries was readily followed by the inferior clergy of the church, some of whom appear to have taken their fees for the performance of masses of requiem without discharging that duty, and others were persistent in gathering alms

¹ Those who wish to know the literary works of Douglas we refer to the admirable edition of his poems, with biography prefaced, by Mr John Small, librarian to the Edinburgh University. Also to an admirable article in *The Scottish Church*, March 1886, and an article by Andrew Lang in Ward's *Anthology*.

² Laing's *Charters*, xxxv.

³ Burgh Records.

from the people. The council of the burgh therefore made statutes dealing with these scandals, and with the consent of the prebendaries ordained "anent the deriges, saule mass, feasts, and others, that absents for the tyme shall have no fee nor wages for the deriges and saul mess but the persons present, except the sick."¹ No priests were allowed to gather alms but on one day of the year for each altar, and a special officer was appointed "to gadder the faltis of the prebendaries failyeand² and absent from their service."³ The latter dignitaries seem, at length, to have carried their carelessness so far as to bring themselves under ecclesiastical censure. The altar of the Holy Blood was regarded as one of the most sacred in the church, and appears to have been supported by a confraternity, whether clerical or lay we do not know, who were interested in its maintenance and the dignity of its service. It was probably a complaint on their part to the chapter that brought the matter noticed in the following curious minute formally before that body and the authorities of the town. The minute is to be found both in the charters of the church and in the records of the town council.

"1510-11. On the 27th February, in the year of our Lord 1510, the thirteenth indiction, the eighth year of the pontificate of Pope Paul the Second. Master Gawin Douglas, provost of the collegiate church of St Giles of Edinburgh, the official and all the prebendaries thereof—in respect of the failure to-day in the celebration with accustomed honour of the mass of the most Holy Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, formally promised in future to celebrate and sing the same on every Wednesday under the penalties for each week day, for each person 2d., and for a festival 4d., and if all should fail the prebendaries should pay one merk to the common good of the confraternity of the Holy Blood, and they should not have the privilege of synod in any day to excuse from the said service; and the official in the name of the prebendaries protested that if it shall happen, upon taking account of the money which may be accumulated of the said confraternity, it amounts to a large sum, that they

¹ Burgh Records.

² Failing.

³ Burgh Records.

shall have a little of it for their own refreshment, the service being first done in this manner." These things were done in the chapter, chapterly convened. The provost of Edinburgh, Sir Alexander Lauder, was present at this meeting, which had been probably called on his complaint, and at its conclusion he asked and obtained a copy of the minute. As we hear no more of irregularities in connection with the church, it is likely the measures we have noticed put a stop to their continuance.

Another name of eminence in connection with literature, besides that of Gawin Douglas, is associated with St Giles during this period of its history. Walter Chepman, of Ewerland, who has been called "our Scottis Caxton," took a great interest in its prosperity. This distinguished person was connected with the household of King James IV., and stood high in royal favour. He was first employed as a clerk at Holyrood, and was intrusted with the king's signet. He carried on business also as a general merchant, and amassed considerable wealth. In 1505 he purchased the freehold of Ewerland, and in 1509 acquired the estate of Priestfield,¹ near Edinburgh. He possessed several tenements also within the city. It was to his enterprise that Scotland was indebted for the introduction of the art of printing. Under the auspices of the king and queen, in 1507, he in conjunction with Andrew Myllar set up a printing-press, and latterly, after Myllar had left him, he conducted a flourishing business as a printer at the head of the Blackfriars' Wynd in the High Street. At his own cost he built a chapel dedicated to St John the Evangelist, in the south part of the church off the Preston Aisle, and in 1513 he endowed liberally a chaplain to officiate at its altar.² The endowment is bestowed for the prosperity of the king and queen, and for the benefit of his own soul and the souls of others named. The deed confirming it is very minute in its character, and



Emblem of St John.

¹ Great Seal Charters.

² *Ibid.*

specifies in great detail the rites to be performed on the anniversary of his decease, and the conditions under which the chaplain is to hold office, one of them being that he should not engage in games of chance. This chapel, in which the founder was subsequently buried, still remains. On the roof are to be seen two interesting sculptures—one, that of an eagle, the emblem of St John, to whom the chapel was dedicated, with a scroll bearing the words “In principio,” the initial words of his gospel. The other displays the arms of Chepman himself impaled with those of his first wife, Mariote Kirkettill.¹ The chapel is one of considerable interest, and may be regarded as in itself a memorial of the introduction of the art of printing into Scotland, with all the happy consequences that have flowed therefrom.²



Chepman's Arms.

Four weeks from the date of the charter which testifies to the munificence of Chepman, and seven from the day when the provost of St Giles tells us he wrote the last word of his translation of Virgil, the battle of Flodden took place, and all Scotland was filled with “mourning, lamentation, and woe.” The loss to Edinburgh was peculiarly great. The provost of the city was among the slain, and of the magistrates and able-bodied men who had followed the town’s standard but few returned. The tidings of the battle filled the city with consternation. Crowds of women filled the streets, and their loud cries resounded on every side. The authorities displayed in the circumstances great self-command and resolution. They called all the able-bodied men to rally to the defence of the capital, and exhorted the “good women to pass to the kyrk and pray whane tyme requires for our Sovereine Lord and his army, and neichbouris being thereat.”³ The aisles of

¹ Laing’s Charters, p. 205, *in capella ipsius per me novita fundata in australi parte ecclesie Beati Egidii.*

² Dr William Chambers, himself a distinguished follower of Chepman’s art, erected a tablet to his memory in the chapel.

³ Town Council Records.

the old church witnessed a sad and heart-rending sight, and around the altars kneeled crowds of women displaying every sign of grief, few of whom had not lost husband, lover, or kinsman in the fight.

It was long before Edinburgh forgot Flodden, and it is not wonderful, after the first shock of the calamity, that in those superstitious times many omens of warning were recalled which had passed at the time unheeded. It was rumoured that the king, when in the church at Linlithgow, had been warned by a mysterious stranger—with head uncovered, his hair parted over his forehead, his robe blue, and tied about his loins with a white linen girdle¹—not to proceed with the undertaking that had ended so disastrously, and who, after delivering his message, had vanished among the crowd like a spirit from another world,² “as he had been a glint of the sun or a whip of the whirlwind.” Another equally weird story was told how a citizen, looking out in the night upon the High Street, heard a voice calling aloud at the Cross one well-known name after another, and summoning them to Pluto’s dominions, and how, when his own name was called, he threw into the air a piece of silver and protested against the summons, and, in the Scottish manner, appealed to a higher court, and how he alone returned from Flodden alive of those named. But none of these legends are more picturesque than the romantic story which has been located within the walls of St Giles. Whether it be founded on legend as old as the time of Flodden, or is altogether of more modern origin, is of little moment; it is equal in its weird character to either of those we have named.

Gawin Douglas rose from a dead-troth sleep
Teenful with eerie dreams.

.
It is not one day, but only ten,
Since St Giles his quire had rung,
With the high mass and the holy sign,
And the aisles with the tramp of stalwart men,
That the *Nunc Dimittis* sung.

¹ Tytler’s *History of Scotland*.

² Pitscottie.

When Douglas sought, nigh the noon of night,
 The altar of good St Giles,
 Up the holy quire where the glimmering light
 Of the virgin's lamp gave the darkness sight
 To fill the eerie aisles.
 Believe as the boom of the mid mirk hour
 Rang out with clang and main,
 Clang after clang from St Giles' tower,
 Where the fretted ribs like a box-tree bower,
 Make a royal crown of stane.
 Ere the sight was lost—'fore mortal eye
 Ne'er saw such sight, I trow.
 Shimmering with light each canopy
 Pillar and ribbed arch and fretted key,
 With a wild unearthly low.¹
 And Douglas was ware that the holy pile
 With a strange kent throng was filled;
 Earls Angus, and Crawford, and bold Argyle,
 Huntly, and Lennox, and Home, the while,
 With many more noble styled;
 And priests stood up in cope and stole,
 In mitre and abbot's weed;
 And James I wist above the whole,
 Led up the kirk to win assoyl,²
 Where the eldritch³ mass was said.
 "Let the mass be sung for the unshriven dead!
 Let the dead's mass bide their ban;"
 And grim and stalwart in mouldy⁴ weed,
 Priest after priest up the altar lead,
 King James his forbear⁵ wan.⁶
 "Let the dead's mass sing," said Inchaffray's priest;
 Dead threats⁷ not to the dead!
 Now peace to them that take their rest,
 All smirched in blood on Flodden's breast!
 "Christ's peace!" priest Douglas cried.
 Gone was the throng from the glimmering aisle,
 As he groped to the kirkyard bound.⁸

One touching memorial of Flodden, now swept away, long remained connected with St Giles. Walter Chepman, the printer,

¹ Flame.⁴ Earth-stained.⁷ Contends.² Absolution.⁶ Father.⁸ *The Ancient Church of Scotland*, Walecott, p. 364.³ Ghostly.⁶ Pale.

erected a chapel of the crucifixion in the lower part of the church-yard, and endowed a chaplain to officiate therein, under the authority of the provost of the mother church. It was erected specially, so states the charter of endowment, for "the welfare of the soul of our late most powerful lord, King James IV., by the grace of God, king of Scotland, and the souls of those most noble and faithful followers who with him were slain in defence of the safety of their country, in conflict with the English at Flodoun." It was a touching tribute of affection, on the part of the old printer, to the sovereign whose generosity had laid the foundation of his prosperity.¹

Gawin Douglas took a leading part in the political events that succeeded the great national disaster. He was one of those chosen to advise the widowed queen, and probably in recognition of his activity in the affairs of the kingdom, received the unwonted honour, for a clergyman, of being made a burghess of Edinburgh. On the last day of September 1513 we find the following record in the council books: "Ane priest made burghess, Master Gawin Douglas, provost of the collegiate church of St Giles of this burgh, is made a burghess gratis for the common good of the town." Flodden, however, was the indirect means of his leaving Edinburgh. Many distinguished churchmen were among the slain, among others the youthful Bishop of St Andrews, who held the abbacy of Aberbrothock, and to the latter rich preferment Douglas was promoted. He now passed from the quiet precincts of St Giles into the stormy political arena of the time, into which we are not called to follow him in this history. It is sufficient to say that from this period he forsook his poetic studies, and plunged into those intrigues by which Scotland was distracted. He attached himself in the first instance to the party of the queen, and through her interest and that of the English court, obtained from the pope the bishopric of Dunkeld. It was some time before he was consecrated to this see, and for going to the pope without first obtaining the sanction of the regent of Scotland, he was condemned by the council to imprisonment, and passed a considerable time in

¹ Laing's Charters, p. 227.

what he calls "the wyndy and richt unpleasent castle and rok of Edinburgh."

He was liberated at length through the influence of the pope, and admitted to Dunkeld. After a few years' tenancy of the see, during which his name appears in connection with every political disturbance of the time, he was outlawed as a traitor by King James V., and fled to England. He died in London of the plague in September 1522, at the house of his friend Lord Dacre, in St Clement's parish, near London, in the forty-eighth year of his age. Agreeably to his own injunctions, he was buried in the Hospital Church of the Savoy; and in what is now called the Chapel Royal of the Savoy, in the neighbourhood of the Strand, may be seen the inscription on his tomb, of which the following is the translation: "Here lieth Thomas Halsey, Bishop of Leighline. On his left is buried Gawin Douglas, a native of Scotland, Bishop of Dunkeld, an exile from his country, in the year of Christ 1522." It must always be regretted that he forsook his peaceful literary studies at Edinburgh, and wasted his great abilities in those intrigues which brought him nothing but sorrow.

We may perhaps fitly close our sketch of the great provost of St Giles by quoting two tributes to his talents, which show the esteem in which he was held by those well fitted to judge him. The first is by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount:

Allace! fer ane, quhilk lamp was in this land
 Of eloquence, the flow and balmy strand,
 And in our Inglis rhetoric the rose,
 As of rubies the carbuncle bin chose. . . .
 His worthy warkis in nomber ma than five,
 And specially the treu translation
 Of Virgil quhilk bin consolation,
 To cunning men to knaw his greit ingyne
 Als weill in natural science as diuyne.

Better known is the notice of Douglas by Sir Walter Scott:

A bishop by the altar stood,
 A noble lord of Douglas blood,

With mitre sheen and socquet white,
 Yet showed his meek and thoughtful eye
 But little pride of prelacy.
 More pleased that in a barbarous age
 He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
 Than that beneath his rule he held
 The bishopric of fair Dunkeld.

We subjoin a note of the endowments bestowed on the church in continuation of the list given in a previous chapter :

1493. Marie Redchaw gives to a chaplain at the altar of St Katherine various rentals, paid annually, from house in the burgh, five pounds Scots, six merks, and five pounds three and eightpence.¹

1493-4. Adam William, master of arts, and chaplain of the chaplainry of St Columba, gives five pounds and eightpence annually to his successors.²

1494-5. Archibald Naper of Merchamestoun gives to the altar of St Saviour a rent of twenty merks.³

1494-5. Walter Bertrem, provost of Edinburgh, gives for a chaplainry at the altar of St Laurence, rents amounting to eleven merks and five pounds seven shillings.⁴

1498-9. John, Bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of Scotland, gives to a chaplain at the altar of St Katharine, rents of five merks, and two pounds nine shillings and fourpence.⁵

1502. Richard Hopper, burgess, gives to the altar of the Virgin and St Roche, and a chaplain officiating there, in the new aisle of St Thomas, martyr, rents of twenty-four merks and three pounds and fourpence.⁶

1504-5. Robert Vaus, burgess, gives to a chaplain officiating at the High Altar, rents of seventeen merks and two pounds.⁷

1508. Jonete Elphynston gives to Sir William Lyntoun, at the altar of All Saints, also of St Thomas, and Appolonie, virgin, and his successors, her lands of Crawmond-Regis, with her share of the mill thereof, amounting to ten pounds annually, and seven merks from a rental within the burgh.⁸

¹ Laing's Charters, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. lxxiv.

1512. Alexander Rynde gives to a chaplain at the altar of our Saviour, rentals of ten pounds four merks, thirty shillings and fourpence;¹ he also gives, in the same year, to a chaplain at the same altar, an annual rent of ten pounds.²

1513. Sir Alexander Lauder de Blith, provost of the burgh, to a chaplain at the altar founded by him, in the new aisle to the Virgin and Gabriel archangel, rentals of fifty-five merks.³

1513. Walter Chepman, to a secular chaplain at the altar of St John, Evangelist, in the chapel newly founded by him, in the south of the church, annual rents amounting to twenty merks, and another annual of forty shillings.⁴

¹ Laing's Charters, p. 193. ² *Ibid.*, p. 197. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 199. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203.



In St Giles, after Flodden. (From a Drawing by Sir NOEL PATON, R.S.A.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Coming Change—1513-1556.

Ebbd far away from prior and priest
The life that day by day increased ;
From kirk and choir ebbd far away,
The thought that gathered day by day ;
 And round the altars drew
A weak unlettered crew.

W. C. SMITH.



AFTER Flodden, and until it became at the Reformation the scene of great events, the annals of St Giles are somewhat dull, and towards the later part of the period to which this chapter refers, we can distinctly see from the few notices of it in the public records that have come to us, that there hung over the church the shadow of impending change. Popular support grows feeble. There are no royal offerings made at its shrines, and its chief patrons are the officials of the town and the incorporated guilds. Gawin Douglas was succeeded in the provostry of the church by Robert Crichtoun, a man as undistinguished as his predecessor was famous. He was one of those ecclesiastics, of whom there were many in Scotland at the time, whose sole ambition seems to have been their own aggrandisement, and who discharged their duties in an extremely perfunctory manner.

He was seldom resident at St Giles, and passed much of his time abroad, nominally for the purpose of study,¹ but in reality pushing his fortunes at the papal court. At the meetings of the chapter,

¹ "Nunc causa studii in remotis agentis" (Charters).

the curate or vicar of Edinburgh, Laurence Tod, who was second in rank among the clergy, presided in his place. Crichtoun was a son of Sir Patrick Cranstoun of Cranstoun Riddel, and nephew of George Crichtoun of Naughton, abbot of Holyrood, and Bishop of Dunkeld, who was regarded as an especially easy-going prelate, even in those times. From him the young man could not learn very high views of his office. It is this bishop who is credited with the well-known reply to one of his clergy, with whom he had remonstrated for preaching every Sunday, and whom he had told to content himself with reading to his flock any good epistle or gospel which set forth the liberty of the church. When the priest asked his lordship to point out any evil epistle or gospel, the bishop said, "Nay, brother Thomas, my joy that I cannot do, for I am contented with my breviary and pontifical, and know neither the Old Testament nor the New, and yet thou seest that I have come on indifferently well."

Robert Crichtoun seems to have walked closely in his uncle's footsteps, and like him also to have come on indifferently well.¹ When he was but a student at St Andrews, and before he took his degree, he was elected² clerk of the aisle and altar of Holyrood, and very soon afterwards was made provost of St Giles. There is little to tell of his government there. His uncle died in 1543-4, and is supposed to have resigned his see in favour of his nephew. Crichtoun retained the bishopric in virtue of a decree which he said he had received from the pope, and was summoned before parliament for endeavouring to procure the appointment without the sanction of the crown. A prolonged controversy ensued, but the matter was decided finally against him at Rome, and his rival competitor, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, the nominee of the crown, made Bishop of Dunkeld.³ On the promotion of the latter to the bishopric of St Andrews, Crichtoun obtained his desire, and was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld in 1550. He, however, managed still to retain his Edinburgh provostship, for he is for two

¹ Tytler, vol. v.

² February 11, 1514-15.

³ See my *History of Paisley Abbey*, p. 190; Brady's *Epis. Succession*, vol. i. p. 131; *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 469.

years subsequent to that date designated in charters as holding that office.¹ It was the appointment of such as he was, ambitious and self-seeking priests, which, more than anything else, contributed to the disasters that befell the Church of Rome in Scotland.

Crichtoun was succeeded in St Giles by James Chisholme, of whom, either in connection with the church or otherwise, we know but little.² He was the last occupant of the provost's stall, and what we learn of him is from his endeavours, amid the ruin that fell upon the church, to save some fragments of ecclesiastical property from the general wreck. The various guilds and incorporations of Edinburgh tradesmen seem, during his term of office and that of his predecessor, to have taken a lively interest in the church. As each guild was formed it claimed an altar in St Giles, and the brethren became bound for its upkeep and the support of its priest. The brethren of the Surgeons and Barbers, who upheld the altar of St Mungo, received from the town a deed of constitution,³ by which every person admitted to the said craft became bound "to pay at his entry for his upset five pounds usual money of the realm of Scotland for the reparation and upholding of the altar of St Mungo, for divine service to be done thereat. Every master that is received freeman to the said craft shall pay his weekly penney, with the priest's meit, as he shall happen to come about, and every servant that is footman to the masters of the said craft, shall pay each week ane halfpenney to the said altar and reparation thereof, and that we have power to choose a chaplain to do divine service at our said altar." We quote these words from the deed of incorporation.

The deeds of the other guilds are in very similar terms. The Cordwainers upheld the altar of St Crispin and St Crispiniane,⁴ to which each apprentice was to pay six shillings and eightpence, every servant his weekly halfpenny; any man of the craft not coming to the yearly account, two pounds of wax, and every master holding a booth his weekly penny, to the reparation of the ornaments of the

¹ Laing's Charters, Nos. 144, 147.

³ 1505 (Town Records).

² We have no notice of the date of his appointment.

⁴ This deed is dated 15th February 1509-10.

altar, and to "sustain the priest's meit as he comes about." The Candlemakers at their incorporation¹ had no altar of their own, every possible place for an altar having probably been previously occupied. Any member of the craft setting up a booth became bound to pay half a merk to the light on any "misterful altar" which the deacon and craftsmen might choose, and each master and occupier to give ten shillings yearly to the "reparation either of licht or of needful graith till any altar situat within the college kirk, till they shall be provided with an altar of their ain." The penalty of not fulfilling these conditions was a pound of wax to our Lady altar. Ultimately this guild obtained an altar of its own, for in 1522 William Bell gave them the altar to our Lady of Piety, on the north side of the entrance to the choir.²

The deed conveying the gift to the guild is one of the few charters that have come down to us in the Scotch language: "Forasmeikle as thai (the candlemakers) of gude mynde, and for the honor and policy of halikirk, and for augmentation of divine service til be done at the said altar of our Lady of Pietie for sufferage and prayeris to be done for thame and thare successoris in tyme cuming, dessirit ane chaplane quhilk daily nicht do mes at all tymes when he was desposit for the said maisteris and candilmakers of the said craft and thare successoris, quhilk desire I considerit was conservant to resoun and gid conscience, and for uphalding and loving God's service, and for thankis, pleseuris, and uthar gratitudis done be thame to me, I gif and grant, and be the tenour of the presentis giffs and grantis for me and myne airis till the said personis and craft of the candlemakeris and thair successoris above written, full fre facultie license and freedome till thame till haue, and put in ane chaplane at the said altar, at all tymes quhen he beis disposit for suffrage to be done for thame and thare successoris in tyme to cum as said is, and till remove and put furth the said chaplane at all tymes quhen thai think expedient." Bell, however, reserved the patronage of the altar to himself and his heirs as often as it should become vacant.

¹ 5th September 1517 (Town Records).

² Laing's Charters, p. 238.

In 1518 the Merchants followed the example of the other guilds. A chapel had lately been built off the Holy Blood aisle, on the south of the church, and this they desired and obtained from the town, which granted their prayer and "gave them the said ile with the pertinence to make the Holy Blude their patrone, and to haif the octave of Corpus Christi to be thair procuration day."¹ In 1520 the Walkers, Shearers, and Bonnet-makers obtained the altar of St Mark,² and in 1531 the Tailors had allotted to them that of St Anne.

During the period covered by this chapter additions to the church still seem to have been in progress. We read of a new aisle being built by Lauder de Blith, provost of Edinburgh, at the west end of the church, towards the south,³ in 1513, and we have already referred to the new chapel of the Holy Blood granted to the merchants. Donations to the "kirk wark" in the shape of fines are frequently mentioned in the town records. After Flodden, and when the town was under apprehension of an English invasion, householders were required to build up all dykes belonging to their houses, under penalty of five pounds to the kirk wark.⁴ People hanging clothes in their forestairs, and apprentices playing cards during their work, were fined, and the penalties imposed similarly applied. These notices indicate that building was still going on, though it is impossible to say with exactness what the additions were. The council of the burgh continued to the last to take an interest in the church, and a few extracts from their records may perhaps better illustrate this than any continuous narrative.

October 8, 1518.—"Ordainet for the gude rewle to be had in the college kirk of Sanct Gele that the servants of the guild and the haly blood beddral, every ilk day keep the quier of the said kirk fra all vile personis, the tyme of the matyns, hie mes, and evin sang, and that thai keep the hail kirk, and thole na manner beggares to cum within the said kirk, nither at matyns, hie mes, or evin sang,

¹ Town Records.

² Laing's Charters, p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Town Records.

under payne of deprivation of thame of thair offices for ever, and uthir is to be putt in thair stedes."

July 5, 1530.—"Given and grantit to Maister Robert Creychtoun, provost of thair college kirk, the littil piece of waist land of thair kirkyaird, equally decendand fra the chalmer, new biggit for the curate, doune throw as the said chalmer strikes to the neither end of the said provost's yaird, for policy to be biggit be the said provest thairin, because it wes ane meedding and common sege till all persouns."

July 13, 1540.—"The passage to Sanct Geylis kirk callit our Lady Steppis. The quhilk day the prouest, baillies, counsale, and dekynis, for the communitie thinkis expedient that the common buthis be foremaylit, to the effect that with the males thairof in sa far as may be gott in the land pertenyng to James Prestoun at the kirk end and east entres thairof, mycht be botht for the weill and policy of the kirk . . . to mak ane entres to the kirk for the honor of God and the policie of the gude toun."

October 25, 1543.—"Thomas Watson, glassin wricht, is payt be the provest, &c., to uphald the hail glass and wyndoys of thair kirk of Sanct Gele yearlie, and to furness glass, leid, and tyn, and the said dene and his successoris to furnis irne and skalfalting and support of leiding and convoying of ladderis."

March 4, 1552-3.—"The prouest, baillies, and counsale ordains that the common bell haif ane string cumand thair fra to the nether end of ane pillar in the kirk, and to be lokkit in almery, and that to haif sex keys, ane thairof to the provest, four to the four baillies, and the sext to the bellman, that the same bell may be rounge at all tymes quhen tyme occuris."

April 27, 1554.—"Anent the sang scule. The quhilk day the baillies and counsale sittand in judgement, ordainis the Dene of Gild to repair and upbig the sang scule in the kirkyard as it wes of befor, sua that the bernis may enter thairto and inhabit the samyn."

July 20, 1554.—"The prouest, &c., finds be the foundation and als be the consent of Sir Henry Loch, sacristane of Sanct Gelis

quire, that the said Sir aucht to find and serve the said kirk at all tymes needful, lycht and fyre and watter to serve all the chaplanes of the kirk, and also to find stryngis to all the bellis within the steeple and sick lyke, to watter and soup all the queir every week anis; and also anent the ringing of the bellis discernis with the consent of the said Sir Henry, that in all tymes comyng, the greit bellis be nocht rung fra ten hours at evin, quhill v houris in the morning, and that he haif allanerlie for the 24 hours ringing, 6/8, without other dutie, and that the dutie of the three bells and deid bell be usit of the auld v shillings. The whilk day in presence Johne Yonge askit instruments that Sir Henry Loch consentit to tyne his benefice of sacristan in St Geles kirk, in case ony dosane of chaplanes of Sanct Gelis kirk wald pruve the kirk wantit fyre and watter in his defalt."

July 1554.—"Andro Mansoun, wricht, to the bigging of the stallis of the queir, having done his utter devoir and dilligence thereon, had awarded him a pension of ten marks for a period of ten years."

August 12, 1555.—"Jas. Carmichael, Dene of Gild, declared that he had divers and sundry tymes advisit thame that the eist gavil window of Sanct Gelis kirk wes abill to fall down and destroy Sanct Diones altar.—Ordered to repair the same."

January 22, 1556.—"The quhilk day the prouest, baillies, and counsale, as of befoir, thinkis expedient that the Dene of Gild reperell our Lady altar and mak ane ile thairof, and gif it pleis ony maner of personis to gif pillairs or ony uther ornamentis thairto, that he be permitted, and thoil thair armes to be put thairon."

The last extract is interesting. It tells us of the last of that "Sanct Giles wark," which we have so often noticed in these pages. The Lady altar was situated in the east end of the church to the south, and is often noticed in the charters. The brass pillars were intended probably to make an inclosure of the space where the altar stood, as well as to add to its ornament. The work was carried out, and various generous men were found to give the brass pillars,

one of them being the Dean of Guild, James Carmichael himself. In the accounts of that official we find the following items :

“1556–57. I am to be chargyt with money allowit and resuait for certane of the brassin pillairis. Item, ressuant fra Andro Murray of Blackbarrony, for onputting of his armis upon the pillar, *iiij^lib.* Item, ressuant fra Maister Henry Foulis for onputting of his armes upon the pillar in money, *iiij^lib.* Item, for my awin pillar ye whilk I put on my armes, *iiij^lib.*”

These items close the list of benefactions made to the church by the faithful. Within three years the besom of destruction swept the church of all its ornaments, and the “brassin” pillars of Carmichael and his friends were ordered to be made into artillery.

During the period comprised in this chapter, we can see indications of difference of opinion and of coming changes. The endowments to the altars come chiefly from the clergy, rather than as before from the faithful laity. One at least of the priests of the church adopted the principles of the Reformation and disappeared. On the 27th August 1534, two men, Straiton and Gourlay, condemned in a court at Holyrood, were burnt at the cross of Greenside for heresy, and their execution was followed by a time of relentless persecution, during which many citizens of Edinburgh who held their opinions sought safety in flight. Andro Johnstone, one of the prebendaries of St Giles, and chaplain of St Andrew’s altar, was among them. On the 26th May 1535 we have the following note in the council records :

“Gevis to Sir William Cady, the prebend of St Androis altar in Sant Gelis kirk, as vaccand because Mr Andro Johnstone last prebender left the land for heresy.”

Probably owing to the troubles of the time and the spirit of disaffection abroad, the provost was guarded when attending the church during the winter nights.¹

November 16, 1535.—“It is statute and ordained that all nichbouris within the toune, merchandis, and craftsmen, as thae hav power,

¹ Burgh Records.

till furnis cortise till pas and convey the provost fra the kirk till his awin hous after evin sang in the haly days of Yule, New Year day, and uphaly day, under payne of xvij shillings to be tane of thame that wantis cortise, and that every deykin haif power to pound his craft for the samyn."

In 1546 a chaplain, Sir John Young, probably of St Giles, though it is not specially stated, was ordered to be tried in the consistory aisle of the church as "art and part takar of the cruel and odious slaughter of my Lord Cardinal."¹ This priest was to have been tried by parliament, but was repledged from their jurisdiction as an ecclesiastical person, and therefore not subject to civil authority. Of his fate we are ignorant.

In the Dean of Guild accounts, among small disbursements on account of the church, we come upon the following, evidently referring to heretical publications then becoming widely disseminated.

"1555-6.—Item, imprimis, on the 12th day of October to ane workman and for hadder² to burn Englis buiks on the Mercat Cross."

The town authorities seem to have received certain dues from St Giles, called "procurations," probably offerings made to the great relic which was in their custody. These seem to have gradually diminished. In 1553 they amounted to £200, 14s. 8½d. ; in 1555 to £76, 17s. ; in 1556 to £69, 2s. 11½d. ; and in 1558 to £44, 12s.

All these were indications of the spirit that was abroad. They are like the streaks of cloud which, flitting across the blue sky, portend the coming storm.

The following is a list of the various bequests made to the church, in continuation of that already given :

1517. William Broune, chaplain, rector of Mousuald, gives to a chaplain at the altar of St Blase, martyr, annuals of nineteen merks and forty shillings.³

¹ Cardinal Beaton ; Acts of Parliament, vol. ii.—There was a Sir John Young at this time chaplain of St Roche.

² Heather.

³ Laing's Charters, p. 208.

1523. John Patersoun, burgess, and Jonete Patersoun, his daughter, give to a chaplain at the altar of St Sebastian twenty merks.¹

1527. Sir Robert Hoppare, prebendary of St Giles, gives to a chaplain at the altar of St Roche several properties, his own house lately built, a cellar and two booths built above it, two other booths, and a chamber immediately above, at present occupied by himself.²

1527. John Quhite, presbyter, prebendary of Petcokis, in the college church of St Baye, Dunbar, gives to a chaplain at the altar of the Holy Blood, in the south part of the church, various properties which he possesses—namely, a booth, two rooms immediately above, with their belongings.³

1528. Walter Chepman leaves for the support of a chaplain at the altar of Jesus our Saviour, within the chapel below the cemetery, lately built by him, his house and land, with garden and well.⁴

1535–6. Adam Ottirburne of Reidhall leaves to the altar of the Virgin various annual rents, amounting to seven merks six shillings and eightpence.⁵

1537. John Chepman gives for the support of a chaplain at the altar of St John the Evangelist, built by his uncle, various rents, amounting to twenty-two merks, with four merks for charity.⁶

1541–2. Sir Thomas Ewing, chaplain, gives to the altar of the Holy Blood rents amounting to six merks and one pound seventeen shillings and twopence.⁷

This is the last bequest that is recorded in the chartulary. We have reason to believe that there were many others besides those we have given, the deeds conveying which have been lost. There were lands belonging to the church in connection with which we have no charters. The churches of Dunbarney, Potty, and Moncrieff also belonged to St Giles,⁸ but we have no record of the time when they came into its possession, or by whom they were bestowed.

¹ *Ibid.*, lxxxii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 720.

We subjoin here a charter belonging to the period covered by this chapter. It is interesting as it refers to the great altar of the Holy Blood, one of the principal altars of the church, and also because it is written in the language of the time and abounds in quaint phraseology :

“Thir indentouris maid at Edinburgh, the X day of July in the yheir of God 1532 yheiris, conteinis, porportis, and beris witness that it is appoyntit and fynalie concordit betwixt honorable men, Nichole Carncors, William Symson, and Andro Baroun and Alexander Grahame, burgesses of the said burgh, kirkmaistris of the confrary and altare of the Holy Blude, within the said burgh of Edinburgh, for the tyme, with the consent, assent, and avis of the hale brether principall of the said fraternite on that ane parte, and Schir Thomas Ewin, chaplane, on that uthir parte, in manner, forme, and effect, as eftir followis—that is to say : Forasmekile as the said Schir Thomas Ewin, movit of devotioun quhilk he has to the said altare situate within the college kirk of Sanct Geill of the said burgh, to the honour of God Almichty and the blissit Sacrament, the precious blude of Jhesu Crist and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and all the court celestiall, in augmentation of divine service to be done at the said altare, hes foundit ane chaplainry perpetually for suffrage and menestratioun to be done thereat, and hes maid and ordainit, and be the tennour of this presentis, makis and ordainis the said kirkmaistris and brethir of the said fraternitie patronis of the said chaplainry efter his deceis, sua that quhat tyme and how sone the samyn happynnis to waik eftir the said Schir Thomas decis, it sal be lawful to the foure kirkmaistris of that yeir, with the foure maistris of the yheir preceidand befoir, or the maist parte of the saidis vii personis, and na man till have voce thairintill without any congregation of the laif of the brethir of the said fraternitie, or ony utheris personis quhatsomever, till cheis and impute ane sufficient chaplane of gude life and condition in the said chaplainry within viii days eftir the vacation theirof, as thai sall ansuer to Almichty God thairupon : And gif thai be negligent and chesis nocht the said chaplane, the said viii days being past, in that case it sal be lawful to the provost of the said college kirk of Sanct Geill

and prebendaris of the samyn that sal be fer the tyme, till cheis and impute ane sufficient chaplane of gude life as said is to the said chaplainry in continent, as thai sall answer to God. And gif the said chaplane observis and keeps nocht the said foundation of the said chaplainry eftir the forme of the poyntis and ordinance contenit thairintill, I will in that case that it sal be lawful to the said kirkmasteris to remove him thairfra, and put ane uther in his place at thair awin hand, without ony questioun to be sperit at the ordinare or the official or ony utheris. And the said maisteris and brethir of the said fraternitie sal furnis to the said chaplane and his successoris breid, wyne, walx, mes-claithis, and ane almery to keip his surples, for the quhilk thai sall have the procuratioun that beis gotten apone the patrone day grantit be the toun, that is to say, *Yconie Saluatoris*, quhilk fallis yheirlic, the ix day of November, togidder with xx^{us}. of annuell underwritten. And als the said kirkmaistris sall gar sing ane *Dirigie* yheirlic on the said patrone day eftirnone as use is, and ane saul mes on the morne thairafter devoutlie as efferis, and sall caus be put twa wax candellis on the bere, twa walx candellis on the altare, with twa torcheis to pass before the processioun, and sall caus xxx^u prestis to say dirige and mes on the morne, with ane daill to be maid of tre score and xvi portions, ilk portion to be ane quhete laif worth *iiii^d*. and *vi^d*. in money apoun the heid of ilk laif quhilk sal be delt and disponit in this manner, that is to say, xxxvi portionis to the Gray Freiris, foure to the Sisteris of Sanct Mary Wynd, thre to the lipper folks of Sanct Ninian's chapell, and the remanent to honest pure persons that hes maist myster, and *vis*. thairattour to be gevin to uthir pur folks that gets nane of the daill. For the quhilk suffrage portionis and expensis sua to be maid in the first, the quere sall have yheirlic *xiiis*. *iiii^d*., the bellman *iiii^d*., the croce and candilstikis *viii^d*., the grete bell *xvi^d*., the xxx^u prestis by the quere *xvs*., to be takin up yheirlic be the sadis kirkmaistris, and payit be thaim of this yheirlic annualis eftir following, videlicet sex markis, *vis*. *viii^d*. of annuell yheirlic to be uplifted and tane at twa usual termes in the yheir, Whitsonday and Martynmes in winter, be evin portionis of all and hail the tenement of umquhile James Turing, befoir and behynd, under and above, with the pertenantis, liand within the said burgh, on the north syde the Kingis Strete of the samyn, betwixt the land of

Anro Mowbray on the est parte, and the land of umquhile Archibald Napare of Marchemstoun on the west parte, and the college yardis on the north parte, and the Kingis Strete on the south parte. And twenty schillings of annuell yheirlie to be upliftit and tane at the said termes be evin portionis of all and hail the landis now perteninand till Maistir Henry Spittale, James Haw, and James Harlaubakis, liand within this burgh, beside the Ovirbow on the est syde, the transe of that ilk betwixt the land of umquhile Bartilmo Carnys on the southe part, the land of Sanct James altare on the north parte, and the land of umquhile Thomas Smyth on the est parte, and the Kingis Common strete on the west part. And als ane uthir annuel rente of xiiis. *vid.* yheirlie to be uplifted and tane of all and hail the land of umquhile Johnne Barkare liand under the wall on the north side the Kingis Strete of the samyn, betwixt the land of Thomas Kincade on the est parte, and the land of James Layng on the west parte, that is to say, viis. to be tane of the est parte of the said land quhilk Andro Moncur hes, and vis. *vid.* of the west parte of the said land now pertenand to Robert Watsoun. . . . quhilk annuellis extendis in the hail to the some of nyne markis *iid.* yeirlie, usuale money of Scotland, and sua the samyn correspondis and ansueris to the expensis above expemit. . . . And the said chaplane and his successouris sall be present at the said altare cled with his surples all the Sondais, Thurisdais, and principal festes of the yheir, accompanyit with the principal chaplane of the said altare, and sall gang in processioun beforis the sacrament, and sal help the said principal chaplain in hering of confesionis, and do all uthir honour and service to the said altare that he may, and the said masteris to stand gude frendis to him eftir his gude bering. . . . And to the observing and keeping and fulfilling of all and sundry the poyntis above written, the said partis ilk ane for thair awne pairt binds and obliges thame uthir to uthir be the faithis in their bodyies but fraude or gile.—In witness whereof, thai have interchangeblie debit and subscribiut this indentouris, yheir, day, and place foresaid, befor this witness, Maistir Adam Ottirburne, provost for the tyme, &c.”

CHAPTER IX.

Before the Storm.

Comes a vapour from the margin, blackening over heath and holt,
Cramming all the blast before it, in its breast a thunderbolt.

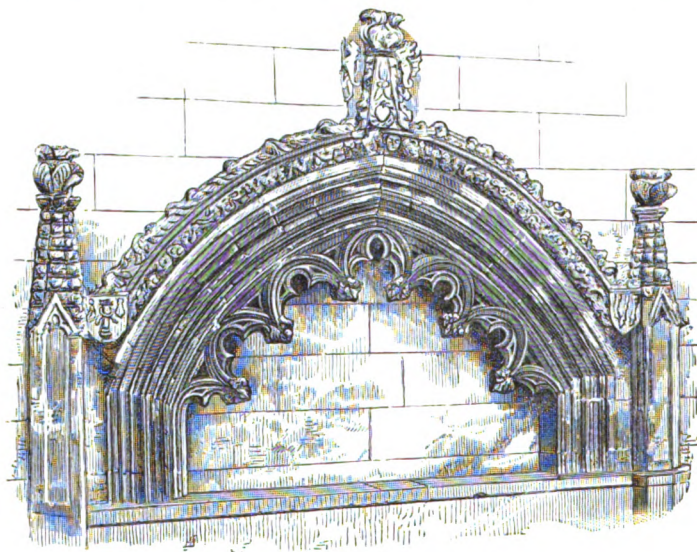
TENNYSON'S *Locksley Hall.*



It may perhaps be well at this point to give some description of St Giles as it stood on the eve of the storm, which swept away, as by a single blast, so much of what had taken centuries to build up. It was a fine old edifice, picturesque in appearance, and in every way well worthy of its position as the parish church of the metropolis of Scotland.

The original plan of the church was cruciform, with a small transept; but so many chapels had been added from time to time, jutting out on all sides from the main lines of the building, that the original design became obliterated and lost to view; thus externally the church presented an extremely irregular appearance. This is evident from the views of the building which have come down to us, as it existed previous to 1825. To the south of the nave aisle, between the west gable and the transept, stood the first five chapels built in 1387; one of them entered by a doorway from without, having a spacious porch. At a late period, shortly before 1513, two chapels were added to the west of this porch, and connected with the south wall of the two westmost chapels built in 1387. The entry to these may have been from the porch. These aisles or chapels formed in part the new chapel referred to in the deed of Sir Alexander Lauder de Blyth, in which he founds an altarage near the south-west corner of the church, in honour of God, the Virgin

Mary, and Gabriel the archangel.¹ About the same period, shortly before 1518, an aisle similar to that now called the Albany Aisle was built to the east of the porch, and between it and the transept. This was the aisle built in honour of the Holy Blood, which was given to the Merchants as their special chapel.² It consisted of two bays separated by a single pillar.³ There was thus a double row of



Remains of the Altar of the Holy Blood.

chapels between the west gable of the church and the south transept. To the east of the transept, off the south aisle, stood the chapel of three bays, built in honour of Preston in 1454. It stood in a line with

the western chapels of 1387. Off this Preston Aisle was the aisle of Walter Chepman, in which he endowed an altar in 1513.

To the north of the nave aisle, at the extreme west, was the Albany Aisle, happily still remaining, built about 1409. Farther east, and opposite the doorway on the south, was the Norman door, with a room above it; the entrance to the stair leading to which can still be traced in the structure of the church wall. Between the doorway and the transept stood two chapels, built probably about the same time as the Albany Aisle, only one of which, that dedicated to St Eloi, now remains.

We are able to give, with some approach at least to accuracy, the position in which the different altars stood. The High Altar,

¹ *Ante.*

² *Ante.*

³ In the late restoration the foundation of this pillar was uncovered.

dedicated to St Giles, stood in the choir between the last two octagon pillars to the east. To the right of this was the altar of the Blessed Virgin,¹ which was made into a special aisle or chapel by the erection of brass pillars in 1556.² To the left was the altar of the Holy Cross or the Rood Aisle.³ Here stood a large stone cross. Behind the High Altar, and immediately under the east window, stood the altar of St Dionysius;⁴ also behind the High Altar, but the position of which we cannot exactly define, was that of St Francis.⁵ In the choir of the Blessed Virgin stood the altar of St John the Baptist.⁶ In the aisle of the Holy Cross, at the western pillar, was the altar of St Martin and St Thomas.⁷ In the west end of the church, on the south, was an altar to the Virgin and St Gabriel; it is said in the deed of foundation to be in the new chapel founded by Sir Lauder de Blith at the west end of the church, on the south.⁸

There was an early altar to St John the Evangelist, in his chapel on the north side of the church,⁹ "fra the ald hers of yrne inwart," and which was assigned in 1475¹⁰ to the corporation of the Masons and Wrights. There was also an altar dedicated later to the same saint in the aisle of Walter Chepman, off the Preston Aisle. This early altar probably stood in the chapel between that of St Eloi and the north doorway. Near this doorway, "prope ostium boriale ecclesie," was an altar to the Holy Blood,¹¹ which may have occupied the Albany Aisle. Another altar to the Holy Blood stood in the south of the church. The two chapels between St Anthony's Aisle and the porch probably belonged to it—certainly the aisle did, which, as we have seen, was built off them and assigned to the Merchants as their chapel. This altar was regarded as one of the principal shrines of the church. It had more than one chaplain attached to it. It had its own "beddral," and was supported by a confraternity called

¹ The Preston Aisle was made "furth fra our Lady Aisle."

² See *ante*.

³ "Ex parte boriale ecclesie."

⁴ We learn this from the report of the Dean of Guild in previous chapter.

⁵ "Retro altare magnum."

⁶ Laing's Charters, p. 4.

⁷ "Ad columnam occidentalem," *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ante*.

¹¹ Laing's Charters, p. 91.

“The Confraternity of the Holy Blood,” which had its own kirk-master.¹ In the south wing of the transept stood the altar of St Anthony.² It also was supported by a fraternity, who bought wine from the ships at Leith, and retailed it for their own benefit.³ It was adorned by brazen pillars. The Preston Aisle was dedicated to St Thomas,⁴ and an altar to the saint must have stood there. In this aisle also was placed an altar “of the visitation of the Virgin, and an altar to St Roche.”⁵

The altar of St Laurence was in the south of the church, near the middle; and that of St Ninian was close to it.⁶ The “altar of St Thomas the Apostle, and of Apolonie Virgin, and All Saints,” situated below the south door to the west, and beside the aisle lately built by Provost Lauder, is mentioned.⁷ Whether this reference is to one altar or to three is not clear. This altar or altars occupied the twin chapel to that of St Gabriel. There was an aisle and altar of St Catherine on the south part of the church, but the precise locality is uncertain. The altar of our Lady of Piety⁸ stood at the north of the entry of the choir. The altar of St Blase was in the south part of the choir;⁹ that of St Andrew in the south of the church; and that of St Saviour at the east end.¹⁰ There was an aisle in the church used for ecclesiastical courts, called “the consistory aisle,” but we do not know its position.

The position of these altars is described in some cases with exactness, but there occur in the charters the names of others of whose position we can form no idea, though, by the bequests left to some of them, they must have been regarded as important. In this list we may place the altars of St Nicolas, St Duthac, St Mungo, St Christopher, St Peter, St Michael the Archangel, St Ubert, St Columba, the Holy Trinity, St Sebastian, St Laurence and

¹ Laing's Charters, p. 216.

² We learn this from the Regent Murray being buried in St Anthony's Aisle.

³ Maitland's History, p. 12.

⁴ “Sanct Thomas Aisle, called the Preston Aisle” (Burgh Records).

⁵ Great Seal Charters, 2685.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Appendix, lxxxv.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁶ Laing's Charters, p. 160.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

St Francis, St Cuthbert, St Severianus, St Anne, St Erasmois, St Fabian and St Sebastian, St Gregory, St Crispin and St Crispiniane, St Vincent Martyr, St James the Apostle, and St Mark. All these are mentioned either in the charters of the church or the records of the burgh. There are some others also which, from the way they are mentioned, appear different from any of those above, but which probably were really not so.

Every pillar of the aisles and side chapels must have had its own altar, and as some of the altars had more than one priest attached¹ to them, the number of clergy must have been very great. These altars were all well furnished, and in nearly all the charters there is special mention of their ornamentation. Above the south porch was the re-vestry, a spacious chamber, lit by the handsome three-lighted window which has been transferred to the west gable of the present side chapel, looking out on the Signet Library. At the south door stood "the font where the bairns were baptised."² In the north-east corner was a door called "our Ladys Steppis," from an image of the Virgin that was placed in a niche in the wall. After the Reformation the south door was closed up, and another opened in St Anthony's Aisle.³

Of the furnishings of the church we find many scattered notices in the disbursements of the town for ecclesiastical purposes, and they seem to have been ample in character. At the expense of the burgh there were costly stalls erected in the choir for the prebendaries. These were probably ornate, and skilfully designed and executed. The architect employed in their erection was one Andro Mansioun, and so well pleased were the authorities with his work, that they granted him an annual pension of ten merks for ten years. The town was possessed of four golden and four silver candlesticks. These were let out for funeral services and masses for the dead, and produced for many years a considerable revenue. In many of the bequests made to the church, we have money specially left for their

¹ Thus the prebend of St Michael de Monte Tomba was attached to the altar of St James (Burgh Records, 1581).

² Burgh Records.

³ *Ibid.*

use at the yearly celebration of the testator's death. The town also seems to have had the right to draw fees for the exhibition of the great relic of the church, the arm-bone of St Giles. In the accounts of the town are mentioned sums drawn for "St Geils arm on relic Sunday," as well as disbursements for keeping the case which held the relic in repair—"Mending and polesing St Geils arm." We shall afterwards have to refer to the ultimate disposal of the jewels and treasures of the church, but the following extract from an inventory taken of the valuables which were committed for safety to the care of the Dean of Guild, by Sir Henry Loch, sacristan of the church, at the commencement of the Reformation troubles, gives us some idea of the character of the church furnishings :

"The relict and arme of Sanct Geill, with the bane and paper, with ane ring set with ane diamant on the lytill fingar of the said arme, and fourteen perle and sevintene stanes all weyand fyve pound thre ounce and ane half; the syluer croce by the fute, weyand six pound foure unce and an half. Item, the fute of this croce fillit with pik and uther metall within the same to caus it to stand, weyand ten pund nyne ounce; tua crowattis, weyand twenty tua unce; ane challece with the patene of syluer, weyand thretty twa unce and ane half, whair of the spune weyis half ane unce; twa chandellaris of syluer, weyand sevin pund four unce; tua grettar chandlaris of syluer, baith weyand aucht pund threttene unce; tua sensaris, weyand togidder thre pund fyfteene unce; ane ship for insence, sex unce. Item, the eucharist was weyit contenand of weycht all syluer ourgilt, with four bellis of gold hingand thairat, half ane stane and tua unce wecht, haif hingand abone ane hart set with perle, ane little blew bell of gold, ane littil jasinct, ane sapheir, ane agat, tua perlis, tua stanes, and uther tua fyne stanis, and hingand laich ane lytill hart of gold, ane mekill croce with three perle image of our Ladye, ane little croce with three perle; whilkis is all contained within the said eucharist. Ane round eucharist of

silver weyand twenty thre unces. Item, the cresum stok, weyand xxxix unce and ane quarter.”¹

This rough inventory tells us somewhat of the treasures of the church. We know, however, that it gives but a part of these. The Holy Blood altar and several of the other altars had their own jewels, that do not appear in the list we have given. An image of St Giles, richly vested, stood in the church, and was regarded with special veneration. We read in the burgh records of “Sanct Gelis cloke of welvotte dropped with gold, with a pendicle of red crammosye velvotte, callit the vail;” and in the town treasurer’s accounts we find these items: “Painting of St Geil,” and “Mending St Gelis coat.” The robes of the priests were also rich and sumptuous. We read of “ane hail stand” of vestments for the deacon and subdeacon, “all of claith of gold;” also of a vestment of green damask, and another of white, of a chasuble of red velvet mixt with cloth of gold; of a “hail stand” of blue velvet, containing three capes, two tunics of white damask, a blue chasuble of velvet, and a chasuble of “tany velvet,” a vestment of cloth of gold called Dame Lauder’s stand. The High Altar was also richly vested. There were three frontals, one of black and another of red velvet, and a third of cloth of gold. We read also of the “arras wark of the altar, and a pail [pall?] of red satin hanging before it.”

The church had a brass lectern, of which we have several notices in the town treasurer’s accounts, and it possessed also a pulpit.² On festivals the steeple is said to have been lit up with coloured lights.³ Considerable attention seems to have been paid to the music of the church. It had an organ,⁴ and in the adjoining churchyard stood a “sang school,” which seems to have been supported by the town.⁵ We have mention also of a license granted to James Lauder, prebendary of the choir,⁶ “to leave Scotland and to study

¹ Burgh Records.

² M’Kenzie Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scotland*.

³ See *ante*.

⁴ Laing’s Charters, cviii.

⁵ Burgh Records, 1556, p. 365.

⁶ Laing’s Charters, xlii.

music in England and foreign countries, to pass furth of the realme to the partes of England and France, there to remain for the space of ane year, to the effect that he may have and get better erudition in musik and playing than he has." This shows that there was a desire that the musical service should be well maintained, as doubtless it was. The windows of the church were probably filled with coloured glass. One stained window remained to modern times in the chapel of St Eloi, which pertained to the Hammermen. The design consisted of an elephant, well executed, underneath which was a crown and hammer, the armorial bearings of the craft.¹

Several bells belonged to the church,² of which we have casual notices, such as the Great Bell, the Lady Bell, and the Moaning



Old Bell.

Bell, which was tolled at funerals. A bell, commonly called the Vesper Bell, has come down to the present day, bearing this inscription: "O MATER DEI : MEMENTO MEI : ANNO : D : M : IIII." The sound of the first of these bells was well known to the citizens of Edinburgh; it tolled after the disaster of Flodden to warn the citizens to assemble for the defence of the capital, and on occasions of national sorrow or rejoicing it was always rung.³ It was made in Flanders, and bore on its sides the arms of Guelderland, and devices

of the Virgin and child, with this inscription: "HONORABLES VIRI BURGENSES VILLÆ DE EDINBURCH, IN SCOTIA, HANC CAMPANAM FIERI FECERUNT, ANNO DNI. M.CCCC.LVV. JOHS ET WILHELMUS HOERHEN ME FECERUNT ; IPSAMQUE CAMPANAM GYELIS VOCARI VOLUERUNT. DEFUNCTOS PLANGO : VIVOS VOCO : FULMINA FRANGO."⁴

¹ Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 167.

² See interesting paper on the bells of St Giles, in *Transactions of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries*, by Geo. Thoms, F.S.A.

³ Laing's *Charters*, xix.

⁴ "The honourable men, burgesses of the city of Edinburgh in Scotland, caused this bell to be made in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and sixty. John and William Hoerhen made me, and they willed to call me St Giles' bell. I mourn the dead : I call the living : I disperse the thunder."

It is to this bell the Scottish poet Dunbar refers when he says :

I come amang you hier to dwell:
Fra sound of Sanct Gelis bell
Nevir think I to fie.

While the interior of the church was furnished with all that could make its ritual imposing and magnificent, its surroundings were of a mean and even squalid character. To the south lay the common burying-ground of the city, stretching down the slope to the Cowgate. In this graveyard stood the "Sang Schule."¹ The provost's dwelling was on the east, and houses belonging to the prebendaries on the west.² Close to the north side of the church, and parallel with it, there was a row of houses or shops called the "booth raw," and between them and the building a narrow lane, entered at the door leading to the church, called "our Lady's Steps," at the north-east corner of the church. This lane, only a few feet wide, was appropriately called the "Stinkand" or "Stinking Style." It seems to have been filthy in the extreme, and the buildings on one side of it must have taken away greatly from the appearance of the venerable building. It was from its darkness a place of danger to the passenger, and had been the scene of several murders. Dunbar's description is probably not overdrawn :

Your stinkand style, that standis dirk,
Haldis the lycht fra your Parroche Kirk,
Your foirstairs makis your housis mirk,
Lyk na country but heir at hame.

It was close to the entry at the east end that the ancient cross of the town stood,³ not far from the site of the present structure.

The usual festivals of the Catholic Church were observed as they occurred, and we have in the burgh accounts notices of the "dichting (or cleaning) of the kirk on Corpus Christi," and the exhibition of

¹ *Ante.*

² I make the latter statement on the authority of Dr Laing, though I find no reference to the houses of the prebendaries in the charters of the church.

³ Laing's Charters, Introduction.

“St Geils arm on relic Sunday.” The festival of the dedication of the church was on the 3d of November,¹ a different day from that of the first dedication by Bishop Bernham. We read of “the Abbot of Unreason,” or as he seems to have been called “the Abbot of na Rent,” so that probably the ancient revels so wonderfully depicted by Sir Walter Scott occasionally varied the routine of ecclesiastical life in St Giles.

But the popular festival of the year was that of St Giles’ day, held on the 1st of September. On this day the church was “graithed² or bedecked with evergreens and flowers, and a procession carrying the effigy of the saint upon a fertor, to which it was bound with iron bands,” issued from the building and wended its way through the town. It was followed by the clergy of the church and members of religious orders, as well as by the corporation of the town, attended by harpers and trumpeters, banners and bagpipes, “talbrone, trumpet, *schalme*, and clarioun.” In the disbursements of the town treasurer we read of “the minstrels that playit before St Gelis on his day,” and of “James Drummond and his marrowis quha playit before Sanct Gellis on his day on the chammes,” and of the “scouring of the brassin werk on St Gelis day, and wattering and souping of the kirk.” We find also a curious item: “For tow to the bull on St Geils day,”³ from which it would appear that a bull was led in the procession through the streets. This was probably in imitation of a French custom. In Paris, during the carnival, to this day a prize ox, “The Bœuf Gras,” in a large car, preceded by music and accompanied by a numerous train of butchers on horseback, fantastically dressed, is led through the streets. The ox is covered with embroidery, and his head adorned with laurels.⁴ Probably it was in imitation of this ancient practice that a bull formed part of the spectacle on St Giles’ day in Edinburgh.

¹ Burgh Records, 1507, p. 335.

² “Graithing of the kirk on St Gilis day” (Burgh Records, 1553, p. 341).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

⁴ Galignani’s *Paris Guide*, p. 483.

The festival has been satirised by Sir David Lindsay, and his description, with that of another to which we shall come in our next chapter, brings the manner in which St Giles' day was kept in Edinburgh very vividly before us :

Of Edinburg the greit idolatrie¹
 And manifest abomination,
 On thair feist day all creature may see
 They beir ane auld stok image thro the toun,
 With talbrone, trumpet, schalme and clarioun,
 Quhilk hes been usit mony ane yeir begone,
 With preistis and freirs into procession,
 Sicklyke as Bell was borne thro Babylone.

Fy on you freiris ! that usis for to preiche,
 And dois assist to sik idolatrie ;
 Quhy do ye nocht the ignorant pepill teiche
 How ane deid image carvit of ane tre,
 As it war haly, suld nocht honourit be ;
 Nor borne on burges backis, up and doun,
 Bot ye schaw planelie your hypocrisie
 Qwhen ye pas forrest in processioun.

Fy on you fosteraris of idolatrie !
 That till ane deid stok dois sik reverence,
 In presens of the pepill publicklye ;
 Feir ye nocht God to commit sik offence ?
 I counsall you do yit your diligence,
 To gar suppresse sik greit abusioun ;
 Do ye nocht sa, I dreid your recompence,
 Sal be nocht ellis bot clene confusioun.¹

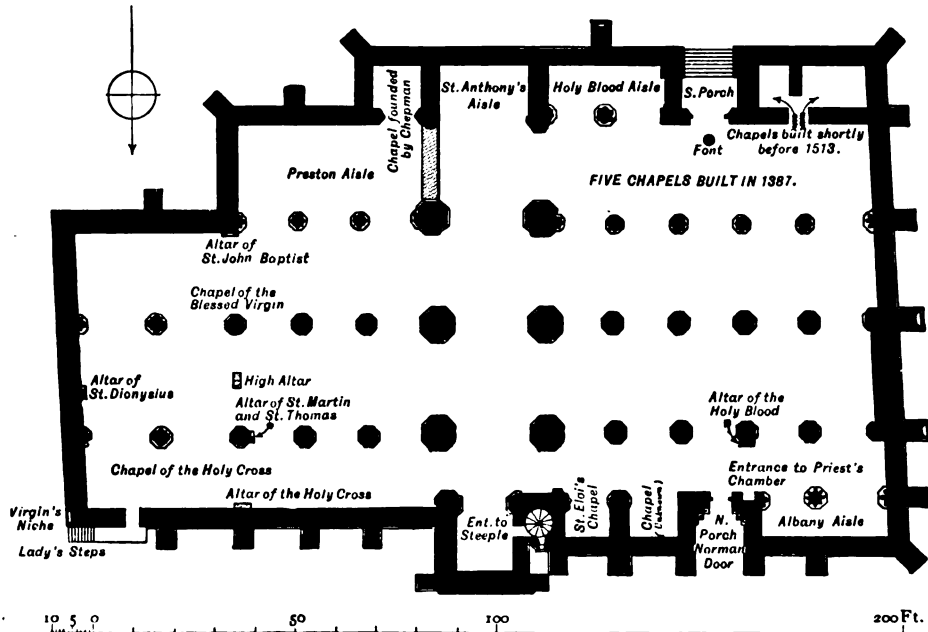
So the satirist describes the array, which he must often have witnessed. It is difficult in our prosaic time to realise the appearance which Edinburgh must have presented upon the 1st of September.

By the notices of the church, which from various sources we have gathered together, we can perhaps form some picture in our mind of how it appeared during the Catholic period, and before the

¹ Works of Sir D. Lindsay.

bursting of the storm. Of the violence with which that storm swept down, those who ministered within its walls could have had beforehand little idea. The bolt descended upon them right "out of the blue." On the 5th November 1557, the town granted a benefice in the church to Robert Craig, who "promised to be a priest within two years."¹ Before these two years had expired there was not an altar at which he could minister left standing within the church.

¹ Burgh Records, p. 12.



Plan of St Giles before Reformation.

CHAPTER X.

The Bursting of the Storm—1556-1560.

When to the kirk we come
We'll purge it ilka room
Frae papish relics, and all such innovation,
That a' the world may see
There's nane in the right but we
Of the auld Scottish nation.



WHETHER or not any among the more thoughtful and far-seeing of the clergy of St Giles had some idea of the change that was coming, they were all soon to get a warning that could not be misconstrued to put their house in order. It must have been a startling thing for them to find, one morning in the summer of 1556, that some of their most precious possessions had been stolen from the church. There were missing an image of the Virgin, another of St Francis, and another representing the Trinity. How these disappeared or who abstracted them we have no means of knowing. We only know that in the town of Edinburgh the number of men likely to perpetrate such a theft was at that time rapidly on the increase. In 1555 John Knox himself had preached in the town, in the house of a friend of the Reformers called Syme, and the effect of his exhortations caused many to absent themselves from mass, and the priests perceived the change in the attendance, and spoke of it. Ballads aimed against the clergy were privately circulated and sung among the people, some of them couched in anything but choice language. There were evidently many among

the inhabitants quite willing to carry out what, in the language of the Reformers, was called "the cleansing of the kirk of idols."

There was apparently a great commotion in the city caused by the theft. The clergy appealed to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the archbishop called on the town council to bring the offenders to punishment. Whether they had any suspicion as to who these were we do not know. They asked certain of the clergy and representatives of the archbishop to come themselves and assist in discovering the guilty parties. It was a curious proposal the authorities made "for the getting knowledge of the persons that took down the images of the Trinitie, our Lady, and St Francis laitlie; that every baillie, with twa honest men of his quarter, and ane servand of my Lord of Sanct Androis, gif they please to come, and ane chaplane of the kirk, namely the curat, his substitute, Sir Henry Loch and Sir Andro Bartraham, ane to ilk baillie, pas throw thair hail quarteris, and tak cognition anent the said down taking of the images."¹

Probably the archbishop was not satisfied with this proposed method of finding out the transgressors, for the day after this resolution was come to, he sent the provost of the Kirk-of-Field to the council again. This dignitary carried with him a letter from the Queen-Regent, enjoining the civil authorities to find the guilty parties and deliver them up to the archbishop for judgment, who would probably have given them but a short shrift. From the queen's letter we can see that the "new opinions" were beginning to be openly professed in the town.

"Prouest and baillies," the letter ran, "we greet you well forsa-mekle as we are informed that thair is certane odious ballats and rymes, laitlie set furth by som evil inclinit personis of your toun quha hes alsua tane down divers imagis, and contempuadlie broken the samyne, quhilk is ane thing very sclanderous to the people, and contrarious to the ordinances and statutis of haly kirk, and it is given us to understeind that the makars of the said disorder are

¹ Town Council Records, 22d September 1556.

all indwellars and inhabitans of your said toun; quhairfer we charge you that incontinent after the sight hereof ye diligentlie inquire such and seik fer thair names, and deliver thame in writ to our cousin the Archbishop of St Androis, to be usit conforme to the statutis of the kirk.”

The town council, notwithstanding the pressure put upon them by both the civil and ecclesiastical powers, do not appear to have been able to apprehend the thieves, who apparently returned again to the church on a similar errand. This time they took away the great image of St Giles himself.¹ It was stolen during night-time in the month of July 1557, and was said to have been “first drowned in the Nor’ Loch, afterwards burnt.”² The archbishop again appealed to the town, and as St Giles’ day was approaching, when an effigy of the saint would be needed for the procession, he requested them “either,” as John Knox in his History puts it, “to get again the ald Saint Gile, or else on thair expenses to make a new image.”

The council apparently refused to do either, and if their answer be rightly given by the historian we have named, they had considerable sympathy with those who abstracted the image. They answered that this demand “to them appeared very unjust, for they understood that God in some places had commanded idols and images to be destroyed; but where he had commanded images to be set up they had not read, and desired the Bischope to find a warrant for his commandment.” Their answer was not likely to mollify the wrath of the prelate, and he issued an excommunication against the authorities, which he ordered the curate of St Giles, Laurence Tod, who presided over the chapter in the absence of the provost, to pronounce; but before he could do so the council appealed to the pope for a suspension. “Because they obeyed him not, he caused his curate Tod to curse them as black as cole, from the which they appealed to his unholy Father the Pope.”³ The excommunication, of which the authorities seemed somewhat afraid, was

¹ Works of John Knox, vol. i., Appendix; this happened in 1557.

² Knox’s History, vol. i. p. 256.

³ Wodrow’s Miscellany, p. 54.

not effected, and as the historian remarks, "greater things shortly following, it passed into oblivion."¹

When St Giles' day came round with the 1st of September, it was resolved that it should be kept with even more than the accustomed display. To show her displeasure with what had occurred, and her devotion to the Church, the Queen-Regent, Mary of Guise, signified her intention of walking in the procession. The Dean of Guild, James Carmichael, a faithful son of the Church, obtained the use for the day of an effigy of St Giles—called "young St Gile" by the people—from the monastery of the Greyfriars, pledging a sum of money for its safe return. Several heretics who had recanted and had been pardoned² were to do public penance, and march in the procession with fagots in their hands. The members of religious orders were present in great numbers, and it was evident that the festival was to be celebrated with more than ordinary solemnity. The procession issued from St Giles at the usual hour. It went down the High Street and Canongate, and on its return had passed the Nether Bow and was on its way to the West Bow. Up to this time there had been no interference, though such had been preconcerted. The presence of royalty evidently checked any violent demonstration. When the circuit of the town had been almost made, the queen retired from the procession, probably believing that any danger that might have menaced it had passed. She was to dine that day with "Sandy Carpentyne,"³ and when near his house withdrew. Her withdrawal was the signal for attack, and a riot ensued which is nowhere more graphically described than in the pages of John Knox. His description of the whole proceedings is so graphic that it is perhaps best to give it at length as it stands:

"A marmouset idol was borrowed from the Grefrearis (a silver peise of James Carmichael was laid in pledge). It was fixed with irne nails upon a barrow, called thair fertour. Thare assembled

¹ Knox's History, vol. i. p. 254.

² We do not know who this was.

³ Lindsay's *History of Scotland*.

Preastis, Frearis, Chanons, and rottin Papists, with tabornes and trumpets, banners and bagpipes, and who was there to lead the ring but the Queen-Regent herself, with all her schavellings for honour of that feast. West goes it, and comes doun the High Street and doun to the Canno Croce. The Quein-Regent dined that day in Sandy Carpentyne's house, betwix the Bowes, and so when the idol returned back again, sche left it and passed in to her dinner. The heartis of the brethren were wondrously inflamed, and seeing such abomination so manifestly mantained, war decreed to be revenged. They were divided in several companies, wherof not one knew of ane another. Thare ware some temperisaris that day (among whom was David Forres, called the Generale), who, fearing the chance to be done as it fell, laboured to stay the brethren. But that could not be, for immediately after that the Queen was entered into the lodging, some that were of the enterprise drew near to the idol, as willing to help to bear him, and getting the fertour upon their shoulders began to shudder, thinking that thairby the idol should have fallen. But that was provided and prevented by the irne nailes, as we have said, and so began one to cry, 'Doun with the idol, doun with it,' and so without delay it was pulled doun. Some wag maid the Preasts Patrons at first, but when they saw the feebleness of their god (for one took him by the heals, and dadding his head to the calsay, left Dagon without head or handis, and said, 'Fye upon thee, thou young Saint Gile, thy father wold haif taryed four such'), this considered, we say the preastis and freirs fled faster than thai did at Pynckey Clewcht. Thare mycht have bein sein so suddane a fray as seildome hes bein sein amonges that sorte of men within this realme, for doun goes the cross, off goes the surplice, round caps corner with the crounes. The Gray Freirs gaped, the Blak Frearis blew, the preastis panted and fled, and happy was he that first gate the house; for such ane sudden fray came never amongs the generation of anti-Christ within this realme before. By chance thare lay upon a stair a meary Englishman, and seing the discomfiture to be

without blood, thought he wold ad some mearyness to the matter, and so cryed over a stair and said, 'Fy upon your whorsones. Why have ye brokin ordour? Doun the street ye passed in array, and with great myrth. Why flie ye, villanes, now without ordour? Turne and stryke, everie man a stroke, for the honour of his god. Fy, cowardis, fy! Ye shall never be judged worthy of your wages againe!' But exhortations war then unprofitable; for after Bell had brokin his neck, thar was no comfert to his confused army."

Nothing in its way could be more pictorial, notwithstanding its coarseness, than this description, which displays also a considerable sense of humour on the part of the writer. It was no matter of humour, however, to the clergy of St Giles, who must have regained the church with the feeling that terrible calamities were in store for them. For a time, however, no further indignity was offered. The provost of the town, Lord Seton, was a devoted Catholic, and under his protection the church ritual went on as usual. Appointments were made to vacant chaplainries,¹ and the prebendaries "waited on their accustomed services." But the times were troublous, and every precaution needed to be taken to keep the services free from disturbance, and men were paid to watch in the church night and day.² There was evidently now a considerable number of people in the town who were hostile, and who were ready at any moment to take active proceedings. With the summer of 1559 there came to Edinburgh tidings of the destruction at Perth of the monasteries of the Black and Gray Friars, and of the still nobler building of the monastery of the Carthusians. The Queen-Regent, alarmed at the tidings, laid injunctions on the town council to do all in their power to prevent the repetition of these proceedings in Edinburgh, and sent them a strong letter expressing her desire that they should guard well "the religious places," holding them responsible for any outrage that might occur.

The council certainly appears to have done its best to carry out the queen's wishes, and with the approach of the Lords of

¹ Town Council Records.

² *Ibid.*, 1559, p. 42.

the Congregation, the magistrates became specially assiduous for the protection of St Giles and its treasures. The records of the burgh are full of notices of the precautions they deemed it necessary to take. The inventory of the treasures, which we have given in the last chapter, was made out in the re-vestry of the church,¹ and the treasures themselves were transferred from Sir Henry Loch, the sacristan, to the keeping of John Charteris, the Dean of Guild of the town. This was done at a comparatively early date;² afterwards, they were distributed among different inhabitants of the burgh, "honest men, who promist to do thair uter diligence for keeping thair of." Charteris refused their custody when required "to receive and take in sure keeping the jewels, ornaments, and silver work of the High Altar to be surely kept by him in this troublous time." He answered that he was "aged, sickly, having no body in his house but his wife and serving woman." He refused to be responsible, and to do anything further towards keeping the jewels, ornaments, and silver, than had been done by his predecessors—that is to say, "in lokfast lumes within the re-vestry, and to be reddy to serve at tymes convenient." Crosses, vestments, altar furnishings, censers, spoons, and candlesticks of silver and gold, tabernacles for holding the eucharist, were distributed among various men throughout the town. Many of these men were deacons of the various crafts that had altars in the church, and were interested in the safe preservation of the valuables intrusted to them. Others were persons of well-known probity and devotion to the Church.

The account of the division is very minute, too minute to be given here. The church was swept bare of all its ornaments, even the "pall before the High Altar, and the pulpit cloth," were taken away and intrusted to the custody of Patrick Govane, the bellman.³ The church itself was ordered by the town to be specially guarded. "For keeping of Sanct Gellis kirk and uphald of the stalls of the

¹ Full notices of the precautions taken are in the Burgh Records and Appendix to Laing's Charters.

² January 7, 1559.

³ Appendix (Burgh Records).

quere," they ordered there should be "hyrit three score men of war." Having now done their very best for the preservation of the church, the town council resolved to send a deputation to meet the "Lords of the Congregation" at Linlithgow, to treat with them for "upholding the roofs of the religious places and churches in the town, and to save the stalls, backs of altars, and other timber work, and to desire them to keep good order at their coming." We do not know whether this embassy reached the approaching army. Flushed with success, the Lords were little likely to listen with much attention to the request of the Edinburgh bailies. With Scone and Cambuskenneth in ruins behind them, and Linlithgow, newly "purged of its idols," by them, it was not probable that they would promise generous treatment to St Giles. On the 29th June 1559, at three o'clock, the army of the Congregation entered Edinburgh unopposed, and the same afternoon a figure, afterwards to be well known there, entered the pulpit of St Giles, and John Knox preached in it for the first time.¹

¹ "The minister of God's word, John Knox, the same day that the Congregation came to Edinburgh, made a sermon in St Giles" (Wodrow's Miscellany, p. 62).



Medallion supposed to have been struck at Geneva,
shortly after the death of Knox.

CHAPTER XI.

The Last Mass—1559-1560.

Still in the minster mass was sung,
With small bells ringing and censers swung;
Still bowed the priest before the pyx,
The altar high and crucifix,
And still the grand old psalm
Pealed through the pillared calm.

W. C. SMITH.



THE "Brethren of the Congregation" now began to use St Giles as their regular place of worship, and a fortnight after their arrival set to work to purge it thoroughly of those objects which they associated with the old worship. John Knox, the week after they came to Edinburgh, was appointed their minister¹ at a meeting which they held in the Tolbooth on the 7th of July, and he immediately began his labours in the city. It was probably in consequence of his exhortations that a clearing out of the church was effected, more thorough than that which had taken place when the jewels and adornments had been removed for safe keeping. On the 14th of July the edifice was "purged" completely under the superintendence of the Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, and other leaders of the Congregation.² In an old diary which has always been deemed reliable in its information, we read: "Upon the 14th day of July in the yeir of God abon rehersit, the Blak and Gray Freris of Edinburgh were demolished and casten down aluterlie, and all

¹ Knox's History, vol. i. p. 398.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 269.

the cheppellis and collegis about the said burgh with thair yairds were in lykewise destroyit, and the images and altaris of Sanct Gellis kirk destroyit and brint."

The town council probably foreseeing what was coming, resolved if possible to save from destruction the stalls of the choir, which were the work of Mansoun, who had received a pension in acknowledgment of his labours.¹ The authorities seem to have been specially proud of these stalls, for we have several notices regarding their preservation, and in prospect of the operations of the "Brethren of the Congregation," they were ordered to be taken out of St Giles and placed in the Tolbooth. "The baillies and council fyndis necessar that the stalis of the queyr be tane and put in the Nether Tolbooth for the mair sure keeping of thame, and ordanis the samyn to be careit thair with dilligence, and John Charterhouse, Dene of Gild, to pay the warkmen for thair labouris in dountaking and keeping of the samyn."² It is to be hoped that the Dean of Guild was expeditious in removing the stalls. Two days after he received his orders, the iconoclasts began their work, and as we hear no more of the stalls, it is probable that they were destroyed with other things deemed "relics of popery." The clearing of the church was carried out as far as it was possible to do so at the time, but many of the altars and other erections being strongly built, resisted all attempts then made to overthrow them, and they were left standing for a future occasion.

While the Lords of the Congregation remained in Edinburgh, as we have said, they used St Giles for their prayers and sermons. A proposal had been made to them shortly after their arrival in the city that the inhabitants of the town should be at liberty till the 10th of January to choose what religion they thought proper, when they would be examined as to which faith they wished to accept,³ and "that religion mantained that the greatest number consentit to." The Reformers indignantly refused such an appeal to the

¹ He resigned it a few months previous.

² Town Council Records, 1559, p. 45.

³ Burgh Records, 1559, p. 47.

wishes of the citizens, and Adam Fullerton, one of their number who appeared at a conference on the subject, in "name and behalf of the hail brethren of the Congregation within the toun," repelled with indignation the suggestion that the town should choose and recognise the faith which the majority of the people wished, "knowing the religion which we have presently, to be of God and conforme to his word, and on the other part knowing the mass and the papis hail religion to be without the word of God, altogether superstitious damnable idolatrie and of the devil, we cannocht consent for our parts that God's treuth and our religion now establishit conforme to his word sall be subject to voting of men."

The Reformers had evidently little confidence in the result of a plebiscite of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, which would probably at that time have gone against them, and they state their disbelief in the voice of the people with considerable distinctness: "It is na new thing but mair nor notoir that fra the beginning of the world to this day, and even now in all countrayis, touns, and citeis, the maist part of men has ever been againis God and his treuthe, at the leist hes not plainly embraced the samyn." They further set forth that as they had taken possession of St Giles, and had for some time used it as their place of meeting, they should not be interfered with. They vigorously protested against the proposal to suspend their exercises there, until a plebiscite of the inhabitants should take place, as they "lang of befor and continewallie sensyne wer in possessioun, lykas we are yet, of the hie kirk of this toun, callit Saunct Gellis kirk, haveand our common prayeris, preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacramentis and hail uthir ministrie thair intile without interruption, and thairfor aucht and suld be allowed to possess the same without any voting controversie and trouble." The proposal to settle the religion of the city by a popular vote came to nothing, and the Congregation for the time retained possession of the church.

It will be noticed that in their protestation against the proposed plebiscite, there is mention of St Giles being used not only for

sermons and other exercises, but also for "common prayeris." This expression seems to imply the use of a liturgy in the service of the time, and there is little doubt that such was the case. The form of prayer used was the second prayer-book of King Edward VI., which we know was employed by the Lords of the Congregation and their followers. "As to parish churches," says Kirkaldy of Grange, writing from Edinburgh soon after their arrival, "they cleanse them of images and other monuments of idolatry, and command that mass shall not be said in them, in place whereof the book set forth by the godlie King Edward is used in the same churches." Sir W. Cecil, writing to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton in Paris, states much the same thing: "The parish churches they deliver of altars and images, and have received the service of the Church of England according to King Edward's book." This prayer-book, therefore, for a time supplanted the mass in St Giles, and was read on Sundays, if not every day for a short period, with the sanction of the leading Reformers. It was much more Protestant in character than the first prayer-book of Edward VI., and it was considerably affected in its doctrine by the views of several leading continental Reformers, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Pollandus, a circumstance that must have rendered it all the more acceptable to the Scottish Reformers, who were in close harmony with those of continental Europe.¹

John Knox does not appear to have preached much in St Giles at the time of his appointment as minister. His life was in danger, and at the solicitation of others he left the city on the 24th July.² John Willock, who next to him was regarded as the most prominent of the preachers, took his place in the church. "Quhan it was fund dangerous that Johnne Knox quha before was eleckit minister to that kyrk sould continew thair, the brethren requestit the said John Wyllok to abide with them, least that for the lack of ministeris idolatrie sould be erectit agane. To the whilk he alsua

¹ The use of the second prayer-book of King Edward is referred to as an undoubted fact in the introduction to the prayer-book of 1637.

² Wodrow's Miscellany, p. 65.

gladly consentit that it mycht evidintlie appeir, that he preferit the comfort of his brethren to his own lyiff. . . . Our brother Johnne Willock the day eftir our departure precht in Sanct Gellis kirk, and fervently exhortit the brethren to stand constant in the trewth quhilk they had professit."

John Willock was a man of excellent education, and was well known and much esteemed among the Scotch Reformers. He was originally a Franciscan monk, but renounced the Roman Catholic religion, and became a zealous and successful preacher in England, where he acted for some time as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father.¹ He was a close friend of Knox, who left him to hold the position in St Giles. This he could not do without much trouble, especially after his powerful friends had departed, and he seems to have suffered great annoyance. But he was a brave and determined man, and kept to his post, while many of the Protestant citizens appear to have rallied round him. They "convoeyed the preacher to the sermon, they met likewise at the common prayer,"² so that the number of the faithful increased daily."³ In the month of August Willock administered the sacrament in St Giles according to the Protestant form.⁴ This is the first time we read of its being done. The celebration greatly displeased the adherents of the old Church, and the Queen-Regent, who still "maintained the mass in the Palace of Holyrood, was highly offended." She had desired the use of the church herself for the Roman office, either before or after sermon: this had been indignantly refused,⁵ and the vigorous but not very courteous answer returned, "That to gif place to the Devile (quha was the chief inventor of the mass) for the plesour of ony creatur they wold not. They war in possession of that kirk, quhiik they could not abandone; neither could they suffer idolatrie to be ereckit in the same unless be violince they should be constrainet sa to do, and whan they were determit to seik the next remedy." Willock thus held his own, though many of the inhabit-

¹ Lee, *History of Church*, vol. i. p. 95.

³ Wodrow's *Miscellany*, p. 67.

² Probably the daily service.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

ants were not in sympathy with him. The town still continued to pay such priests of the church as received stipend from them as though they were yet in possession.

“The baillies and counsaile ordains Maister James Lindesay to mak thankful payment to Sir Walter Haliburton, Sir James Crauford, Sir George Manderston, Sir John Keir, Sir William Johnstone, Sir James Abercromby, and the uther prebendaris of St Giles quier, to whom the good toun is debt bound for any annual or dewtie of all anualles and duties awin to thame in tymes bygane.”¹

Thus side by side with the Protestant preacher the Roman clergy were drawing their old revenues and waiting for their turn to come. Willock's position must have been anything but comfortable, and his discomfort was increased by the presence of the French soldiers, in the pay of the Queen-Regent, who occasionally strolled into St Giles during the time of the sermon, and amused themselves by ridiculing and interrupting the preacher, making at times such disturbance that the minister could not be heard. Mr Willock denounced them from his pulpit with great vehemence, but with little effect. Being armed, the citizens could not interfere with their proceedings, or resent their interruptions; but a priest of the town having made his appearance among them wearing insultingly his three-cornered cap, they at once retaliated pretty sharply. The description given of the conduct of these interrupters of Protestant service is so graphic that we quote it at length :

“French captains and their soldours made their common deambulation in the great kirk, talking so loude that the auditours could not hear perfytlie. Although the minister was oftentimes compelled to crie out against them, and to pray to God to ridde them of such locusts, they continued in their purpose, devised by the Queen to draw the professours of Edinburgh and them to some quarilling that their might be some colour of breach of the appointment upon thair side.”²

¹ Burgh Records, August 4, 1559.

² Alluding to a kind of truce that had been previously made.

The professors brake not one jot of the appointment, except that a horned cap was taken off a proud priest's head, and cutt in four quarters, because he said he would wear it in despite of the congregation."¹

The priests were shortly afterwards admitted again to St Giles, and were allowed to celebrate mass without molestation, though but for a very short time. The conflict with the Lords of the Congregation grew more and more intense, and the latter having retaken Edinburgh, resolved on the siege of Leith, held by the queen and her followers. Scaling ladders for the purpose were prepared in the aisles of St Giles, and this work was denounced by Willock and his friends with as much severity as he had denounced the French soldiers. It interfered with his prelections, and he spoke of it curiously enough as sacrilegious, for he could have had no special reverence for the place of worship, or regarded it as inherently sacred. He prophesied also that a work so begun could only end in defeat. This was the case, and with the success of the royal party the last gleam of hope came to the Catholics. On the 24th September 1559, reinforcements arrived from France to the help of the Queen-Regent. With them came a distinguished prelate of the French Catholic Church, the Bishop of Amiens.² His name was Nicholas de Pelleve, and he became afterwards Archbishop of Sens, and cardinal. He came in the character of *legat a latere* from the pope, and was accompanied by four doctors of the Sorbonne. It is said by the Roman Catholic historian³ "that these learned men, by their sermons and reasonings, had great effect in establishing unsettled persons in the belief of the Catholic doctrine." Whether that were so or not we have no means of knowing; we only know that, backed by the augmented forces of the regent, the French bishop came to St Giles, which he consecrated anew, "purging the High Church of Edinburgh from heretical pollutions with great show of piety and devotion."⁴ But it was only for a very short interval

¹ Calderwood, vol. i. p. 502.

³ Leslie.

² Knox's History, vol. i. p. 396.

⁴ Keith, vol. i. p. 228.

that the old worship was conducted within its walls. As it was for the last time, we may give the account that has come down to us of the consecration, the final glimpse we have of the old ritual that had been there so long.

“The next day, which was the third after the departure of the Lords, the Bishopp of St Andrews with his Balamites came to St Giles kirk to hallow the same, which they alledged to be polluted, by reasone it had been purged of idolatrie in the month of July as is before declared, and that the evangell had been preached in it, and the sacrament rightly administered, therefore the said bishop with his masking goods, cross, capp, and mitre, after he had mumbled over some Latin words, he began to cast his holy water in all parts of the said kirk, and then immediately set up their idolatrous mass; for there was already altars built. The Papist Freres ceased not to blaspheme and cry out against the truth that had lately been preached there.”¹

This ceremony, in the description of which we have no mention of the Bishop of Amiens, though we know that he was present, took place on the 9th November 1559. The Catholic clergy for a time performed the old ritual. The vestments and ornaments that had been hid away during the presence of the Lords of the Congregation were drawn from their hiding-places, and mass said with somewhat of its old solemnity. “James Curll at the command of the baillies and counsel delyverit to thame, the preist, deykin, sub-dekin, caip, albas and the rest completand the hail stand of clayth of gold deliverit to him in keeping the 28th day of June past, and syklyk Robert Huntrodis, cordinar, delivuerit the vestment, dekin, sub-dekin, capis of bleu velvotte scarmit with gold, laid with him in keeping, and the baillies and counsale ordaint the said vestments to be imput in the charter house to be kept there whil thai adwyse further.”²

The use of these vestments was not enjoyed long. For a period of nearly five months, from the 9th November 1559, the old

¹ Row's Miscellany, p. 73.

² Town Council Records, p. 61.

ritual continued; on the 1st April it ceased, and has never been resumed.

“The same night, some gentlemen of the Congregation came to St Giles kirk and broke doun the altaris agane, and purged the said kirk of idolatrie, with the rest of the kirks. And so continentlie the gossell was preached from the first day of Aprill.”¹

So the old faith disappears and a new order of things begins. The last day on which mass was said in St Giles was probably the 31st of March 1560.

¹ Row's Miscellany, p. 73.



CHAPTER XII.

Clearing the Wreck—1560.

All things have their end.
Churches and cities, which have diseases like to men,
Must have like death that we have.



THE Roman Church of Scotland was now a piteous wreck, outwardly broken up and dismantled. It only remained to clear away all traces of the old polity, and to build up the new. This was set about with great vigour, and certainly with no great regard for those—and there were not a few in Edinburgh—who still retained reverence for the things that had been. The Protestants were now masters of the town, and they used their power with unflinching hand. Accordingly we find them taking measures to prevent St Giles ever being occupied by the priests again, sweeping out every remnant of the old religion, and transforming the building almost beyond the possibility of recognition. John Knox returned to Edinburgh on the 23d April 1560¹ as minister of the city, and his arrival gave an impetus to the Protestant cause.

The accounts of the Dean of Guild are full of the expenditure incurred in what was termed the “reparrelling of the kirk.” The work, such as it was, was most thoroughly done. An utter clearance was made of all the altars, which being strongly built had hitherto

¹ Burgh Records, 1560, p. 63.

resisted attempts to take them away. For nine days workmen were employed at this alone, assisted by sailors from Leith, who brought with them a mast and pulleys to help in the dismantling. After the altars were removed, the place was thoroughly whitewashed and gutted, and all the "through stanes" or tombstones taken out. This work began in May or June 1560, and continued until the spring of 1561. The besom of destruction could not have been more zealously plied. The following items from the Dean of Guild's accounts may here be interesting :

"The money disbursit upon the wark and workmen of the Kirk.

Item, in primis to ten workmen quha wroucht be the space of nyne days for takin doun of the hail altars of the kirk, the rude loft, for bering of the red¹ and staines thereof away.....xl*lb.* xv*s.*"

After this there follow payments to "masons, wrights, and spairgearis (whitewashers)" who were paid weekly wages, and all the necessary furnishing for their workmen provided—chalk for whitewashing upwards of 600 stones, a mast from Leith with cradle and pulleys, besoms, barrows, and pikes with handles.

After the clearing out had been finished, seats were placed throughout the church for the use of the congregation, as we learn from the following extract from the burgh records: "The prouest, baillies, and counsale ordanis James Barroun, Dene of Gild, to make sattis, furmes, and stullis, of the radeast of the tymmer convenient thairfor, lyand within the volt under the Tolbooth, for the people to syt upon in tyme of the sermon and prayeris within the kirk, and all uther thying as sall be thought gude for decoring of the said kirk."² In connection with this seating of the church we come upon a curious notice in the records. The guild or corporation of Tailors possessed an altar in the Catholic time, dedicated to their patron saint, St Anne. This altar of course had

¹ Red in Scotch means rubbish, but I rather think it stands for the rude or cross of the Holy Cross Aisle.

² Burgh Records, 1560, p. 67.

disappeared, but the brethren of the craft seem to have thought that they had some right to sit in the place where it formerly stood, and which was probably well situated for hearing the sermon. They accordingly asked this favour of the town council; but it was at once refused, and they were told they must sit together with the rest of the congregation in "brotherlie amyte." "In respect of the godlie ordour now taiken in religion, all title and clame to altaris and sic uther superstitious pretensis ar and shuld be abolichist, and na further word nor clame thereof to be in times coming, bot as it is commanded be Goddis maist holy word that brotherlie amyte be amangis us joynit in his congregation, the nobilitie, prouest, baillies, counsal, eldars, deykinis, being first placit, the honest merchanttis and honest craftsmen to place and set thameselves togeddir as loving brether and freindis in that and in all uther places of the kirk vaccand at all tymes neidful." ¹

In addition to their operations in gutting and in "decoring" the church, the town council proposed to limit its size by cutting off a portion at the east and another at the west end, and devoting them to secular use, the first to serve for a common school, and the second as a tolbooth or prison, and town offices. They deplore the insufficient accommodation afforded by their present premises, and come to the conclusion that the church is large enough to furnish them with the required space, "having more commodious place and sic rooms upon the west pairt of the kyrk and sycklike upon the east pairt of the same, ane other convenient rome for scole to thair bairnies, besyde sufficient rowme for the preiching and ministracion of the sacramentis."

They therefore order the Dean of Guild to build a wall from the "south door, called the kirkyard door, streichte north to the north kirk door at the Stynkand Style for the said Tolbooth." This division wall would cut off a large area of the church. The other part proposed to be divided off for the school was not so extensive. The wall was to be drawn from the "eist cheik of the

¹ Burgh Records, May 1560, p. 71.

kyrk door at our Lady's Steppis," and so across the church to the "south side wall." Had these alterations been carried out the space used for the meeting of the congregation would have been greatly curtailed. There is reason to believe, however, that these changes were not effected at this time. In none of the Dean of Guild accounts of that period is there any special mention of the building of division walls within the church, and for a number of years after the Reformation the church is mentioned as one.¹

Whether these proposed divisions were carried out or not, the work which was actually done involved a considerable expenditure, and to defray this, the treasures of the church, consisting of the vestments, sacred vessels, and other property, were turned into money. The records of the burgh are full of notices of the ultimate disposal and sale of these articles. First one of the bells, called the "Mary bell," was taken down. "The prouest, baillies, and counsale understanding that the kyrk micht be servit be thre bells, ane rung to the prayeris, ane uther for serving the knock, and the third to be the common bell, ordanis James Barroun to take down the ferd bell callit the Marie bell."²

This bell, with the "brasyn pillaris of the kirk of Sanct Geill," were ordered to be made into "artillayire" for the town's use, and if this could not be done in Edinburgh, the Dean of Guild was instructed to send the metal to Flanders for that purpose.³ The disposal of the bell was the prelude to a general scattering of what is called the "kirk grayth." On the 1st August 1560 the town "discerns and concludes that the silver wark pertenyng to the gude town usit in St Gilis kirk in tymes past, baith gilt and ungilt, be with all dilligence sauld and cunyet, and the money thairof to be waryt upon the common warks, and in especiall upon the reparation and decoring of the kyrk."⁴ They therefore ordain all the vest-

¹ The upper and lower vestry was taken for the town-clerk's office; afterwards (see *infra*) the school was transferred to the Blackfriars.

² Burgh Records, 8th May 1560.

³ *Ibid.*, 26th May 1560. They were afterwards, with the other brass-work of the church, sold by roup to Adam Fullarton on October 20, 1560. See *infra*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1st August 1560.

ments and “uther kirk grayth” to be sold, and call upon the inhabitants who had them in keeping forthwith to render them up to the council.

By the end of the month in which this order was issued, a great amount of property came into the hands of the authorities.¹ The inventory is very minute, and it comprises most of the valuables we have already noticed as belonging to the church. The chalice, paten, and spoon, the relic “callit the arm of St Gell,” the “chrysom stock,” two cruets of silver, the great eucharist with the golden work and precious stones, the four golden bells with the two crosses, one small and the other great—“ane lytle hart”—the piece of gold that held the bread within the eucharist, a little blue bell of gold, a little heart with two pearls, four different stones set with gold, the little ring and diamond that was on the arm-bone of the saint, the sacrament cloth of gold, St Giles’ coat and the little pendicle of red velvet that hung at his feet. A few days later “two silver censers with the ship of silver”² were also delivered up by the former Dean of Guild, James Carmichael; also the great silver cross, and two little candlesticks of silver.

Various other articles were recovered, though with some difficulty. The masters of the guilds of St Anthony and of the Holy Blood had jewels and furnishings of great value, which belonged to their respective altars. These they were ordered to give up, and it was some time before they were induced to comply, but finally they also had to do so, under threat of imprisonment. “Johne Dougall, the master, delivered ane siluer chalice with ane siluer croce, whilk stood upon the aulter, all wayit thre scoire fyftein unces, whilk belonged to the Hale Blud Aulter;” he also gave up the charters and papers of the fraternity,³ and shortly after David Corsby⁴ produced a silver chalice, overgilt, weighing twenty ounces and a half, which had belonged to the same shrine. Other scattered property also dropped gradually in. A tailor had in his possession the brass pillars of St Anthony’s Aisle,

¹ Burgh Records, August 30, 1560.

² *Ibid.*, 17th January 1560-1.

³ *Ibid.*, 6th September 1560.

⁴ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1560-1.

and had to give them up.¹ Another had a piece of cloth of gold with St Giles' coat ; another the "vestment dekyne and sub-dekyne of claith of gold ;" a third the chasuble of red velvet, mixed with gold. There was probably not much of the ancient property of the church retained by any who held it in keeping. It was carefully inquired for and searched out, down to the bellows of the organ. From time to time, as it came back to the burgh treasury, it was sold.

The prices fetched by the various articles are fully recorded. The silver and gold vessels and ornaments were sold by the ounce. Two stones six pounds and thirteen ounces of silver were sold to John Hart for twenty-one shillings the ounce ;² at the same price Michael Gilbert bought eight pounds eleven ounces of silver. John Hart also bought five ounces and a half of gold at ten pounds five shillings the ounce. The three bellows of the organ were bought by John Mossman for six pounds. The cross and chalice of the Holy Blood Altar and one of St Anthony's, for £100, 14s. Adam Fullarton obtained all the brass pillars and the brass lectern for £280, 11s. 6d. The diamond stone which was on the finger of St Giles' arm was sold to Michael Gilbert for £9, 6s. 8d. What the vestments fetched when sold we do not know, but they were also disposed of,³ and every vestige of the wreck left by the destruction of the old polity cleared away. Probably no relic of it has remained to the present day.

The operations we have detailed were appropriately closed by "the idole Sanct Geyll being cuttit out of the towny's standard and the thrisill put in place thereof." In the account of the final sale we have no mention of the precious relic of the church—the arm-bone of the saint—which Preston of Gorton "procured by the aid of the king of France, and at great expenses," and which was long regarded with such reverence. The case that contained it was sold with the other property ; but what became of the relic itself we have no means of ascertaining.⁴

¹ Burgh Records, February 21, 1560-1.
² Burgh Records, 6th December 1560.

³ Laing's Charters, xlvi.
⁴ Laing's Charters, Introduction.

One of the most extraordinary things that strike us in pursuing these inquiries is the apparent suddenness with which all reverence for the faith in which they had been brought up, and for its adjuncts, ceremonies, and ritual, seems to have departed from the people. The things they had been taught to regard from their youth as holy became to them apparently at once common and unclean. The place of worship, where for centuries their forefathers prayed, where they themselves had been baptised, and whose very stones were redolent of holy associations, became to them seemingly no more than any ordinary building. The suddenness of the change is, however, only apparent. It had been coming on for long. From Catholic writers we learn how thoroughly the priests had lost the respect of the people by their perfunctory performance of their duties, and even by their immoral conduct.¹ The state of the old church has been shown to have been scandalous even by those who would judge it tenderly. With this loss of respect for their teachers came utter irreverence for what they taught. Churches and cemeteries were profaned by secular business and pastimes, and the catechism of Archbishop Hamilton mentions those who were accustomed to "carreling and wanton syinging in the kirk," and rebukes people who "in the tyme of Gaddis word or service occupies thameself in vaine, evil, or any warldly lauching, scorning, or any seck like doings."

Irreverence had long been common. It was not to be expected that with the change of religion would come any additional reverence for the things and places which the old religion had proclaimed sacred. We read without much surprise, therefore, of weavers being allowed to set up their looms and exercise their craft² "in ane volt prepared for them in the rufe of Sanct Gellis kirk," of the vestry of the church being turned into an office for the town-clerk,³ and for keeping his books and papers, and of the abolition of the time-honoured revels of the Abbot of Unreason;⁴ but it does

¹ See the admirable introduction to Hamilton's Catechism by Mr Law.

² Burgh Records, April 11, 1562.

³ *Ibid.*, April 1563.

⁴ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1562.

strike one as passing strange to find that all feeling for the sanctity of the church had so thoroughly departed, that the authorities had to take steps to prevent the south kirk door from being used as a "common closit,"¹ and were obliged finally to shut it up, and even to close the doors of the building itself against the public, except at service, to prevent the interior being employed for the same purpose. It is almost inconceivable that old associations should so thoroughly and quickly have died out.

¹ Burgh Records, 25th November 1564; *Ibid.*, p. 97.



Two Views of St Giles in the 16th century.
(From Laing's *History*.)

CHAPTER XIII.

The Old Priests.

He who had seen his own bright order fade,
And its devotion gradually decline,
Had also witnessed
That violent commotion which o'erthrew,
In town and city and sequestered glen,
Altar and cross, and church of solemn roof,
And old religious house—pile after pile ;
And shook their tenants out into the fields,
Like wild beasts without home !

WORDSWORTH'S *Excursion*.



IT may perhaps be well at this point, and before resuming our story, to make some inquiry as to the fate of the priests and the old clergy of St Giles, and to trace, so far as we may, what became of them under the altered state of things. The building where they performed their offices was now closed against them, and they were for ever severed from the scene of their public labours, though during the rest of their life many of them continued to live in Edinburgh, probably hoping against hope that some new turn of affairs might restore them to their former position. Some went abroad¹ and took refuge in Catholic countries, as did many of their brethren throughout Scotland, but most of them appear to have remained in Edinburgh. They seem, curiously enough, when we consider the prejudice entertained against them, to have retained most of the emoluments of their different benefices until they died. The small sums due for their chaplainries were still paid them, although they fulfilled no duties. Any stipend

¹ Laing's Charters, cii.

paid from the treasury of the town seems, however, to have been stopped soon after the final establishment of the Protestant worship :

“The baillies and counsall ordanis Alexander Park, threasurer, to content and pay to Sir Walter Haliburton, Sir George Manderston, and Sir William Johneston, prebendaries of the queir, the some of vii merkis for the Mertynmis payment last bipast of the annual rentis awing to thame be the town ; and syklik to Sir James Craufurd, chaplane of the Rude Loft, the some of xs. for the said terms, in payment of his annual rent, and uther xs. for Ladymes silver ; and dischargis the threasurer of ony mair payments to ony of the rest of the prebendaris, because they have not waited on their divine service.”¹

The reason assigned for withholding payment seems a peculiarly strange one—the possibility of these prebendaries waiting on their divine service being at that time out of the question. At a later date² the town passed a resolution equally hard upon the priests whom they had been accustomed to pay, in which they resolve to take the stipend that went to them, and apply it to other uses :

“It is thocht gude that the rentis annuals and uther emolumentis quhilks were payit furth of lands and tenementis within this burgh to papists, praists, and freiris, and uthers of that wickit sort, for mantayning of idolatrie and vain superstition, seeing it hes pleisit the Almightye to oppin the eis of all pepill, and to gyf thame the knaulege of sic vain abussis, thairfor that the said rentis and emolumentis be applyit to mair proffitable and godlie ussis, sic as for sustayning of the treu ministris of Gods word, founding and bigging hospitalis for the pure, and collegais for the leirning and upbryinging of the youth, and sic uther godlie workis.”

At the same time that the town confiscated these payments to the priests, and altered their destination, they also withdrew a dole of wine that had hitherto been paid for the sustentation of the altar of St Anthony, and which the fraternity of that name had been in

¹ Burgh Records, 16th February 1559-60.

² *Ibid.*, 23d April 1561.

the habit of collecting at Leith as their due upon every tun landed : “ Ane choppin of wyne granttit and gevin for manteyning the wikedness and idolatry of Sanct Anthonys ile of the tun of wine.” This the town gave for the benefit of poor craftsmen and merchants. Though the stipends of the priests directly in the pay of the burgh were thus curtailed, they seem to have been otherwise unmolested in the enjoyment of their old revenues. They held the chaplainries of the various altars to which they were attached to the time of their death, and drew the various annuals and pittances belonging to them. We find abundant evidence in favour of this in the town records.¹ Two instances may suffice. The provost of the church possessed a house in virtue of his office : this dwelling he was allowed to retain and finally to dispose of when it became uninhabitable. On the 2d of July 1566 he granted a lease of it to David, Lord Drummond, and Lillias Ruthven his second wife, reserving to himself, or the provost and curate of the church, a bed when such should be required.² The head dignitary of the college of St Giles thus retained his house when Protestant ministers were preaching in the church hard by, and the town were under the necessity of lodging these ministers elsewhere. There is a still more striking instance of the same retention of their emoluments on the part of the old clergy. There were certain teinds which had been granted to the provost and clergy of the church, belonging to the parish of Dunbarney in Perthshire, with the kirklands of Potty and Moncrieff, of the acquirement of which we have no notice in the charters. For some reason, however, they had not after the Reformation been paid by the then Lord Oliphant, and the provost of St Giles, James Chisholme, Sir James Johnstone, vicar, portioner, and eleven prebendaries, brought an action at law for their recovery. This was in January 1566-7, during the time when they were outcasts from the church, and John Knox filled the pulpit as the minister of the town. They succeeded in their lawsuit, and their dues were ordered by the Lords of Council, before whom the

¹ See also Laing's Charters, Appendix.

² Laing's Charters, p. 267.

case was tried, to be paid them forthwith, these having been “of auld gevin to the prouest and prebendaris of the said college kirk of St Geil, as propertie to thame, and thai and thair predecessors of auld hes bene in continewall possessioun of uptaking of the proffits thairof.”¹

As the clergy died out, laymen were apparently presented and inducted to their benefices, in order that they might obtain a legal title to the revenues. Many such presentations to the various altars, as if they were still in existence, occur in the records of the town.² One curious nomination, or rather installation, has come down to us written in the Scottish language.

“18th November 1587.—William Urie, younger, procurator, within specially constituted, past to the pulpit standing within Sanct Geills kirk at Edinburgh, and there by vertue of the gift within written, gave institution and possession to Andrew Dalrymple, personally present and acceptant of the chaplanrie of St Duthois, with all profits, &c. thereto belonging, by *deliverance in his hands of ane psalm book.*”

At a very early period in the history of the church, Thomas de Cranstoun, a burgess, founded a chaplainry at the altar of St Duthac. After the Reformation we find his heir making a presentation to this office in favour of his servant, who was regularly inducted. One of the ministers of the reformed church, Mr Walter Balkanquhill, was also presented to two chaplainries with as much formality as if he had been a priest, as the following extracts from the town council records show :

“November 20, 1579.—The baillies and council disponis the chaplainry of the altar, callit Mater Jesu, vaccand in their handis in defalt of the patron, nocht present and in due tyme efter the decees of Sir Andro Buchan, with all the duties belangand thairto, to Maistir Walter Bakanquhall, minister, during his lyfetime for terms bygane and to cum.

¹ Laing's Charters, p. 270.

² Burgh Records, 24th August 1570; see also Appendix to Wilson's Memorials.

“*November 24, 1579.*—Prebendary of St Gregoris altar. The saymn day disponis the prebendary of Sanct Gregoris altar vaccand be deceis of ——— in their handis during all the dayes of Mr Walter Bukanquillis lyftyme, to the said Mr Walter and that of all termes bygane and to cum.”

It is certainly curious to think of this famous Protestant minister inducted as a prebendary and chaplain of an altar.

In 1570 the stipends of the “provost, vicar, and clerk of the Paroch kirke” were given by the town to the ministers. In 1581 Sir Thomas Gray appeared before the council of his own free will, and demitted his prebendary, “callit Prebend of S. Michaelis de Monte Tomba foundit at the altare callit St James altar, somtyme situate within the said kyrk.” He received for his lifetime a yearly pension of £18 Scots. Two years later, Sir Walter Hali-burton gave over to the town his prebendary of St Nicolas and all the emoluments which he had apart from his chaplainry, at the altar of the saint, “saule messes, diergis, Lady messis and syluer,” for which he received an annual pension of £22, 11s. 6d., and £20 paid down. The benefices thus came one by one into secular hands. The last mention we have of any of the old clergy is of Mr George Manderston, “prebendar of St Giles kirk,” who died 18th March 1590–1.¹ He was probably the last of the old clergy who survived, and his life was so prolonged that he must have witnessed many changes.

One of his brethren, Sir Edward Henderson or Henrysoun, had been master of the Song School during the later days of the Catholic period, and he had held also one of the prebends of the church. This dignitary seems to have become not only a Protestant but actually the precentor of the church, and exercised his musical gifts in leading the psalmody. For a time also he was employed by the town as an overseer of works. He too lived to an advanced age, and two years before his death was voted a pension by the town in acknowledgment of his services.²

¹ Edinburgh Commissariat Register.

² Henderson died on 15th August 1579.

“*November 1, 1577.*—The provost, baillies, and counsale, ratifies and appreuvis the ouklie pension of ten schillings appoyntit to Edward *alias* Sir Edward Henderson, for all the days of his lyfe, for taikin up of the spalmes, and ordains the thesaurer to make payment to him thairof.”

Though the clergy were, as we have seen, tolerably well treated so far as their revenues were concerned, they were determinately shut out from the performance of all their priestly duties. The strictest provision was taken against them, and they were rigidly proscribed. Such a thing as toleration seems to have been at that time unknown. Adherents of the Church of Rome, or idolaters as they were termed, were classed by the town, in a proclamation¹ which the council issued, with “whoremasters and harlottis,” and they were condemned to sit upon the Market Cross for six hours for their first fault, to be burnt on the cheek and banished the town for the second, and to “be punischit to the deid for the third.” At a later date than this proclamation the authorities made another of equal severity² against those “of the papis kirk that stubburnlie perseuris in thair idolatrie, sayand messis and baptis and conform to the papis kirk, profaind thairthrow the sacramentis foresaid in quyett and secret places.” These terrible edicts probably produced the effect intended.

We know, however, there were some who suffered persecution for disobedience, and probably there were many more whose names have not come down to us. There remained a large number of Catholics in Edinburgh, notwithstanding the establishment of Protestantism,³ and among them there were doubtless those who practised their religious rites in secret, and in defiance of the authorities in church and state. A certain Alexander Skyne, advocate, who acted in legal matters for the provost and prebendaries of St Giles,⁴ “being callit and accusit for taking and re-

¹ Burgh Records, 10th June 1560.

² *Ibid.*, September 20, 1560.

³ According to Keith, when they had opportunity and dared venture, there were as many going to mass as to sermon.

⁴ He represented them in the law case mentioned, in 1564–65.

ssaaving of the diabolical idol, callit the prestis sacrament, at Pache last,"¹ was cast into prison, where he remained for more than a fortnight, but was finally liberated on giving his promise that he would behave himself "honestlie and godlie within the burgh, keep the sermonttis and prayeris and communicat with the minister and uther godlie lernyt men for resolving of his doubts in religion and in speciall tuiching his opinoun of the idoll, the prestis sacrament." If his interview with the minister, who at that time was John Knox, should lead to his conversion within ten days, he was ordered to come to the church and, with penitence, confess his former iniquity. Should he remain still unconvinced, he and his whole family were to remove out of the town and not to return so long "as they remane wikit." As we find Mr Skyne acting for the provost of St Giles and the prebendaries at a later date than that on which this sentence was pronounced, it is probable that he, outwardly at least, conformed to the wishes of the authorities.

One of the priests of the town, Sir James Strachan, was more sharply dealt with, and was ordered within twelve hours to leave the town, and not to return "until they be surely certifiet of his public repentance of his papistrie and former iniquity." Still more severely handled was Sir James Tarbat, who had been chaplain at the altar of St Mungo in St Giles. He, like many of his brethren, had a lodging in the Cowgate,² and there he had ventured at Easter to say mass. He was apprehended and subjected to very rough treatment. This treatment has been graphically portrayed by John Knox himself, and it never seems to occur to the narrator that it was anything but what was in all respects proper and fitting.³

"Now the communion was administred in Edinburgh the 1st day of April 1565; at which time, because it was near Easter, the papists used to meet at their masse; and as some of the brethren

¹ Burgh Records, 30th May 1561.

² Knox's History, vol. ii., p. 476.

³ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1565.

were dilligent to search such things, they having one of the bayliffs with them, took one Sir James Carvet, riding hard as he had now ended the saying of the masse, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house and one or two more of the assistants, to the Tolbooth, and immediately revested him with his garments upon him and so carried him to the Market Cross, where he tarried the space of one hour, during which the boys served him with his Easter eggs. The next day following, the said Carvet with his assistants were accused and convinced by an assize, according to the Act of Parliament, and albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all punishment he was set upon the Market Cross for three or four hours, the hangman standing by and keeping him, the boyes and others were busie with egg casting, and some papists there were that stopped as far as they could, and as the presse of people increased about the Crosse there appeared to have been some tumult. The provost, Archibald Douglas, came with some halberdiers and carried the priest safe to the Tolbooth."

The venerable priest, of whose treatment the Reformer speaks so lightly, did not survive long, and his death was generally thought to have been hastened by the treatment he received. A year afterwards the chaplainry vacant by his death was given to Edward Henderson,¹ the old prebendary who had become the psalm singer of the kirk.

That the ministers were not in favour with the whole population, and needed the civil authority, with which they were in close alliance, to keep them free from molestation, there is abundant evidence. People, from time to time, are punished for "slandering the minister,"² and a certain Euphame Dundas was especially notorious in this respect. An attempt was made to assassinate John Craig, the colleague of John Knox, in the church.³ A man, named George Couthet, was imprisoned in the thieves' hole "for his contempt done to Master John Craig," and was afterwards taken to Leith and

¹ Burgh Records, May 8, 1566.

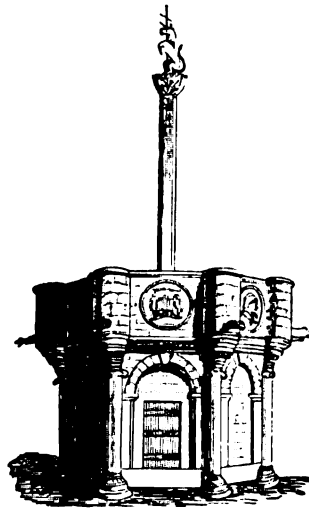
² *Ibid.*, 20th October 1560.

³ Introduction to Craig's Catechism by Mr Law.

“boittit”—i.e. transported;¹ and we have on record the trial² of a “Maister William Balfour, indweller at Leyth,” who on 31st December 1561, caused in St Giles what is called a riot. He interrupted the reader while catechising the people, and addressed him in anything but choice language: “Thou art a verry knave and thie doctrine is verry false, as all your doctrine and teaching is. Is that your communion? The devil burst me whenever it cums into my belly.” As it was the last day of the year, when he thus expressed himself, Maister Balfour was probably affected by the festivities of the season. But it is evident that there were many in town who remained friendly to the old religion, and by whom the old clergy would probably be kindly received in their retirement. They no doubt passed through a time of great trial and persecution, even though they were suffered to retain sufficient to at least keep them from starvation. We may mention here that the final notice of Chisholm, the last provost of the church, is in the law proceedings we have given above.

¹ Town Council Records, 20th June 1565.

² Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 416.



Original Market Cross of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XIV.

The New Order—1560-1562.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

TENNYSON.



SOON after the Reformers had obtained possession of St Giles, John Knox came to Edinburgh, and on the 23d April 1560 commenced again his residence in the city, which continued with some intervals till the time of his death. For some few months he was associated with Willock the preacher, who had so boldly kept the situation during the brief period of Catholic ascendancy, and who had remained in the burgh at the peril of his life. Willock's services were, however, soon needed elsewhere. He was made "Superintendent of Glasgow and the West of Scotland," and left St Giles under the sole control of John Knox. He took his departure amid expressions of good-will on the part of the people, and the town bestowed on him a substantial present in acknowledgment of his labours. They ordered their treasurer "to deliver to Johne Willok xx¹ crounes of the sone for recompens of the greit travail sustenit be him this hail yere bigane in preaching and ministering of the sacramentis within the burgh, and ordanis ane member of the counsail to thank him of his greit benevolence for the greit travail forsaid."² Certainly Willock well deserved this recognition of his services. He had kept his post manfully, when most men

¹ Burgh Records, 1st June 1560.

² *Ibid.*, 30th August 1560.

would have been excused for seeking safety in flight, and he left his colleague to carry on the work in circumstances of comparative prosperity, compared with those he himself had come through. The tide had now turned in favour of the Reformers, and if any of the old clergy who still lived in the purlieus of St Giles, cherished hopes of officiating within its walls, they must now have felt those hopes gradually vanish.

On the 19th July 1560, a public thanksgiving was held in St Giles, which was filled from end to end. It was an influential gathering, and according to John Knox, "the hail nobilitie and the greatest part of the congregation assembled." They had good cause to be jubilant, for they had got it all their own way. The Reformer himself officiated on the occasion, and he gives us in his History the prayer which he offered at the service.¹ It is somewhat lengthy, but full of devotional feeling, and expresses the thankfulness which the Reformer felt at the departure of the French from the Scottish shores, and the prospective establishment of Protestantism in the land. After sermon, the leading members of the party of the Reformation remained in the church, and drew up a scheme for the distribution and planting of ministers and superintendents in various parts of the kingdom. What the church thus projected the state sanctioned. In the next month after this meeting was held, the famous parliament assembled in Edinburgh, which abolished the Roman Catholic system as the religion of the realm, and established Protestantism on its ruins. The "former clergy" were declared "usurped ministers," and the "new preachers the only persons that have power to administer the holy sacraments."

With the coming of Queen Mary to Scotland,² John Knox obtained greater prominence than he ever had before, and his church week by week became the great centre of political interest. The many controversies, intrigues, and startling occurrences of the time, with which the reader of Scottish history is familiar, were made the subject of sermons in St Giles, and received from the preacher

¹ Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 85.

² 19th August 1561.

the freest and most unconventional handling. From the first arrival of the queen, the preacher seems to have regarded her with aversion.

“The verray face of heavin, the time of hir arrival,” he writes, “did manifestlie speak what comfort was brought into this countrey with hir, to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all iniquitie; for in the memorie of man that day of the year was never seyn a more dolorous face of the heavin than was at hir arrival, which two days after did so continue, for besides the surfett, sweat, and corruption of the air, the myst was so thick and dark that skairse mycht any man espy ane other length of two pair of buttis. The sun was not seyn to schyne two days beforis nor two days after. That foir warning God gave unto us; but allace the most part wair blind.”

Whether the Reformer himself was among those who were thus first deceived as to the effect upon the Protestant Church likely to be produced by the coming to Scotland of Queen Mary, his eyes could not but be soon opened. On the Sunday after her arrival, to the scandal of the Protestants, mass was said in the chapel at Holyrood, and on the next Sunday the walls of St Giles reverberated with the Reformer’s denunciation of the service in the royal chapel. As we read the words, we seem to hear them echoing under the arches. “That ane mass,” he said, “was more fearful to him than gif ten thousand armed enemyes war landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to supress the hoile religion. . . . When we joyne hands with idolatrie, it is no doubt but that both Godis amicable presence and comfortable defence leaveth us, and what shall then become of us?”¹

This sermon was the beginning of a conflict between the Reformer and the queen, which lasted as long as she sat on the throne. He never regarded her from that time with anything but aversion, which no courtesy on her part could overcome. She was the enemy of the church of God, and an idolater who deserved death. What

¹ Knox’s History, vol. ii. p. 276.

took place at Holyrood was commented upon in St Giles, and the fragments of sermons delivered there which have come down to us show how very free and fearless those comments were: "Princes," the preacher cried, "will not understand, they will not be learned as God commands thame. But Goddis law they despise, his statutis and ordinances thei will not understand, for in fiddling and flynging thei are more exercised than in reading and hearing of Goddis most blessed word; and fiddlaris and flatterraris (which commonlie corrupt youth) are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdome and gravitie, who by wholesome admonition mycht beat down into thame some part of that vanitie and pryde wherinto all are borne, but in princes tak roote, and strength by wicked education."¹ The application of sermons of this kind was not difficult to make. It was no wonder the queen took them to herself. There were many listeners in St Giles who were ready to carry them to royal ears, and it was not likely that the preacher could ever find favour at the palace.

During this period of his life in St Giles, Knox seems to have laboured incessantly. Besides his work in building up the polity of the Protestant Church in general, he preached constantly. The English ambassador was a frequent attender at the church in those days, and in a letter to Cecil he gives his impression of the sermons he heard, and the effect produced by them. "Whene your honour," he says, "exhorteth us to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man is able in an hour to put more life into us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears."² He preached to the people three times in the week and twice on the Sunday,³ and the only assistance he had in his work was that of a reader, named John Cairnes. Of this person we have frequent notices in the records of the town, where he is termed in one place "lectour of the mornyng prayers."⁴ His duty was to perform the ordinary work of a reader—to read each day, morning and evening prayers, and Scriptures in

¹ Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 333.

³ April 8, 1562.

² Randolph's letter in Keith.

⁴ September 26, 1561.

the church, and to catechise the children. There was daily service in St Giles from the establishment of the Reformation, as was the case also in the principal towns in Scotland.

Until the departure of Willock, the book of prayers used in the church was probably the second book of King Edward. Willock had lived long in England, and naturally would continue to use this formulary, which at their coming to Edinburgh the Congregation had, as we have seen, brought with them. After John Knox fairly entered upon his work, the *Book of Geneva*, or as it came to be termed the *Book of Common Order*, became the rule for the devotions of the people. In 1560 it is said to have been "already used in some of our churches," and St Giles was doubtless one of these. The Reformer did not confine himself to the prayers of this book. He gives us from time to time, in his History, prayers which he had used on special occasions, and which, as they are carefully composed, were probably previously read in the church. But the *Book of Common Order* was beyond all doubt regularly used both on week-day and Sunday;¹ and for the celebration of baptism, communion, and marriage. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was at this time celebrated in St Giles three times in the year. John Knox first officiated on the 2d March 1561, and the celebration continued during the whole week. "Sunday, 2 March, ye communion mistrat be John Knox, in ye hie Kirk of Edinburgh—Mononday, Twysday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Setterday."²

The bread and wine and necessary furnishings were supplied at the cost of the town. The amount of wine consumed seems especially large. Eight and a half gallons were used on one occasion, and "twa barrells wyne containing ten gallons" on another. Probably this free use of wine was a protest against the Roman Church, which had denied the cup to the laity. In the winter season the sacrament was as early as four in the morning,³ and the church lit up with candles and torches must have presented a remarkable

¹ See Introduction to *Book of Common Order*, Sprott and Leishman's Edition.

² See Communion Accounts, Appendix, Lee's Church History, vol. i. p. 389.

³ *Ibid.*

appearance. Among the items of the church accounts are these: "2 dozen torches; half a dozen torches and 1 roll of wax to John Cairnes; candle baith days." Tables covered with white linen cloth were erected in the church, and a "travess" or barrier of wood was built "for holding furth of ye non-communicants."

The Reformer seems to have had, at the beginning of his incumbency, the use of the whole church for his congregation. Powerful as his voice was at that time, he was but imperfectly heard.¹ There are traces, however, in the records of the town, during the period to which this chapter relates, of a curtailing of the space of the interior of the church, by erecting the western part of the nave into a tolbooth² or place of meeting for the Lords of Session, and which was called the outer Tolbooth, to distinguish it from the building at the west end of the church, which was taken down and rebuilt at the same time, out of the stones of the chapel of the Holy Cross, which Chepman had erected in the Cowgate after the battle of Flodden. While these building operations were going on, the Court of Session seems to have occupied the Holy Blood Aisle in St Giles, so that a good deal of the area of the whole church would probably be screened off. We know, however, that the part in which the Reformer preached could accommodate three thousand people, and that must have tried his vocal powers to the utmost.

John Knox seems to have been treated personally with great kindness by the town. He received a house from the authorities, which had formerly belonged to the Abbot of Dunfermline.³ It was well furnished and kept in repair, and the Dean of Guild was ordained,⁴ "with all diligence, to make ane warm stidye of daillis to the minister, John Knox, within his house, above the hall of the same, with lycht and wyndokis thereto, and all other necessaris." He received money also from time to time as he needed it,⁵ and when he began to preach stately in the city, the town council assigned him

¹ *Infra*.

² Burgh Records, 24th February 1561; *Reekiana*, by R. Chambers, pp. 173-4. See Baillie's Account of St Giles, *infra*.

³ Burgh Records, September 4, 1560.

⁴ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1561.

⁵ See Appendix to M'Crie's *Life of Knox*.

an annual stipend of four hundred merks Scots, which he was to receive quarterly. This sum was equal to about forty-four pounds in English money of that day. His stipend was considerably higher than the salary of the judges of the Court of Session, and not much lower than that of the English judges of the same period. When he was obliged to leave town for a time, to look after the interest of the church in Angus and Mearns, the council of the burgh ordained the Dean of Guild to accompany him, to pay his charges, and to "haist the said minister home."

The house which was given him had been occupied previously, as we have seen, by a distinguished ecclesiastic of the Church of Rome, and this shows that he was able to live in a condition and style not inferior to that of the upper classes of his time. He had, as we learn from his will, sometimes as much as a hogshead of wine in his cellar. He enjoyed also, in addition to the stipend he received from the town, a salary or pension which appears to have been conferred on him for his services to the church.¹ The minister of Edinburgh was provided for in a manner suited to the eminent and influential position he had been called to occupy. He had not been long in his manse when he became a widower by the death of his wife, Margaret Bowes, who left two children. She had been a brave and faithful wife to him, and was his companion through many trials. The Reformer felt her death greatly, but faced his labours with a stout heart. Those labours had now become more than one man could cope with single-handed. Knox was often from home on the business of the church, and in 1562 it became evident that it would be necessary to appoint some one to act as his colleague in St Giles.

We read in the annals of this time of one duty which he must have felt it pleasant to perform: this was to officiate at the marriage of his personal friend, James Stewart, Commendator of St Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray. This nobleman, who was one of

¹ It consisted of two chalders wheat, six chalders bere, four chalders oats, and five hundred merks in money (M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 360).

the leading Reformers, was married in St Giles with all the pomp that the Protestant ritual would permit.

“Upon the sevint day of Februar, sixty-ane years,” says a chronicle of the day,¹ “James, Commendator of Sanct Androis, was made be our Sovraine ladie erle of Mar, and upon the eighth day of the said month the said erle was married upon Agnes Keith, daughter to William erle Marischal, in the Kirk of Sanct Geil in Edinburgh, with sik solemnetie as hes not been seen before; the hail nobilitie of the realm being present, and convoyit thame down to Holyrood house, when the banket was made, and the Queens grace thereat and the same day at even—greit and diverse baling, castying of fyre ballis, fyre speris, and rynnning with horses.”

It must have been altogether a brave show. John Knox, however, seems to have apprehended danger to the firmness of the bridegroom's principles from the blandishments and festivities of the court; for he tells us that he warned him in his marriage address to be faithful to his Protestant convictions. “For,” said the preacher to him, “unto this day the kirk of God hath received comfort by you and by your labouris, in the which gif heirafter ye shall be found faintar than ye war befoir, it will be said that your wyeff hath changed your nature.”² The Reformer expresses also his disapproval of the nuptial festivities. “The greatness of the bancquett and the vaintie used thereat, offended many godly. Thair began the masking, which from year to year hath continued since.” Little did the minister, or any one present at the wedding, imagine how soon it would be succeeded by the mournful pageant of the bridegroom's funeral.

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents.

² Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 314.

CHAPTER XV.

Brave Men—1562-1566.

One still strong man in a blatant land,
Whatever they call him, what care I,
Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one
Who can rule and dare not lie.

TENNYSON.



HE minister who in 1562 was appointed colleague to John Knox, was "Maister Johne Craig, presentlie minister of the Canongate." He was "to accept upon him the half chargis of the preaching of the Kirk of Edinburgh."¹ He was a remarkable man in many ways, and it may not be entirely out of place or foreign to our story to give here some account of his life before he came to minister in St Giles.²

He was born in 1512 of a family long associated with Edinburgh, that to which the illustrious lawyer, Sir Thomas Craig of Riccartoun, belonged. His father was slain at Flodden. He was educated at St Andrews, and in early youth joined the order of St Dominic, and entered their house at St Andrews. After remaining there a short time, during which he was suspected of those heretical views which had even then begun to reach Scotland, he made his way to Italy, and through the good offices of Cardinal Pole, was admitted into the convent of his order in Bologna, where he so distinguished himself that he was appointed to the important position

¹ Burgh Records, August 16, 1562.

² The best account of Craig is in the introductory memoir prefixed to his catechism, by T. G. Law (Douglas, Edinburgh).

of Master of Novices, an office only given to those whose character and attainments were of conspicuous merit. Bologna was at that time a famous seat of learning, and in the society of its scholars the young Scotsman found a congenial home. He was not, however, destined to spend his days in learned leisure. In the library of the convent he found a copy of Calvin's *Institutes*, a work that entirely confirmed whatever heretical predilections he had hitherto entertained. He showed openly his change of opinion, and was summoned at once to Rome to give an account of himself before the dread tribunal of the Inquisition. This tribunal was at that time very vigorous and energetic under the patronage of Pope Paul IV.

Craig met with very severe treatment at its hands. He was, according to a well-known historian,¹ "confined in a base prison, or rather pit, into the whilk the river Tiber did every tide flow, so that the prisoners stood in water, sometimes to their middle." This was barbarous treatment, but worse was to follow, for Craig after trial was condemned to be burnt on 9th August 1559. This horrible fate he escaped owing to a singular circumstance. On the 18th day of August the pope died. As soon as the event was known, the Roman mob began to riot. They set fire to the buildings of the Inquisition, and liberated the prisoners, among whom was the young Scotsman. He found refuge in a house in the outskirts of Rome, but was about to be arrested again, when he escaped in a marvellous manner. The captain of the soldiers who had come in pursuit of him took him aside, and asked him if he remembered helping a wounded soldier at Bologna, who in dire distress begged of him some relief. Craig answered that he did not. "But I do," replied the other, "and I am the man." This grateful soldier connived at Craig's escape, and helped him with money and advice. Craig immediately left Rome, found his way secretly to Milan, and afterwards wandered through pass and forest to the German frontier.

¹ John Row.

Romantic as were the passages of his life we have given, they were eclipsed by another incident even more romantic still, and which seems to have received undoubted credence from the historians of the time, Catholic and Protestant alike. "When he had travelled some days," says Spottiswood, "declining the highways out of fear, he came into a forest, a wild and desert place, and being sore wearied, he lay down among some bushes on the side of a little brook to refresh himself. Lying there pensive and full of thoughts (for neither he knew in what place he was, nor had he any means to bear him out of the way), a dog cometh fawning with a purse in his teeth, and lays it down before him. He, stricken with fear, riseth up, and looking about if any were coming that way, when he saw none, taketh it up, and construing the same to proceed from God's favourable providence towards him, followed his way till he came to a little village, where he met with some who were travelling to Vienna in Austria, and changing his intended course went in their company thither." The historian Row says that he ultimately brought the dog and some of the gold to Edinburgh. And a Roman Catholic writer of the same period, while not doubting the occurrence, points out that the colour of the dog was black, which indicated that it was an emissary of Satan who succoured Craig in his dire distress. "The colour of the dog may declaire gif it was send be ane guid spirit or nocht, for the halie spirit descendit upon Christ in the lykinis of a whyt dow."¹

At Vienna Craig was well treated. He preached as a Dominican friar, and obtained influence at the court of the Emperor of Austria, especially with his son the Archduke Maximilian, who listened to the prelections of Craig with favour. The presence of the escaped heretic, and his position in Vienna, seem to have been reported to Rome, and the pope wrote insisting on his being given back to the authorities of the Inquisition. The Scotsman had no desire for their further acquaintance, and obtaining letters of safe-conduct from his patron the archduke, made his way through Germany

¹ *Facile Traictise*, p. 433, by John Hamilton.

to England, and thence to his native country. Great changes had taken place there since Craig had left it. Twenty-four years had made a great difference. The doctrines of the Reformation were in the ascendant, and the Reformers welcomed the returned Dominican with joy. Craig placed himself at their service, being in sympathy with their aims. He was for a considerable time unable to speak to the people, and for a time addressed a congregation of learned men in the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate, preaching in Latin. He seems soon to have regained fluency in the Scottish tongue, and became minister of the Canongate or Holyrood House.

This was the man who now became, along with Knox, minister of St Giles. He was bold and outspoken, but seems to have been on the whole more tolerant in his policy, and less uncompromising than his colleague. For a time, however, they both acted in the closest alliance. Knox was frequently absent from Edinburgh on the business of the church at this time, so that the chief burden of the work in St Giles rested on Craig.¹ The relations between St Giles and Holyrood continued strained. The Protestant leaders seemed to Knox to have become subservient to the queen. She had beguiled them, and they were inclined to allow her to have her own way. He quarrelled with Moray as one "who preferred his own interest and the pleasure of his sister to the advancement of religion," and during the sitting of parliament,² when many of the members attended St Giles, he disburdened his mind in an impassioned discourse. "I have been with you," he exclaimed, "in your most extreme dangers. Sanct Johnestoun, Cowper Mure, and the Craiggis of Edinburgh are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous nycht whairin all ye my lordis with schame and fear left this toune, is yett in my mind, and God forbid I shall ever forget it. What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what is fallen in name of all that God ever promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testifie. Shall this be your thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God to betray

¹ It was during this year (1562) Knox had his famous dispute with Kennedy. He was also long absent at Jedburgh.

² May 10, 1563.

his cause when you have it in your awn hands to establish it as ye please." After many strong statements of a similar kind, the preacher closed by referring to reports which had reached him of the queen's marriage. "To put end to all I hear," he said, "of the quenis marriage; dukis, bretheren to empouris, and kingis stryve all after the best game, but this I say, my lordis (note the day and beare witness after), whensoever the nobilitie of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus consents to ane infidell (and all Papists are infidels) shall be your soverane, ye do so far as in ye lieth to banish Christ from this realme; ye bring Goddis vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourself, and perchaunce ye shall do small comforts to your soveraine."

It is foreign to our story to follow the Reformer into all the various discussions in which he took part both in the palace and out of it. These have been fully reported elsewhere;¹ we can but confine ourselves to his connection with St Giles. Early in 1564 his "banns of marriage," to the great surprise of the congregation, were published in the church at the usual time of service.² The event caused more discussion at the time than even the rumoured marriage of the queen. Knox had been a widower three years, and was now verging on sixty years of age. The lady he married, Margaret Stewart, was very young and scarcely out of her teens, a daughter of Lord Ochiltree. Probably he was the last man in the general estimation likely to become a bridegroom, and much wit was indulged in at his expense. The success of his courtship was ascribed by his enemies to sorcery, and a picture of the old man going forth to his wooing, given by a Roman Catholic writer, that has come down to us, is highly comical.³ Margaret Stewart made him a good wife, and tended him with affection in his last illness. The gossip regarding his marriage soon died away, and again took up as its chief topic the future husband of the queen.

¹ In *Maitland of Lethington*, by John Skelton, a most graphic description is given of the Scotland of Mary Stewart.

² Randolph to Cecil, 18th March 1563-4.

³ See M'Críe; Cunningham's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 402.

On the 22d July 1565,¹ Darnley and the queen were proclaimed in St Giles, as well as in the church of the Canongate and the Chapel Royal, and on the 29th of the same month they were married. On the 19th August Darnley, who had been created king, came, probably with some idea of conciliating the Protestants, to sermon in St Giles. Considerable preparation had been made for his accommodation in the church. He entered in great state. A throne had been erected,² and he sat under a "canopy of fair velivet." He could not have been much satisfied with what he heard, for it became soon evident, as the discourse proceeded, that John Knox was, to use a modern phrase, "preaching at him." The text was from the words of the prophet: "O Lord our God, other lords than thou have ruled over us," wherefrom Knox took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who for the sins of the people are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them; and amongst other things said, "That God sets in that room, for the offences and ingratitude of the people, boys and women," and some other words which appeared bitter in the king's ears, as "That God had justly punished Ahab and his posterity because he would not take order with that harlot Jesebell."

This is the account the preacher himself gives us of his sermon. The effect produced upon the king by that effort can scarcely be wondered at. A chronicle of the day tells us "he was crabbit;"³ and Knox relates pleasantly "that the displeasure arose chiefly from the length of his own discourse. Because he had tarried an hour and more longer than the time appointed, the king was so moved at this sermon that he would not dine, and being troubled with great fury he past in the afternoon to the hawking." Knox was called to account for his boldness, and was charged by the privy-council to desist from preaching while the king and queen were in the city. This inhibition came to nothing. The council of the town resolved that "they would in no manner of way consent or grant that his

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 79.

² Burgh Treasurer's Accounts.

³ Diurnal of Occurrents.

mouth be closed ; but that at his pleasure and as God should move his heart to proceed forward to true doctrine as before, which doctrine they would approve and abide at to their life's end."¹

As their majesties soon after left Edinburgh, the Reformer occupied his usual place in the pulpit of St Giles on the Sunday after this inhibition. But Darnley never came there again, which perhaps is not to be wondered at. Next year the Roman Catholic party seemed in a fair way to get the upper hand. The king openly professed himself a Catholic. Many of the nobility followed his example. The English ambassador says that as many went to mass at Holyrood as went to sermon in the church. The ecclesiastics of the old church were restored to their places in parliament. On the 8th May, Sir John Foster writes Cecil, "a soldier of the queen struck at Mr John Craig sitting in the church with a dagger." The queen intended restoring the old worship in St Giles, and twelve wooden altars were made ready at Holyrood for being transferred thither when opportunity offered.² The opportunity never came. Rizzio's murder took place, and the miserably weak king, to carry it out, entered into an engagement with the Protestant nobles. Whether the ministers of St Giles were privy to the engagement remains still a debatable question. "The slaughter of that villain Davie" was in their eyes doubtless "a just act, and worthy of all praise."³

During the period to which this chapter refers there is little to tell of the buildings of the church. They seem to have been in an inexpressibly filthy state, if we may judge from the notices regarding them in the records of the town. About the time that a throne for the king was erected, there was also made a seat for the provost and town-council, which "had ane lok and six keys." The room near the north door of the nave, called the "priests' chamber," was also turned into a prison for scandalous persons, and a door was opened in St Anthony's Aisle. The church was a place for discipline as well as for preaching. Offenders were

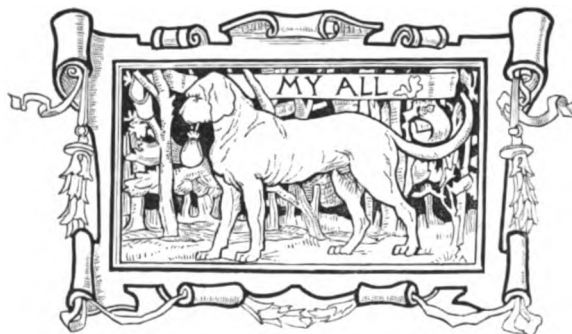
¹ Burgh Records, August 23, 1565.

² Knox's History, vol. ii. p. 392.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 935.

rebuked, and hardened sinners were excommunicated, whilst Sunday after Sunday men and women did penance for their offences. One miserable man¹ who had been deposed from the ministry appeared in St Giles to make his public repentance. It was sufficiently humbling. He was enjoined to appear at the church door when the second bell rang for public worship, clad in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted, to stand there until the prayer and psalms were finished, when he was to be brought into the church to hear sermon, during which "he was to be placeit in the public spectakill above the peiple." This appearance he was to make for three several preaching days, and on the last of them, being a Sabbath, he was at the close of the sermon to profess his sorrow before the congregation, and to request their forgiveness, upon which he was to be "clad in his ain apparell" and received into the communion of the church. Similar exhibitions were of frequent occurrence, and were supposed greatly to tend to edification.

¹ Paul Methven, sometime minister of Jedburgh.



From a Brass in St Giles.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Queen and the Kirk—1566-1572.

When she gaed up the Canongate side,
The Canongate side sae free,
Oh, there she spied some minister lads,
Crying, "Och and alace for me!"

SCOTTISH BALLAD.



EVENTS of importance now follow close upon one another in Scottish history, and there are few of them which have not some connection, however slight, with the subject of our story. On 19th June 1566, in the Castle of Edinburgh, a prince, afterwards James VI., was born. The event caused great joy throughout Scotland, and a public thanksgiving was held in St Giles. "The lords and people came to the great Kirk of Edinburgh to give thanks to God, and to pray for great gifts and grace to him."¹ Probably John Craig officiated on the occasion, as Knox was absent in England. The people were hearty, we are told, in their devotions, and "made humble prayers that the young prince might be endowed with the fear of God, with virtue and knowledge to govern the realm and subjects thereof, whenever the same should happen to come into his hands."² King James VI., who in after times influenced so greatly St Giles and its history, was thus associated with it from the time of his birth. His baptism took place in the Chapel Royal of Stirling. The English queen was represented on the occasion by the Earl of Bedford, governor of Berwick, and

¹ Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 321.

² Keith, vol. ii. pp. 434, 563.

a Protestant. On his way home from the christening, he seems to have attended service in St Giles. It was in the early morning of a December day, for we find a note in the accounts of the town treasurer. "Gevin to George Johnstone for ane greit wax candill to set befor my lord the Erle of Bedford, Ambassador of England, beand heir sone in the morning at the sermond, iijs."

On the 10th February 1566-7, at two in the morning, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were startled by the explosion at the Kirk-of-Field, and the report of the murder of the king soon spread throughout the town. There were not a few who had little difficulty in surmising as to who was the guilty person. During the night after the catastrophe, a paper was secretly fixed to the doors of St Giles and other public buildings, charging the Earl of Bothwell and some of his friends as the murderers.¹ "I," so the unknown accuser made his charge, "according to the proclamation have made inquisition for the slaughter of the king, and do find the Earl of Bothwell, Mr James Balfour, parson of Flisk, Mr David Chambers, and black Mr John Spence, the principal devisers thereof." This was not the only document of the kind "privillie affixit on the public places of the Kirk of Edinburgh."

These accusations drove Bothwell to fury, and he declared "publicly, with furious oaths and gestures, that if he knew who were the authors of the bills or drawings, he would wash his hands in their blood."² Such statements on his part were not much heeded by the unknown accuser, for on the evening of the day on which he made them, two more placards were hung up. On the one were written the initials M. R. with a hand holding a sword. On the other, Bothwell's initials with a mallet painted above, an obscure allusion to a wound on the body of Darnley, supposed to have been given with a blunt instrument. These accusations being persisted in even after Bothwell had been acquitted at a so-called assize, the earl came to St Giles, and on its doors affixed

¹ Bothwell's narrative, quoted in Keith, vol. ii. p. 548.

² *Ibid.*, p. 534.

with his own hand a public cartel challenging to combat any gentleman who should still accuse him of Darnley's murder. In a narrative by himself of his proceedings, he tells us that "according to the custom of that country, and according to the laws of war," he placed the following document, sealed with his own seal, to the doors of the Tolbooth, St Giles' Church, and other public places :

"For the defence of my honour and reputation, if there be anyone, whether noble or commoner, rich or poor, disposed to accuse me of treason, secret or overt, let him present himself, that I may give him combat in this just cause."¹

On the following day on which this cartel appeared, another paper was posted declaring that if a day was fixed a gentleman would appear,² but "nothing came of the matter," and the congregation of St Giles, who must have read those notices with much interest as they crowded to Mr Craig's preaching, ceased to gossip on the subject. Their interest, however, was soon to be revived, by a strange proclamation made by the minister from the pulpit, for we read in an old chronicle³ that: "Upon the nynt day of the said month of Maiy (1567) our Souerane ladie and the said erle of Bothwill wes proclamit in the college kirk of Sanct Geill to be marryt togedder."

This proclamation was not made by the minister without strong protest. On the ground of the common rumour that the queen was under restraint, John Craig demanded to see the queen's handwriting. A letter declaring her freedom was brought him by Sir John Bellenden, the Justice-clerk. Craig declared that such a marriage could only be solemnised in defiance of the laws of the church, and was ready to give his reasons to the parties themselves, which he did in a bold and defiant manner. "I laid

¹ Selon la coustume du dict pays, et selon les loix de la guerre, je feis faire cries à Edinbourg, et mettre des lettres scellés de mon seau, sur le portes des Eglises . . . en la forme qui s'ensuyt : "Pour la defense de mon honneur et reputation, s'il y a quelqu'un, noble ou ignoble, riche ou pauvre, qui me veuille acouser de trahison, secrete ou ouverte, qu'il se presente afin que je luy liure le combat en ceste juste cause" (*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*: Bannatyne Club).

² Keith, p. 563.

³ Diurnal of Occurrents.

to his charge the law of adultery, the law of ravishing, the suspicion of collusion betwixt him and his wife, and last, the suspicion of the king's death, which her marriage would confirm. But he answered nothing to my satisfaction, wherefore after many exhortations I protested that I could but declare my mind publicly to the church." This he did, and while he reluctantly proclaimed the banns in St Giles on three several days, he took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as scandalous, "and seeing," he says, "that the best part of the realm did approve of it, I desired the faithful to pray earnestly that God would turn it to the comfort of this realm."

The realm, as we know, had little comfort for some time to come. The events which followed rapidly upon this infamous marriage—the flight of Bothwell, the imprisonment of the queen, the coronation of her son, and the appointment of James Stewart as regent during his minority—are well known to the readers of Scottish history. While these events were occurring, Knox resided chiefly in Edinburgh, and took an active part with Craig in guiding the affairs of the church. The murder of the Regent Moray was a great blow to him. The Regent and Knox had returned some time before to the old terms of friendship that had formerly existed between them, and there was no man for whom the Reformer had so warm a regard, and in whose wisdom he had such confidence.

On the 23d January 1570 the Regent was shot at Linlithgow, and died on the evening of that day. His death filled the hearts of his admirers with the deepest grief, and none more truly than John Knox, who, when the tidings reached Edinburgh, poured forth the bitterest denunciations from the pulpit of St Giles on the perpetrators of the murder, and expressed in the most touching manner the sorrows of his own heart, concluding his sermon with the words, "He is at rest, O Lord! We are left in extreme misery." On the 14th of February the funeral of the Regent took place in St Giles—where a few years before his marriage had been celebrated. It was

conducted with much pomp and solemnity, and a long procession composed of the greatest in the land came up the High Street from Holyrood to the church.

“Ma Lord Regentis corpse,” says a contemporary writer, “being brochte in ane bote by sea fra Stiurling to Leith, quhair it was keipit in Johne Wairdlaw his house, and thairefter carryit to the place of Halyrudhous, wes transportit fra the said palaice of Halyrud to the college kirk of Sanct Geill, in this manner; that is to say, William Kircaldy of Grange rade fra the said palace in dule weid, beirand ane pensall whairin wes containit ane red Lyonn, eftir him followed Colville of Cleishe, master of household to said Regent, with ane uther pensall wherein was containit the Lord Regentis armes and bage; efter thame was the erles of Athol, Mar, Glencairne, lordis of Ruthven, Methven, Master of Grahame, Lord Lindsay, with diverse uther baronis, beirand the said corpse to the college kirk of Sanct Geill, quharin the same wes placit before the pulpett, and thairefter John Knox, minister, maid ane lamentable sermon tuitching the said murther; the same being done, the said corps was buryit in Sanct Anthoneis yle within the said kirk.”¹

St Anthony's Aisle, as our readers will remember, was the south arm of the transept, and was down to modern times called the Moray Aisle. The church at the funeral was crowded, no less than three thousand people being present, and all descriptions of the scene, which must have been most striking, speak of the deep impression made by the preacher on his hearers. The English ambassador, writing to Cecil, speaks of the grief of the people, “as great a sorrow as I ever saw;” and Calderwood tells² how “Knox made a sermon before the burial upon these words, ‘Blessed are those that die in the Lord,’ and how he moved three thousand persons to shed tears for the loss of such a good and godlie governor.” Shortly after the funeral a tomb was erected in the aisle where he was buried, the contract for making which has lately come to light.³ It must have

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents.

² Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 525.

³ Hist. Com. Report, vol. vi. p. 646.—Given in Appendix, with costs of funeral.

been a monument as handsome as it was costly. One part of it has happily come down to our day. This is the brass plate, for the "engraving" of which twenty pounds was paid to James Gray, goldsmith, and which does great credit to his workmanship. The inscription by George Buchanan is in Latin, and may be thus translated: "To James Stewart, Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, a man by far the noblest of his time, barbarously slain by enemies, the vilest in history; his country mourning has raised this monument as to a common father."

The grief of Knox at the death of the Regent told on his health, and his sorrow was still more intensified by the defection of his old friend Kirkaldy of Grange, who took up the cause of the queen, and held for some time the castle of Edinburgh in her behalf. The Reformer thundered at him from St Giles, and denounced him as "a throat-cutter," and soon after, as Mr Craig was sitting in the pulpit, a servant of Kirkaldy came with a letter desiring him in God's name to declare openly to the people that he was nothing of the kind.¹ Knox's life was threatened, a placard against him was posted on the church doors, and at the entreaty of his friends he left Edinburgh for a time. John Craig refused to quit his post, and was allowed to remain: probably being of a more conciliatory disposition than his colleague, it was supposed he was in less danger. His peril, however, must have been considerable. The church was turned into a fortress by the partisans of the queen. "The voulte was holit in all pairtes so that nane culd cum therin without sicht of thame that are abone, neither can ony enter or be in the kirk but thai may be shot from abone."² Kirkaldy also placed soldiers in the steeple of the church,³ and cannon, to one of which he gave the name of Knox.

On the 4th June "the men of weir in the steipill slappit all the pendis of the kirk for keeping thairof aganis my Lord Regent," and on the 20th there was placed in the steeple of Edinburgh

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 21.

² Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 119.

³ Diurnal of Occurrents.

“thre pieces of brasin ordinance with victuallis and uthers necessary for defending of the samyne.”¹ During this abnormal state of things the inhabitants appear to have attended church as usual. The Bishop of Galloway, who seems to have taken Knox’s place, preached in a manner that was not displeasing to the queen’s party, and Mr Craig, with the departure of his colleague, appeared to become, as they termed it, “a neutral, because he made the cause of both parties alike.” Probably he knew that he would not remain long there if he used such strong words as were wont to be spoken from his pulpit. On the 27th July 1572 a more peaceful state of things was inaugurated, and St Giles resumed its former appearance. “The haill artillery about the walls and on the stepill head of Sanct Geill was tane to the castel of Edinburgh.”²

Towards the close of 1572 the citizens of Edinburgh sent a deputation to St Andrews, whither John Knox had retired, expressing their earnest desire “that his voice might be once more heard among them.” He yielded to their request, reached Edinburgh by slow stages, and preached in St Giles on the last day of August. A great change had taken place in the preacher since he last was there, and he could scarcely be heard in the vast space. “But because his ‘voice’ was febled and waike, and thairforis culd not be hard of the whole multetude that convenyit, he desyred thame to provide for that place; for he confessed that his voice was never able (the best tyme that ever he was) to extend to all that come together in Sanct Gellis kirke, and meikle les now was it able to satisfie the auditore seeing that he wes so weak, and his voice so far spent.”³ Calderwood says: “He desired another place to teache in if it were but an hundred persons, which wes granted. Mr Knox preached in the Tolbuith, where he continued as long as God gave him strength.” The Tolbooth was the portion of St Giles which had been cut off the western part of the nave, and was used for meetings of the council. Here the Reformer preached for some little time, and here he delivered his last sermon.

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 202, 211. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 257. ³ Bannatyne’s Memorials, p. 263.

Before Knox returned to Edinburgh, Craig had left the town and gone to Montrose. James Lawson, sub-principal of Aberdeen, had been fixed upon by the church as his successor, and on the 9th November Knox presided at his installation. He preached the sermon in the Tolbooth, but came into the "great church" afterwards with the congregation, and ascending the pulpit, put the usual questions and gave the charge to the new minister. His voice was so weak that few heard him. He discoursed "on the dutie of a minister and the dutie of the flock. He praised God that he had gevin them one in his rowme, and desired God to augment his graces in him a thousand fold above that which he had if it war his pleasure, and so ended with the blessing."¹ He then descended the pulpit, and leaning on the arm of an attendant, tottered feebly out of St Giles, where he had laboured so long, down the High Street. The congregation poured out of the church after him, and followed him with eager eyes, many of them believing they would never see him again. Their premonition was true. He went home to die. So this great historic figure disappears from the pages of our story.

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 230; Bannatyne *in loc.*



Knox leaving St Giles.

(From a Drawing by Sir W. FETTES DOUGLAS, P.R.S.A.)

CHAPTER XVII.

Clerical Power—1572-1579.

Sure 'tis an orthodox opinion
That grace is founded in dominion.

HUDIBRAS.



JAMES LAWSON, whom Knox had inaugurated as his successor, received a cordial welcome from the people. He was well cared for by the town, and aided in his ministry by three colleagues whose stipend was provided for out of the funds of the burgh.

One of these was John Cairnes, who had for some years acted as reader in the church. He had now been admitted as a minister by the General Assembly.¹ John Durie was another colleague appointed soon after Lawson's induction, and in 1574 Walter Balcanquhal also took part in the work of the parish. These three ministers were very much of the same character. They were strongly imbued with the principles of the Reformation, and equally uncompromising in their views, which very frequently brought them into violent collision with the government of the time.²

The burgh authorities did all in their power to promote their comfort.³ The house of John Knox does not seem to have been a manse, and was probably his own property. The town, therefore, set themselves to provide residences for the ministers; and the house occupied by the provost of the church and that belonging to

¹ Scott's *Fasts* (Midlothian), p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ The stipends finally fixed on for the various ministers are given in Burgh Records, 10th May 1578.

the curate in Catholic times being now vacant, they resolved that these should at once be put in a suitable condition and made parochial manses, and they ordered also that a sum of five hundred pounds should be "sett, liftit, and raiset yeirlie for payment of the ministers and readaris their feis and dewties." The sums bestowed on "the bigging, repairing of the place in the kirkyard sometime belonging to the provost of St Geils kirk, with the curattis place adjacent thereto,"¹ were considerable, and from time to time we read in the town records of money advanced and timber given to fit up and add to the buildings.² Money also was received from certain influential citizens to help in the work.

Though their worldly circumstances were as comfortable as the town and citizens could make them, the ministers had their full share of the troubles of the time that followed in church and state after the removal of John Knox. A revival of the episcopate after a fashion had taken place with the approval of the crown,³ and to this the ministers of St Giles, in common with other prominent persons in the church, were violently opposed, and the relations between our church and the constituted authority became almost as strained as they had been in the time of John Knox. The Regent Morton and Mr Lawson were bitterly opposed, and the one sought in every way to thwart the policy of the other. A curious instance of this occurred which gave rise to no little comment at the time, and which indicates the disposition on the part of the government to curb the ecclesiastical power. An elder of St Giles, by name Robert Gourlay, was "ordained to make his public repentance in the church," for what was then considered a very heinous offence, "transporting wheat out of the country."⁴ Information of this having been conveyed to the Regent, he appeared personally in the church, and, at the time the peccant elder should have made his confession, said openly to the minister, Mr James Lawson, "I have given him license, and it apperteaneth not to you to judge of

¹ Burgh Records, 21st July 1576.

³ The "Tulchan Episcopate."

² *Ibid.*, 8th October 1574.

⁴ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 328.

that matter." This little incident, which must have caused some sensation in the congregation, is significant of the tendency on the part of the government to treat with as much contempt as they were able what they considered the assumption and pride of the ecclesiastical power.

A curious instance of the exercise of that power occurred in the same year. A certain Thomas M'Kaslan, one of the College of Justice, and a man of considerable eminence, had remained in Edinburgh during the siege, and continued to discharge the duties of his office. For this he was refused admission to the communion, though an elder in the congregation. He appealed to the Assembly of the church, and that body, "after reasoning," made him take oath "that he had remained within the said town and bare office therein, for most just fear and dreadour which might fall on a constant man." The Assembly condoned the offence to a certain extent, but ordained him to appear "before the pulpit of Edinburgh *in his own gown*, and to make repentance for his said offence in the face of the congregation, and thereafter giving to the poor the gown, wherein he maketh the said satisfaction, or else the price thereof."¹

The "troubles of the time" during Morton's regency are often referred to both in the minutes of the Assembly and of the town, and they occasionally touch the subject of our story. The building was frequently used for secret meetings, and the council ordained "the kirk durris to be keipet clois all tymes of the day, except the tyme of the preaching and prayer, for stopping of the conventions in the said kirk during the tyme of the troubles."² This precaution was not sufficient, and in the next year "after advisement with the trubblis which yesterday chanset betwixt Lord Seyton and the Laird of Invermarkie within the parochie kirk of this burgh," they renew their injunction as to "steiking"³ the doors.

Early in 1579 the Earl of Athole, the chancellor of Scotland, and the great leader of the confederacy against Morton, died,

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Part I. p. 324.

² Burgh Records, 2d July 1578.

³ *Ibid.*, February 1578-79.

as was generally thought, from the effects of poison, and his funeral took place in St Giles with "great solemnity and lamentation."¹ The council of the town gave permission that he should be buried there: "that upon the wester part of Walter Chepmans iyle, fornent the Erle of Murays tombe, sal be brokin, and thair ane burial place be maid for the Erle of Athole." The church authorities having heard rumours that the funeral was to be conducted with certain solemnities which they judged superstitious, interfered to prevent these occurring. The General Assembly directed one of the ministers of St Giles, and another of his brethren who had charge of the funeral arrangements, to go to the lords to desire "that all superstition be avoided thereat. Quho reportit that they had maid information to their honours, that the brute² was of some superstitious rites quhilk were prepared for the burial, as a whyte crosse on the mort-claith, lang gounes, with stroupes³ and torches, quher answer was: That it was not a crosse, and grantit the gounes, and denyit the torches Whereto were immediately sent unto them John Durie to declare the kirk thought the crosse and the stroupes superstitious and ethnic⁴ lyke, and desirit them to remove the same."⁵ Those having charge of the funeral agreed to the request of the Assembly, and the Earl of Athole was laid in his grave with such rites as the church allowed, without the "stroupes," and "with the mortclaith covered with black velvet."

A much grander ceremony took place in St Giles in the same year with these funeral obsequies, in connection with the public entry of King James VI. into Edinburgh. He made a grand progress through the town from the West Port, where he was received by the magistrates "under a pompous payle of purple velvet."⁶ As he came toward the chief collegiat kirke, thair Dame Religion shewed herself, desyring his presence, so he lighted at the

¹ *History of King James VI.*, p. 174.

³ Flambeaux.

⁵ *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, p. 431.

⁶ *History of King James VI.*, p. 178; Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 459.

² Rumour.

⁴ Heathen.

ladeis steppes and went into the great kirk. Mr James Lawson made an exhortation upon Psalm ii. ver. 10, and exhorted the king and the subjects to doe thair dutie, to enter into league and covenant with God, and concluded with thanksgiving. After sermon was sung the twentieth Psalm."

We are not told how his majesty was pleased with the address of Mr Lawson—probably the performance which immediately followed the singing of the psalm was on the whole more to his taste. A few steps from the church he came to the Cross, "where Baccus satt on a puncheon, with his painted garments and a flowre garland. He drank manie glasses and cast them among the people, and there were then run three puncheons of wine."

His majesty's relations with the ministers were not always so pleasant as on this occasion. In the year following his visit to St Giles, while he was still in Edinburgh, a rumour reached him of a violent sermon preached there by Mr Durie, in which he was referred to in very uncomplimentary language. He accordingly, with the advice of his council, ordered the minister to appear before that body, "to answer sic things as shal be enquirit of him, touching some words spoken be him in his last sermon, and within the pulpett of St Gellis kirk, quhilk somewhat touches His Hieness." He was also ordered to put what he said in writing, and to bring his manuscript with him to the council.¹ Mr Durie "compeared personally" before the king and council, but utterly refused to comply with their order, and "wilfullie and contemtuouslie refusit to produce his said speking and meaning in write . . . to the evill example of utheris giff this be sufferit to remane unpuneist." The macer, therefore, is ordered to charge the said John Durie to enter into ward in Edinburgh Castle on Saturday next, "befoir the dounpassing of the sone, and to remain there upon his own expenses until freed by the king, under pain of rebellion." Mr Durie seems to have yielded to these severe measures—Saturday was an awkward day for the

¹ Register of Council, vol. iii. p. 335.

minister to be imprisoned. He gave in his manuscript,¹ and the matter appears to have dropped for a time. "The sentence of warding was recalled," says Calderwood, "for they had ayme at greater persons."²

One of these greater persons to whom Calderwood refers was the Earl of Morton. The Earl of Lennox was now the reigning power in Scotland, and in high favour with the king. To gain favour also with the church, he made a public profession of his Protestantism in St Giles,³ and after the execution of his rival Morton, his authority was for long unchallenged. The ministers of St Giles, Durie and Balcanquhal, attended Morton in prison, and Lawson, who had so earnestly opposed him in life, at his own request accompanied him to the scaffold, where he made "a maist comfortable prayer."

Lennox, who succeeded the unfortunate Morton in the control of public affairs, notwithstanding his profession in St Giles and general obsequiousness to the clergy, soon began to show that he would, if he could, curb their power as thoroughly as his predecessor in office did. To this they made, as might be expected, determined resistance, and the ministers were soon involved in a conflict with the court, which was as determined as any they had previously waged. In an Assembly of the church, held in 1581, the king made complaint against Mr Balcanquhal for having spoken in a sermon against Lennox.⁴ The words are strong enough, and show with what freedom the ministers handled public affairs. "Within these four years," said the minister, "Papistrie had entered the country, not only in the court, but in the king's hall, and was maintained by the tyranny of a great champion who is callit Grace; but if his Grace would oppose himselfe to God's word he should have little grace." There is a certain touch of rough humour in these words, which probably was caught up by the people and repeated. The General

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 480—Mr Balcanquhal seems to have been along with Durie.

² *Ibid.*; see also description of Durie's preaching, Historical MSS. Commission's Report, p. 667.

³ Spottiswood, vol. iii. p. 273.

⁴ *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, 1581.

Assembly, however, absolved Balcanquhal, and the king made nothing of his complaint.

Stronger language even than that complained of was soon to be heard from the pulpit of St Giles. Durie took up the strain of his colleague, and sounded a fearful alarm against Popery and the court.¹ The king, he said, had been moved by certain courtiers, who now ruled all at their will, to send a private message to the king of France and the Duke of Guise, and to seek his mother's blessing. He knew this from the very man employed in the message—George Douglas, Mary's sworn servant—and he painted in strong colours the deplorable effects that might arise from such a coalition.² He went to the king himself at Kinneil, and besought his majesty to be true to the principles of the Reformation. A certain envoy having at this time brought a present to the king from the Duke of Guise, the incident added fuel to the flame. "Is it with the Guise," cried the minister, "that your grace will exchange presents; with that cruel murderer of the saints?" Returning to Edinburgh he made the walls of St Giles echo with his denunciations. A report of his sermon has come down to us from one who was present "when Mr John Durie preached in the cathedral church of Edinburgh, where diverse noblemen were present,"³ and we can see as we read it that it is the product of violent and excited feeling. "The sermon was very long, godly, and plain," says the reporter, "to the great comfort and rejoice of the most number that heard it or do hear of it." It was not so to the king. Mr Durie was cited before the privy council, and ordered to leave Edinburgh. Before he would do so he consulted the Assembly, who advised him to keep to his charge till he was removed by force; but should he be so removed, to go peaceably. The magistrates of the city were, by orders from the king, with reluctance obliged to compel him to go. About nine o'clock, after supper on a summer evening, he was seen making his way to the Cross of the town, in company with Mr Lawson and Balcanquhal,

¹ Tytler, vol. viii. p. 93.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

and two notaries, and there, under the shadow of his own church, he went through the curious ceremony of placing a piece of money in the notaries' hands, in token that he left his charge against his free will. There was a little crowd round them as the party went through this strange performance, who, it is said, were much moved, though the wife of a shoemaker cried out that if any would cast stones she would help. "After this, John Durie went forth at the Neather Bow, and St Giles for some time knew him not."¹

He left, however, one as uncompromising as himself, who was well fitted to carry on his policy, and Mr Lawson's sermons became as much talked about as those of the exiled minister. There can be but little doubt that Lennox was scheming to get Queen Mary back to Scotland, and to place her on the throne beside her son.² Such a restoration would have been probably disastrous to the church, and the ministers naturally did all in their power to make it impossible. Their fears were, however, soon relieved so far as this was concerned. The Raid of Ruthven took place, and the king was a prisoner in the hands of Protestant lords. Great was the joy of Mr Lawson, who, though earnestly besought by the provost of the town to be careful of his words, poured forth in his sermons a bitter attack upon Lennox and his confederates. He replied to the provost's caution in the words of Micah, that "what the Lord put into his mouth he would speak." It is possible he might have been less bold had Lennox been in the full swing of his power; but that power was now broken, and Lawson denounced him and his friends with the greatest freedom. "What had been his practices since he came among them? With what taxes had he burdened the commonwealth to sustain his intolerable pride? What vanity in apparel, what looseness in manners, what superfluity in banqueting, what fruits and follies of French growth, had he not imported into their simple country? Well might they be thankful; well praise God for their delivery. Well did it become Edinburgh to take up the

¹ Calderwood.

² Tytler, vol. viii. p. 107.

words of the psalmist, 'Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.'"

The joy of the preacher was further enhanced by the return of his colleague Durie from captivity. He came back in triumph, and was met on his return and escorted by the people of Edinburgh, who went forth to meet him in great numbers. The accounts of contemporary writers bring the scene before us in a manner sufficiently picturesque.¹ "As he is coming from Leith to Edinburgh upon Tuesday the 4th September, there mett him at the Gallow Greene two hundred of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Thare number increased till he came within the Nether Bow, and going up the streit with bear heads and loud voices sang to the praise of God, and testifying of grait joy and consolation, the 124th Psalm, 'Now Israel may say, and that treulie,' and sang in foure parts knoune to most of the people. They came up the street till they came to the Great Kirk, singing thus all the way, to the number of two thousand. They were much moved themselves, and so were the beholders. The duke (Lennox), being in the toun and ludging in the Hiegait, was astonished and more afraid at that sight than at anie thing he had ever seen in Scotland; he rave his beard for anger, and hasted him out of the toun. After exhortation made in the reader's place by Mr Lawson to thankfulness, and the singing of a psalm, they dissolved with great joy." It must have been a striking spectacle, that great bareheaded multitude singing opposite the door of St Giles that psalm, in the rugged metre which has come down to the present day. Few more picturesque scenes have occurred in connection with our church's history. When darkness came down on the town on that memorable night, two or three hundred citizens kept watch at the back of the church for the "saftie of the ministers," and though the authorities besought them to go home, they kept their watchfires bright, and remained singing psalms till break of day. Next day Lennox left the town, and they needed to watch no longer.

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. ; Melville's Diary.

During the period to which this chapter relates, considerable changes took place in the interior of St Giles. A portion of the west end was, as we have seen, occupied as a tolbooth, the lower part being a council-house, and the upper a court of justice. A portion of the east end was now cut off to form a separate church, which went by the name of the Little or East Kirk; this was done in 1578.¹ The other part, between this new kirk and the Tolbooth, was called the Great Kirk, being the larger portion of the building. In the new church some of the most celebrated assemblies of the church met at this time,² and amid many items in the town treasurer's accounts for building and timber-work spent in the alterations we have mentioned, the following occurs: "For rusches and bent to the New Kirk at the assemblee." The floor was, we know, of earth, and this carpeting was needed to keep the feet of the divines from the damp soil. Other changes took place in the structure, of the extent of which we can only form a guess.

January 30, 1578-79.—"The baillies and counsal ordanis Lucas Wilson, Dene of Guild, with the avise of James Lauson, minister, to big up the ylis of the kirk, and in speciall the south kirk door, passand to the said maister James ludging, through his yaird quhair is now maid ane place of filth and making of water. . . . and sick like, to big Sanct Johnes Ile on the north syde of the kirk."

September 17, 1579.—"The baillies ordanis the Dene of Gild to mak a loft in the eist end of the kirk."

The church was lit by three great lamps provided by the town.³

The ministers seem to have been attentive to their pastoral duties as well as to political matters; but they took part in a movement for which the city may be grateful to them—the founding of the University of Edinburgh. It was in the ministers' lodging that the first meeting for taking order concerning the foundation of a university⁴ was held, and in Mr Lawson's house the books

¹ Burgh Records, October 17, 1580; *Ibid.*, 25th January 1580-81.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland.*

³ 7th October 1580.

⁴ Burgh Records, 24th April 1579; Grant's *History of the University.*

bequeathed by a citizen¹ for a library were stored. The university thus sprung from the church. Mr Lawson was a man of learning, and did all in his power for the advance of scholarship in Edinburgh, and it was probably through his influence it came about that we read in the town treasurer's accounts of the erection in St Giles of a "scollers' loft"—a gallery for the use of the students of the infant college.

¹ Clement Little.



Robert Gourlay's House.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Holyrood and St Giles—1579-1590.

The hearts of princes kiss obedience,
So much they love it; but to stubborn spirits
They swell and grow as terrible as storms.

SHAKESPEARE.



THE history of the period we now enter upon is one of dispute and controversy, and the relation is not very pleasant, though it needs to be told to make this narrative complete. St Giles may be said to have been at this time the headquarters of the Church of Scotland, and its ministers formed a kind of spiritual conclave with which the state had to reckon before any of its proposals regarding ecclesiastical matters could become law. The clergy regarded themselves in a special manner as watchmen on the towers of Zion; their eye was ever fixed steadily on Holyrood as the quarter from which they expected danger to come; and when they sounded a note of warning, assemblies of determined men convened at once under the arches of St Giles to concert measures of defence. The Raid of Ruthven was heartily approved of by an Assembly convened within the new kirk or eastmost part of St Giles, and a time of quietude seemed to the divines to have been thereby inaugurated. Mr Lawson was sent on a friendly embassy to the Confederate Lords,¹ and returned to his flock to resume in peace his ordinary pastoral duties, which, however, were soon interrupted. An ambassador arrived

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland.*

at the court "from the most Christian king of France," who naturally demanded that he should be allowed while in this country to attend the rites of his own religion. "As I have food allotted for my body," he said, "so do I require to be allowed the food of my soul, I mean the mass, which if it is denied me I may not stay and suffer a Christian prince's authority and embassy to be violated in my person." This speech was taken up next Sunday in St Giles as the subject of discourse, and the ministers were very eloquent upon it. Mr Lawson found a fitting text in the passage of the Old Testament, describing the mission of the king of Babylon, and denounced the Frenchman, Monsieur de Menainville, as the counterpart of the blasphemous Rabshakeh.¹

The indignation of the preacher and his colleagues was intensified when, in spite of his counterblast from the pulpit, the magistrates received a royal command to give a banquet to the French ambassador before his departure from the kingdom. The ministers were very wroth and exceedingly personal in their declamations. Probably the Massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572 did much to increase their alarm. They termed a white cross, which one of the envoys wore on his shoulder, "the badge of Antichrist,"² and the Frenchman, "the ambassador of the bloody murderer, the Duke of Guise." Their strong language did not, however, prevent the banquet being given by the town, as they doubtless expected. They made, nevertheless, a strong protest, when their sermons seemed ineffectual to stay the feast. A fast was proclaimed by them on Sunday to be held during the festival, and while the magistrates were entertaining the ambassadors, and the king and his courtiers were abandoning themselves to the jollity of the hour, the ministers in the church hard by were denouncing the proceeding, "crying out in their allegoris all evill, sclanderous and injurious words aganis the King of France, the

¹ Tytler, vol. viii. p. 133; Calderwood.

² The ambassador was a knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit.

Duke of Guise, and the magistrats of Edinburgh for geving of the feast.”¹ It was not a very edifying spectacle this competition between feasting and fasting. The service in St Giles began between nine and ten, and continued till two in the afternoon. Three ministers preached in succession, and between the exhortations there was reading and singing of psalms. After the ambassadors had departed, the magistrates were proceeded against by the censures of the church for not keeping the fast, and the terrible sentence of excommunication was with difficulty prevented from being fulminated against them.

But the tables were soon turned on the ministers, and they had an experience themselves of the hardships they were ready to mete out to others. The king escaped from the control of the Confederate Lords, and soon set himself to establish what he deemed a less independent form of church government than that in existence. Bishops were to rule the Church of Scotland, and in favour of the scheme Parliament passed an act which was of a very sweeping character. The king was declared to be “supreme in all causes and persons,” and the chief jurisdiction of the church was lodged in the hands of the Episcopal body.² There was also an enactment in the new law which bore very hard upon the outspoken ministers of St Giles, namely, “that none should presume privately or publicly in sermons, declarations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false or slanderous speeches, to the reproach of His Majesty or council, or meddle with the affairs of His Highness and estate.”

The latter clause against meddling with public affairs cut the ministers at once off from what was the chief staple of their sermons, and there was some anxiety manifested as to what course they were likely to take in the circumstances. On a Saturday³ the acts were made known in Edinburgh, and the provost and bailies had instructions to prevent comments on them from the pulpit, if necessary

¹ *History of King James VI.*, p. 197.

² Cunningham, vol. i. p. 463.

³ May 23, 1584.

by force. Mr Lawson and Mr Balcanquhal, who officiated on the Sunday, were as free-spoken as ever in their expressions of aversion and disgust. But as the acts were not to be publicly proclaimed till Monday, the magistrates thought it best not to interfere, and allowed the preachers to finish the service in peace. Mr Balcanquhal and some of his brethren appeared at the Cross when the proclamation was made, and in the name of the Church solemnly took public protestation against them. The government were indignant, and "Arran made manie vowes that if Lawson's head was as great as an haystacke he would cause it leape from his hawse." Mr Lawson had no intention of giving him the opportunity of carrying out his threat, and before the warrant for their arrest could be executed he and Mr Balcanquhal fled to England. Lawson never came back.¹ Mr Durie had been sent away previously to Montrose,² and the king would not allow him to return. The town was thus in great want of ministerial supply, and of the ministers of St Giles only Mr Cairnes, who does not seem to have been much of a preacher, remained. The following extracts from the records of the burgh refer to this period, and may be inserted here :

"*December* 25, 1583.—The provost, &c., understanding that Jhonn Dury, minister, hes removet fra the toun at command of the king's grace, quhairby the Eist Kirk is left destitute of ane minister to preach thairin on the Sondag, quhairupon the kirk hes desyrit that ordour might be tane for ane to preich thairin and for visiting his quarter and taking up the falts in his absence, thairfore hes thocht expedient that thai shall all pass to the king's grace to know his grace's mind gif it be his will that the said Jhonn returne or nocht to the effect that thai may provide for ane uther.

"*February* 21, 1583-4.—The provost, &c., fynd best to pas with the commissioners of the kirk and travell with the king's ministers,

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 668—"Lawson died in London, October 12, 1584."

² *Ibid.*; *Scot's Fasti.*

that ane of thame may teach on the Soday in the Eist Kirk the tyme the toun is destitute of thair third minister."

Two of the elders of the church appeared at this meeting stating that Durie was in need, and asking something for him from the town. The council found that they owed him nothing, and as the king had declared that "he will nocht that the said Jhonn Durie return agane or serve or mak any residence here, they discharge the said Jhonn Durie of ony stipend to be payet to him hereafter. And in respect of the kirk's request they grant unto him the sum of fyftie pundis for the transporting of his wyfe, familie, and household geir from this toun, provyding he binding the guid toun na furder in tyme coming, quhilk sum they ordain John Broun, collector of the kirk annuells, to delyver to the said Jhonn Durie's wife."

Shortly after, the manses of the banished ministers were delivered over to the town.

"*September* 18, 1584.—Comperit — Marjoriebanks, the spouse of Maister Balcanquhal, minister, and conform to the charge given her be our sovereign lord's letters, declaret that she hed red and maid voyde the minister's ludging occupiet be her and desyret to be exonerit thair of. Sycklyke comperit the spouse of John Carnis, minister, and in the name of John Dury and his spouse productit the keys of the ludging sometime occupiet be the said Johnne."

The town ordered the keys to be kept, and the books which Lawson had in keeping¹ to be taken and set up in the town's college in a house convenient, and to be "deliverit to Maister Robert Rollock, maister of the said college."

It was necessary that something should be done to supply the town with religious service. The town, therefore, on the 24th September 1584, "considering that the kirk of this burgh is destitute of pastures and teachers throw the absence of thair ain ministers, thairfore votet and consentit in presense of my Lord Bishop of

¹ *Ante*, p. 168.

Sanct Androis, that the King's Majestie suld nominat and assigne furth twa of thir personis quhome his Majestie fand maist expedient, to witt, Maister David Lindsay, minister of Leyth, Maister Peter Blakburne of Abirdeene, and Maister John Craig and John Dunkeson, his grace's awn ministers to occupy that place."

John Cairnes, the usual reader of the prayers, seems to have been sent out of the town after his brethren, so that the king evidently made a clean sweep of the old ministers.

"*September* 30, 1584.—In respect of the absence of John Cairnes, minister, be ordinance of the secret counsale, thairfor ordanis Cudbert Sanderson, maister of a schole, to reid the common prayeris morning and evening, quhill the hamecoming of the said Johnn, or quhill ferther ordour be tane thair anent."

Mr Craig was the old colleague of John Knox and one of the king's resident chaplains. He now came back to his old church as a substitute for his brethren, who had been less uncompromising than himself. The Archbishop of St Andrews preached occasionally, but "the most people went furthe when he entered the pulpit."¹ Craig did not long discharge the office of supplying St Giles. A change occurred when the exiled lords, as they were called, marched northwards from England, and the church again took courage. A young minister, Mr William Watson, whom the Archbishop of St Andrews had placed in St Giles for occasional supply, after the ministers had been banished, "took the boldness to reprove the king to his face," and another of the same humour, called James Gibson, minister at that time in Pencaitland, "usurping the pulpit of Edinburgh, fell out in the like impertinent railing."²

Balcanquhal came back in the train of the victorious lords and thundered away as before, and on the 2d January 1586, when the king was in the Great Kirk, he "improved the occasion" by expatiating upon the unlawfulness of bishops. The minister must have been considerably surprised to find that he had not things as

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 199.

² Spottiswood, vol. ii. p. 325.

usual all his own way. The king from his seat in his "loft," answered and rebuked the divine,¹ and said he would prove there should be bishops endued with spiritual authority over the ministry, offering to pledge his crown that he would make good his contention. This was the first but by no means the last appearance of the king in church when he thought proper to address the congregation. A more striking instance soon occurred towards the end of this same year.

When it became known in Scotland that the unhappy Mary, Queen of Scots, was likely to be put to death by Elizabeth, the king requested the ministers of Edinburgh to remember her in their prayers, "that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of His truth, and save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast." To this surely natural and reasonable request the ministers sent a refusal.² The king intended coming to the church next Sunday, and appointed Archbishop Adamson to preach and offer prayers for his mother. On his arrival he found a Mr John Cowper in the pulpit, it being his turn to preach as one of the ministers of the city.³ The king rose in his seat and addressed him, "Mr John," he said, "that place was destined to-day for another, but if you will remember the charge that has been given, and remember my mother in your prayers this day, you may go on." Cowper answered that "he would do what the Spirit of God directed him."⁴ He was then ordered to leave the pulpit, which he did, "uttering his discontentment in these words, 'that he would make accompt one day to the Great Judge of the world for such dealing.'"⁵ The rest of the scene we may give from the words of one who was present and witnessed it:⁶ "The Bischop of St Androis went up and (after the Englishe form) began to beck in a low courtesie to the king, whereas the custome of this kirk was first to salute God, to doe God's work, and then after sermon and divine worship closed, to give

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 491.

² Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 606.

³ Scot's *Fasti*.—He had been elected the previous year.

⁴ Spottiswood; Cunningham, vol. i. p. 472.

⁵ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 606; Moysie, p. 55.

⁶ Row, p. 115.

reverence and make curtesy to the king ; but soon after that the Bischop was entered the pulpit all the people in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh gave a showt and loud cry so as nothing could be heard, and all almost ran out of the kirk, especiallie women ; none almost remained but they who were with the king, and some of the nobilitie and gentry in the Lord's Loft, also the provest and council of Edinburgh sat still in their loft. This carriage of the people made the king rise and cry out, 'What divill aills the people that they may not tarie to heare a man preach?' He taught indeed that day but with great fear (the writer being an eye and ear witness of all this), and then was putt among the king's guard that none should do him harme, and thus guarded was taken doune to the abbey."

A more pleasant scene occurred in St Giles when the king brought his bride there after his return from Denmark. Mr Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of St Giles, officiated at the coronation of the queen in the chapel of Holyrood, and on Tuesday, 19th May 1590, she made a royal entry into Edinburgh. She was received with all manner of pageantry on her way through the town. Many "orations" were made to her. "There wes forty-three young men all cled in quhyt talfettie and wisseours of black colour on thair face lyke mores, all full of gold chenyeis, that dancit befor her grace all the way.¹ At the Tolbuith were five youths clothed in gentlewomen's apparel, one having a sword, another a ballance, the third a booke, the fourth a target, and other two with their signs, all representing, Peace, Plenty, Policie, Justice, Liberality, Temperance. Everie one expounded the signification of their own signs. Thereafter the queen went into the kirk and satt in the east end under a fair canobie of velvet. Mr Robert Bruce made the sermon, which being ended in half-an-hour the queen is brought forth."

The town treasurer's accounts show that much was done to make her visit to St Giles pleasant.² We learn from them that the kirk was

¹ Moysie, p. 84.

² Appendix.

“graithed, wasched, paynted, and spaired.” Thirty shillings were paid for flowers to strew and “cast about the lofts, saits, and stalls and kirk flair aspecting her Majesty’s entres.” There was a “sait prepared in the Scollers’ Loft,” where the king and queen’s arms were hung up, and there was tapestry in the “yle of the kirk.” Neither were the elements of good cheer wanting, as the following items show :

“Item, for twa quarts of wyne and four mainshotts¹ that were broucht into the yle of the kirk for the strangeris giff it had been requirret for thame to drink, and thairafter drunken with the maister of wark, the tapestriers and uthers of the King’s servands.

“Item, for ane gallon of aill and breid tane up to the steeple to the ministers and wryters.”

The Sunday after these festive doings the king came in person to the Great Kirk where Mr Patrick Galloway preached. At the close of his sermon the minister called on the king to confirm the promises he had made before. His majesty then made a speech in which he thanked ministers and people, promised to prove a loving, faithful, and dutiful king. Partly through his youth things had been sometimes out of order, but now having seen more and being married he would be more staid. Thus peace once more reigned between the court and the church.

There is little to chronicle at this period regarding the structure of St Giles itself. It seems to have remained in much the same condition as before. The clock of Lindores Abbey was bought by the town and placed in the steeple. The council, on the 21st April 1585, “ordained the Dean of Gild to pay £55 as the pryce of the Knok of Lindores, and the said dean to intromett with the said Knok and be compatible for the same ;” also

“*April* 23, 1585.—Condescends and agrees that — Smyth, smyth in Blantyre, for repairing of the Knok of Lindores bocht be the town, setting up thairof and dressing of the same, to haif

¹ A kind of bread.

twa hands to be sett in the hie steeple, and doing all things necessar pertaining to his occupation."

One or two people of distinction were allowed by the town to be buried within the walls as an honour. Among these were Archibald Stewart, late provost of the burgh, who was buried in St Anthony's Aisle, Crichtoun, Bishop of Dunkeld,¹ and the Countess of Argyll. The old provost of St Giles was laid, by special authority from the king, in the place in which he used to minister, and the Countess of Argyll² was buried in the tomb of her first husband, the Regent Moray.

We meet in the records of this time, as we might have expected with notices of occasional disturbances in the church, and a proclamation was specially made by the town³ "against the contentious and wicket pepill who in tymes past has made turbances within the Hie Kirk of this burgh by injuring their neichburis, drawing of swords, and shoting of pistolets, thairby abusing that place appointed chieffie for God's service."⁴ A certain Abacuke Bisset, a writer to the Signet, complains to the Privy Council of how two Hamiltons, one of them of Preston, "came to Sanct Gelis Kirk bodin in feir of weir with swordis, pistolets, and utheris weapons invasive, and thair finding the said Abacuke gangand in peacefullie awaiting upon the fyve hours bell in the evening prayers, quhan he was myndful to have said his prayers to God conform to his accustomed use," and how they set upon him "and brak his heid first with the plumbattis or gardis of ane of thair swords to the effusion of his blood." They attacked him again as he was fleeing through the west door, and in the porch cut off four fingers of the left hand. The two offenders did not appear at their trial, and were proclaimed rebels. Whether Mr Abacuke Bisset had done anything to deserve such violent treatment we do not know.

With a more pleasing incident we may close this chapter.⁵ The wife and children of James Lawson, so long the chief minister of

¹ 26th March 1585.

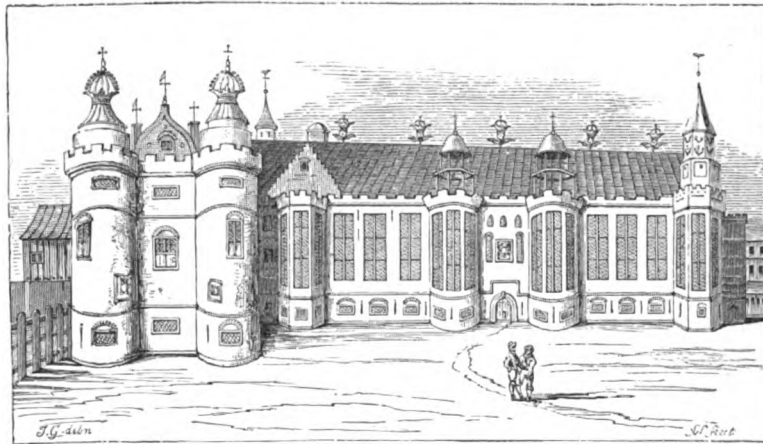
² 19th July 1588.

³ 21st March 1588-9.

⁴ Records of Privy Council, vol. iv. p. 205.

⁵ Burgh Records, 4th March 1585-6.

the town, came to petition the provost and magistrates, and ask for assistance. This brave and courageous man had died in poverty in England, and his family were in want. The town, in a minute in which they speak in the highest manner of the services of their old minister, and of his sufferings, bestow an annual rent of forty pounds usual money on his widow and children, the pension to go to the longest liver. It was a kind and generous thing to do.



Holyrood, before 1650.

CHAPTER XIX.

The King Triumphant—1590-1596.

In the auld time unto the croon
Sair sanct the kirk had given ;
But noo 'tis changed wark.
The king gies, in the wrath o' hevin,
A sair croon to the kirk.



FOR a few years time passed with tolerable quietness in St Giles. The king was on fair terms of amity with the church, though with his strong proclivities towards Episcopacy, he was ever and again showing his desire for the establishment of that form of church government. He came often to preaching, and from time to time after sermon gave his views on current events to the people, and these orations must have entertained them almost as much as the prelection that preceded. When once he was seen seated in his "loft," the minister generally directed to him "a word in season," which, to one fond of flattery generally, could not have been very agreeable. He never appeared in his "loft" but they preached at him, and too often put him to shame in the presence of his subjects. On 6th June 1591 Mr Robert Bruce was preaching in the Little Kirk,¹ and after some general observations "willed the king to call to God before he either ate or drank that the Lord would give him resolution to execute justice upon malefactors, though it should be with the hazard of his life, which if he would enterprise courageously, the Lord would raise men to assist him, and

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 129.

all these impediments would vanish away which were now cast in his way, otherwise, sayeth he, ye will not be suffered to bruike¹ your crown alone, but every man will have one." The king did not reply at the time, and took the warning in apparent good part.

On the 28th December his majesty came to the Great Kirk to give thanks for his escape from Francis, Earl of Bothwell, and after Mr Patrick Galloway had enlarged appropriately upon the 134th Psalm, the king made a harangue regarding his escape, relating "what benefits he had bestowed upon Bothwell, and how ungrate he was of late in seeking his life." This madman was a source of great trouble at the time. When James was in Denmark he came to St Giles and made his public repentance, "humbled himself on his knees in the Little Kirk in the forenoon, and in the Great Kirk in the afternoon." He confessed his wicked and licentious life, and promised "to prove another man in time coming; but he mocked God and the people as was seen after."² His mad career filled the king with apprehension, and on more than one occasion the king in St Giles appealed to the people to protect him from his threatened violence.³ He was more a madcap than a conspirator, but his escapades inspired the king with great dread.⁴

Mr Balcanquhal followed in the steps of his colleague, unmindful of his former and unpleasant experiences, and was summoned before the king. He defended his freedom of speech on high grounds, and alleged the practice of the commonwealth of Israel. The king said that the office of prophets was ended. "Mr Walter said that a greater office had succeeded in the ministry than the prophets had." "Where have we that?" said the king. "Johne the Baptist was greater," said Mr Walter. It was thus that the ministers defended, on what they deemed scriptural grounds, their freedom of speech; but it must be confessed that they used that freedom without much discretion, and it is not to be wondered that the king came to detest them altogether, and retaliated on them at the first opportunity for

¹ Enjoy.

² *History of King James VI.*, pp. 364, 375.

³ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 68.

⁴ See Burton, vol. v.

the rough handling they had so frequently given him. Had their rebukes been more tempered by discretion, and directed by common sense, the troublous times through which the church had afterwards to pass might not have come. The king's hatred to Presbytery grew from what he suffered in St Giles.

The ministers seem occasionally to have been made the subject of ridicule, and though there was not much humour in the theological mind of that period, a good many jokes appear to have been played off upon them by those who ventured to differ from them. On the 24th September 1592 a "squib" was "cast into the pulpit of the Great Kirk" warning the Christian people of a great massacre which was shortly to be executed by Papists in Scotland, and which would rival that of St Bartholomew. It was evidently done in a frolic, though it seems to have been treated seriously. Probably the pastors did not treat so seriously another pasquil which shortly after was thrown into the same pulpit.¹ It satirises the ministers very severely, and we fear with considerable truth, so far as regards their constant meddling in matters with which they had no business.

Will Watson's wordes or Bruce's hoist avail?
 Can Cairns or Craige make merchants to remaine?
 Balcanker's cryes a whitt sall not prevaile;
 Balfour may barke, but all will be in vayne.
 Ye spew yer spites on such as sayle to Spaine,
 And lives like lairds by bryberie of the poore.
 Howbeit we beg, providyinge ye get gayne,
 You of your stipends will not want one stim [stiver].
 Ye crye for kirkes, for furnishing of your ane,
 Not taking tent howe men may doe the turne.
 I fear your falles, your days cannot indure,
 The best among you will be loath to burn.
 Ye curse but cause by [beyond] warrant of the word;
 Wee need not feare the fury of your sword.

What moves your mindes to mell with merket dayes?
 What law alledge you for such foolish actes?
 Your qukket zeale procures our great dispraise,
 And heapes contempt and hatred on your backes!

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv., where it is given at length.

The common people craves your public wrackes,
 Detests your tournes, and damnes your divelish deeds;
 The devill himself can forge no curster facts.
 You are but wolves cladd up in wethers weedes;
 Ye look like lambes, yet in your bosom breedes
 A poysoned speare, poor people that perverts.
 I hope to see yourselves, or else your seedes,
 Abandoned all, like our lawes in deserts.
 Ye scorne but Christ, your country, kinds, and king,
 Prescribing pointes as Scribes in everything.

These sharp rhymes could not have been agreeable to those to whom they pointed. We have not space to give here any but the briefest account of the violence of the invectives in which the ministers at this time indulged; how Mr Davidson, preaching in the East or Little Kirk, said, "the king had received infection, and if he vomitted it not out, he would not escape severe judgment." The king swore that night he should not be suffered to teach any longer, and the divine had to make an apology.¹ Or how "Mr James Melvill, teaching in the Great Kirk upon the 5th Psalm, discoursed upon madmen that refused the right way of standing, beginning at James V.;" or how Michael Cranstoun, in the Great Kirk, upon the 12th Psalm, "inveighed against the king, lords, and all estaits," in fact, according to the Scottish saying, "swore at large."² These fulminations were all the more inexpedient and uncalled for, as at the time the king was evidently doing his best to keep in favour with the Presbyterians, whatever ulterior designs he might have cherished against them. On the birth of a prince, James's first-born, they turned for the moment to a more agreeable theme; a public thanksgiving was held in St Giles,³ and Mr Balcanquhal in his sermon, "amang manie other speeches he had, said he was assured that the ministers and godlie in the realme were more joyfull of these good news nor false flatterers that sought themselves onlie, and means to gett silkin shankes and gold buttons."

The contest of the king and the ecclesiastics grew sharper as time

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. p. 191.

² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

went on, and it must be confessed the provocations the latter gave were extremely great. The strife came to a head in a tumult which, like many others then and afterwards, took place in St Giles. It gave the death-blow to Presbytery for the time. Many accounts of the uproar have come down to us, both from the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian side;¹ all of them more or less graphic. The tumult took place on the 17th December 1596. On that day, before the ordinary time of the week-day preaching, a number of those interested in the business of the church were considering the state of affairs. There was evidently much excitement, and rumours regarding a bloody persecution were circulated, and it was said that the great popish Earl Huntly had been the night previous at Holyrood with the king. It was Mr Balcanquhal's turn to preach in the Great Kirk, and he went to the pulpit evidently under much excitement. After a very vehement discourse, he at the close "declared that there was something fallen out by the expectation of the ministerie tending to the hurt of religion, and, therefore, the brethren of the ministrie of that toun should convene themselves presentlie in the Little Kirk, where he doubted not but noble men, barons, and other ministers well affected, would also meet to give their best advice and concurrence in such a good cause."²

The Little Church was crowded to the door. "An exhortation was maid by Mr Robert Bruce declairing to the people the danger quhairin the kirk and religion stood by the return of the papist lords, and thairupon desirit sich as ware convenient there to hald up thair hands and avow the defence of the kirk and religion against all whomsoever."³ A deputation was appointed to wait on the king, who was in the over-house of the Tolbooth, in the west end of the church, holding a meeting. The deputation broke in upon his majesty, followed by the crowd. The king entered into conference with them, and some words passed not

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. p. 510; Spottiswood, p. 429; Moysie, p. 130; *Burden of Isachar*; Birrel's Diary. The latter I think the best account.

² Row, p. 184.

³ *Moysie Memoirs*.

of a very courtly character. More people pressed into the room, and the king getting alarmed retreated to the Lower Tolbooth, where the judges were sitting. The deputation returned to the Little Kirk with their report, where, during their absence, the minister of Cramond had been reading to the congregation the suggestive story of Haman and Mordecai. At this moment a person at the church door, called by Calderwood a messenger of Satan, cried out "Save yourselves!" A terrible panic and confusion arose. "Some ran one way and some another; some thinking the king was taken, ran to the Tolbooth; some thinking that some of the ministrie were slain, ran to the kirk. In this hurlie burlie two or three came to the Tolbooth doors, and called that certain persons should be delivered to them." The church echoed with the cries, "To arms! To arms!" "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" "God and the Kirke!"

"Yair wes ane honest man," says a contemporary writer, "qua wes deiken of deikens, his name wes Johne Watt, smythe. This John raisit the hail craft in armis, and came to the Tolbooth quher the entre is to the cheker hous, and yair cried for a sight of his majestie or ellis he suld ding the yet up w^h foir hammers, sua that never ane in the Tolbooth sould come out wi yair life. At length hes majestie looket over the window and spak to the commonis, quha offerit to live or die with him. Sua hes majestie cam down and wes convoyit be the craftismen to the Abbey of Holyruidhouse,"¹ where, "after he had taken a drink," he grew calm. Next morning the king and court left the city for Linlithgow, and a proclamation was issued ordering the ministers of justice to quit the town also. Dire rumours were in circulation as to what was to be done to the town for its misdemeanour. It was to be razed to the ground, sown with salt, and a pillar set up to mark where it stood! The ministers were ordered to be arrested. Their houses were seized and made the property of the crown; "Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Balcanquhal, Mr William Watson, and Mr

¹ Birrel's Diary.

James Balfour, being charged to compeir before his majesty in council." This they failed to do. They sought safety "in secret places which the Lord prepared;"¹ on Sunday the churches were silent. A writer of the time says, "Upon the Sabbath day efter nae preiching in Ed^h, nather be foirnoon nor afternoon; the lyke hes not been sein befoir."²

The king after a few days' absence returned in triumph to Edinburgh; armed men lined the street. The magistrates met him, and on bended knee protested their innocence, and promised to consult him in future as to the appointment of ministers. His majesty then came to "the Great Kirk, where Mr David Lyndesay preached a sermon, and thereafter the king declared to the people that he meant no alteration of religion, but to establish the same." In a very short time what he meant by these words became sufficiently clear.

Before resuming our story, we may quote here a description of the state of St Giles at this period from a Roman Catholic writer, which gives certainly a striking, though perhaps an overdrawn account of its interior. It is by a Scotchman, Father Alexander Baillie, of the order of St Benedict.³ After depicting with natural horror the state of Holyrood Abbey, and the once royal, brave, and gorgeous church of Aberbrothock, he says, "Bot leaving it thus wasted and deplored, I will turn me, and take a view of St Giles. If our Saviour Jesus Christ, when he came into the temple of Jerusalem, did cast out al those who were buying and selling in it, and so heavily complained against them that he said, 'It is written my house sal be called a house of prayer, but yee have made it a den of theives.' Now, I pray you, what wold he say if he were now entering St Giles, and looking to bare walls and pillars al cled with dust sweepings and cobwebs instead of painting and tapestrie, and on every side beholding the restless resorting of people, treating

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. p. 521.

² Birrel's Diary.

³ Quoted by Dr Laing in his introduction to Charters of St Giles. I take it that the description applies to this time, as the interior of the church was shortly after altered from what he describes it. Baillie lived in 1628.

of their worldly affairs; some writing and making obligations, contracts, and discharges; others laying countes, or telling over soumes of money; and two and two walking and talking to and fro, some about merchandise or the lawes, and too many alas about drinking and courting of women, yea, and perhaps about worse than I can imagine, as is wont to be done al the day long in the common exchanges of London and Amsterdam, and other great cities; and turning him further towards the west end of the church, which is divided in a high house for the College of Justice, called the session or senat-house, and a low house called the low Tolbooth, where the baillies of the toune used to sit and judge common actions and pleas in the one end thereof, and a number of harlots and scolds for flyting and whoredom inclosed in the other;¹ and there I ween if our Saviour were present to behold such abominable desolation, that where altars were erected, and sacrifices with continual praises and praiers were wont to be offered up to the Lord in remembrance of that bloody sacrifice of Christ on the crosse, there now are holes for whores, and cages for scolds . . . how heavily wold he complain that they have made his house not only a denne of thieves, but a dungeon of devills; and would weep upon Edinburgh as he did on Jerusalem."

This is a sad description, making all allowance for the religious bias of the narrator. There is sufficient indication, however, from the records of the town and other sources, to show that the building was filthy and ill-kept, and that nothing more was done for it beyond keeping it in decent repair. This was called "decoring the kirk."

We close this chapter by relating an incident which seems to us of a humorous character, but which illustrates the feeling of the time when great stress was laid on portents and warnings as of a supernatural character. It is entitled "Mr J. Davidsons's observation of God's speciale providence," and relates to his experiences in the Great Kirk: "Upon Moonday, the 1st of Julie, Mr J.

¹ The "Priests' Chamber" was a prison for such persons.

Davidson being in the kirke, at the preaching, he seeth coming in at the West Kirk doore George Dawson of Leith, skipper of the shippe called *The Grace of God*, wherin he faired when he went out of Scotland that tyme nynteen yeere or a little before. That sight brought to his minde their safe deliverie from shipwracke which they were like to suffer upon the coasts of Flanders. Whill he was musing on this mater another skipper of Leith, George Peddie, came in at the other doore within his sight; a grave pathetic man, in whose shippe first (called *The Angel*) he embarked, and after a day and night's sailing, by contrarie wind was brought backe again to Leith, and stayed fourteen dayes upon the other shippe called *The Grace of God*, and gott greater support and provision for his voyage than he had got before. He was much moved and greatlie comforted by this sight; and others also to whom he discoursed upon this providence. No doubt the Lord did animat his servant that he sold not be affrayed for the speeches he had uttered so freelie the week before."

Mr Davidson came from Liberton to Edinburgh. He seems to have escaped many of the troubles that overtook his brethren, and finally left in peace for the Canongate. The curious vision of the two sailors that he had while preaching in St Giles, appears to have been a happy augury of his future.



CHAPTER XX.

Episcopacy—1596-1625.

Auld Orthodoxy lang did grapple,
But now she's got an unco ripple;
Haste, gie her name up i' the chapel,
Nigh unto death.
See how she fetches at the thrapple,
An' gasps for breath.

BURNS.



ON the 25th February 1598 there took place an eclipse of the sun, which was regarded as an evil omen by many of the devout people of Scotland, who trembled as they thought of what it might portend. St Giles was filled with people who, believing the last day had arrived, ran thither to pray.¹ Nothing can be more graphic than the description that has come down to us in the pages of a contemporary historian, and his conclusion as to what the eclipse portended was quite in keeping with the dread he and others entertained that steps were being taken for bringing Episcopacy again into Scotland.²

“ Upon Saturday, the 25th of Februar, betwixt nyne and tenne houres before noon, beganne a fearful eclipse which continued about two houres. The whole face of the sunne seemed to be covered and darkened about half a quarter of an houre, in such measure that none could see to reade in a booke. The starres appeared in the firmament. Sea, land, and aire was still and strucken dead as it were. The ravens and fowles flocking together mourned exceidinglie

¹ Birrel's Diary, p. 45.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 681.

in their kinde. Great multitudes of paddockes ranne together making an uncouth and hideous noise; men and women were astonished as if the day of judgment had being coming. Some women swooned. The streets of Edynburgh were full of cryes. Some ranne off the streets to the kirke to pray. The like fearfull darknesse was never seene in this land so far as we can read in our histories or understand by tradition. The wise and godliest thought it verie prodigious, so that from pulpit and by writt admonitions were given by the ministers that the changeable and glistering shew of the world goe not in betwixt them and Christ, the Sunne of Righteousness, and remove the clear light of the gospell from the kirk, and indeid if the estait of Bischops which was then in hatching continue long it will not faile to bring on darkness and ignorance, atheisme, and poperie. The like fearfull eclipse of the sunne and appearance of fallin starres from heaven was seen in France, when men of greatest estimation were intised by flatterie and gifts to agree upon a middle betwixt Papists and Protestants, which had been effectuald if God had not cutt them off in a strange manner."

The "hatching of the new estait of Bischops," to which the chronicler refers as portended by the eclipse, began very cautiously after the banishment of the four ministers of St Giles, though it is not difficult to see that the king in every step he took was keeping in view the establishment of his favourite form of church government. In the register of the Privy Council these notices occur, which show how determined his majesty was never again to allow the ministers of St Giles to get the upper hand.

"In respect of the facility afforded to the ministers of Edinburgh by their living together within the circuit of ane clois, for making convocations and conspiracies, it is ordained that they shall not live together in a close in future, but in separate houses, the king to possess the houses of the close lately occupied by them.

"The king declared to have the power to command ministers to preach or desist from preaching whenever he shall think fit."¹

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. v. p. 357.

In order further to separate the ministers from one another, and to guard against their convocations and conspiracies, the king resolved to divide Edinburgh into parishes, and to allot the ministers separate churches and parochial districts. Up to this time they had preached in the same building according to any arrangement they thought fit to make among themselves; now they were to be confined to separate and distinct spheres of duty. Steps had been taken by the town and by the church courts several years before to have this done, but the ministers apparently preferred the old way, and the intentions of the town-council do not seem to have been carried into effect.¹ The king now took the matter in hand, and it seems to have been accomplished.² The town was divided into four quarters or parishes. The people of the north-east quarter were to attend Trinity College Kirk. Those of the south-east were to go to the Great Kirk. Those of the south-west to the Upper Tolbooth; and those of the north-west to the East or Little Kirk. Three congregations thus occupied St Giles, quite separate and distinct charges, and the parishioners were ordered to attend their own places of worship, and the ministers to confine themselves to their own parishes. The arrangement was completed early in 1598. On the same day as that on which the eclipse took place, "the king being in the Grate Kirke of Edinburghe at the sermon, Mr Patrick Galloway red out ane tikit the forme or manner of the devisione of the four kirkes of Edinburgh, ane quarter of the toun to everie kirke;" and "on the 18th April, Edinburgh was devydit in four quarters to be foure parochines."³

Having now fortified himself by various provisions and enactments against his "spiritual enemies" the ministers, the king thought himself secure enough to allow them to return. After various conferences with them at Holyrood, in which he tried to make them confess themselves in error, he at length, on the supplication of a commission of Assembly, consented "that they sould continue in

¹ Burgh Records, October 14, 1584; *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 713; Introduction to Laing's Charters of St Giles.

³ Birrel's Diary, p. 45.

their general ministrie in Edinburgh as before, till the divisioun in quarters, and colleagues to fill the places might be had.”¹ After some little delay they were appointed to their different quarters, with two additional ministers. Mr Balcanquhal and Mr Robertson to the Colledge Kirk; Mr Watson and Mr John Hall to the Great Kirk; Mr Robert Rollock and Mr Peter Stewart to the Upper Tolbooth; and Mr Robert Bruce and Mr James Balfour to the East or Little Kirk.²

Their relations with the king do not appear to have become any sweeter, and he seems to have taken a violent prejudice especially against Mr Bruce. One thing, however, is evident, that the king had so thoroughly entrenched himself behind acts of parliament and acts of Assembly in his favour, that he felt quite secure. The ministers were several times brought before the council and warned to be careful.³ At length an open rupture took place after the Gowrie conspiracy. The ministers were ordered to give thanks for the king's delivery. They refused, and five of them were banished from Edinburgh, and prohibited from preaching anywhere in Scotland. Four afterwards publicly professed belief in the reality of the conspiracy, and were restored to their churches. Robert Bruce, however, remained obstinate, resolved that “nothing should be able to stain the glory of his ministrie.” His friends in vain endeavoured to procure a remission of his sentence, and after residing in remote parts of the country, he retired to France, where he lived several years, and though permitted subsequently to return to Scotland, he was never allowed to resume his ministerial work in Edinburgh.⁴ He was an able man, a powerful preacher, and in his day the most popular minister in Scotland.

¹ Calderwood, vol. v. p. 654.

² *Ibid.*, p. 718. A curious episode took place in connection with the settlement of Mr Bruce. He had never been ordained by the imposition of hands. The king insisted this should be done. Bruce refused if it implied his former ministry unlawful. He consented at last under protest.

³ Calderwood, vols. v. and vi. These interviews between the king and the ministers are given at length.

⁴ Narrative of Mr Bruce's troubles by himself in Bannatyne's *Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 163.

On 3d April 1603 the king came to St Giles for the last time for some years to come. It was a great occasion, for he had just succeeded to the English throne, and was about to take his departure for London. He was accompanied by several English noblemen and other persons of distinction. Mr Hall preached the sermon in the Great Kirk, and made some pleasing remarks suitable to the occasion. After he was done, the king rose in his seat and made "ane orisone or harrang to the pepill." It is too lengthy to quote here. "He maid guid promises," says an auditor, "as namelie, the defending of the faithe, and yat he sould come and visit his peipill and guide subjects in Scotland everie three yeirs."¹ "There is no difference," said the royal orator, "betwixt Londoun and Edinburgh; yea, not so muche as betwixt Inverness or Aberdeen and Edinburgh, for all our merches are dry, and there be no ferries between them. But my course must be betwixt both to establish peace and religion and wealth betwixt the countries. And as God has joynit the right of both the kingdoms in my person, so you may be joined in wealth, in religion, in hearts, and affections. . . . I have no more to say, but pray for me."

Shortly after the king's departure, the queen, who had not been able to accompany him, and the young Prince Henry, came also in state to the church "ryding in a coache, and accompanied with manie English ladies in coaches, and some ryding on fair horses, the queen in her awin coach which cam with her owt of Denmark." Great was the confluence of people flocking to see the prince.² "They hard ane guide sermone in the kirke, and thairafter raid hame to Holyrud-house."³

It is away from the purpose of this narrative to enter into details regarding the measures employed by the crown, which resulted in the final establishment of Episcopacy. This result was achieved by a combination of coercion, corruption, and intrigue, more creditable to the king's determination than to his honesty. We can only note the effect of this change on the subject of our story. The

¹ Birrel's Diary, p. 58.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 231.

³ Birrel.

bishops are mentioned frequently in connection with St Giles. In 1609 it was ordered by the king that the church was always to be open to them, and they were given the right to occupy any of its pulpits when they were disposed to preach.

“In the beginning of November a letter was sent from court to the counsell and ministrie of Edinburgh, declaring his majestie’s will that their pulpits be patent to all the bishops that were to be in toun or were desirous to teache. . . . Sindrie of the bishops were providing for their winter residence in Edinburgh. Manie meanes were used by the king to bring his bishops in credit and estimatioun.”¹

Their lordships seem to have availed themselves largely of the privilege granted them, and frequently made their appearance in the pulpit.² We read also of a “Bishops’ Loft” being provided in the church for their accommodation.³ About this time also they put on “their new clothes,” garments designed and prescribed for them by their royal master, and when they “came down from the chancellor’s lodging, with their robs, to the Tolbuith, with tippetts and craips about their craigs,” the people flocked together to behold them. They were a wonderful spectacle in what the people deemed the king’s livery.

King James did not keep the promise he made in the Great Kirk on his accession to the English throne, to visit Scotland every three years. It was not till 1617 that he returned to his northern dominions. He entered Edinburgh with great pomp and pageantry. “He was convoyed first to the Great Kirk, where the Bishop of St Andrews had a flattering sermon upon the 21st Psalm, and thanked God for his prosperous journey.” There are items in the accounts of the treasurer of the burgh which show that a good deal was done to prepare the church for him.

“The compts of expensis debursit in reforming of the king’s majesties loft, the pulpit, doune taking the Bischopis Loft, the Lords of Sessioun entre, and the trap, and reforming the haille entre of

¹ Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 52.

² *Ibid.*

³ Town Treasurer’s Accounts.

the auld kirk for his majestys coming to his loft. To Janet Curr for aucht scheittis of floweris to the kirk the day of his majesty's entrie."

His majesty forbore on this occasion to give a harangue to the people; probably his sojourn in England had taught him to have greater respect for the proprieties. He seems, however, to have been as ready as before to enter into disputation with the ministers, so that many of them were sorely troubled, and although his arguments may have been weak, he was always able to supplement them by falling back upon his royal supremacy in all causes, spiritual and temporal. He appears on the whole to have had a pleasant time during his visit. His chapel at Holyrood was internally refitted, and service conducted there according to the English form, with "playing of organs, and singing of men and boys." A banqueting-house was also erected at the back of St Giles, where the king was sumptuously entertained, and where sundry knights and gentlemen of good note were made burgesses. It was an extremely festive gathering. "They danced about the Cross with sound of trumpets and other instruments; threw glasses of wine from the Cross upon the people standing about, and endit with the king's scoll."¹

Many of his Scottish subjects were at this time in anything but a festive mood, and some of those even who had for peace's sake conformed to episcopal government were filled with alarm at the changes proposed by what were called the Articles of Perth. "Mr Andro Ramsay, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, declaimed publicly in the Great Kirk against the innovations which were like to be brought in, and used seven or eight reasons against them;"² but Mr Ramsay, along with many others of similar opinion, had to give way in his opposition, or he would have experienced very rough treatment. Ministers were frequently banished from their parishes, and many were imprisoned. It was a serious thing to oppose the authorities, and some, like Mr Ramsay, swallowed the pill, however bitter it may have

¹ Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

tasted. The people of Edinburgh were not so complaisant, though many of them found to their cost that the strong arm of the law could reach them as well as their ministers.

“A little before Christmas (1618), letters were sent to the king from the ministers and Presbyterie of Edinburgh, wherein he assured himself that they wold, according to the acts of the Assembly, preach upon Christ’s nativitie upon Yule day. All the ministers of Edinburgh, except Mr John Hall, consented; but it was thought sufficient that there should be preaching onlie in two kirks, becaus they doubted of the conveening of the people. . . . The Great Kirk was not halfe filled, notwithstanding the provost, baillies, and counsels travells. . . . The dogges were playing in the midst of the flure of the Great Kirk for rairitie of people, and these were of the meanest sort.”¹

The citizens opened their booths under the shadow of St Giles while preaching was going on, and many of them walked in front of them persuading the people not to go inside. When Easter approached, “the king sent doun a command to the officers of estate, the lords of secrete counsell and sessione, and the advocats, to take the communion in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, kneeling, upon Easter day nixt to come, under paine of the loss of their office. He sent a command likewise to the magistrats of Edinburgh to communicate kneeling.”² How the royal injunction was kept is told us in a letter of Lord Binning to the king himself.³ He tells how some of the high officials came, and how others absented themselves on the ground of sickness; that the “noblemen, counsellours, and sessioneis, went to the first table all upon their knees. Maisters Galloway and Ramsay did first receive kneeling, and thairefter ministered to the honourable persons being at the table. Neither man nor woman during the space of four houres offered to receive, sitting upon the furmes, except onlie one base fellow.”⁴ We have another account

¹ Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 341.

² *Ibid.*, p. 355.

³ Original Letters, Bannatyne Club, p. 99.

⁴ He was a skinner, called Meiklejohn, and was “warded” for his sitting, in Dunkeld (Bannatyne’s *Miscellany*, p. 211).

of this service besides that transmitted to the king, which is probably nearer the truth. "The inhabitants of the town went out at the ports in hundreds and thousands to the next adjacent kirks; cold and graceless were the communions, and few were the communicants. The provost absented himself, resolved not to communicate kneeling." Many of the elders refused to officiate, and as it has been said, the "people ate their passover with bitter herbs."¹ There was no relaxation of the severity of the law, and the Articles of Perth, so obnoxious to the people generally, were ratified by act of parliament. On 21st August 1621 they were read at the Cross amid a storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, and at the close of the ceremony of proclamation a solemn protest against them was affixed by a faithful Presbyterian to the church door of St Giles, "in the name of the brethren professing the religion as it hath bene practiced in our kirk since the reformation of the same."²

At Easter, in the following year, the communion was observed under circumstances similar to those that had marked its administration before. An occurrence took place which the devout regarded as equally ominous with the storm which is said to have accompanied the proclamation of the "Black Acts." "All the actual ministers were in the Great Kirk, or in the College Kirk, helping to give the elements to each one out of their awin hands; also, all were desyred to kneel in the act of receiving the elements. Mr Patrick Galloway having kneeled and prayed (I should say, having read the prayer of consecration wherein there is not one word of Lord blesse the elements or action), the cupps being standing full of wine upon the table, he preassing to rise off his knees, taking a grip of the table to help himself up, it not being surely fixed, he drawes over the table, spills all the wine in the cups upon the table cloth; so that they were forced, after they had sett up the overturned table, to get clean cloths and fill the cups againe with new wine."³

The strife regarding kneeling at communion and keeping of the

¹ Cunningham's *Church History*, vol. ii.

² *Ibid.*

³ Row, p. 331. See a curious account of this communion in Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 546.

festivals went on briskly for a time, accompanied by severe persecution, and then there was a brief period of quietness. At the approach of Easter (1625) the king commanded again that all ministers should give the communion kneeling, and any minister who should not do so was to be immediately deposed. This "fearful storme of persecution arysing like a black cloud," says Row, "was dissipated and the evil prevented by the Lord's providence." The providential interference to which this loyal subject alludes was the death of the king on 27th March 1625. "The Lord," piously says Calderwood, "removed him out of the way." Nevertheless the ministers on the following Sunday dutifully recounted all the king's virtues from the pulpit, and we learn from contemporary annals that "his majesties seat in the grate church of St Geilles at Edinbrughe was coured with blacke."¹

A few years before this, several changes took place in the fabric of the church, consequent chiefly on the division of the town into quarters or parishes. The western part, which had been occupied as the Tolbooth, was allotted, as we have seen, to the parishioners of one of the quarters, and had to be put in order and fitted up as a place of worship; this was ordered to be done, as we learn from the town records, on 19th July 1598.

"The same day it is fund expedient and ordanet that the parpall wall wes standand betwixt the grett kirk of this bureh and the Tolbiuth, be tayne doun and re-edifyet upon the eist syde of the pillars, nixt adjacent thereto, and concludds that the present lofting sall stand ane jeisting and lofting prepayret fer swa mekill as sall be augmentit, and this to be done with all expedition."

The East or Little Kirk was also found too small for the parishioners allotted to it, and Mr Bruce, who was one of the ministers, desired earnestly that it should be enlarged. The king, who, as already mentioned, regarded Mr Bruce with anything but friendship, interfered to prevent this being done. There was a good deal of contention regarding the matter, but on the 1st August 1599

¹ Balfour's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 116.

the king, "at the suit of Niniane Morhame, merchant, and George Heriot, goldsmith, burgesses and commissioners for the burgh of Edinburgh, authorises the provost, baillies, and council of the said burgh to demoliche the wall biggit between the eist kirk and the mid kirk of Sanct Gellis, and to tak in ane pillar of the said mid kirk, and adjoyne the same to the east kirk, that it may be mair able to hald the hail parochynaris of that quarter."¹

We learn from Calderwood that this alteration was carried out about the beginning of April 1600.² At this time the steeple seems to have been employed as a common prison for offenders against morals, the "priests' chamber" having probably proved too small. The prisoners appear to have wandered in the dark space above the vaulting of the aisles and to have injured the roof, probably attempting to escape. In the burgh records we find this entry :

"*August 10, 1599.*—Ruf of Kirk. The quhilk day Alexander Lord Fyvie, present provest of this burgh, John Moresoun, William Hamilton, James Forman, baillies, the dene of gild, and maist part of counsil, being convenet, understanding that the sclattis an rwiff of the kirk hes bene greatly damnegyed be the fornicatoris and criminall persouns wardit in the steipill, thairfore they dischaarge the placeing and resaving of any fornicatoris or criminall persouns in the said stepill in tyme coming."

¹ Register of Privy Council, vol. vi.

² Calderwood, vol. vi. p. 27.



View of St Giles

(From Survey of Edinburgh, by JAMES GORDON, 1647.)

CHAPTER XXI.

The Service-book—1625-1637.

Hark ! hark ! what rude discordant sounds,
A jail broke loose ! a pack of hounds !
No, 'tis a bishop, dean, and bawling boys.

PINDAR.



WITH the death of King James VI. ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland became, for the time, more peaceful. There was a cessation of persecution, and the "Articles of Perth," to which such objection had been taken, were pressed no longer with the same severity upon the ministers and people to whom they were offensive. The communion was given either kneeling or sitting as people preferred, and on the Easter Sunday of 1627, when the rite was administered in the Great Kirk, "there were not above six or seven persons in the town that kneeled, also some of the ministers kneeled not."¹ Had Charles I. been a wise man Episcopacy might have been still the established religion of Scotland. If the measures by which it had been introduced were discreditable, those measures had succeeded ; the bulk of the people had given in their acquiescence, and a generation had grown up under that form of church government, who in the natural course of things would have come to regard it without prejudice. The folly of the king and his advisers pulled down suddenly the fabric which it had taken so much pains to build up.

¹ Row, p. 343.

Before Easter (1628) there was an endeavour to make an arrangement to have the communion given in the old Scottish fashion, and the ministers of Edinburgh seem to have desired to do so "in what they termed the 'good old manner without kneeling.'" ¹ They wrote to the king direct to ask his permission, and his majesty deigned no reply, but sent a letter to their bishop, which showed he was as determined as ever his father had been to insist upon the observance of the new ritual. He expresses himself as offended with the ministers, and concludes with ordering the bishop to mete out to them condign punishment. "Our special pleasure is that ye convey those persons before you, and having tryed the truth of this business and chief authors thereof, that ye inflict such condigne punishment as may by this example make others forbear to doe the like hereafter." ²

A letter from the king to the Earl of Menteith, ³ written at the same time, shows us how determined he was to pursue the same policy as his father. His majesty informs the earl that he had ordered the ministers of Edinburgh, who had deferred the administration of the Holy Sacrament on account of the turbulent disposition of certain persons now in their congregations, now to administer it for the benefit of the obedient; that he had ordered the magistrates to bring obedience among the people to their pastors, and the Lords of Session for an example to the people to communicate with them in the church of St Giles, and he asks the earl in particular to be present and to countenance that holy action. In this letter we have a fair example of that spirit with which the king entered upon his duties as sovereign, and which was in time to produce dire results. The communion does not, however, appear to have been administered in Edinburgh in the year he ordered it, nor for some time afterwards. ⁴

In 1633 King Charles came to Scotland, and was crowned at Holyrood on the 18th June. On the 23d of that month he came to

¹ Row, p. 345.

² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

³ Whitehall, 27th November 1628; Historical MSS. Commission's Third Report, p. 401.

⁴ Row.

St Giles to hear sermon. He seems to have come without warning, for the reader was engaged in reading the Scriptures and common prayers before sermon when the king entered. What happened may be told best in the words of a writer of the day who describes the scene.¹

“On Sabbath, June 23, the king came to the Great Kirke of Edinburgh to heare sermon, and after he was sett down in his awin place, the ordinaire reader being reading the Word and singing psalms (as the ordinaire custome then was) before sermon, Mr John Maxwell, minister of Edinburgh, but now Bishop of Rosse, came doun from the King’s Loft, caused the reader remove from his place, sett doune there two Inglishe chaplains, clad with surplices, and they with the help of other chaplains and bishops there present acted their English service. That being ended, in came Mr John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, clad also with a surplice, went up so to pulpit and taught a sermon.” After sermon there was a banquet where the king was entertained by the town. The festivities were riotous, and the “voyse of men, musicall instruments, trumpets, playing, singing, also shooting of cannons, was so great that no sermon was had in the afternoon, either in the Great Kirk or Lesser Kirk of St Geills.”

The bishop’s “graithe” seems to have caused greater wonderment among the people even than his sermon, and in another history than that we have just quoted, it is fully described for the benefit of the unlearned in ecclesiastical millinery.

“The king maid John, Bishop of Moray, teach in his rochet, which is a white linen or lawn drawn on above his coat, above the whilk his black gown was put on and his arms through the gown sleeves, and above the gown sleeves is also white linen or lawn drawn on shapen like a sleeve. This is the weed of archbishops and bishops that wears no surplice, but churchmen of inferior degree in time of service wears the samen, which is above their cloathes, a side linen cloth over his body and arms like a sack.

¹ Row, p. 363.

“The people of Edinburgh, seeing the bishop teach in his rochet, which was never seen in St Giles kirk since the Reformation, and by him who was some time one of thair ain Puritan ministers, they were grieved and grudged thereat, thinking the samen smelled of popery.”¹

Whether this impression on their part was correct or not, they were certainly soon made to feel that greater changes than they had yet witnessed were impending.

On the 29th September, the king by a royal charter, on the petition of the Archbishop of St Andrews, erected Edinburgh into a bishopric. The charter is a long and verbose one,² and is written in Latin. It defines the bounds of the new diocese and sets apart the revenues of Holyrood Abbey, and New Abbey in Kirkcudbright, for the support of the new bishop. It appointed St Giles as the cathedral of the new diocese. “We erect,” it said, “the church of Saint Giles (lie Saint Giles Kirk) into a cathedral church, and ordain the same to be the cathedral church of the said newly erected bishopric, and with all the liberties, privileges, and prerogatives of a cathedral church.” The charter also appointed the principal minister of St Giles to be the dean, and other ministers in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood to be prebendaries. It also contains this clause: “We revolving in our mind that the said burgh of Edinburgh is the principal burgh of our kingdom of Scotland, and is therefore most fit to be the chief city of the said newly erected bishopric, we therefore by our royal authority, with consent of the aforesaid, erect the said our burgh of Edinburgh into a city.”

Edinburgh thus takes its right to the status of a city from the deed which raised St Giles to the rank of a cathedral. The bishopric, then founded by royal authority, has been long ago done away with as part of the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, but both the church of St Giles and the town of Edinburgh have continued

¹ Spalding's History, quoted by Kirkton, p. 29.

² I have given it at full length in the Appendix.

to this day to retain the dignity conferred upon them by this charter of King Charles.¹

Close upon the granting of the charter came an order to the provost and magistrates of the city to fit up St Giles as the cathedral church of the new diocese. It was as follows :

“CHARLES R.—Trustie and weill belovit we greit you weil. Whereas of our Princelie Motive and Zeale for the Advancement and Government of the Church of that oure Kingdome, we have, with the advice of the chiefest of oure clergie thairof, erected at our Chairges, a Bishoprick of new, to be callit the Bishoprick of Edinburgh, whairby none of your Privileges or liberties ar anie wayes to be infringed, but rather preservit and increased: And whereas to that purpose, it is verie expedient, that Saint Geilles Church (designed by us to be the Cathedral Church of that Bishoprick) be ordered, as is decent and fitt for a church of that Eminencie, and according to the first intentions of the Erectors and Founders thairof; which was to be keiped conforme to the Lairgnes and Conspecutie of the Foundation and fabrick; and not to be indirectlie parcelled and disjoint by Wallis and Partitiones, as now is, without anie Warrant from anie of oure Royall Predecessores.

“Oure Pleasure is, that with all dilligence, you cause raze to the ground the East wall of the saide Church; and sicklyke, that you cause raze to the Ground the Wester wall therin, betwixt this and *Lambas* insewing; at or before which Tyme, we require you to cause finish the New Tolbooth,² to the effect it may be for the use of oure Church and uther Judicatories and Commissiouns, as the tyme and Occasioun shall require. We bid you fairweill, from oure Courte at Whitehall, the 11th October 1633.”³

The magistrates proceeded at once to carry out the royal order,

¹ From this time, while the different parts of the building had different designations, such as the High Church, Tolbooth, the Old Kirk, &c., the whole has generally received the designation of St Giles or St Giles' Cathedral, retaining the architectural rank conferred upon it by the crown.—See *Heart of Midlothian*, by Sir W. Scott; Cockburn's *Memorials*, &c.

² This was in order to throw into the building the west part of the church.

³ Town Council Register, quoted in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 281.

and in January 1634 the wall between the Little Kirk and the Great Kirk was taken down.¹ The authorities perhaps thought they had done sufficient to implement the command of the king, for the wall between the Great Kirk and the Tolbooth seems to have been left standing. They were in need of funds at the time, but the king held over them the threat that he would exact from them a heavy fine, which they had incurred by importation of grain, unless they proceeded at once with the work. The provost stated to the council, 23d July 1635, "that except the counsall would undertake the building of two churches and the repairing of St Giles there was no means left to free citizens from the penal statute."²

They accordingly found the work required of them to be "necessar, pious, and religious," and endeavoured to raise the needful funds, first, by voluntary subscription, which was a failure, and afterwards by assessment, and in the next year after the above meeting,³ they ordered one of the bailies and one of the clerks of Edinburgh to desire James Hanna, the dean of the cathedral, to repair to Durham "to take a draught of the choir of the cathedral church in that city, in order to fit up and beautify the inside of the choir of St Giles' church after the same manner."⁴

The first bishop of the new see was Dr William Forbes, who was appointed on the 2d January 1634,⁵ and died on the 1st April of the year following. "He read his first sermon," says Row, "in the Great Kirk, now made more ample and greather nor ever it was since the reformation of religion, upon the first Sabbath of Februaire; but he being sicklie and his voyce weak, albeit there were many hundreds convened, yet one-hundredth of many heard not his sermon." Dr Forbes was a man of saintly character and gentle disposition. He was buried in the choir of the cathedral, and a long inscription in verse, describing his many virtues, was placed on

¹ Row.—There can be no doubt of this. In the town treasurer's accounts is a note of the expenses in re-erecting the wall.

² Findlay's *Tron Kirk*.

³ February 10, 1636.

⁴ Quoted by Maitland, p. 281.

⁵ Introduction to Laing's *Charters*. Forbes had been previously a minister of the church (see Scot's *Fasti*), but resigned on account of ill health. His character is portrayed in Keith's *Scottish Bishops*.

the monument erected to his memory.¹ The poetical tribute is a long one, and perhaps not altogether worthy of its subject. The following lines may serve as a specimen:

Holie was his lyffe without blemische or spott,
 As was weill known by God's servants most dear;
 But alace, for pitie! for such was his lotte,
 His dayis wes few, that he remained here,
 While he lived here a schyning light wes he;
 Consumed himself by giving others light.
 Matchless most painful in reading and studie,
 No wayes weraing nather day nor night.

Bishop Forbes was succeeded by David Lindsay, who was translated from Brechin in 1634, and who had a troublous episcopate.

From the time when John Knox became minister the service in St Giles had been conducted, as we have seen, according to the *Book of Common Order*. There was always a "reader" connected with the church. Prayers were read daily, morning and evening, from this liturgy, and on Sundays before sermon, after the reader's service was ended, the minister entered the pulpit. There was extempore prayer also permitted, according to the desire of the minister. This ritual continued during the reign of Episcopacy as well as that of Presbytery, with the exception of the occasion noted above, when the king visited the church in person, and the Anglican service was read. It was a bold proceeding to attempt the abolition of a service to which the people had been so long accustomed, and the consequences were of the most appalling character.² The idea of an *English* service-book prepared in London for Scotland roused in opposition all the patriotic feelings of the people.

On the 23d July 1637—a memorable day in the annals of St Giles—the congregation met in the Mid Kirk, or what had been

¹ Maitland, p. 184.

² The history of the new liturgy, and how it superseded John Knox's *Book of Common Order*, is fully given in the introduction to Spratt's *Scottish Liturgies of James VI*.

formerly the Great Kirk. The wall between it and the East or Little Kirk had already been taken down, but the latter was in considerable disorder, consequent upon its being arranged for the new Anglican ritual; or, as a Presbyterian writer¹ puts it, "the East Kirk being at that time repairing for the altar and other pendicles of that idolatrous service." After the people were gathered, the reader of the church, Mr Henderson,² read the usual prayers from the old Scottish *Book of Common Order*, and when he was done added a few words, in which he took farewell of those present with tears. "Adieu, good people," he said, "for I think this is the last tyme of my reading prayers in this place." About ten o'clock the Bishop of Edinburgh, with James Hanna, the dean,³ entered the church, the latter taking his seat in the reader's desk, and the former proceeding to the pulpit above him.⁴ The dean then began to read the new prayer-book, or, as it was generally called, the service-book.

The scene that ensued has had many narrators. They differ in some small particulars, but they are all at one as to the greatness of the tumult.⁵ As the dean went on with the prayers there were openly expressed murmurs of discontent. Some of the expressions used have come down in the narratives, and they are not very savoury: "False antichristian," "beistlie bellie-god," "craftie fox," "ill-hanged thief," "Judas," are among them. The women present were among the most demonstrative, and they seem to have mustered in great numbers for the occasion.⁶ The bishop

¹ See Crawford's *History of the University*, p. 131.

² He had refused to read the new service-book.

³ Hanna was made dean, 13th May 1634. He was of the Hannays of Sorbie, Wigtownshire.

⁴ Row, p. 408.

⁵ The narrative above is drawn from several authorities. The scene is described by the following: Wodrow in his unpublished "Life of David Lyndsay, minister of Leith and Bishop of Brechin, then of Edinburgh;" "The large declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland;" the appendix to "Rothe's Relation" (Bannatyne Club); *Memoirs of Henry Guthrie, Bishop of Dunkeld*. See also the admirable historical sketch of *The Tron Kirk*, by the Rev. William Findlay.

⁶ They are often called "maid-servants," and it has been supposed that they had been sent to keep places for their masters and mistresses at the sermon that followed the prayers. Wodrow says they were apprentice lads dressed in women's clothes.

from the pulpit, who watched the rubric to see that it was rightly followed, asked the audience to be calm, and allow the service to proceed, and turning to the dean told him to go on to the collect for the day.¹ At this, a herbwoman, Jenny Geddes by name, who had a market-stall near where the Tron Kirk now stands, started up in wrath, and catching the word "collect" which the bishop had used, shouted aloud, "Deil colic the wame of thee; out, thou false thief! dost thou say mass at my lug?" and snatching up the stool on which she sat, hurled it at his head,² "intending to have given him a ticket of remembrance, but jouking became his safeguard at that time." Others followed this woman's example.

¹ The seventh Sunday after Trinity.

² The earliest notice of the famous kail-wife is found in the MS. collections of Sir James Balfour of Denmiln, printed in Maidment's *Scottish Pasquils*, thus :

From pupil, pastor, tutor, flocke,
From Gutter Jennie, pulpit Jocke,
From all such head-controlling taylles,
And from small barks with too big saylles;
From him that Jesus' name defaces,
And violats all holy places;
And all mad masters of Citharus,
Almighty God deliver us.

"Gutter Jennie," in the opinion of Maidment, was "Jenny Geddes." She was a "kaille-wife," and with her stall occupied the gutter of the street in the neighbourhood of the Tron. In 1661 she is mentioned as follows by Sydsarf: "Amongst all our bontadoes and caprices, that of the immortal Jenet Geddes, princess of the Trone adventurers, was most pleasant; for she was not only content to assemble her creels, basquets, creepies, &c., and all other sorts of pot merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to her lankale vassals, were all orderly burned." This extract shows that Jenny Geddes was a conspicuous character, and "immortal" evidently on account of some famous exploit. The clearest evidence on the subject is found in Phillips' *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle*, published in 1660, in which the "great uproar made by those of the meaner sort" is described. "One of them, called Jane or Janot Gaddis (*yet living at the time of this relation*), flung a little folding-stool wheron she sat, at the dean's head, saying, 'Out, thou false thief, dost thou say mass at my lug?' &c." This seems conclusive testimony. In addition to this, in a very old ballad, Jenny's name occurs :

Put the gown upon the bishop,
That's his miller's due o' knaveship;
Jenny Geddes was the gossip
Put the gown upon the bishop.

In a tract published in 1651, "A Narration of the most Material Parliamentary Proceedings of this present Parliament," there is a woodcut depicting the riot: stools are flying in the air, and in the centre is a female, evidently the leader of the fray. There is a rival claimant to the honours of Jenny—a certain Barbara Hamilton or Mein; but it is only said of her that "*she spoke openly* in the church against the service-book." The exploit of throwing the stool belongs to Jenny by general tradition.

The bishop sought in vain to quell the tumult that arose. The uproar increased. The magistrates were appealed to, and cleared the church of the mob, who remained outside knocking at the door. There was an old woman as full of spirit as Jenny, who was unable to get out before the doors were closed, and who had retired with her Bible to a remote part of the church. As she was reading quietly, stopping her ears to the obnoxious service which had been resumed, she suddenly heard a young man near her cry "Amen." "At the hearing thereof she quickly turned about, and after she had warmed both his cheeks with the weight of her hands, she schott against him the thunderbolt of her zeal. 'False theif,' said she, 'is there no other part of the kirke to sing mass in but thou must sing it at my lug.' When the congregation dispersed they were assailed by the mob that was waiting outside. A little man with a gown got his backbones and belliefull of no small buffeting distributions, his gounne was rent, his service-book taken from him, and his body so pitifully beaten that he cried for mercy. The bishop was laid hold of by the rabble, who derided and insulted him, pelting him as he ran with the filth of the street. At last he was rescued from their hands by the Earl of Wymess." On the same morning the service was read in the west end of St Giles or Tolbooth Church, "not without noise and tumult, yet the furie was not so great as in the other church."

This was the first and the last time that the new service was performed in the church in its entirety. In the afternoon Mr Thomson read a few collects from it, and preached a "verie short sermon." There was a disposition in the people to resume the riot, so that the doors were locked and the mob excluded. On going home the bishop was again attacked. Lord Roxburghe dragged him from his assailants, and took him home in his coach, while the people pursued it down the street pelting it with stones. The coachman "received plenty lapidary coin for his drink silver,"¹ and as the

¹ The description attached to Rothe's narration, which, though coarse, I consider from the date the most correct, and have given it in the Appendix.

Tron Kirk was then building there was abundant material to pelt him with.

Seldom has there been a popular tumult that led to greater results than this one within St Giles. "It not only suppressed the English liturgy almost until the nineteenth century, but it gave an impulse to the civil war of England, which ended in the overthrow of church and monarchy."¹

¹ Stanley's *Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, p. 72.



The Jenny Geddes Tumult. (From Burton's *Civil Wars*)

CHAPTER XXII.

The Covenant—1637—1639.

The kettle o' the kirk and state,
Perhaps a claut may fail in 't;
But deil a foreign tinkler loun
Shall ever ca' a nail in 't.
Our fathers' bluid the kettle bought,
And wha wad dare to spoil it;
By heaven ! the sacrilegious dog
Shall fuel be to boil it.

BURNS.



THE state of Edinburgh during the week after the tumult in St Giles, was one of the greatest excitement. The merchants of the Lawnmarket, the gentry of the Canongate, the substantial burgesses of the Cowgate, the humbler citizens in the top flats of huge tenements in the wynds and closes, did little else than discuss the great event that had taken place in their midst. The bishops at once inhibited Mr Henry Rollock and Mr Andro Ramsay, two of the ministers who had refused to read the service-book; and apprehensive of any gathering of the people in the church which might lead, in the present state of feeling, to further uproar, they ordered the daily service to be suspended, and that "neither the old service nor the new established service be used in this interim."

"The bishops callit before them Mr Harie Rollok and Mr Andro Ramsay, two of the special ministers of the town who refused to read the book, and silenced them; also they did inhibit the ordinary morning and evening prayers, which were customable in Edinburgh since the Reformation."¹ Mr Henderson, who had been long the

¹ Row, p. 410.

reader of the church, was deposed, and for several weeks there were no daily prayers.

Baillie in his graphic letters describes the state of violent excitement that prevailed in the city.¹ The day after the tumult he happened to be in Edinburgh, and writes of what he saw. "I fand," he says, "the people nothing settled, but if that service had been presented to them again, resolved to have done some mischief. Some six or seven servants were put under ward; the toun put under ane episcopall interdict, which yet continues; no preaching, no prayers on week days, no reading nor prayers on Sunday." He afterwards wrote, "I think our people possessed with a bloody devill, far above anything I could have imagined though the mass in Latine had been presented."

The "bloody devill" was not to be cast out either by force or by persuasion. The bishops became more conciliatory, and the Archbishop of St Andrews authorised the old liturgy of Knox to be used again;² but it was too late. Matters proceeded to extremes. Laud from London urged the bishops to be firm. "Will they now cast down the milk they have given," he says, "because a few milk-maids have scolded at them," but the power, if they ever possessed it, was fast passing out of their hands. The Bishop of Galloway was in danger of his life, while walking in the neighbourhood of St Giles, near the Tolbooth. "While he is near the door, the women after some quarrelling of him for his crucifixe, and clamorus began to pluck at him, and so affrayes him that he cries to some gentlemen for help." He was borne into the lower Tolbooth, and kept there till two of the nobles "convoyed" him down the street. The two ministers of St Giles who refused to read the service-book were regarded as heroes. They were foremost in the "cabals" that ensued, and assisted at the many conclaves that took place in Edinburgh, and which finally terminated in the signing of the

¹ Vol. i. p. 19, *et infra*.

² "The last news that came tells me that the old Archbishop of St Andrews hath, in great weakness, given way to their old service again."—Laud to Strafford, 19th December 1637.

Covenant in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, on 28th February 1638. Dr Hanna, the unfortunate reader of the service-book, ventured in St Giles, the week after this had been done, to find fault with his people for subscribing, and was assaulted in the church, his "goun was torn, and he himself beat with hands."

"Mr Hanna," says Baillie, "has been in hot watter with his people since his entrie. So the Sunday after his people had subscribed against his command, they sett on him in the church, ryves his goun, gives him dry cufes, and so without further harm dismisses him."¹

Two incidents occurred at this time in St Giles, which we venture to insert in this part of our narrative. They are equally significant of the temper of the period. The first was the recantation of a Jesuit, which made a considerable sensation at the time. He is said to have been converted from the Roman faith by hearing of the wonderful doings in connection with the subscribing of the Covenant, though it is difficult to see how they should have produced such an effect upon him. The story is told by Row with much unction.

"About this tyme ane Mr Thomas Abernathie, a Jesuit, hearing of God's wonderful work here in his native country, wakened in conscience came home, and presenting himself to the Tables,² entreated for Christ's sake, the favour of subscribing the Covenant, very humbly confessing his fearful apostasie; and in token of his ingenuitie, he revealed all the popeish plotts aganis Scotland and the popeish government in Scotland, and gave his advice for taking order with them. He was admitted to the Covenant, and publictly in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, before a most frequent audiorie, made confession of his apostasie; and Mr Andro Ramsay preached upon 'Come out of Babel' a little before, to make way for Abernathie's confession and abjuring of Popery."

The confession of Mr Abernathie, whose conduct looks somewhat

¹ Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 71. He was deposed by the Assembly, 1st January 1639, for declining the Assembly and defending the service-book.

² The committees of the Covenanters.

suspicious, and the sermon of Mr Ramsay were doubtless very edifying to those who heard them, but they were quite thrown into the shade by a pulpit effort about the same time and in the same place. A Highland minister, Mr Row of Strowan, found his way by some curious chance into the pulpit of the cathedral, and his sermon, afterwards published, caused great amusement.¹ Various magnates who had come to town in connection with the movements that were going on were present, and among them some Aberdonians who were well known, and the Highlandman improved the occasion marvellously, and must have astonished his audience. A few extracts from the sermon may give some idea of the character of the performance. The text was from Jeremiah, xxx. 17: "I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds," &c., and after showing how the "Kirk of Scotland was wounded in her hands," the preacher thus proceeded.

"Now I am come to tell you how she is wounded in hir feet, and that I call the worship of the Kirk of Scotland. The Kirk of Scotland was a bony trotting naig, but then she trotted sae hard that never a man durst ryde her; but the bishops, wha after they had gotten on her back, corce-langled her and hopshaikled hir, and whan she becam a bony pacing beast, they tooke great pleasure to ryde on hir. But then cadging hir up and doune from Edinburgh to London, and it may be from Rome too, gave hir sik a hett cott that we have been these twal months bygane stirring her up and doune, to heep her frae foundrying.

"Yea, they made not only ane horse but ane ass of the Kirk of Scotland. 'How sae?' ko ye;² 'what meane ye by this?' Ile tell you how they made Balaam's ass of her. Ye ken well enough Balaam was ganging hame an unlucky gate, and first the angell mett him in a broad way, and then the ass hoghed and startled, but Balaam gat by the angel, and tile hir and battand hir sufficiently;

¹ It was preached on the last Sunday of July 1638, and first printed in London, 1642, under the name of "The Red Shanke's Sermon," and afterwards published under the title of a "Cup of Bon Accord." It is appended to the *Memorials of the Row Family*.

² Quoth ye.

that was whan Episcopacy came in, and then they gave the Kirk of Scotland her paiks.¹

“Afterward Balaam mett the angell in a narrow gate, and then she startled more than befor; but Balaam till hir againe, and whaked hir soundly; that was when the fyve articles of Perth were brought in.

“The third tyme the angel met Balaam in sae strait a gate that the ass could not win by; and then it pleased the Lord to open blind Balaam’s eyes; and that is this happy day’s wark. Now God has opened all our eyes; we were lyke blind Balaam ganging ane unluckie gate, and ryding post to Rome; and what was gote behind him upon the ass, watt ye?² Ile tell you, there was a pockmanty.³ And what was in it, trow⁴ ye, but the Book of Cannons and Common Prayer, and the High Commission; but as soon as the ass sees the angell she falls a flyinging, and ore gangs the pockmanty; and it hings by a string on the one syde, and aff gangs blind Balaam, and he hangs by the hough on the other syde, and faine would the carill⁵ been on the saddle againe, and a been content to leave his pockmanty. But beloved, let not the false swinger gett on againe, for if he get on againe, he will be sure to gett his pockmanty on also!” After some equally quaint observations the Highlander concluded his sermon, but when he stood up to give the blessing at the close of the service, to the astonishment of the congregation he addressed the following observations to the Lords of Session and other magnates present:

“I ken well enough it is not the fashion of the place to speak anything after prayer, but becaus I had meikle to say and one thing dang⁶ another out of my head, wherefor I must beg leave to add a word or two.

“And first of all I will speak to you who are members of the College of Justice. And why, I pray you, will not ye subscribe the Covenant? Ye will say to me, ye are employd by his majesty in

¹ Strokes.

⁴ Think.

² Do you know?

⁵ Old man.

³ Portmanteau.

⁶ Drove.

some speciall affaire, and you cannot with honour subscribe the Covenant. That is a bra answer indeed! There is not the meanest man that gathers up twenty merks for the king per annum but may have this hole to goe out at; then we shall have also subscribing. Yea, yea, there is but one man between God and you; gett by that man and gett to God.

“And in the second place, why doe not ye noblemen subscribe the Covenant? Ye will say, *noli me tangere*; howsoever Ile give you a touch. It may be you will be putt to it; ye will say, ‘We must ryde in parliament order; the meanest man must goe formost and subscriye the Covenant, and then we will come after.’ This is a bra answer indid! You have a fashiane in the south part of Scotland that whan ye come to a foord, the jackman must venture first upon his weak, weary naig, and if he can goe and come back againe, then up comes the laird mounted on his stately steed and over gaes he. This is no right. But we that are Highlanders have a better fashian, for we usually come on foot, and whan we come to the foord we are loath to leive a man; therefore we joyne oxster to oxster and airme to airme, and loup all togethir in the foorde, and if one droune all drounes. Even so here; sett your hand to the Covenant and if ane perish lett all perish.”

The preacher then addressed the magistrates in a similar strain: “Albeit I see two of your chiefest chayres empty, yet have at you,” and closed thus:

“Last of all, I have a mynd to speak a word to you that are strangers,” and then turning himself about to the place where the provost and bailies of Aberdeen sat—“And what is the reason ye subscribe not the Covenant? It may be, ye will say, ye came here about your civill affaires, and whan ye cam out ye resolved not to subscribe the Covenant. Will ye tak my advyce? I say, Aberdeansmen, will ye take your word againe¹ and goe home and drink the cup of Bon-Accord, and joyne to the Kirk of Scotland, and subscribe the Covenant? And so farewell.”

¹ Alluding to a common proverb.

Probably a more extraordinary sermon has not been delivered in St Giles during its long history than this one of the "Red Shankye."¹ It was much discussed, not only in Edinburgh, but throughout Scotland, and the preacher bore during the rest of his life the name of "Pockmanty Mr James." The times were serious enough, and fasting was more congenial to the bulk of the people than laughing, yet the rough and ready humour of the Highlander must have caused smiles to come to the faces of the gravest of his hearers. In the year that he preached his sermon, many of his desires for the success of the Covenant were realised. The General Assembly of the church met in Glasgow, and Episcopacy for the time was overthrown. The Bishop of Edinburgh was deposed and the dean sent after him "to bear his train," and the only two ministers of St Giles left were those who had refused to read the service-book. "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho," Henderson, the moderator of the Assembly, is said to have exclaimed; "let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

This Mr Henderson now came to Edinburgh as one of the ministers of the city. He was the most zealous of the Covenanters, and indeed was the reputed author of the Covenant itself. He was minister of St Giles during a stormy period, and shortly after he came there the country was on the verge of a civil war, happily averted, though only for a time, by the king agreeing to an Assembly being held at Edinburgh, which should pass anew the measures of that of Glasgow, and give them civil as well as ecclesiastical authority. The Assembly met, and the king's commissioner, the Earl of Traquair, represented royalty. As in the period of our story on which we are now entering there is but little to chronicle in the way of pomp and pageantry, we will give here the account of the entry, the first, we believe, on record, of the Lord High Commissioner. It is a gleam of sunshine before the storm.

"Monday, 12th August 1639.—John Stewarte, Earle of Traquair,

¹ Red-shank was a name given to Highlanders from their making buskins of the deer's hide.

received his commissione under the broad seall in counsale about seven o'clock in the morning at Holyrood House, and thereafter in coatche attended by the Lords of the Privy Council, came up to Edinburghe, and went all of thame doune to the threasurer deputes lodging, and ther stayed till about nine houres, at which tyme the last bell did ring to sermon, then marched he up the strett on foote from the head of the Netherries Wynd to the church in this order :

“ First went the seriants of the toune of Edinburghe in thir liueryes, uncovered, with partisans in their hands.

“ The prouest and magistrates of Edinburghe, uncovered.

“ Some sixty gentlemen, uncovered, followed them.

“ Lord Linton, the Commissioner's sone, carring in his hand his majesty's commissione in a carnation velvuet bage.

“ Then came the Commissioner Traquaire on foote, on his right hand the Marquess of Huntley, and on his left hand the Earle of Roxburghe, Lord Privy Seal. After them followed the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council, covered.

“ And last of all a number of young lords, earl's sones, and in this order went the king's Commissioner to church to hir sermon, befor the dounsetting of the Assembly.”¹

Something like this has often been seen in Edinburgh since. The Assembly on this occasion met in the New Kirk, probably in the east end of St Giles, for that part had been refitted. It was a famous Assembly in its way. All that was done in Glasgow was done formally over again, and received royal assent, and beneath the arches of St Giles another memorable event occurred. Episcopacy was, with all legal formality, abolished, declared unlawful and contrary to God's word, “to the unspeakable joy,” says one who was present, “of all them that feris the Lord and waittis for his salvation.”² The joy of these worthies was not destined to be long lived.

Episcopacy being now done away with, the wall which by order

¹ Balfour's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 353.

² Diary of Sir John Hope, p. 104.

of the king had been taken down in order to furnish a cathedral for the new bishopric was again built up. The west end of the building, or the Tolbooth, which had been used on week days as a civil court, was now used only as a church.¹ Within St Giles there were again three congregations as formerly. The following notes from the town treasurer's accounts show that the cost of restoring the building to its ante-cathedral condition was considerable :

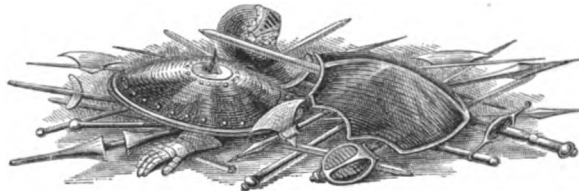
“The compter, Johne Admistone, appoynted be the provost, baillies, and counsall of Edinburgh for the building of the mid wall betwixt the Mid Kirk and the east end of St Jeills, repairing the windows, building the assemblie seats, with other necessars belanging thairto.” The expenditure in this account is £2327, 12s. 4d.

In 1640 John Admistone expends £5008, 15s. 5d. Scots in building “the dasks and seats of the east end of St Jeills, with all necessars belanging thairto.”

The throne is mentioned in the account of 1639 in connection with the alterations, and John Salvoy, painter, gets £132, 13s. 4d. for painting the king's loft and assembly seats.

The church had thus gone back very much to its old state in King James VI.'s time.

¹ Row in 1633 says the courts were transferred from this place.



CHAPTER XXIII.

The Independents—1639-1660.

Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd,
Secluded and cashier'd, and chous'd,
Turn'd out, and excommunicate
From all affairs of church and state ;
To stroll and teach from town to town,
And those he had taught up, teach down.

Hudibras.



ST GILES was now once more Presbyterian. The Covenanters had triumphed—bishop, dean, and prebendaries disappear from the scene, and Mr Henderson, the deposer of the bishops, and his colleagues reign in their stead. But Henderson's ministry in Edinburgh was soon interrupted, and the year after his induction he was marching as chaplain with the Covenanting army into England. He was one of the commissioners appointed to treat with King Charles I., and exercised his gifts during his stay in London in St Antholin's Church in the city, where he denounced Episcopacy with all his might, and supported the principles of Calvinism against Arminianism. When the king came to Edinburgh in 1641, Henderson was appointed one of his chaplains, and insisted upon his royal charge conforming himself to Presbyterian requirements, and going twice a day to church. On two Sundays the king came to St Giles in the forenoon, when Mr Henderson stood behind the throne, probably to see that he comported himself with proper solemnity.¹ It is amusing to see his majesty, who had so often obliged the Presbyterians to worship as he pleased, himself compelled by them

¹ Balfour's *Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 55, 57 ; Ayton's *Life of Henderson*.

to conform to their observances. They had now the power, and they were disposed to use it.

Charles was not long in amicable relations with them. The Civil War broke out; Episcopal government was abolished in England; and the hope began to be cherished in Scotland again, this time by Presbyterians, that there might be one church for the two kingdoms. It is a hope which has been often entertained before and since that time, which has seemed more than once about to be realised, but which has always come to nothing in the end. There was now to be one great Presbyterian church, one creed, one form of worship. This was the dream in which Henderson and many others indulged, and which they sought to turn into a reality. On the 2d August 1643 the General Assembly met in an apartment which had been fitted up in the East Kirk of St Giles—probably in the aisle founded to the memory of Preston. “A little room,” Mr Baillie calls it, “of the East Church, which is verie handsomlie dressed for our Assemblies in time coming, when we shall have them.” To this Assembly many nobles, ministers, and elders “conveened.” Frequent sermons were preached in the New Church during its sitting, and a great deal of business was transacted. To the gathering there came also certain commissioners from the English parliament, accompanied by two ministers, Mr Marshall and Mr Nye,¹ desirous of effecting a civil agreement between the countries. Mr Henderson was all for a Covenant which he had drawn up himself, instead of what they proposed. This Covenant bound all who signed it not only to labour for the preservation of the reformed religion in Scotland, but also for the reformation of religion in England,² and was the first step taken towards the construction of a united church for the two kingdoms. Mr Henderson and others were appointed to carry this document to London, and on the 22d September it was subscribed in St Margaret’s Church, Westminster, by the Assembly of Divines, the Scottish commissioners, and the members of the

¹ Mr Marshall was a Presbyterian, Mr Nye an Independent.—Bishop Guthrie’s *Memoirs*, p. 35. They preached in the New Church on this occasion.—Baillie, vol. ii.

² Cunningham’s *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 133.

House of Commons. On the return of the commissioners, the religious concordat between England and Scotland was completed by the solemn signing of the Covenant on 13th October in St Giles.

“This day,” said Sir Thomas Hope, “the Covenant subscrivit and sworne solemnly in the Eistmost Kirk of St Jells be the Committie of the Conventioun and of the Committie of the Generall Assembly, efter Mr Robert Douglas had preichit on 2 Chron. xv. 12, and efter him Mr Merschell, the Inglische minister, spak to that samyn, and publickly being setting with the Inglische Commissioners, quho satt under the reidaris dask; and the noblemen satt foiranent the minister, at the syd of ane tabill coverit with greyn; and all the persones of the Committie, both of the Estait and Assembly, satt at the two endis of the tabill in a traverse tabill both south and north. And I heving there renewit my vow, in presence of the Lord, to adhere to his blessit treuth aganis Papistrie, hyerarchie, and all the breaches thereof—*contra omnes mortales*; but I scrupillit at that part of the Covenant to sweir to mantayn the privileges of the Parliament of England, because I, as ane subject of Scotland, cannot be tyet to mayntene, or sweir to mantayne, the Parliament of another kingdome and the liberties thairof.”¹

Most people will be of the opinion of this writer as to the folly of these ecclesiastics in meddling with affairs that were not within their province. His opinion was not general, for soon after a Scottish army entered England “to seek for conformity of religion amid the horrors of civil warfare.” It is a melancholy episode in the history of our country. The Presbyterians were as eager to impose the Covenant on those who disliked it as others had been to impose the service-book on themselves. Their afflictions had certainly not taught them toleration. All who resisted the signing of this document were excommunicated by the reading of the awful formula contained in the *Book of Common Order*, which gave them to Satan for the destruction of their bodies, and handed them

¹ This was the point where Montrose parted company with the Covenanters.—See *Blackwood's Magazine* (1887).

over to the civil magistrate to be dealt with as he thought proper.

“April 14, 1644.—This day being Sunday, Mr John Adamson, in the Eist Kirk, did be reiding the prayer contanit in the psalm book, excommunicat Geo., Marquis of Huntly, &c., be summar execution for their notorious coming in arms aganis the Covenant.

“Memorandum.—Mr John Paip, younger, wes excommunicate be the said Mr John on the Sabbath day preceeding.”¹

Similar proceedings took place all over Scotland. Every man must be a Presbyterian and a Covenanter, and England must also be made to submit to the yoke. It was a yoke that was speedily to be broken, and “Oliver Cromwell was soon to preach toleration with a drawn sword in his hand.”²

We may mention here that on the 15th May 1644, a distinguished royalist, Sir John Gordon of Haddo, ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, was imprisoned in the room above the north porch of the church. On the 19th June of the same year, “he was headit at the Cross of Edinburgh as a traitor.” His place of confinement, which had up to this time borne the name of the “Priests’ Chamber,” was afterwards called “Haddo’s Hole,” a name which was given also to the adjoining church in the north-west part of St Giles, and which it bore until late times.

Mr Henderson attended the famous Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and assisted at its deliberations. Its decisions affected the order of worship which had hitherto been followed in St Giles, inasmuch as the “Directory of Publick Worship,” sanctioned in 1646 by the Assembly of the church, superseded the old liturgy or *Book of Common Order*, though the latter has never been formally abolished. The change is noted by a diarist of the time :

“It is to be rememberit that in the months of March and April 1646, the Directorie for Godis Service began insteid of evening and morning prayeris, the ministeris taking to their consideration that

¹ Hope’s Diary. Nicoll in his diary gives many instances of what befell those who refused to sign the Covenant. See also my *History of the Abbey of Paisley*, in loc.

² Cunningham.

the not reiding and exponing of the Scriptures, at the old accus-
tomat tyme of prayer, was the occasioun of much drinking at that
season, quhen these prayeris and chaptures wer usuallie red;
thairfor it wes concludit in the beginning of March 1650 that all the
dayis of the week a lectorie should be red and exposit in Edinburgh
there by everie minister *per vices*; quhilk accordingly wes put in
practice, and so began this holie and hevinlie exercise."¹

Preaching, probably preceded by extempore prayer, thus super-
seded the old Scottish liturgy; but even this form of service was
done away with at the ceming of the English Independents. We
must pass over the many important events which now rapidly
succeeded one another in Scottish history, but which belong only
remotely to the subject of our narrative. After the battle of Dunbar,
Oliver Cromwell entered Edinburgh, and St Giles came into the
hands of the English sectaries, and remained so for a considerable
time. They obtained the use of the East Kirk for their "exercise,"
and members of the army astonished the citizens by airing their
gifts in the pulpit, though they had no call, according to Scottish
usage, to the ministry.

"General Lambert haiffing urgit the toune of Edinburgh's com-
mon counsale to appropriate to him the Eist Kirk of Edinburgh,
being the special kirk and best in toun, for his exercise at sermond,
the same wes renderit to him for that use; quhen there wes dyveris
and sundrie sermondis preached, als weill by captains and lieuten-
antis, and trouperis of his army, as by ordinar pastouris and
Englische ministeris; quhilkis captanes, commanderis, trouperis,
quhen they enterit the pulpittes did not observe our Scottish
formes, bot when they ascendit they enterit the pulpite with thair
swordes hung by thair sydes, and sum careying pistolles with thaim;
and efter thair entry layd aside within the pulpittes thair swords
till thair endit thair sermondis. It wes thocht that these men were
weill giftit, yet were not ourderlie callit according to the discipline
observit within this kingdom of Scotland."²

¹ Nicoll's Diary, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

These intruders ruled Edinburgh with a high hand. By tuck of drum they proclaimed that "the day callit Chrystmas" should not be observed. This to the Presbyterian burgesses was no great matter, but when these worthies saw the stool of repentance burnt as a popish relic of the sacrament of penance, and the king's seat demolished, they must have been greatly scandalised. The former article of church-furniture these sectarians cast out wherever they went. The taking down of the throne is thus chronicled :

"Upone Setterday the sevint of Februar 1657, by ordouris from the Commissiouneris of the Parliament of England now sittand at Dalkeith, thair wer masonis, carpentaris, and hammermen direct to the Kirk of Edinburgh, quhair the kingis sait wes ereckit, and to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, quhair his arms and unicorne with the croun on his heid was set ; and thair pulled doun the king's armes, dang doun the unicorne with the croun that wes set upon the unicorne, and hang up the croun upon the gallows."¹

This was bad enough, but was as nothing compared with the indignity inflicted upon a General Assembly that ventured to meet within the church. After listening to two sermons preached by ministers of the city, the court proceeded to business in the usual manner. They were soon interrupted by two colonels of the English army, backed by a file of soldiers, who asked them by what authority they were met? It was a question that must have sounded strange to the members, who claimed the highest authority for their convocation, and the moderator protested that they were "Christes court." He then began to open the meeting with prayer; but after he had spoken five or six words, the English officer "desyred thame againe to be gone, so they arose and cam forth." It must have been a curious spectacle to see these gentlemen marched out of St Giles by a band of fanatics more fanatical than themselves.

"They were gairded on both hands up the way to the Why House, where they were carried along to the Port, and from thence

¹ Nicoll, p. 80.

to the Quarrel Holls, where they made them stand. The moderator protested again att the same place. After thir names wer written, they discharged them to meet againe under pain of being breakers of the peice, and to be gone before eght o'clock on the next day."¹

The sectaries put down, as we have said, the daily service,² and to make up for the want of the exercise, the ministers introduced singing of psalms and hearing the boys their catechism. They were indeed greatly tried. All kinds of heretics under the new regime seemed to flourish when the ecclesiastical power was relaxed, and great "numbers of that damnable sect the Quakers" made their appearance in St Giles, and interrupted the sermons, to the great annoyance of the preachers, whose cup of bitterness was full.

"Possess of the spirite of error, they opposed the preachers in the New Kirk alledgand that the ministeris taught fals doctrine, and dischargit the auditouris to hear thame and to give no credit to their sermoundis. The devil working strongly on their imaginations, made thame believe that the Spirit descendit on thame lyke a dow; caryit thame from ane place to anither, and maid mony of thame crie out, 'I am the way, the treuth, the lyff;' maid thame to make circles round about them with their hands, with many like actionis."³

This must have been more vexing to the sober-minded Presbyterians of that day than even the reading of the service-book. They were almost in as bad a case under the Independents as they had been under the bishops—their assemblies silenced and all their power taken away. For six years also the communion was not administered. They were also commanded to offer no prayers for the king, and were obliged to pray for the Protector.

"*October 14.*—Upon the Sondag thairefter Mr Patrik Gillespie, minister at Glasgow, did preach in the Eistmost Kirk of Edinburgh, quha in his prayer efter sermond did earnestlie pray for his Heynes the Protector, and for a blesing upon his proceedings; and this wes

¹ Lamont's Diary, p. 57.

² Nicoll, pp. 115, 171.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

the first Scottis minister that did publickly pray for him within Scotland.

“Oh for the miseries of Kirk and Stait at this tym,” exclaims old Nicoll, the diarist, and then he gives another grievance that vexed him sore :

“The ministrie, not content with the statioun of thair pulpites as they stuid, causyit change thaim in sindry of the churches of Edinburgh—three severall tymes in the Tolbooth, quhilk wes so callit because it wes laitlie the pairt and place quhair the criminal court did sit, and quhair the gallows and maiden did lie of old; likewise this kirk alteret and changit, and of this one kirk they did make two. Farder in the New Kirk, callit the East Kirk, the pulpit was twyse transpoiritit, anes fra the north to the south, quhair of befor it stood on the north syd. By these dyvisiouns of the kirk and pulpites the loftis on all sydes, which war verie costlie, war alterit.”

These changes are set down as marks of the “instabilitie of the time,” and the chronicler evidently regards it as a judgment that “at the upbigging of the separation wallis in tua of these kirks at two severall tymes in the month of Februar 1656, the skafelding fell, slew sum of pepill and mutilat others.”

He records, however, that on the last Sunday of April the Westmost Kirk was completed; and again,

“The Eistmost Kirk of St Geill being devydit in twa, and the Eistmest Kirk of the twa being first compleit and put in order, efter much delay, wes at length taght in upon the penult Sondag of December 1656.”

It is almost impossible to say what changes took place in the structure of the church at this period. The writer mourns over those he witnessed evidently on account of the expense incurred, and puts it all down to the sectaries, who were at the root of every mischief. It was a great relief to him and other Presbyterians when King Charles II. succeeded to the throne—their delight was immense, and a solemn thanksgiving service was held in St Giles, for was not Charles a covenanted king?

“Quharat was all the Magistrates of Edinburgh and the Com-mune Council, all of thame in thair best robes ; the mace and sword of honour carried befoir thame to the sermond and throw the whole streets as they went all that day.”

It was a day of rejoicing—the arches of the old building rang with psalms of thankfulness, there were prayers in the church, and there was feasting at the Cross, the spouts of which ran with “claret wyne, and three hundred dosane of glassis all broken, and castin throw the streets with sweet meits in abundance.” Bonfires were lit, and amongst the crowd who exhibited their joy was, it is said, “the immortal Jenet Geddis, princess of the Trone adventurers, for she was not only content to assemble all her creels, basquets, creepies, &c., and all other sort of pot merchandise that belong to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to her lankale vassals, were all orderlie burned, she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown claret and vermillion majesty.”¹

¹ See *ante*.



CHAPTER XXIV.

Persecution—1660-1688.

The Solemn League and Covenant
Cost Scotland blood, cost Scotland tears ;
But it sealed freedom's sacred cause,
If thou 'rt a slave, indulge thy sneers.

BURNS.



VERY soon after the restoration of King Charles II., the interior of St Giles was changed again. The division by which the choir was made into two churches in the time of Cromwell was taken down, and the whole chancel thrown into one place of worship as formerly. The throne which had been cast out of the building with so much ignominy, was re-erected, and the East Church fitted up for the members of the great parliament soon to be held in Edinburgh. Great things were expected from this gathering, and it was hoped it would establish for ever the Church of Scotland on a sure foundation, and ratify the Covenant as the charter of Presbytery. The king had intimated his intention of sending for Mr Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of St Giles who had officiated at his coronation, to consult with him as to ecclesiastical affairs, and though many doubted his sincerity in regard to supporting Presbytery, there were those who believed in it, and who hoped for the best. The change in the fabric of St Giles is thus noticed by a contemporary :

“This yeir 1660 the twa eistmost kirks nearest the great Old Kirk of St Geill were alterit ; the stane wark and devisioun betwixt thame

were alterit and taken doun with thair loftis and hail frame, and these two kirkis being formerlie two kirkes wer now ereckit into ane kirk; the Kingis Sait placed therein, dasks, saittes, and loftis enlarged for ease of his majesty's commissioner, and of the nobles and utheris of the parliament now convenit to be halden the first day of Januar nixt."¹

The parliament met in great pomp, and the commissioner and members came to church, and took their "ease" in the seats prepared for them, while Mr Robert Douglas, the leading minister of St Giles, preached, at the request of the king's advocate, before them when they met in state, from 2 Chronicles, xix. 5, 6: "And Jehoshaphat set judges in the land, and said unto thame, Take heid quhat ye do;" but the result of their deliberations was a poor response to the preacher's exhortations. They prohibited the renewal of the Covenant, and by passing the Act called the "Rescissory Act," which undid the legislation of the past twenty years, they virtually established Episcopacy again. Little was needed to do this effectually, and that little was done. The king sent a letter down to Scotland interposing "his royal authority for restoring the church to its right government by bishops as it was by law before the late troubles."² The Privy Council passed an Act embodying this letter, and giving it effect by proclamation, and Episcopacy once more became the established religion of the country.

Well might the hearts of steadfast Presbyterians fail them for fear, because of those things that were coming upon the land. There was lamentation and prophecy of evil in St Giles, and on the last Sunday of the year a sermon of the most doleful kind was preached in the Old or Great Church. It lamented the "corruption of God's worship, and order of God's house in a violent way, and the setting up of self-seeking perjured men over the inheritance of the Lord." This discourse³ seems to have made a great impression at

¹ Nicoll, p. 314; Wodrow's History, p. 286.

² Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 231.

³ "The Churches' Comfort, a sermon on John xvi. 22, preached in the Old Church of Edinburgh, 29th December 1661, by Mr William Thomson."—Given in Kirkton's History, p. 115.

the time, and was afterwards printed. It concluded with this characteristic reference to the bishop, whose advent was looked for daily: "Oh, how unbecoming a title would Paul have thought it if any would have come unto him and called him your lordship or your lordship's grace! Oh, how abominable would he have thought himself if he had seen a prelate's mitre upon his head, and their side robes upon him with some bearing up their tails! There is no ground in the Bible for this, and yet it is done. [He did see some laughing and others affrighted, which made him speak thus.] Let this neither be looked upon as a matter of laughter to strangers or affrighting to friends, seeing necessity constrains us to speak of these things unto you. Now may not this give us sad ground of fear that the Lord will go away and leave us, seeing such abominations are set up among us?" The "abominations" which the worthy preacher dreaded were not far away, and not many days after the delivery of his sermon a bishop again presided over the see of Edinburgh.

We must not leave the year in which these events took place without noting an incident which is memorable in the history of St Giles—namely, the funeral of the great Marquis of Montrose. Shortly after the Restoration his head was taken down from the Tolbooth, to which it had been affixed after his execution, and such portions of his remains as could be identified were collected and taken to the chapel of Holyrood. On the 11th May 1661 they were conveyed to St Giles with the greatest possible funeral pomp, and buried in the Chepman Aisle, where his family seem to have possessed a burying-place. Various accounts have come down to us of the magnificence of the funeral.¹ We choose from many that of the old diarist Nicoll, whose description seems to us the most graphic, and who doubtless witnessed the display.

"The tyme appoyntit for the solempnitie of his funerallis being cum, quhilk wes upone Settirday the elevint day of Maij 1661, his

¹ In the Harleian Manuscripts, vol. vii. p. 298, there is a long and full account written, it is supposed, by Sydserff. See Appendix.

bones wer brocht bak agane from the Abbey Church to St Geillis Kirk of Edinburgh at the bak of the tomb quhair his grandschir wes buried, and thair buryed him in the manner following. In the first the haill inhabitantes of Edinburgh, Cannogait, Potteraw, and West Port, being all in armour to the number of 23 companyes, with thair displayit banneris, gairdit the toun of Edinburgh and Cannogait, on both sydes of the streit from the kirk of Holyrudhous to the kirk of St Geillis in Edinburgh. His majesty's leiffgaird of hors in the first place, ryding alongs on thair horsbak with thair carbines at thair sadillis, and thair drawin swordis in thair handis to the number of 160 ; nixt unto thame 26 young boyis all cled in murning habites from thair crounes and top of thair hedis to thair bellis, careying his airmes and uther branches of his familie ; thairefter marched up the provist, baillies, and counsell of Edinburgh all in murning habites ; and nixt unto thame the burrowis and barones that wer memberis of Parliament ; then cam a gentillman all cled in bricht armour on horsbak, with a trumpittoir befor him, ryding in a new sute of the Marques livray, and ane led hors behind him ; thairefter come 18 gentilmen, sum of thame careying in thair handis long banneris of honor, and utheris carrying his spures, gloves, breist, and bak pece, all of armour on the poyntes of long staves ; thairefter come ane led hors covered with his ryche broydered mantle, quhairwith he and his prededecessoris were wont to ryde at parliamentis, and his allakay richlie cled with liveray and airmes on breist and bak ; then come the flour of the nobilitie all in good ordor ; then the haill heraldis and pursevantis in thair koates of airmes, many of thame careying severall honoris in thair handis ; eftir thame came ane led hors all covered in blak ; eftir him cam the Lord Lyoun with his coat of airmes ; thaireftir come many of the Marques friendis, all of thame in murning, and every ane of thame careying sum honoris in thair handis, ane of thame haifand his parliament rob careying, ane with a croun on a velvet cushion under a craip, and sum utheris with severall soirtes of honores in thair handis ; then come the corps and bones in a coffin, careyed under a riche pail careyed by many

honorable lordis and gentillmen, with sex trumpetis all sounding befor ; then came many noble ladyes cled all in murning behind the pail ; eftir thame cam the Erle of Middletoun, his majesteis Commissioner, in a koatche with sex hors all cled in murning, and his koatche all cled over in blak, none being in koatche but himself and the Lord Ramsay, sitting in the bute bairheidit, careying his commission ; the hail belles of Edinburgh and the Canongate ringand all the tyme. Then come ten gentillmen careying each of thame in thair handis long flages, and uther peces of honor on the endis of long staves befor the bones of the Laird of Dalgatie, quhais bones wer raisd with the said Marques from the Burrow Mure, quho wes also layd in the Abbay Kirk as being beheadit for being in airmes with the Marques for the lait king ; then nixt to these honors come two trumpettoris sounding ; efter thame come the bones in a coffin careyed by many honorabill gentillmen with many epitaphes and uther paynted paperis thair upone, and so wes carreyed into said yle of St Geillis Kirk, and layd on the rycht syde of the said noble Marques.”

So the gallant nobleman was laid in the old chapel of St John the Evangelist, built by Chepman the printer many years before. The morning of the funeral day had been stormy and dark, but during the ceremony the sun shone out, and lighted up the dark arches of St Giles. There seems to have been no religious service at the burial, though there was a feast after, and none of the ministers of the church apparently were present. Probably they were with those who, to use the words of one who describes the ceremonial, “were howling in dark corners like owls.” “Some say,” he adds, “that there was then a collective body or sort of spiritual judicatory in town, that would not be present at the funeral lest the bones of both should bleed.”¹

It was a friend and old companion of the nobleman whose funeral solemnities were thus honoured who came as bishop to St Giles. George Wyshart had accompanied the marquis to foreign parts as

¹ Harleian MSS., *antc.*

chaplain, and had written in elegant Latin a history of the war in which Montrose had distinguished himself. He was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh on 1st June 1662, and Robert Douglas, who had declined the mitre, was removed to Greyfriars, "in order that the bishop might be provided."¹ The appearance of a prelate in the cathedral soon brought about great changes. One, himself favourable to Episcopacy, describes them: "All the ordiner ministris of Edinburgh wer dischargit preaching because of thair non-confermitie with, and obedience to, the bishopis. And thaire wes nane sufferit to teache except Mr Robert Lowrie, being now Deane of Edinburgh;² all the sermondis taught in Edinburgh wer by strangeris, quho wer not much lykit by the auditoris, bot fled thair kirkis and wanderit to uther kirkis. Lykewise, the Mondayis preaching, quhilk wes in use and custome these many yeirs by past, wes dischargit or at least negleckit. Thair wes much haitred of the bishopis among the pepill, favouring still thair awn ministeris and thair doctrine, and haiting Episcopacy."³

There seems to have been little change in the form of worship followed in the church from that which prevailed under Presbyterian rule. The prayers were extemporaneous, perhaps in some cases those of the *Book of Common Order*. The Lord's Prayer was enjoined to be used once at least in the service, also the Doxology, or "Glory to the Father," and the Creed repeated at baptism; but beyond this, there appears to have been little alteration.⁴ Daily service was once more observed, and morning and evening prayers were ordered to be said in the church.⁵

"The instabilitie of church government," says Nicoll, "for many yeris by past hes beene observit in my paperis; and amang utheris how that the reiding of the Scriptures by reidairs, and singing of

¹ Scot's *Fasti*. ² This worthy was popularly called the "Nest Egg." ³ Nicoll, p. 380.

⁴ So little difference was there between the Episcopal and Presbyterian form of worship, that we read in the Ochtertyre MSS. of a gentleman leaving the Scottish Episcopal Church after the Revolution, when it adopted the liturgy, and joining the Established Church as nearer his own.

⁵ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 281, *et infra*. Wodrow seems to think that daily prayer, though ordered, was never carried out.

Psalmes, did cease, and in place thereof the examining brocht into the church by two boyes, and thairefter lectures by ministeris, quhilk did not satisfy the peipll; quairfere the singing of Psalmes was brought in agane in the kirkes of Edinburgh, in the beginyng of October 1653; and in this yeir (1662) the reiding of Scriptures was brought in againe, and the Psalmes sung with this additioun, 'Glory to the Father,' &c. This now brought in by the auctoritie of the bishops with greater devotioun than evir befer." There was little innovation in all this, and if rigid attendance at the Episcopal services had not been insisted upon, and a course of persecution by the civil power had not been inaugurated, general conformity might have been attained. Episcopacy had once more a chance of winning Scotland, and again lost it by foolish and ill-advised measures. A synod was held in the church by the bishop, and attended by the king's advocate, some of the lords of council and session, with the magistrates of Edinburgh, and the bishop preached from the text, "Let your moderation be known unto all men." The text was good, but the practice that followed it was not in much accordance with its sentiment. Ministers whom the people respected were silenced by parliament, and it was intimated to others that they were to submit to the same censure and punishment if they did not submit to their ordinary. Three new ministers were appointed by the bishop, and though after their election they were feasted and had double stipend allotted them, the people thought them very inferior to those who had been turned out to make room for them. On Sundays the congregations thronged the roads to country churches, where they could have ministers more to their own mind.

Christmas Day was again observed with all due solemnity, and there appears to have been a good congregation, attracted probably more by the novelty of the event than by any regard for the observance. "This day being Yule day, wes solemnlie keepit in Edinburgh. The bishop tacht that day in the Eister Kirk, quhairin wes much pepill assembled. The honourable commissioner for the

parliament, the chancellor, and haile nobles being then in Edinburgh, were present. The sermon being endit, command wes given by tuck of drum that the remanent of the day should be spent as an holie day, that no work nor labour should be usit, and no mercat nor tred on the streetis, and that no merchand buith should be opned under the payne of 20 lb. in cais of faillie; be ressoun quhair of the haill registeris, sealles, and signet were closit up, and not opined for the space of four or fyve days thairefter.”¹

So ended 1662, more peacefully than might have been expected. There were troubles many and great in other parts of Scotland in the succeeding year, but Edinburgh, so far as ecclesiastical matters were concerned, was comparatively quiet, and we have little to notice in connection with St Giles, beyond two funerals which were celebrated there with considerable pomp. The first was that of Sydserff, Bishop of Orkney, and the other that of Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow. Nicoll, in his diary, gives particulars of both these obsequies.

“*September 29, 1663.*—Mr Thomas Sydserff, Bishop of Orkney, departed this lyff within the toun of Edinburgh, in his awin dwelling house, and wes buryed upon the fourth day of October next, thairafter, being ane Sabboth day. The bishops had appointed that day to be a day of commemoration to the pepill of his lyff and conversation in their severall sermondis taght that day in the Eist Kyrk of Edinburgh, quhair his corps did lye in the yle. Mr William Annand taucht beforenone, and the Bishop of Edinburgh in the efternone; quha descryvit his birth and progeny, of quhat famlie he descendit, his pietie, his learning, his travellis abroad, his lyff and conversation, his sufferings for the gospell and utheris, his giftis and graces to the full. His funerallis wes very honorablie celebrat, and his corps convoyed to the grave by all sortis of pepill, both of nobles and bischoppis, gentilmen and commoners.”

The archbishop's funeral was even more imposing. His body was “transported to the Eist Kirk of Edinburgh, callit St Geills,

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 297.

quhairintill his corps did ly till 11th day of November next, thairefter, being the day appointed for his funerallis. All things necessar being prepared for that end, his corps wes laid down upon a buird jist beforis the pulpit, coverit with murning. The toun bell rang for convening the pepill to his funeral sermond jist at four in the eftirnune, quhair numberis of pepill being convenit, rather to behold the ceremony than the preaching, thair wes ane sermond made by Mr Johnne Hay, persone of Peblis, and now archdeane of Glasgow. His text wes the 12th cap. of Ecclesiastes, in the latter end of the fyft vers. The sermon being endit, the corps wes laid in the bottom of a kotche, coverit above with murning, and careyed with twa horses, all cled in murning apparell, were transportit from the New Kirk of Edinburgh, to the Abbay Church of Halyrudhus, four trumpets sounding, &c."

So Mr Nicoll, at fuller length than we have given, describes the parade. "Quhat ellis," he says, "could contribute to the honour of such a man's funerallis?" There were those, however, who were of a different opinion, and thought the honours ill bestowed. "The loathsome Archbishop Fairfoul," says one, "finished his stinking office of a bishop." It shows how violent was the feeling existing, when such words could be spoken of the dead.¹

The worthy Nicoll is fond of chronicling funerals, and at great length describes that of the chancellor of the kingdom, the Earl of Glencairn, who, on the 28th July 1664, was buried in the east end of St Giles. His funeral, in regard to ceremonial, was similar to that of the Marquis of Montrose. All the nobles then in Edinburgh were present; the Archbishop of Glasgow preached the sermon, and the arches of the church echoed to the sound of trumpets. "Aucht trumpetoires sounding at the graves mouth endit the solempnitie." In what spot of the choir this distinguished nobleman was buried is not told us, and no monument remains to mark his grave. He was a man of eminence, and had done his best to induce the king to prevent the "overdriving of the archbishop and other prelates."

¹ Kirkton's History, where there is a very gross description of the archbishop.

Unhappily, his advice was not listened to, and a court of high commission was instituted by the king, of which the Bishop of Edinburgh and other prelates were members, with plenary powers to punish by "fining, confining, committing to prison, and incarcerating" all ministers and others who should dare to oppose the authority of the Established Church. Such harsh measures proved as unavailing as they generally do. Conventicles abounded, the Covenant was here and there solemnly renewed, and when any of the ousted Presbyterian ministers came into Edinburgh, the people touched their caps to them, a mark of respect which they were careful not to pay to the clergy of the prelatic establishment.

Persecution terminated in insurrection. General Dalzell surrounded a wretched band of Covenanters, "weary, drenched, undisciplined creatures," at Rullion Green on the Pentlands. He conveyed his prisoners into Edinburgh, and the magistrates crowded them together into the chamber in St Giles where Sir John Gordon had been confined, and which now had come to be called after his name. Haddo's Hole was a small place, and the prisoners were almost suffocated for want of air. It is to the credit of Bishop Wyshart that he pled for their release and supplied them with food; he had known himself the hardships of imprisonment, "having himself been immured by the Covenanters for seven months in a dark, loathsome dungeon, and had like to be devoured with rats, the marks of whose voracity he bore on his face to the grave." From Haddo's Hole most of the miserable prisoners were taken first to torture, and afterwards to execution. One of them, M'Kail, was long remembered lovingly in Scotland as a martyr, and his last words cherished with affection. They are exceedingly touching and pathetic. Mr Robert Laurie, the Dean of Edinburgh, however, declared from his pulpit that M'Kail and his fellow-sufferers had gone down into the pit with a lie in their right hand. The verdict of the Scottish people was truer than that of the dean.

The next few years, so full of incidents in regard to the rest of Scotland, are barren in reference to St Giles, though now and again

we catch glimpses of actors in the drama, or rather tragedy, that was being enacted throughout the country. Lauderdale came to church "in great pomp on 29th May 1678, and the day was celebrated with lusty drinking and feasting." The Duke of Rothes died and "his body was brought up to the Hy Church of Edinburgh, and in great state and splendour conveyed hence to the Abbey Church."¹ It was an imposing ceremonial, and an engraving of it has come down to us. A committee of Privy Council ordered the Bishop of Edinburgh "to convey all his ministers in the Old Church, with their elders, deacons, and bedells, and churchwardens, and caused them to swear what irregular persons they knew were within their respective parishes and bounds."

In 1682 a poor demented creature attacked Mr Ramsay, one of the ministers. "Christina Fyfe confesseth," so runs her declaration, "that on Sabbath last she did beat Mr Ramsay in the Old Kirk, at the ending of his sermon, and the reason was she thought he was profaning the Sabbath. She declares she thinks the king is not a lawful king, nor the judges lawful judges, otherwise they would never have murdered Mr Donald Cargill and Rathillet. Since Mr Cargill's death, she thinks there is not an honest minister in Scotland. That she thinks it very good service to kill all the bishops present, and all in Scotland, and declares the reason she went to church was to beat and not to hear the minister. She went not to kirk to beat a lawful minister, but one whom she thought a Judas and a devill." This poor woman, evidently a lunatic, was for her temerity sentenced to be hanged in the Grassmarket.

The Earl of Argyll was executed under the shadow of the church. In his last hours he was attended by Mr William Annand, the dean, and after his execution his head was placed on a spike on the east gable of the church looking down the High Street.²

These are slight links between St Giles and the troubled history of the time. In 1685 the king's seat in St Giles was again draped

¹ Fountainhall's *Observer*, p. 45, July 2, 1681.

² Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 217.

in black, and on the 10th February of that year King James VII. of Scotland and II. of England was proclaimed king at the Cross of Edinburgh.

The accession of King James brought toleration for the Presbyterians in order that Roman Catholicism might have toleration likewise. Fair-play was to be meted to both. The result was curious. Episcopalians now joined with Presbyterians in bewailing the threatened inroad of popery, and they did so with some cause. There were many signs of its advent. All kinds of rumours were afloat. St Giles was to be used for high mass again, and the pope was once more to regain his power in Scotland. The ministers had reasons for their apprehensions. Ramsay, Bishop of Ross, preached a sermon in St Giles to the members of parliament. His Protestantism "scandalised the papists exceedingly," and he was brought to book by the chancellor. "On 2d November 1686, the king's yacht arrived from London at Leith with the popish altar, vestments, images, priests, and other dependers for the popish chapell in the abbey."¹ Mr John Robertson, minister, who had been king's almoner, was deprived of his office, and a priest, Father Dunbar, appointed in his stead. Holyrood Abbey was taken for Catholic purposes, and the parishioners of the Canongate were turned out. "This," exclaims a writer of the time, "is the first Protestant church tane away from us."² St Giles might speedily follow, and there was little doubt it would. The Presbyterians, while they thanked his majesty for his toleration, said "if they behooved to take away the laws against popery, it were better to want it."³ In the tolerated Presbyterian meeting-house, and in the cathedral hard by, were heard wailings for what was likely to happen. In this case what happened was not what was expected. On the 5th November 1688 William of Orange landed at Torbay, and a new order of things began.

During the long period covered by this chapter, there was, so far as we can learn, little change in the fabric of the church, beyond

¹ Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, p. 818.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

making the choir one place of worship. The Great Kirk remained as it was, and the Tolbooth was still divided into two churches, as during Cromwell's time. One of them was called Haddo's Hole Church from its proximity to the prison where Gordon had been confined.

In 1681 the town offered to buy a peal of bells for St Giles with a portion of some money that had been bequeathed to them by a certain Thomas Moodie: "The tounne offers to buy a pale of bells to hang in St Geills steeple, to ring musically and warne us to church, and to build a tolbuith above the West Port of Edinburgh, and to put Moodie's name and armis thereon. Some thought it better to make a stipend for the Lady Yester's Kirk."¹ The money lay by for a time, and the interest was applied to pay house-rent for the bishop. Finally it went to building a church in the Canon-gate after the parishioners had been expelled from the Abbey Church of Holyrood.

¹ Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 325; see also vol. ii.



CHAPTER XXV.

Peaceful Times—1688-1745.

*After the foaming cataract, how still
The level pool that mirrors heaven's peace.*



THE advent of "Dutch William" caused a rapid change to take place both in the political and ecclesiastical drama. There was much speculation in Edinburgh as to what would be the result of his accession in matters affecting the church, and those who speculated were not long left in doubt. The Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr Rose, an able and amiable man, was sent up to London to look after the interests of his church, and other divines were deputed to look after those of the Presbyterians. Both had interviews with the new king, who said, "I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England." The bishop, with a candour which it is impossible not to admire, replied to his majesty: "Sir, I will follow you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me." The answer was a brave and honest one, but it sealed the fate of Episcopacy in Scotland.

On the 14th March 1689 the Convention of Estates met, and the Bishop of Edinburgh opened it with a prayer, in which he asked God to restore King James. This was the last time he officiated in the capacity of chaplain. The Convention resolved to offer the crown to William and Mary, and the ministers were ordered to read from their pulpits a proclamation to that effect, and to pray for the new sovereign and his consort. The ministers of Edinburgh did not

receive the proclamation till Saturday night, and some of them not till Sunday morning. They being Episcopalians refused to read it, and when in one of the churches of St Giles the clerk began to do so in opposition to the minister, the whole congregation got up and left the church. The ministers were at that time very able men, and had attracted large congregations who were much attached to them. The people of the city had almost all conformed to Episcopacy. Mr Annand, the dean, was much respected, and it was said of him "there was scarcely a more innocent man in Great Britain." Dr Monro, the Principal of the University, was an eloquent and admired preacher, and so was Dr Jardyne of the Tolbooth. Upon these men, in company with many of their brethren, the heavy hand of the law was laid, and they were "ousted" as their Presbyterian predecessors had been. The persecuting spirit which has apparently always pervaded Scottish ecclesiasticism was abroad, and it had as in former times many victims. There were some few of the dominant party who pleaded for toleration, but their voice was not listened to, and, like Leighton in the old time, they spoke in vain.

On 15th June 1690, the Rev. David Williamson,¹ minister of St Cuthbert's, preached in St Giles before His Grace the King's Commissioner and the three Estates of parliament. In his sermon he narrates with eloquence and pathos the sufferings which he and his fellow-Presbyterians had undergone, but it is too evident that those sufferings had not taught him meekness and charity. He turns from their narration to make light of those hardships which the Episcopalians were then bearing, with the statement of which, he says, they were "deaved," and which were only "flea-bite sufferings" compared with what they themselves had borne. Toleration the preacher scoffed at. It was "under pretence, forsooth, of tenderness of conscience. It was to love our ease more than God." So the preacher urged, and he had many hearers who were easily persuaded. The death of the Dean of St

¹ "Dainty Davie," as he was called. His sermon was published.

Giles anticipated his removal from his charge, and on his death-bed he referred with tears to the state of ecclesiastical affairs, "saying he never thought to have outlived the Church of Scotland." The other Episcopalian ministers were cast out to live as best they could. "Meeting-houses,"¹ as they were then called, were set up in Edinburgh for the first time, and Episcopacy, notwithstanding constant annoyance from both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, entered on a new career. A large number of inhabitants accompanied their ministers into dissent from the establishment. There were no less than eleven "meeting-houses" in Edinburgh, and shortly after the Revolution their contributions for charitable purposes came close in amount to those collected in the parish churches.² For a time the Episcopalians used no liturgy, and their service had little to distinguish it from that used in the Presbyterian churches. There was a strong effort on the part of some of the best Scotsmen of the time to make provision for the dispossessed clergy from the bishop's rents,³ but the action of men like the preacher above noticed prevented the proposal being given effect to. The change in St Giles occasioned by the transference of the building once more to Presbytery seems to have taken place very quietly, though it was marked by the appearance of several polemical pamphlets, one of them bearing this curious title, "New High Church turned old Presbyterian. Newer a barrel, the better herring."

On the occasion on which the Rev. David Williamson preached in St Giles against toleration to Episcopalians—though curiously enough the most eloquent part of his sermon is plagiarised from one by an English bishop⁴—a strange circumstance is said to have occurred. The Duke of Hamilton, commissioner from the king to the Estates of parliament, sat in the church in great pomp. While the service was proceeding, a black cat suddenly appeared and walked across His

¹ Calamy's Works.

² *Scots Magazine*.

³ Carstares did his best, and so did others of the wisest among the Presbyterians. Such men did all in their power to help and maintain kindly intercourse with the "ousted" Episcopalians.—See Calamy's *Life of Carstares*.

⁴ The conclusion of his sermon is borrowed from Bishop Browning's sermon at the inauguration of Charles I.

Grace's cushion. It was a curious intruder in such a place, and the general belief was that puss was none other than Lady Stair, wife of the president of the Court of Session, who was popularly regarded as a wicked witch. She was commonly known as Aunty, Dame Maggie, or Maggie Ross, and had made, it was said, a paction with the Evil One, who enabled her to assume different shapes at will. What object her ladyship had in coming to church on this occasion we do not know, but that she was there most people had no doubt. In one of the pasquils of the time we have the incident alluded to :

So pouise in majestie from cloath of state,
St Geills saw throun by huffie duke of late.¹

This extraordinary woman, the original of Lady Ashton in the *Bride of Lammermoor*, died soon after her reputed visit to the church. Her distinguished husband was buried in St Giles in 1695, with the solemnities usual for one in his station. His funeral was the last of a public character that took place within the building for many years. In what part of it he was laid it is impossible to say. There is nothing to mark the grave of the founder of Scottish jurisprudence.

The union between Scotland and England was finally ratified by the Scottish Estates of parliament on the 16th January 1707. It was violently opposed for a time by many of the clergy, but they finally acquiesced, and a solemn religious service was held in St Giles to commemorate the event. "There was a very great congregation, where was present many members of parliament, and the work continued till two of the clock very public and solemn, but without any of the excesses which some people flattered themselves to find there."² What these excesses that were apprehended were, we do not know. It is pleasant to think that the religious service

¹ Maidment's *Pasquils*. In an elegy on Lady Stair, these words occur :

Johnstoun rejoice with your friend Ormistoun,
And you Sir William and Duke Hamiltoun,
That the cat that crost the cushion in the church,
Is dead and left her kittens in the lurch.

MACKAY'S *Life of Stair*, p. 257.

² Defoe's *History of the Union*.

consecrating a union from which so many happy results have followed, took place in our great historic building.

One who, more perhaps than any other, had brought about that union, came to St Giles in 1707 as minister of the High Church. This was William Carstares, famed no less as a statesman than as a scholar and divine. He was one of the most noble of those who in any age and under any form of worship or church government officiated in St Giles. His life has been fully given elsewhere,¹ and we can only say here that during his incumbency the church prospered and was largely attended by the citizens of Edinburgh. We get a glimpse of what it was in his time in the life of Calamy, a leading Nonconformist divine, who visited Scotland in 1709, and whose account of Edinburgh is deeply interesting.² This gentleman was hospitably entertained by the clergy of the Scottish metropolis, and both attended service and preached in St Giles.

“The first Lord’s day after I reached Edinburgh I was an hearer in the New Church. There were many noblemen present, the magistrates of the city, and members of Assembly. The auditory was much crowded, as was the case also in Glasgow and Aberdeen. It was a very common complaint that they wanted more places for public worship. The ministers even in the most solemn auditories preached with neckcloths and coloured cloaks, which a little surprised me.³ It was their common way, unless they were professors of divinity, or persons remarkable for age and gravity. It was their usual way to expound some portion of Scripture during about half an hour, which they called lecturing. After a short prayer, a sermon followed of the same length. They usually take as much pains in studying for lecturing as for sermons, and some a great deal more.”

The distinguished stranger who thus describes the sermons says nothing in regard to the devotional part of the service. So far as Carstares was concerned, we know that propriety and solemnity

¹ *Life of William Carstares*, by Rev. Dr Story.

² *Calamy’s Life and Times*, p. 177.

³ In his portrait Carstares is represented in gown, cassock, and bands, wearing the ministerial dress of the present day.

pervaded all he did, but the prayers in use by some of his brethren in St Giles were of a strange character. The *Book of Common Order* had now dropped entirely out of sight, and the devotions were often wild and incoherent extemporary effusions. Some of them taken down by hearers have reached our time. "Nothing of news here," says a letter from Edinburgh,¹ "but I'll oblige you with a fresh piece of Presbyterian cant poured out on Sunday last by M'Laren in the Tolbooth Church, in his prayer after sermon—viz. 'O Lord, there are two great beasts in the world—the great Turk and the Pope of Rome; destroy them both, and bring down that great enemy of Christ's Kirk, the tyrant of France. Bless our Queen; but, Lord, take a course with some dangerous and evil counsellors that are about her.'"² It was the same divine who, visiting on his sick-bed a deformed Edinburgh writer, prayed thus: "O Lord, have mercy upon this poor crooked worm, thy servant." He was singularly outspoken, and on one occasion, seeing a set of spruce writers' clerks in the galleries, he said, towards the conclusion of his discourse, "That whosoever fell into the devil's hands would have their souls torn out as ravenously as a set of hungry writers' lads tear out the hearts of bawbee rolls."³

Week-day sermons were kept up in St Giles at this period. The kirk-sessions having been deprived of the power they once enjoyed of commanding the civil magistrate to carry out their sentences, the result of the relaxation of discipline and the disappearance of the "cutty-stool" was a great increase of open scandal. A "Society for the Reformation of Manners" was in consequence instituted, and a weekly sermon held in the High Church. For a time the novelty attracted many, and a distinguished and even fashionable audience filled the building; but afterwards the congregation became very scanty. The weekly sermon, a contemporary tells us, took the place of a public entertainment, of which there were few;⁴ but as public amusements multiplied, and especially when the theatre

¹ February 7, 1712.

² Historical MSS. Reports, p. 190.

³ Ochertyre MSS. (Blackwood, 1830), where various stories of this divine are given.

⁴ Ochertyre MSS.

came to Edinburgh, the attendance at the church fell off. One of the ministers, the learned and able Dr Wallace, pleaded for a reformed theatre, but his colleague, Mr M'Laren, replied that "he was not so well read in those matters as his young friend seemed to be, but he would venture to foretell that as soon as the playhouse should be thoroughly reformed, it would be as ill attended as the week-day sermons."¹ The High Church was the most fashionable of the four churches within St Giles. Here the magistrates came to hear sermon before election, in their "formalities." All the public officers of the crown attended officially on Sunday, and there was usually a large congregation. One of the ministers, however, is reported to have said, with a little peevishness, "that even were the Apostle Paul to preach in his church, not more than five of the Lords of Session would attend in the afternoon."² In this church Whitfield preached to an overflowing congregation on one occasion during his visit to Edinburgh.³ Many of the ministers of the churches in St Giles during the period subsequent to the Revolution were able men, though probably none of them for influence in church and state equalled Carstairs. Dr Wallace probably came next to him in this respect. He was a man of learning, the friend of Bishop Berkeley, and famed for his scientific attainments.⁴

With two remarkable incidents which took place within St Giles we may close the narrative of this period. The first is the escape of Robertson, which was followed by the celebrated Porteous riots, of which, of all writers, Sir Walter Scott has given us the most graphic account. An eye-witness tells us the story of the prisoner's escape.

"I was witness," says Dr Carlyle of Inveresk, "to a very extraordinary scene that happened in the month of February or March 1736, which was the escape of Robertson, a condemned criminal, from the Tolbooth Church of Edinburgh. In those days it was

¹ Ochtertyre MSS.
² *Scots Magazine*.

³ *Ibid.*
⁴ Ochtertyre MSS.

usual to bring the criminals who were condemned to death into the church to attend public worship every Sunday after their condemnation, when the clergyman made some part of his discourse and prayers to suit their situation ; which, among other circumstances of solemnity which then attended the state of condemned criminals, had no small effect on the public mind. Robertson and Wilson were smugglers, and had been condemned for robbing a custom-house where some of their goods had been deposited; a crime which at that time did not seem in the opinion of the common people to deserve so severe a punishment. I was carried by an acquaintance to church to see the prisoners on the Sunday before the day of execution. We went in early to the church, on purpose to see them come in, and were seated in a pew before the gallery in front of the pulpit. Soon after we went into the church by the door from the Parliament Close,¹ the criminals were brought in by the door next the Tolbooth, and placed in a long pew not far from the pulpit. Four soldiers came in with them, and placed Robertson at the head of the pew, and Wilson below him, two of themselves sitting below Wilson, and two in a pew behind him.

“The bells were ringing and the doors were open while the people were coming into the church. Robertson watched his opportunity, and suddenly springing up, got over the pew into the passage that led to the door in the Parliament Close, and no person offering to lay hands on him, made his escape in a moment. So much the more easily, perhaps, as everybody’s attention was drawn to Wilson, who was a stronger man, and who attempting to follow Robertson, was seized by the soldiers, and struggled so long with them, that the two who at last followed Robertson were too late. It was reported that he had maintained his struggle that he might let his companion have time. That might be his second thought, but his first was certainly to leap over himself, for I saw him set his foot on the seat to leap over when the soldiers pulled him back. Wilson was

¹ The south porch, which had been opened up as the entrance to the Tolbooth Church, in the south-west corner of St Giles.

immediately carried out to the Tolbooth, and Robertson getting uninterrupted through Parliament Square, down the back stairs into the Cowgate, was heard of no more till he arrived in Holland."¹ Those who know the *Heart of Midlothian* (and who does not?) will be interested in the account of this scene from the pen of one who witnessed it.

In 1745 another occurrence took place within the New or High Church, which is worthy of being noted here. "Prince Charlie" was on his march towards Edinburgh, and a meeting of the inhabitants of the city was called to consider what should be done. They met first in the Goldsmiths' Hall, and that place being too small, they adjourned to the church. Here they debated what should be done in the circumstances, and whether the town should be defended. Only three or four answered in the affirmative, and it was "agreed to capitulate on the best terms that could be got." This resolution had just been come to, when a startling circumstance occurred. A letter was handed in at the door of the church, and passed on to the Lord Provost, to whom it was addressed. It began with these words, "Whereas we are now ready to enter the beloved metropolis of our ancient kingdom of Scotland." It was tolerably evident from whose hand the letter had come, but the reader was stopped, and many voices asked by whom the letter was signed; the answer was, "Charles, Prince of Wales." The Lord Provost would not hear it read, and the meeting broke up, the magistrates to deliberate elsewhere, and the people to gossip about what was to happen.² The Highlanders soon entered Edinburgh, where they behaved themselves exceedingly well. On the first Saturday that they were there, a message was sent by the prince to the dwelling-houses of the city ministers, desiring them to continue public worship next day as usual. On Sunday, the bells were rung, but none of the ministers appeared, and there was no sermon in any of the

¹ *Autobiography of Dr A. Carlyle*, p. 33.

² *Scots Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 443, where there is the best account of the Highland army in Edinburgh.

churches.¹ St Giles for the first time during many years was silent. Probably the ministers were in doubt as to which king they should pray for, and solved their difficulty by remaining away. Their fears soon passed, Culloden was fought, and the musical bells of St Giles rang out a merry peal in honour of the Duke of Cumberland.

These musical bells were hung in the steeple in the spring of 1700. In 1698 the city authorities entered into a contract with John Meikle "for making a good and sufficient cheme or sett of musical bells, exactly tuned, conforme to the rules of musick, to be placed and fixed according to arte, upon the High Church steeple of St Jeills, for the decorment of the city, after the fashion and manner of other cities abroad."² John Meikle accordingly bound himself "to make a good and sufficient cheme or sett of musical bells, according to the rules of musick, for the use of the good toun of Edinburgh, consisting of fifteen in number, and to be of different notes of musick, rising or falling gradually, according to the scheme or scale condescended on by the said committee. So that the uppermost bell of the highest note be C, sol-fa, and about six pound weight, and all the rest of the metall to descend gradually conforme to the said scheme, till they come to the lowest or largest bell." The work was done to the satisfaction of Mr George Barclay, minister, and Francis Toward, music-master, who were to be judges, and the best musicians declared the work to be "extraordinary well doun." The "nobility, gentry, and the whole nighboors of the good toun" were "also well pleased and satisfied therewith."

With the exception of the hanging of these musical bells, nothing was done for or to the church during the period covered by this chapter. The four churches still remained as the alterations during the Protectorate left them. The door through St Anthony's Chapel was the entrance to a large vestibule, from which the Old or central

¹ It is generally said that the minister of St Cuthbert's and the morning lecturer at the Tron preached as usual, but they were not ministers of the city. I take my account from the *Scots Magazine*.

² *Proceedings of Antiquarian Society*, vol. iii. p. 198.

church was entered, and was a common lounge of the idlers about Parliament House. This passage was generally called the Moray Aisle,¹ from the Regent's tomb standing there. As in old times, the high altar of the church had been the place for stipulated payments of money, so in times succeeding the Reformation, the tomb of the Regent was fixed on for that purpose. Bills were made payable there, and in legal documents it is mentioned as the place of assignation for those who proposed entering on any mutual agreement.² In Sempill's poem, "The Banishment of Poverty," there is an allusion to this vestibule where the monument stood, and a hungry man is represented as saying :

Then I knew no way how to fen,
 My guts rumbled like a hurle-barrow ;
 I dined with saints and gentlemen,
 Ev'n sweet Saint Giles and Earl of Moray.

We close this chapter by a description of the building by Defoe, who visited Edinburgh in 1727 :

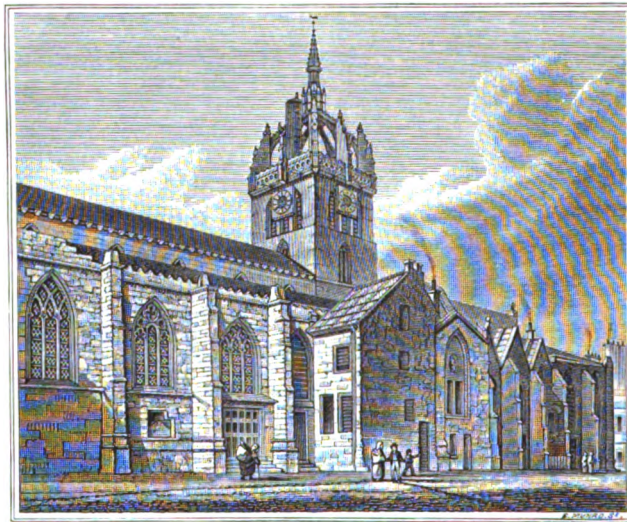
"About midway between the Nether Bow and the Castle Hill is the Great Church. Formerly it was called the cathedral, and was all one church, dedicated to Saint Giles ; but since the abolishing of Episcopacy, and that the Presbyterian church is now established by the Union, so as never legally to suffer another change. I say never legally, because it cannot be done without dissolving the Union, which I take to be indissolvable. Since this Establishment, the cathedral church is divided into four parochial churches.

"In one of those churches, which they call the New Church, were seats for the parliament, high commissioners, and the nobility, when the parliament was assembled, though that occasion is now over. In a room, formerly a kind of consistory room, on the south side of the church, the General Assembly hold their meetings once a year, as also does the Commission of Assembly in the intervals of the general meeting, as occasion requires. In the great tower of this

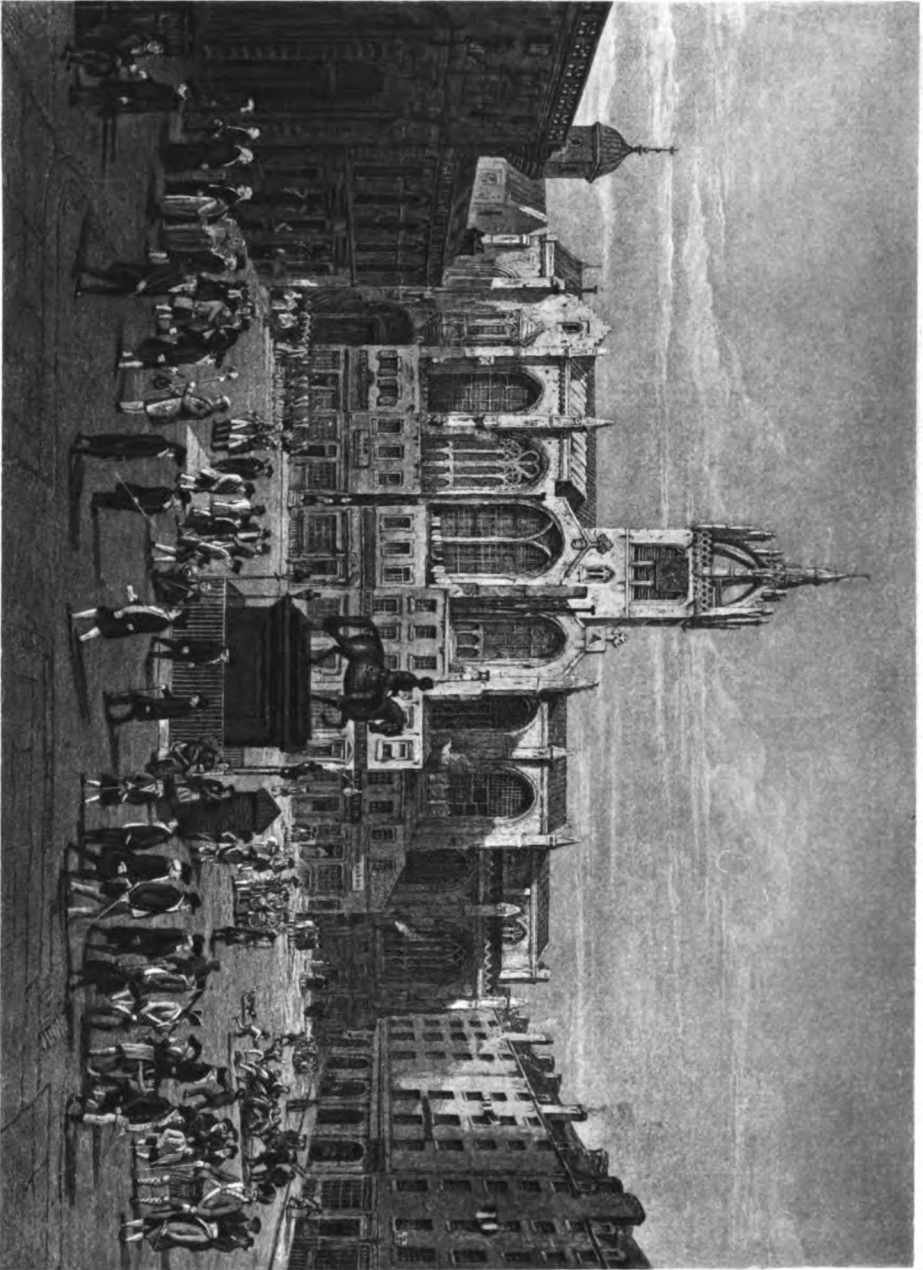
¹ The present Moray Aisle is a misnomer. The "Moray Aisle" was St Anthony's Chapel, where the organ now stands.

² Wilson's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 170.

church they have a set of bells, which are not rung out as in England, for that way of ringing is not known here; but they are played upon with keys, and by a man's hand, like a harpsichord, the person playing has great strong wooden cases to his fingers, by which he is able to strike with more force, and he plays several tunes very musically, though they are heard much better at a distance than near at hand; the man plays every day, Sunday and fast days excepted, at twelve o'clock, and has a yearly salary for doing it, and very well he earns the money." Those bells have been for some time silent.



North View of St Giles, before 1830.



*St. Giles' Cathedral, in 1790.
From a painting in the possession of the Town Council of Edinburgh.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

Destruction—1745-1834.

Oh, be his tomb as lead to lead
Upon its dull destroyer's head.

SCOTT.



AFTER the rebellion of 1745 the history of Scotland becomes very dull, and that dullness extends to the annals of St Giles. There is for some time but little to chronicle. Scotland had no political life of its own, and "an air of gloom and depression pervaded the city." The High Church, which was graced by the ministry of Dr Hugh Blair, was always crowded with a fashionable audience.¹ Dr Blair became minister in 1758. Never at any time, probably, has there been a preacher who in his day was more popular than this divine, and no sermons ever published have had a wider circulation. They were translated into almost all the languages of Europe, and gained the preacher a pension from the Crown. To hear him there came all the men of taste and letters who resided in Edinburgh, and the Scottish poet, Robert Burns, was often seen in the crowd, during his visit to the city. Being asked from which of the public places he had received the greatest gratification, he named the High Church.² Blair was regarded as one of the outstanding men of the city. "I love Blair's sermons," said Dr

¹ It was proposed in 1758 to make this church an auditory, in which the ministers of the city should preach in turns.

² *Life of Burns*, by R. Chambers, vol. ii. p. 61.

Samuel Johnson, "though the dog is a Scotchman and a Presbyterian, and everything he should not be. I was the first to praise him; such is my candour. Let us ascribe it to my candour and his merit."¹

Dr Johnson, who thus expressed his admiration of Blair's sermons, made the acquaintance of the preacher during his visit to Edinburgh, on which occasion he came on a week-day to view the place where the sermons of world-wide fame were delivered. Boswell² gives us an account of his visit:

"We went next 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 being elegantly fitted up, but was then shamefully dirty. Dr Johnson said nothing at the time; but when we came to the great door of the Royal Infirmary, where upon a board was this inscription, 'Clean your feet,' he turned about slyly and said, 'There is no occasion for putting this at the doors of your churches.'"

The state of dirt which Boswell describes as belonging to the High Church pervaded the whole building. Of the Tolbooth we have a similar tale. "The walls were dingy in colour, and seemed to have dust resting on every place. On one occasion, when either Whitfield or Mr Simeon preached, he noticed a large cobweb which had been placed at a height above the reach of ordinary besoms, and remarked, "That is the very cobweb which I saw when I was last here!"³ A minister filled the pulpit of the Tolbooth Church, of equal popularity with Dr Blair, though he drew a different audience. This was Dr Alexander Webster, who came here in 1737. He was an eloquent preacher of the

¹ Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*.

² Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

³ *Notes and Recollections of the Tolbooth Church*, by Mr Brown.

Evangelical type. He was of a social disposition, and was equally famed for conviviality and orthodoxy.¹ The other churches within St Giles had from time to time ministers of acknowledged ability, such as Dr Macknight, the author of *The Harmony of the Gospels*, and Dr Henry, the historian, of both of whom Lord Cockburn, in the *Memorials of his Time*, gives an interesting account.

The preaching in each of the churches had a character of its own, and attracted different types of hearers. "The High Kirk had a sort of dignified, aristocratic character, approaching somewhat to Prelacy, and was frequented only 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 'Tolbuith Whigs,' who loved nothing but *extempore* apostolical sermons, and would have considered it sufficient to bring the house down about their ears if the precentor had ceased for one verse the old hill-side fashion of reciting the lines of the psalm before singing them. Dr Webster, of convivial memory, was long one of the clergymen of this church, and deservedly admired as a pulpit orator; though his social habits often ran nigh to scandalise his devout and self-denying congregation."² This description of the congregations

¹ Many stories of his conviviality have come down to us in the pages of Dr Carlyle and the Ochtertyre MSS. He was called familiarly "the Magnum Bonum;" and on one occasion when a belated traveller found him on the street "rather the worse," and said to him, "What would people say if they saw you, Doctor?" "They wadna believe their ain een!" was the reply. He was the founder of the Widows' Fund of the Church of Scotland.

² Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 213.

is not only graphic but correct, as all contemporary writings show.

While the interior of the church was as it is thus described, the exterior was considerably changed. The grand Norman doorway, by which Haddo's Hole Church was entered from the High Street, was taken down and destroyed. It had survived many changes, and was the oldest part of the church existing.¹ Happily, a drawing of it was taken before it was removed, from which we can see that it was very beautiful. The south porch door, which formerly afforded an entry into the church from the churchyard, and latterly from Parliament Close, was also meddled with, for we find in the town accounts the following entry :

“August 1758.—To taking down all the building within the outer arch of the south door of the Tolbooth Church, carting away the rubbish, and furnishing and laying all the steps without the door and two flatts within, and building a stone wall at ye west end of the stair, per estimate given in, £5, 10s.”

It was probably about this time the outer chapels at the south-west end of the church were swept away.² In 1817 the booths which surrounded the church were removed, and the building stood “naked and bare.” A writer in the *Scots Magazine* in that year says, “the Luckenbooths have been safely carted away to Leith Wynd (would it had been done some dozen years ago!) The irregular and grim visage of the cathedral has been in great measure unmasked. There yet remain, however, the vile booths, with their still more execrable chimneys, to disfigure the south side of the cathedral in the Parliament Close; but Whitsuntide will come anon, and the existence of these aged deformities will be no more.” The removal of these “aged deformities” seems to have awakened public interest in the cathedral, and plans for its “improvement” were put forward. The writer we have quoted urges that something

¹ Wilson says this doorway was destroyed in 1760; Laing, in 1798. There is no notice of the work in the Dean of Guild's accounts beyond what is given in the Appendix.

² We have no account of their demolition, but they do not appear in the views of the church at this period.

should be done to “embellish the exterior,” and recommends above all things that those in authority should study “that cardinal virtue prudence.” If they had taken his advice in that particular, what unfortunately happened would not have taken place.

An impulse to the “restoration” of the building was probably given by the visit of King George IV. to Scotland. His majesty went to the High Church in state. Edinburgh accorded him an enthusiastic loyal reception, and his attendance at St Giles is represented as giving great satisfaction to his Scottish subjects.

“To join with his people in their devotions was the next most truly popular act of our king. Nothing done by him gave more genuine satisfaction to the Scottish people. He had in a dignified and eloquent answer from the throne assured the nation of his maintenance of ‘those rights and privileges inviolate to which the Church of Scotland is entitled by the most solemn compacts;’ but there would have been a defect which all would have felt if he had not entered its temples and joined in its simple worship. To St Giles’ Church, where kings have sat before, and where a throne has remained, came in regal state, on the 25th August 1822, King George the Fourth—an event well worthy of a place in the history of the Church of Scotland. On his way from the palace he passed through many thousands of his subjects, who stood uncovered; but respectful to the day and their monarch’s frame of mind, they stood silent. The sound of the horses’ feet and carriage alone broke the stillness of the scene. It is not doubtful that nothing was finer than this, nothing in better feeling and better taste, nothing more indicative of a dignified national character, nothing more gratifying to the king himself in all his meetings with the Scottish people. The officiating clergyman,¹ feeling himself to be in higher presence

¹ Dr Lamont, Moderator of the General Assembly. It is said that this divine, on his way to church, was overtaken by Dr Inglis, minister of Greyfriars, who suggested that his majesty, accustomed to the English ritual, would expect to hear the Lord’s Prayer. Dr Lamont was very doubtful of being able to repeat it correctly, as he was not accustomed to say it in public. The two divines therefore stepped into a neighbouring close, and Dr Inglis did not leave his friend till by rehearsal he was sure he could say the prayer properly.

than the king's, acknowledged no difference in the duties and spiritual interests of the monarch and the humblest of his hearers. He neither preached to the king, nor at the king, but he preached the uncompromising truths of the book which lay before him, in which there is no preference of created being. But when he gave forth the extemporaneous prayer which the Scottish ritual enjoins, there was a special blessing invoked on the sacred head of our king, as new and striking to him, accustomed to a set form of prayer, as it was solemn and pathetic to every one who heard and joined in its fervid import."¹

The visit of the king, of which an eye-witness thus writes with such enthusiasm, brought St Giles into notice, and hopes were entertained that a grant might be obtained from the public funds to restore the building. Previous to this, plans had been prepared by a Mr Elliot, and in *Blackwood's Magazine* there is a report by "a committee appointed by the Society of Dilettanti to examine them." This report is on the whole judicious. "Relics such as those," it says, "are to be touched with a delicate hand. Looking around upon the prison-houses with which this building has been polluted, the incongruous repairs which it has suffered, and the paint with which its tower has been disfigured and its fading inscriptions obliterated, the committee confess it was not without alarm that they heard of a new alteration extending to all its parts being in progress; nor has the examination of the plan for this repair tended to remove these feelings." They deprecate the proposed sweeping away "of the numerous niches and rich canopies in the outer wall of the cathedral." They think it unadvisable to remove "the Tolbooth Church; they recommend that there should be no galleries, and that if seats of dignity are wanted, these might be formed by means of something elevated, as stalls in cathedrals, and that the ancient ornamented gate of Haddo's Hole should be restored, and that especial care should be taken that every ornamental stone now

¹ The above somewhat gushing description is from "Letters to Sir Walter Scott, Bart., 1822," said to be by James Simpson, advocate.

existing in any part of the building, and removed in the course of the repair, should be preserved."¹ It is sad to relate that not only were the wishes of this committee disregarded, but every distinctive feature of the plan against which they protested was rigidly carried out.

Views have come down to us of St Giles before the hand of the "restorer" was laid upon it. It was a quaint irregular building with many gables and turrets—its different parts clustering closely round the central steeple. One who was most competent to do so describes it on the eve of the change:²

"St Giles, or the High Church, Edinburgh," says Mr Rickman, "is divided for four congregations, and some smaller portions are separated for other purposes. The plan of the edifice is a nave, choir, and transepts, with aisles and chapels, both north and south; a large portion of the building is of a decorated character, with later additions and insertions, and much modern alteration. The choir is the principal church, and has good groining; some of the piers have flowered capitals, and some of the arches have good mouldings; a few of the windows have the tracery remaining, but from most of them it has been cut away. On the south side a large chapel, perhaps the ancient chapter-house,³ is used for the meetings of the General Assembly. It has octagonal piers with good flowered capitals, and is richly groined. The south transept is separated for another congregation, and is galleried and otherwise arranged, so as to make a very awkward place of assembly, the pulpit being immediately opposite, and within a few feet of a pier; this portion has some good groining. In the nave and aisles two congregations are accommodated, and on the north side are several rooms used for various purposes.⁴ The exterior appearance of the church is much

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1819.

² Rickman, in his *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture*. There is a description of the church at this period in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*.

³ The Preston Aisle.

⁴ A police office among them. A writer in the *Scots Magazine*, 1817, speaks "of that vile interpolation the police office, with its *cabinet d'aisance* in front, and the deep damnation incurred by placing it under the hallowed roof of the cathedral."

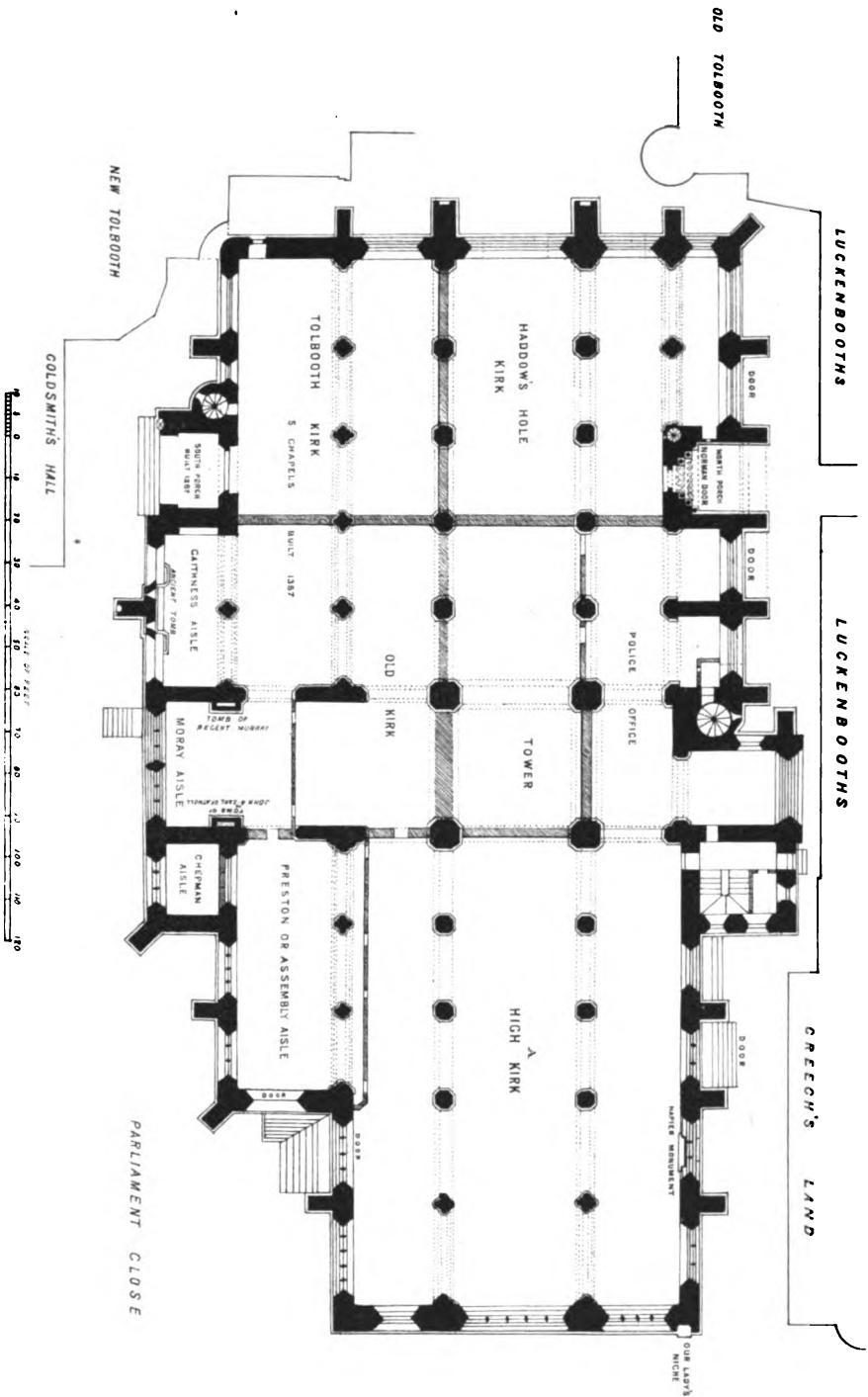
deteriorated by its windows being despoiled of tracery, the destruction of battlements, parapets, and pinnacles, and various modern alterations ; but it is in contemplation to restore it, and of this it is very capable, as the substantial part of the building is not much injured, and if the interior divisions were cleared, it would make one or even two very fine churches. There are several ancient monuments in this church."

No one was more competent to form an opinion of the capabilities of St Giles for restoration than Mr Rickman, himself the pioneer of the Gothic revival. Had the "restoration" been delayed a very few years, that revival might have saved it. Unhappily the work of St Giles fell into the hands of a very different man from Rickman. In 1829 government made a grant to the city of £12,600 for the "restoration" of the building. The plans of a Mr Burn were approved by the authorities, and that architect received full power to carry them into effect. What ensued was deplorable, and can scarcely be conceived by those who have not themselves seen what was done. The three inner chapels on the south of the nave, with the re-vestry, south porch, and part of the Holy Blood Aisle with its beautiful dividing pillar, were cut off, to make a wider entrance into Parliament Square. The chapel adjoining the north porch, with a quaint turret, was taken down. All the niches outside the building, with the rich canopies, were swept away. The picturesque steep roof "theikit with stane" disappeared.

In the interior the pillars of the nave were removed, and replaced by thin fluted columns, and the stone roof taken down to give way to a lath and plaster clerestory. Mouldings and capitals were ruthlessly cut into, to form rests for the beams of unsightly galleries. The stone roof of the choir and aisles was plastered over, to give it a smooth appearance. The side chapels that remained owed their preservation to being taken for vestries and coal cellars. The place where Montrose was buried was turned into one of the latter repositories. St Eloi's Chapel had its stone roof taken down,

Plan of St. Giles' previous to alterations in 1829

Facsimile on a reduced scale, from Arch. Elliot's Plan 1818 &c.



and was formed into an upper and lower chamber. All this may have been the result of ignorance and incompetency, but there were other things done that cannot be so excused. The ancient monuments to distinguished ecclesiastics and statesmen, that adorned the walls, were broken to pieces to make bedding for the floor. Even the monument erected by his countrymen to the Regent Moray was



Brass Plate of Moray Tomb.

destroyed,¹ the sepulchres of the dead were desecrated, tombstones broken to pieces, lead coffins were taken away, and it is believed sold; and cartloads of ornamental stones were removed, some of which still adorn the rockeries of suburban gardens. Nothing can excuse this wanton and heedless destruction. It was a pitiful business, and when it was closed and the work finished in 1833, there remained very little to all appearance of the old cathedral. The exterior of the building was ruined irretrievably, the object of the architect having apparently been to have as smooth and regular a surface as possible. The interior was so cut up, plastered over, and divided as to be unrecognisable. It formed two churches, a

¹ Happily the brass plate was saved. The broken pieces of the Earl of Athole's monument were found under the floor used as rubble!

central vestibule, and an assembly hall. The latter was found unsuitable, and changed into a place of worship. The windows were filled with slim tracery, and the building was amply supplied with massive oaken galleries, cutting in two the pillars that were left. By the public generally the restoration was thought "extraordinary fine," but there were not wanting some who lamented bitterly the coarse hand that had been laid on Edinburgh's historic fane, while they "thanked God that the steeple had been left alone."

The following extract from the City Chamberlain's accounts shows what money was expended in this business by the ever to be remembered Mr Burn. Surely never was money more senselessly wasted.

NOTE AS TO EXPENDITURE ON ST GILES' CHURCH,
in the years 1828 to 1834, for exterior and interior improvements.

The whole expenditure amounted to.....	£20,939	0	6
Towards which Government gave.....	£12,600	0	0
Drawback of duties on timber and glass was obtained to the extent of	797	12	1
And there was realised by the sale of old lustres.....	34	12	0
Deduct.....	—————		13,432 4 1
Leaving.....	£7,506	16	5

the net charge on city's funds.



Old Edinburgh Tolbooth.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Later Days—1834-1888.

I will now say,
Peace be within thee.

PSALM CXXII.



OUR story is almost told. After the dreadful work which is described in the last chapter, the history of St Giles became entirely uneventful. It took its place among the other parish churches of the city, of which there were now many, and ceased to be regarded with any special interest. There was nothing venerable in its character. It might have been whitewashed or painted red for all that anyone cared. It was looked on merely as the meeting-place for three congregations. Able ministers,¹ and ministers who were not so, ministered to these. The High Church alone retained somewhat of its prestige as the parish church of the city, where the magistrates and judges of the Court of Session came on Sundays, and the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly attended service during his annual visit to Edinburgh. It was the lot of the present writer to preach in the days of his youth before this eminent personage. His text chanced to be the words, "How dreadful is this place!" and his Grace was reported to have remarked that whatever might be said as to the sermon, certainly the text was most appropriate. The church was indeed dreary in the extreme—a dreariness that seemed only intensified by the dingy pageantry of the personages who filled the faded arm-chairs of the official pews. The

¹ Among these may specially be mentioned Drs Gordon and Buchanan of the High Church who "went out" in '43.

pulpit was a lofty structure reared against the eastern window. Huge galleries flanked it on either side, and in a "loft" at the west end stood the royal pew with the throne, only to be compared to a four-posted bed with a blue painted canopy. The woodwork was of plain deal. A sense of dirt and mustiness pervaded everything.

A frequent visitor to St Giles, William Chambers, then Lord Provost of the city, conceived the idea that something might be done for this faded and disreputable place of worship. William Chambers was a man to whom Edinburgh owes much. He loved Edinburgh, where he had spent so many years, and to which he had come as a boy in search of fortune. With his no less distinguished brother Robert, he was the first to introduce a cheap and wholesome literature, and his efforts were put forth in many directions for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. These efforts had been successful, and in his success he did not forget the place where it was achieved. It was a fortunate day for St Giles when its forlorn condition touched his heart. With the energy that was a leading feature of his character, he placed himself at the head of a committee of citizens, the object of which was to restore, so far as could be done, the High Church. He met with a wonderful response from the public, wonderful considering the apathy and indifference with which they had regarded for so long their historic church. He was fortunate also in his architect and coadjutors.¹ The result of his first attempt is thus narrated by himself.²

"The galleries which disfigured the building were wholly removed, thereby developing the fine old pillars, which were mended with stone to resemble the original. The baldachino and the furniture of the royal pew were taken away as crown property. All the pews and pulpit were removed. The passages were laid with Minton tiles bearing antique Scottish devices. A pulpit of Caen

¹ The architect was Mr W. Hay, and the unwearied secretary of the committee, L. Mackersy, Esq. W.S. The first gentleman carried on the whole restoration; to the exertions of the latter the present state of the church, more than to any other except Dr Chambers, is owing.

² *History of St Giles' Cathedral Church*, by W. Chambers, LL.D.

stone exquisitely carved was placed against the pillar on the south side nearest the east window. All the seatings were of oak. The seats for the magistrates and for the judges bore appropriate carvings. The royal pew at the west end, raised above the general level, was a highly ornamental structure, with appropriate devices. According to appointment, the choir in its renovated form was opened for public worship on Sunday, March 9, 1873."¹

Certainly no one could have recognised the choir after the operations alluded to in this extract were closed. It was a clean, bright, yet venerable place of worship. Interest in St Giles revived—the windows were filled with stained glass, instrumental music was introduced, and also an order of worship which continues to the present day.²

The success of his first attempt made the generous restorer feel that it was possible to do still more for the old building. The Preston Aisle, which Mr Burn had "restored" as a meeting-place for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, was separated from the choir by a thick stone wall, filling up the arches with heavy masonry, and entirely obscuring the beauty of the pillars with their richly carved capitals. This part of St Giles had been found unsuitable as a hall for the Assembly, and had been occupied by the congregation of one of the parish churches of the city, called the Old Church. This charge had been suppressed by an act of parliament, and the space occupied by it was now disused. In 1879 Dr Chambers resolved to restore this part of St Giles, and he set about the work with vigour, doing it all entirely at his own cost. Again the work of taking down partitions, removing floors and staircases, sweeping away galleries and pews, commenced. The state in which Mr Burn had left the Chepman Aisle, where Montrose was buried, is described by Dr Chambers as "revolting," and it certainly was so. "The arch between it and the Preston Aisle had been built

¹ The cost of this restoration was £4490. The subscriptions actually realised fell short of that sum to the extent of £650, which deficiency was made good by the chairman and several members of committee. The pulpit was carved by Mr John Rhind, an Edinburgh sculptor.

² This was done by my esteemed predecessor, Dr Arnot.

up. It was divided into three floors. The lower floor was degraded into a coal-cellar; in the middle floor was placed a tall iron stove for heating by means of flues; and the upper floor formed an apartment, with a fireplace and other accessories." When the work was finished, the Preston Aisle, with its adjuncts, presented a wonderfully fine specimen of fifteenth-century architecture, and stands to-day in almost all respects as it did in the old Catholic time. We again draw on the narrative of the restorer for a description of the result of his loving labours.

"The work on the Preston Aisle was the heaviest and lengthiest part of the second restoration, for the aisle, which abounds in artistic beauty, was in a sadly deteriorated condition. The finest carvings had been recklessly broken. The groined roof was so thickly covered with whitewash as to have no appearance of stonework. The first thing done was to clear the groined roof of its odious coatings. Months were occupied on these repairs. When the roof was finished, repairs were made on the pillars which stand in a row betwixt the aisle and the choir. These pillars had been seriously damaged by the insertion of beams and otherwise. In some instances, the bases and the ornamental capitals, with portions of the shafts, had to be replaced. The wall part of the aisle was also repaired in a manner as nearly as possible to resemble the original. A small arched recess or shrine, which possibly had some connection with the altar set up to commemorate Preston's munificence, was opened up in a creditable style of art."

This restoration was in every way most successful. Dr Chambers with his usual modesty does not give an account of the cost, but it must, from the nature of the work, have been very large indeed. His generosity was not exhausted, and in 1881 he commenced the last and final work. The nave of St Giles was used as a parish church under the name of West St Giles. Dr Chambers now offered that, if the keys of this part of the building were handed to him by a certain date,¹ he would do for it what he had done for the other

¹ Whitsunday 1880.

parts, and so open up the whole interior. It was a generous offer, and though much had to be done before it could be taken advantage of, there was not wanting an eager response to it. Public interest in the old cathedral had now fully revived, and from many quarters there came offers of help. A committee composed of all denominations of citizens was formed. An act of parliament was passed sanctioning the removal of West St Giles parish church to another locality, and naming the sum for which, on payment to certain specified parties, the congregation in possession were to vacate the nave of St Giles.¹ This sum was raised, though not by the day mentioned in Dr Chambers's offer. He, however, generously extended the time, and finally, before the new date that he had named, the keys of the nave were handed to him, and he began operations. He undertook the work with eagerness. He was now in advanced years, and laid aside by bodily weakness, but full of interest in the work going on, of which reports were daily made to him in his sick chamber. It was the privilege of the writer, who had become incumbent of the High Church in 1877, to see him frequently. He will long remember the old man, with feeble voice and wasted body, but full of intelligence, and how his eye used to brighten up when the approaching completion of the restoration was spoken of. "If God," he once said to me feelingly, as he clasped my hand in parting with him, "enables me to finish this work, I will sing my *Nunc Dimittis*." That was not to be, but he saw enough to make him thankful that he had begun.

On a day in the early spring of 1883, when there was a gleam of sunshine, the old man was borne from his carriage into the nave of St Giles, and seated on a chair looked around on the work then rapidly approaching completion. "I never could have believed," he said, "that the interior was so fine." Much had then been done.

¹ The Right Hon. the Lord Justice-General of Scotland took an immense interest with others in endeavouring to raise the sum required. I may mention also the names of T. G. Murray, Esq., Lord Curriehill, and Sheriff Thoms. The Lord Provost and magistrates did all in their power, and many private citizens of all churches came forward to help. The sum needed and raised was £10,500.

All the woodwork had been removed, the broken carvings repaired, the floor repaved, the thin fluted columns of Mr Burn replaced by pillars of the old form, and a great interior was opened to view. The Albany Aisle in all its beauty was revealed, the dividing wall alone remained, shutting off the choir and transept. The old man looked around on it all, expressing his deep satisfaction, and then departed. He never saw it again.

The cathedral, restored from end to end, was opened with a public service on the 23d May 1883. Her Majesty the Queen was represented by a Scottish nobleman,¹ and representatives of all the chief corporations in Scotland attended. The ceremonial was fitting the occasion, and three thousand persons filled the immense building. The whole scene recalled the brilliant pageants of an earlier day. But there was sadness in the hearts of all present, for three days previous to the ceremonial Dr William Chambers had passed away. The words of the preacher received, and still receive, a response from many. "So long as these stones remain one upon another, will men remember the deed which William Chambers hath done, and tell of it to their children." Two days after the reopening of the church, the funeral service of the restorer was conducted within the building his patriotism had beautified and adorned, and amid a vast and solemn crowd his body was borne forth from the place he loved so well, and for which he had done so much, to his burial.

It is not necessary here to describe St Giles as it is now. All that it was possible to restore has been restored. In the destruction of 1827 a great deal was swept away which it was impossible to replace. The exterior of the cathedral, with the exception of the tower, had been irretrievably defaced. In the interior few carvings and monuments belonging to the pre-Reformation period had been left. The armorial bearings of Preston are still seen in the Preston Aisle, also those of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes. In the Chepman

¹ The Earl of Aberdeen. Her Majesty bestowed a baronetcy on Dr Chambers, but he died before the honour reached him.







Aisle are those of the printer and his wife, and an eagle, the emblem of St John the Evangelist, to whom the chapel was dedicated. In a recess that constituted part of the Holy Blood Aisle there is an ancient monument built into the south wall. It is generally supposed to be a mural tomb, and bore at one time the name of the Caithness monument. I have little doubt, however, that it forms part of the "Altar of the Holy Blood," from the symbols of our Lord's passion that are represented upon it. The shields of Albany and the Earl of Douglas, and those already described connected with the east end pillars of the choir, still remain. There is also a very old rendering of the arms of the city, let in over the door of what was lately the vestry of the High Church. On one of the bosses



Old City Arms over Vestry Door.



Boss in Choir.

of the choir there is the following inscription which, from its height, had evidently escaped notice at the Reformation: "AVE GRA. PLA. DNS. TECU" (Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord be with thee).

On the north side of the choir, as also in the Preston and Albany aisles, are recesses in the wall, probably the remains of mural tombs, of which in the olden time there were doubtless many in the church. In St Eloi's Chapel there is an interesting sculptured stone forming the keystone of the roof. The ancient stone roof had been removed, and replaced by a flat ceiling by Mr Burn, but the stone had been taken to the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum. The authorities of the Museum gave it up to Dr Chambers, who replaced it, and from its form was able to reconstruct the groining

of the roof. In this stone there is an iron hook from which a lamp used to be suspended. There were found among the rubbish two sculptured stones, one representing the hilt of a sword, the other was part of a tombstone which had been covered with brass. These stones are built into the west end of the church. One vault was discovered in the church, in which the body of the Regent Moray had been laid. There were found at the restoration by Dr Chambers three lead coffins,¹ but no trace of the remains of the Regent. Neither in the Montrose Aisle were there any of those of the Marquis discovered.²

On the outside wall of the choir, on the north side, there is a stone tablet with the following inscription :

SEP
FAMILIÆ NAPERORV INTERIVS
HIC SITVM
EST.

This inscription is surmounted by the arms and crest of Napier, with the Wrychthousis shield. The tablet is evidently connected with the burying-place of the ancient family of Napier of Merchiston, who, in old times, were closely associated with the church.³ Whether this tablet occupies the original site where it was first placed is open to question. At one time it is mentioned as having been "in front of the church," at another as occupying a position inside; and Arnot, in his *History of Edinburgh*, says that "in different quarters of the church there are monuments of the celebrated Lord Napier of Merchiston." These monuments have disappeared, and the slab on the outside of the choir was inserted where it is by Mr Burn. There is evidence to show that the Napiers of Merchiston long buried in St Giles, but it is not certain whether the

¹ See Dr Chambers's account.

² While these pages are passing through the press, a monument has been erected to the great Marquis of Montrose, of the clan Graeme, over the spot where he was buried.

³ See *ante*.

celebrated member of the family, Baron Napier, the inventor of logarithms, who died in 1617, was laid there or not.¹

Little remains to be said of what has been done to the church since the renovation by Dr Chambers. A managing Board of a representative character, which he, before he began the work,² stipulated should be appointed, has control over the placing of monuments and other matters of a similar nature. Under their supervision several very elegant memorials, chiefly of a military character, have been affixed to the walls. The windows of the church are gradually being filled in with coloured glass. An expensive organ has been erected, and it is in contemplation to place a chime of bells in the steeple. The whole building is now used as one place of worship, and is capable of seating three thousand persons. On the 1st of January 1884, the daily service, which had been suspended for so many years, was renewed.³

The cathedral has been the scene of various celebrations of a national character since its restoration. The old colours of many of the Scottish regiments were placed here with great ceremonial on the 14th November 1883.⁴ The university of the city held here the opening service of its tercentenary; and a service in commemoration of the jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen was celebrated at the same time with that in Westminster Abbey, and was also national in its character. These and similar functions are too recent to need description here.

Our story is finished. We have traced the story of this great historic building from earliest times, through many vicissitudes, down to the present day. What changes it may yet witness it is impossible to forecast. May the hand of time deal gently with it. No church in Britain perhaps, if we except Westminster, is richer

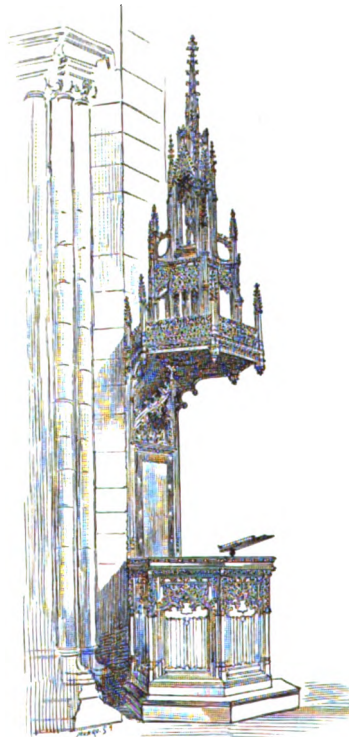
¹ See Maitland and Arnot's histories of Edinburgh, Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*; *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 214; Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii., p. 173.

² See Dr Chambers's narrative. The constitution of this Board is given in the Appendix.

³ See *ante*. It is right to say that this renewal is owing to the generosity of J. R. Findlay, Esq., by whom a beautiful pulpit to commemorate the resumption of daily service has also been gifted.

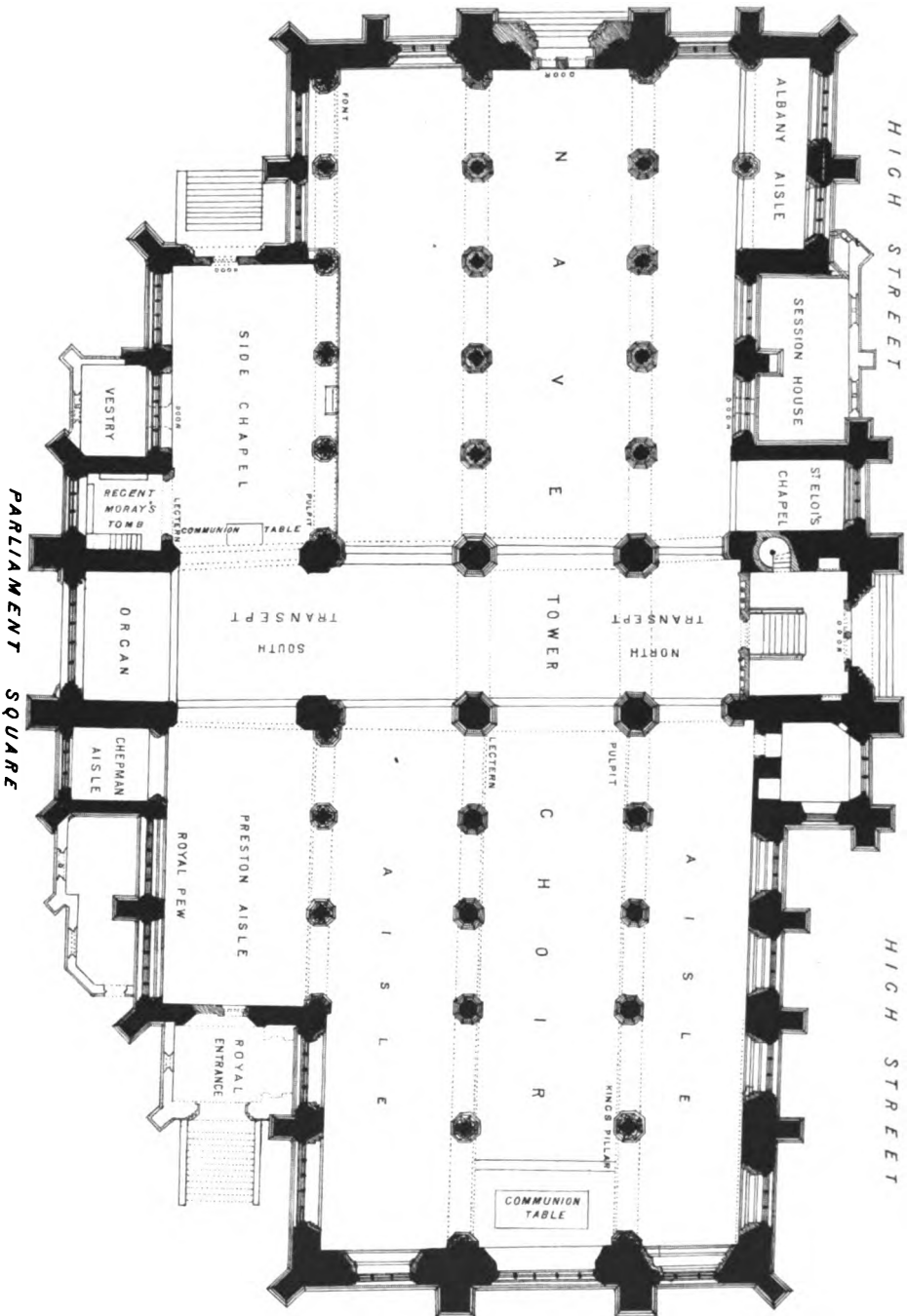
⁴ See Appendix.

in historic association. Brave men have acted their part there; brave words have been spoken there; brave men lie buried there. It has been the home of all the shades of faith our country has seen—Catholic, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Independent, Bishop, Priest, Minister, stern Covenanter, wild Sectary, have each had their turn, and acted their part there. To guard that church carefully, and to maintain it as a cherished and venerated possession, will be the earnest desire of all who believe the past to be a mighty element in a nation's greatness. What a strange story its old gray crown, as it towers high above the city, tells out day by day to all who have ears to hear. It is the story of Scotland's poetry, romance, religion—the story of her progress through cloud and sunshine, the story of her advance from barbarism to the culture and civilisation of the present day.



New Pulpit for the Side Chapel.

Plan of St. Giles'



APPENDIX

A.

VICARS OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST GILES, EDINBURGH.

1243. JOHN.	1393. Master JAMES LYOUN.
1247. ALEXANDER.	1451. JAMES METHUEN, D.C.L.
1268. ROBERT.	1455. NICHOLAS DE OTTIRBURN.
1306-29. ALEXANDER OF RECLYNETOUN.	1460. THOMAS BULLY.
1362-3. Sir BRICIUS.	1464. WILLIAM FORBES.

PROVOSTS OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST GILES, EDINBURGH.

1475. WILLIAM FORBES.	1521. ROBERT CRICHTOUN.
1502-3. GAWIN DOUGLAS.	1566. JAMES CHISHOLME.

MINISTERS OF ST GILES AND THE CHURCHES THEREOF.¹

ST GILES, THE OLD, OR GREAT CHURCH.

1560. JOHN KNOX, son of William K., born at Giffordgate in 1505, educated at Haddington, studied at the Univ. of Glasgow, and entered into priest's orders about 1530. By perusing the works of Augustine and others of the Fathers, a few years after, he was led to adopt views inimical to the prevalent faith; and in 1545 avowed himself a Protestant, and adherent to the sentiments of the celebrated George Wishart. In 1547 he entered the castle of St Andrews, as a place where he might be free from Popish persecution, and received a call to the ministry, on which he was ordained in the end of May that year; but was carried off as a prisoner by the French galleys in a month after. He was imprisoned in Rouen for nineteen months in 1548-9, and after his release established by the Council of England as minister at Berwick, but removed to Newcastle at the close of the following year. In Dec. 1551, he was named as one of six chaplains to Edward VI.; and declined an appointment to the See of Rochester, Oct. 1552. He likewise declined accepting the charge of All-Hallows, London, April 1553. In 1554 he was called to Frankfort on the Maine; but demitted his charge, and went to minister at Geneva, 1555; but subsequently returned to Scotland in the same year. He was summoned to a meeting of the Romish clergy, 15th May 1556, but returned to his former charge at Geneva. While there, his former prosecution was renewed, and was followed by his condemnation and excommunication. This he braved, however; abandoned the charge 7th Jan. 1559, returned home, was elected to this congregation 7th July following, and was one of the constituent members of the First General Assembly, 20th Dec. 1560, and is supposed to have been Moderator of the Assemblies, June and Dec. 1562. By the Assembly, June 1564, he was appointed to visit the churches in the North; and Dec., thereafter, those in the counties of Fife and Perth. At the coronation of James VI. in Stirling, he preached, and gave his

¹ From Scott's *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*.

assistance, 29th July 1567. He was seized with apoplexy, Oct. 1570, and preached for the last time in St G., 31st Aug.; but from his voice getting weaker, was obliged for a few weeks to discharge his pulpit duties in the Hall of the Tolbooth; finishing his public services by the admission of a successor, on the 9th, and at length, worn out by labour and trouble, closed his eventful life, 24th Nov. 1572, aged 67, having been styled by Beza "the apostle of the Scots, Great Master Knox," and by the Regent Morton "a man who in his life never feared the face of man; who had been often threatened with dag and dagger, yet ended his days in peace and honour." He marr. in, or before, 1553, Marjory, daugh. of Richard Bowes, of Aske, Yorksh.; she died end of 1560, leaving two sons, Nathaniel, A.M., and Eleazer, B.D., both of St John's Coll. Cambridge, who died without issue; 2dly, March 1564, Margaret, daugh. of Andrew, Lord Ochiltree (who subsequently marr. And. Ker of Faldounside), and had three daugh.: Martha, who marr. Alexander Fairlie, eldest son of the laird of Braid; Margaret, who marr. Mr Zach. Pont, min. of Bower; and Elizabeth, who marr. Mr John Welsh, min. of Ayr.—Publications—Works, Collected and Edited by David Laing, 6 vols. (Edin. 1846-1864), 8vo.—*M'Creie's Life, Reg. Min., Edin. Counc. and Test. Reg., Works* i.-vi., *Booke of the Kirk, Keith, Calderwood, Petrie, Spotswood, Chambers's Biog. Dict.*

1572. JAMES LAWSON, Sub-Principal of King's Coll., Aberdeen, was elected, after long reasoning, by the Superintendent and Knox, with other ministers and members of Session; and being sent for, arrived and preached, 19th Sept., and was admitted by his venerable colleague, 9th Nov. 1572. On the demission of the Superintendent in 1573, the Assembly appointed him and others to apply to the Regent [Morton] for his sanction and authority to their proceedings. In the following year they appointed him one of six for the inspection of such works as were proposed to be printed. He was in 1576 named one of those for drawing up the Second Book of Discipline; elected Moderator by the General Assembly, 12th July 1580; and was generally one of the assessors to the Moderator for preparing the business of the Assemblies. He attended the Earl of Morton to the scaffold as his spiritual adviser in 1581—was zealous in supporting the authority of the Church in the excommunication of Archbishop Montgomery in 1582; and was called before the Privy Council regarding his opinion of the Raid of Ruthven same year. Foreseeing that the Church would be deprived of much of her power from the acts passed by Parliament in 1584, he declared openly against them from the pulpit on the 24th, which caused the Earl of Arran, who had great influence then at court, to assert "that if Lawson's head were as great as an hay-stack, he would cause it leap from his lawse [throat]." A warrant was issued for his apprehension on the 26th, but he and his colleague, Balcanqual, escaped, and travelling by night reached Berwick early in the morning of the 27th May. These proceedings, and the conduct of some of his flock arising out of them, had such a depressing influence on his spirits, though several friends endeavoured to divert him by visiting the Universities in England, that he was seized by dysentery, and died at London, 12th Oct. 1584, in his 46th year and 12th min., "chieff for learning, holiness, power in doctrine, and all guid vertues amangis the haill ministeris;" and by his solid learning and judgment, peaceable disposition, and pious deportment, greatly esteemed and beloved by all classes of citizens. His utencills and domicells, with silver wark and abulzements of bodie, was estimat at j^o li., buiks and cairts [maps] iij^o li. Frie geir and Inventar vij^o lxxvij li. xis. viij d. He marr. Janet Guthrie, who died eight years after him, by whom he left three children, James, Elizabeth, and ———.—Publications—Heads and Conclusions of the Policie of the Kirk [jointly], small 8vo. Letters to their Flocke in Edinburgh [jointly], [Calderwood's Hist. iv.]. Account of the life and death of that illustrious man John Knox [Knox's Works vi., Christ. Mag. vi.]—*Edin. Counc. and Test. Reg., Reg. Assig., Petrie and Calderwood's Hist., Wodrow's MS. Biog.* i.

1587. ROBERT BRUCE, second son of Sir Alex. B. of Airth, born in 1554, was destined by his parents for the profession of the Law, and sent to Paris to acquire the principles of jurisprudence, and on his return, conducted his father's business before the Supreme Court, and had a patent even secured for his seat on the bench. His prospects were relinquished, however, for the study of theology, which he prosecuted at St Andrews, under the famous Andrew Melville. He was a member of the Gen. Assembly, 20th June 1587, was "found meitt and apt for the Burgh" 30th following, entered during July, and was elected Moderator of the Assembly 6th

Feb. same year. Yet near the close thereof, had not declared acceptance of his charge. His stipend was fixed by the Town Council, 15th Aug. 1589, at j^m merks, or £55, 11s. 1d. sterling. So popular was he at the time, and so gratified was his Majesty by his services that, on leaving the kingdom for his marriage with the Queen, 22d Oct. following, he nominated him an extraordinary Privy Councillor, and requested him to oversee the affairs of the nation, which he did so judiciously and effectually, that the royal thanks were tendered to him, 19th Feb. 1590. He engaged with others, 17th March thereafter, in crowning Her Majesty, was again nominated Moderator of Assembly, 22d May 1592, and is understood to have had great influence in getting the Act of Parliament, 5th June following, passed, which secured and ratified the privileges of the Scottish Church. By change in the Court policy, he sunk much in the royal estimation, a charge was issued for his apprehension, and committal to the Castle with others, 20th Dec. 1596. On the division of the city into parishes, he was brought into much vexation and trouble in not having previously passed through the solemn form used in ordination, which was got over by his admission to a charge in the New or Little Kirk in 1598.—*Presb. and Edin. Counc. Reg., Sermons (Wodrow's Life), Reg. Assig., Petrie and Calderwood's Hist., Scots Mag.* lxiv., *Maclaren's Ann. Taz., Chambers's Biog. Dict.* i., *Acts Parl.* iii. iv.

The COLLEAGUES, or those to whom no parochial district had been allowed, or has been discovered.

1563. JOHN CRAIG, trans. from Holyroodhouse, entered after 18th June. He proclaimed or rather denounced the marriage of the unfortunate Queen Mary and the notorious Earl of Bothwell, in May 1567, was chosen Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 2d March 1569, and translated to Montrose in 1571. When minister of the King's House, the Town Council, 13th Nov. 1584, desired his Majesty to concur with them that he may assist the Kirk of this burgh at sic tymes as his Majesty may spair him, and 19th March following, they agree with him for his service.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., M'Crie's Knox* ii., *Spotswood, Petrie, Row, and Calderwood's Hist., Edin. Christ. Inst.* iii., *Chambers's Biog. Dict.* i., *Lee's Lett., Maclaren's Ann. Taz.*

1573. JOHN DURIE, trans. from Leith, entered before 6th Aug. In the Assembly, Oct. 1580, he was appointed Visitor of Teviotdale. For inveighing against the Court in a sermon he was imprisoned in the Castle till he produced his manuscript. With his colleague Balcanqual, he attended the Earl of Morton previous to his execution, June 1581. Reflecting on the Duke of Lennox and others in a sermon, 23d May 1582, he was called before the Privy Council on the 30th, charged to remove from the city and abstain from his ministry. At the solicitation of the Gude town he was permitted to return, when he was triumphantly met and welcomed by a great concourse of people, 4th Sept. following, who, in going up the High Street, sung in parts the 124th Psalm. In Nov. thereafter, he was again discharged by his Majesty from his place in the City and confined to Montrose, the Town Council declaring, 21st Feb. 1583, "the King will nocht that Mr John return againe to serve or mak ony residence heir for causes moving his Majesty." While here he attended the greater part of the Assemblies held in his time, and continued enrolled as in the City, in the Book of Assignations for 1585.—*Reg. Assig., Melvill's Autob., Wodrow's Miscell. Biog.* i., and *MS. Biog.* i., *Petrie, Spotswood, Row, and Calderwood's Hist.* iii., *Edin. Counc. Reg., Edin. Christ. Inst.* v., *New St. Acc.* ix.

1574. WALTER BALCANQUAL, entered Whitsunday. He got l. merks 23d July, as stipend for that term. He was "desyrit by other towns and large stipend promiseit, yet he consentit to stay, and accept what they pleased," when they gave 8th Oct. j^o li., and an eik, 13th Jan. following of xxxiii*li.* vjs. viii*d.* He was elected to the Chaplaincy of the Altar called Jesus, 20th Nov. 1579. Having had a sermon mainly directed against the influence of the French at Court, 7th Dec. 1580, he was called before the Privy Council on the 9th following, and discharged. He attended the Earl of Morton while in prison under condemnation, 2d June 1581. Reflecting on the Court in a sermon, 24th May, and protesting next day at the Cross in name of the Church against certain Acts of Parliament then passed, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, on which he fled with his colleague, Lawson, to Berwick, on the 29th and 4th Jan. thereafter, his house in the Parliament Square was offered to another, while that formerly occupied by Durie was given to him, 25th May. In 1586 he was one of eight to

whom was committed the discipline of Lothian by the Gen. Assembly. The house formerly occupied by his colleague, Watson, was bestowed on him, 28th July 1587, and his stipend augmented to v^o merks, £27, 15s. 6½d. sterling. He was appointed to attend the coronation of her Majesty, 17th May 1590. In consequence of a tumult, 17th Dec. 1596, for giving rise to which the ministry were blamed, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, with other brethren on the 20th; but he escaped to Yorkshire, was put to the horn, and only relaxed 22d April, and demitted his charge in May, so as to allow a parochial division of the city which for some time had been proposed. In July they were permitted to return to their ministry till the division was carried into effect. He returned accordingly, 24th of said month, and in 1598 was admitted to the Trinity College Church for the North-east quarter of the city.—*Reg. Assig., Presb. and Edin. Counc. Reg., Melvill's Autob., Petrie, Spotswood, Row, Calderwood's Hist.* i. ii.

1568. JOHN CAIRNIS (probably son of Henry C., skipper in Leith, who was forced to leave the country, being denounced as a fugitive and condemned for heresy, in 1538) was one of those who privily held meetings in maintenance of the Protestant faith in the city in 1555, and was Reader there in 1561. In 1566 application was made to the Assembly, 26th June, that he might be admitted to the ministry in the city; they remitted, however, the consideration of his fitness and sufficiency for the place. Yet as four ministers are mentioned in 1577, his sufficiency had been sustained, and he must have been included, as he is expressly mentioned as a fourth minister, 23d Jan. 1578. A half-year's stipend as minister was ordered to be paid, 15th Dec. 1585, and 9th March following, he was ordered "to get payment of his stipend nochtwithstanding his absence furth of this burgh." Having been "banisht and put in exile as also be reason of present dearth," his stipend was augmented l. merks, being in all ii^o merks, £11, 2s. 2½d. sterling, 15th July 1586. A further addition of l. merks was given with the other three, making it iii^o merks, £16, 13s. 4d. sterling, 6th Dec. 1588. It was again raised to iii^o lx. merks, £20 sterling, 15th Jan. 1590. While thus stated as a minister by the Town Council, he only appears in the Books of Assignment as Reader to 1588, and at his death in 1595, still continued as Clerk to the Session, the Town Council having allowed Jonet Wilson, relict of Mr John C., min. ii^o merks, 25th Oct. 1596, ordained her to remove from the house, and to deliver up the "buiks of marriages and baptisms."—*Knox's Works* ii., *M'Crie's Knox* ii., *Edin. Counc. Reg., Reg. Assig., Wodrow's Biog.* i. and *Miscell., Booke of the Kirk, Keith, Spotswood and Calderwood's Hist., Bannatyne Miscell.* ii., *Lee's Lett., Maclaren's Ann. Tax.*

1584. JAMES HAMILTON, min. of Kenmure, or Dalry, in Galloway, elected 27th Nov., with a stipend of iii^o merks, £16, 13s. 4d. sterl., and the house formerly occupied either by Durie or Balcanqual, admitted for a tyme at his Majesty's command, 16th April 1585. He does not again appear, but returned to his former charge.—*Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1585. WILLIAM WATSON, entreated by the Council to remain and teach fifteen days, 5th March 1584, adm. 13th April 1585. One of his colleagues was appointed to notify to the Convention of the Ministers at Dunfermline, 23d Nov. following, "that beand destitut of their awin Min., throw the trubill that areise in the Kirk, and beand visite with the Pestilence, Mr William exercit the office of a Pastor in all sincerity of doctrine and conversation to the comfort and contentment of the godlie, desyring he may be associat to their ministry in the Burgh." He was warded for a tyme in the end of that year, for comparing his Majesty to Jeroboam, adm. (by the Presb. Adamson, the Archbishop being present) 27th Oct. 1589. By the tumult, 17th Dec. 1596, for which he and his brethren were blamed, a charge was given on the 20th for his apprehension, but he withdrew to Fife, made an apology, and was released from the horn 22d April 1597, permitted to return, and re-entered on duty, 24th July following. On the division of the city, he was admitted to the South quarter as stated below.—*Presb. and Edin. Counc. Reg., Reg. Assig., Melvill's Autob., Row and Calderwood's Hist.*

1584. JOHN EDMISTOUN, formerly of Crail. In the great want of ministerial service, the Town agreed with him 4th Jan., and two days after they allowed him a stipend of iiiij^o merks, £22, 4s. 5d. sterl., with the house of Balcanqual. He was preferred to Dunning in 1586.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Maclaren's Ann. Tax.*

1586. JOHN COWPER, son of John C., merchant tailor in the city, and brother of Mr Will., afterwards Bishop of Galloway, supplied the want of a min. in the Hie kirk for which he got

1^o merks for stipend 22d June 1586, and was elected by the Town Council, 23d Nov. following, with ij^o merks of stipend, commencing at Lammas last. Refusing to pray for Queen Mary in terms of his Majesty's command while she was under sentence of death, he was ordered by the king to leave the pulpit, that his place might be supplied by Patrick, Archbishop of St Andrews, 3d Feb., and was imprisoned in the Castle of Blackness, on which the city gave him xlii., £3, 6s. 8d. sterl., as a remuneration of the expense to which he had been subjected: trans. to Glasgow, Feb. 1587. He was probably in the High Church.—*Presb., Test., and Edin. Counc. Reg., Booke of the Kirk, Melvill's Autob., Spotswood, Petrie, Row, Calderwood, and Cook's Hist., Reg. Assig., Wodrow's MS. Biog.* ii.

1589. JOHN DAVIDSON, formerly of Liberton, ordained to continue till he be provided as the Kirk and Council crave, 13th May, chosen 3d June, elected Moderator of Synod 16th Sept., and was a member of the Gen. Assembly, 3d March 1589, but afterward settled in Canongate, 2d charge.—*Booke of the Kirk, Presb. Reg., Calderwood's Hist.*

1589. JAMES BALFOUR, trans. fr. Idvie. The Commissioners travel with him for his acceptance, 25th June 1589; which, "after lang communing," was accepted, 8th Oct. thereafter. He was appointed one of the Visitors for Angus, 27th March 1596. Blamed with his brethren as being the instigators of a tumult in the city, 17th Dec. following; a charge was issued on the 20th for his apprehension, but after being taken, he escaped to Fife by the assistance of the citizens, was put to the horn, made an apology, was released therefrom 22d April 1597, and returned to his charge 24th July following. On the division of the city he was admitted to the North-west quarter in the East or Little Kirk in 1598.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Reg. Assig., Booke of the Kirk, Melvill's Autob., Calderwood's Hist., Acts Parl.* iv.

1607. PATRICK GALLOWAY, Minister or Chaplain to his Majesty, who had been on the leet, 11th Aug. 1588, was supplicated for by the Town Council to the King, 3d June 1606, the four Sessions concur 12th Sept. following; having accepted a general ministry, he was appointed end of June 1607, elected Moderator of the Synod 27th October same year, was a member of the courts of High Commission, 15th Feb. 1610, 21st Dec. 1615, and 15th June 1619. He is mentioned as in the Great Kirk, 21st Feb. 1610. He signed the Protestation for the Liberties of the Kirk, 27th June 1617, but subsequently withdrew it. Had ij^o merks, £11, 2s. 2½d. sterl. allowed for house meall 18th Nov. 1618, and was ever eager in support of the Five Articles of Perth. On the division of the city in 1625, he was nominated to the North-west quarter in the Hie or Great Kirk, 25th Nov., and his admission appointed for 24th Jan., which illness prevented, and he died before 10th Feb. 1626, in 50th min., when his son James (founder of the noble family of Dunkeld) was adm. a burges in right of his father. His liberie and buikis were estimat at iiiij^m merks, utencils &c. at i^m merks; and the Inventar and detts at xi^m ix^o lxxxli. iis. ixd. He was called "a man of manie pensions," and possessing the royal favour, was zealous in gratifying his Majesty's humour, irrespective of his former character and support of Presbyterian discipline. He married, May 1583, Matillo Guthrie, who died June 1592, and had two sons and two daugh., James, already noticed, Williame, Dorthie, and Cristiane.—Publications—Catechisme (Lond. 1588), 8vo. A Short Discourse of the good ends of the higher Providence, in the late attempts at his Majesty's person (Edin. 1600), 12mo. Letters to the Presb. of Edinburgh, and to James VI. [Orig. Lett.]. Apology when he fled to England—Discourses on the Gowrie Conspiracy [Bannatyne Miscell. i., Pitcairn's Cr. Trials, ii.].—*Edin. Guildr., Counc., and Test. Reg., Douglas' Peer., Rollock's Works, Melvill's Autob., Bann. Miscell. i., Scot's Apolog. Narr., Row and Calderwood's Hist., Wilson's Pr. Perth.*

1611. THOMAS SYDSERFF, A.M., eldest son of James S., merchant in the city, studied and took his degree at the Univ. thereof, 22d Feb. 1602. Town Council advise with Session anent his fitness, 14th Nov. 1610, adm. (by the Archbishop) 30th May 1611. His stipend and house mail were fixed 14th Aug. following at vij^o merks, £31, 10s. sterl., which was raised 28th Sept. 1614, to j^m, or £55, 11s. 1d. sterl. He signed the Protestation for the Liberties of the Kirk, 27th June 1617, and on the division of the city in 1625, was fixed to the North-east quarter, or Trinity College kirk. Probably in Old previous to this.—*Edin. Guildr. and Counc. Reg., Reg., Law's U. Edin., Orig. Lett., Calderwood's Hist., Wodrow's Biog.* i.

1614. ANDREW RAMSAY, A.M., trans. fr. Arbuthnot. On the leet 23d Dec. 1613, elected 28th April 1614, placed afterward, and had his stipend fixed at j^m merks, £55, 11s. 1d. sterl., 15th June following; nominated a member of the Court of High Commission 21st Dec. 1615 and 15th June 1619, signed the Protestation for the Liberties of the Kirk, 27th June 1617, but withdrew it—was socht both by the Earl Marischal and the Town to the Principality of his College at Aberdeen in 1620, when his translation was refused. He was appointed with others to visit the New College, St Andrews, 29th Nov. 1621, and on the division of the city in 1625, fixed to the South-west quarter, or church of Greyfriars.—*Edin. Counc. and Guild. Reg., Row and Calderwood's Hist., Scot's Apolog. Narr., Burgh Rec. Aberd.* ii.

1614. WILLIAM STRUTHERS, A.M., trans. fr. Glasgow. On the leet 23d Dec. 1613, elected 28th April 1614, adm. after 15th June, and had a stipend of j^m merks, fixed 22d July thereafter. He was one of four appointed by the Gen. Assembly, 1616, to answer the books and pamphlets written by the Papists, and to revise the new Confession of Faith previous to its being printed. He signed the Protestation for the Liberties of the Kirk, 27th June 1617, but afterwards withdrew it; was named a member of the court of High Commission, 15th June 1619; Moderator of the Presb. 4th Aug. 1621; and on the division of the city in 1625 nominated to the North-west quarter, or High Church.—*Edin. Guild. and Counc. Reg., Spotswood, Row, and Calderwood's Hist., Scot's Apolog. Narr., Orig. Lett.* ii., *Acts Parl.* iv.

1621. JOHN GUTHRIE, A.M., trans. fr. Perth, elected 26th March 1620, but refused to accept. The Council again dealt with him 9th May 1621, he was adm. 15th June following, and promoted to the Bishopric of Moray in 1623.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Spotswood, Row, and Calderwood's Hist., Orig. Lett.* ii.

1622. WILLIAM FORBES, D.D., trans. fr. Aberdeen, elected by the Town Council and Session, 19th Dec. 1621, adm. 21st March 1622, with a stipend of xij^s merks, £66, 13s. 2½d. sterl. On the division of the City in 1625 he was nominated to the South-east quarter, as mentioned below.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Spotswood, Row, and Calderwood's Hist., Orig. Lett.* ii., *Wodrow's MS. Biog.* ii.

OLD CHURCH (RESUMED).

1598. WILLIAM WATSON, above mentioned, was adm. 18th April. Having doubts respecting the circumstances of the Gowrie Conspiracy, he and three of his brethren refused to give thanks for his Majesty's deliverance in the terms which had been prescribed; for this they were summoned to appear before the Privy Council, 9th Sept. 1600, and commanded to be imprisoned, but recanted on the following day. The king was resolved, however, they should no longer retain their ministry in the city, and with this view he was transported by the Gen. Assembly, 16th May 1601, and adm. to Burntisland.—*Presb. and Edin. Counc. Reg., Spotswood, Row, and Calderwood's Hist., Booke of the Kirk.* The next being

1626. WILLIAM FORBES, D.D., above mentioned, was adm. 27th Jan. He craved to be transported, however, "on account of weakness of body," 14th Aug. thereafter, and was accordingly re-trans. to his former charge about Michaelmas following.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Row's Hist., Wodrow's MS. Biog.* ii.

1626. JOHN MAXWELL, A.M., trans. fr. 2d charge, demitted on being prom. to the Bishopric of Ross, 26th April 1633.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Row and Calderwood's Hist.*

1634. DAVID MITCHELL, A.M., trans. fr. 2d charge in 1634, deposed 3d Dec. 1638, for Arminianism and declining the Gen. Assembly. He survived the Restoration of Charles II., and had ij^s li. allowed by parliament from vacant stipends, on account of his sufferings, 21st June 1661.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Acts of Ass. 1638, Peterkin's Rec., Kirkton's Hist., Acts Parl.* vii.

ANDREW RAMSAY, A.M., trans. fr. Greyfriars. Had this parish allotted by the Town Council, 24th Dec. 1641, and a protection from the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, after the battle of Kilsyth in 1645, was elected Rector of the Univ. 1646 and 1647, and deposed 27th July 1649 for maintaining the lawfulness of the expedition into England; which was taken off 8th Nov. 1655. He retired to Abbotshall, where he died, 30th Dec. 1659, aged 85. He acted a conspicuous part in ecclesiastical affairs, yet a degree of inconsistency is shown in his character, that can only be accounted for by his desire for peace, and the versatility of his

opinions changing with the times in which he lived, but marked by upright intentions, pure morals, and respectable and scholarly attainments: being "a guid, modest, learned, and godlie man, full of pietie and learning; who for eminence in learning, diligence in his calling, and strictness in his conversation," says Bishop Guthrie, "was an Ornament to the Church of Scotland." He mortified iij^o xxxiiij^l. vjs. viij^d. for four Bursers of Divinity at the Univ. of Edinburgh, the patronage of which is vested in the Town Council and ministers of the City. He married Marie Fraser, by whom he had four sons, Sir Andrew of Abbotshall, Lord Provost; Eleazer; David; and William (a preacher), who was pres. to Pencaitland, 16th Aug. 1641, but gave way to Calderwood, the ecclesiastical historian, and subsequently was proprietor of Woodstoun.—Publications—Oratio (1600). Parænesis et Orationes de Laudibus Academiæ Salmuriensis; Poemata Sacra (Edin. 1633). Miscellanea et Epigrammata Sacra (Edin. 1633) [Del. Poet. Scot. ii.]. A warning to come out of Babel, a Sermon (Edin. 1638), 4to. A Treatise (1646).—*Edin. Gen. Sess., Guild., Counc. Reg., and Reg. (Bapt.), Reg. Sec. Sigill. and Presb., Mem. of Montrose ii., Peterkin's Rec., New St. Acc. ix., Nicoll and Lamont's Diaries, Row and Stevenson's Hist., Univ. Evid. i., Edin. Christ. Inst. vii., Baillie's Lett., Acts Parl. vi., Guthrie's Mem., Bower's Univ. i., Wodrow's Anal. and MS. Biog. iii.*

1649. THOMAS GARVEN, A.M., trans. from Colinton, elected 3d, and adm. 28th Dec. or Jan. following. With two others he declined the authority of the Sheriff, 22d Aug. 1655, in praying for his Majesty contrary to an order from the civil power. Deprived 1st Oct. 1662, by the Act of Privy Council at Glasgow for not submitting to Episcopacy. He died Feb. 1669, aged about 65, in 30th min. His whole librarie being estimat at j^o merks, and the insight at j^o merks. He marr. Catherine Whyte, who survived him, and had issue, Jean, David, (died Aug. 1672), Anna, Margaret, and James, besides Barbara and Katherine, who died young.—*Edin. Counc., Gen. Sess., Guild., Test. Reg. (Bapt. and Bur.), and Cupar Reg. (Deaths), Nicoll, Lamont, and Brodie's Diaries, Kirkton and Wodrow's Hist., Blair's Autob., Peterkin's Rec.*

1662. ARCHIBALD TURNER, A.M., trans. fr. North Berwick, elected by the Town Council, 22d Oct., and adm. (in the High Ch.) 15th Nov. 1662, appointed Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, 4th June 1663. The Privy Council, 2d July 1674, being informed "of some insolent expressions of his at a meeting of Presbytery" for a National Synod or Convocation, he was removed to Glasgow by his Majesty's command, 10th following; but having expressed his sorrow for so doing, he was allowed to return in the following year. The degree of D.D. was conferred on him, and he died suddenly, 30th March 1681, aged about 59, in 34th min. His librarie, besides what was given away by him, was estimat at iiiij^o merks, and the insight at ij^o merks. He marr. Rebecca Cupar, who died 2d Dec. 1675, aged 47. His brother, Sir James Turner, was served heir, 10th May 1681.—*Edin. Counc., Guild., and Test. Reg., Lamont, Nicoll, and Fountainhall's Diaries, Kirkton and Wodrow's Hist., Nisbet's Her. i., Reg. Sec. Sigill. vii., Inq. Ret. Fife 1196, Haddingt. 342, and Gen. 6298, Blair's Autob., Montcith's Mort. ii.*

1681. ALEXANDER RAMSAY, trans. fr. Greyfriars, pres. by the Town Council, 18th March 1681, and adm. soon after. A poor woman was condemned to death for beating him in Church, 28th March 1682. He was suspended 16th Feb. 1686, for expressing fears of Popery, but afterwards reponed. Deprived by the Privy Council 10th Sept. 1689, for not praying for their Majesties, William and Mary, and praying expressly for the late King and Bishops, after they were abolished by Act of Parliament. He died of gravel, 17th Aug. 1702, in his 64th year. A son Robert, merchant in the city, died in Nov. 1716.—*Test. and Edin. Counc. Reg., Fountainhall's Diary and Dec. i., Reg. Bur., Peterkin's Const., Kirkton and Wodrow's Hist. iii., Rule's Sec. Vindication, Monro's Apol., MS. Acc. of Min. 1689.*

1691. DAVID BLAIR, A.M., eldest son of Mr Rob. Blair of St Andrews, born in 1637, studied at the Univ. of that city, and attained his degree, 28th July 1656. He emigrated to Holland, and took up his abode at Leyden. On the erection of a second charge in the Scots Church at the Hague, in 1688, he was called unanimously and ordained 20th June following, elected to Rotterdam in the following year, but refused, having been called unanimously, 28th June 1689, to Edinburgh (New Meeting-house); was appointed chaplain to his Majesty, 1st Aug. 1690, and was a member of the Gen. Ass. 16th Oct. 1690, adm. 9th Aug. 1691, called to Inveresk, Feb. 1693, elected Moderator of the Assembly, 2d Feb. 1700, and died 10th June 1710, in his 74th

year and 23d min. He was highly accomplished as a divine, an exact preacher, with a gracefulness and carriage superior to most of his brethren. He married Eupham Nisbet, who died 2d June 1740, aged 75, and had two sons who became min., Mr Robert of Athelstanford, and Mr Archibald of Garvald, and a daugh. Eupham, who marr. Mr Robert Hunter, min. of Livingston.—*Blair's Autob., Hill's Life of Blair, Blair's Serm., Steven's Ch. Rotterd., Edin. Counc., Presb., Syn., N.E. Sess., and Test Reg., Reg. Bur., and Priv. Seal v., Peterkin's Constitution, Wodrow's Anal. and MS., Hamilton's Lanark, Hist. Gen. Ass. 1690, Leven and Melv. Pap., Acts Parl. ix. xi.*

1713. JAMES NISBET, A.M., trans. fr. Innerwick, called 23d May, appointed by the Presb. 2d, and entered (or was admitted) 27th Sept.; died from having fractured his skull by a fall on the stair two days previous, 8th Aug. 1756, in 80th age and 54th min. He marr. June 1707, Mary, daugh. of Mr Dav. Pitcairn of Dreghorn, who died 10th Jan. 1757, by whom he had William and Mary; Mary, who marr. her cousin Principal Robertson; Philip, min. of Hutton; and Janet, who died 23d April 1775.—Publication—The Perpetuity of the Christian Religion, a Sermon (Edin. 1737), 8vo.—*Presb., Syn., Innerwick Sess., and Edin. Reg. (Bur.), Murray's Biog. Ann., &c.*

1758. DANIEL MACQUEEN, trans. fr. Stirling, called 13th Aug. 1756, adm. 15th June 1758. Had D.D. conferred by the Univ. of Edinburgh, 12th April 1759, and died 22d Oct. 1777, in 42d min., "equally distinguished by the vigour of his understanding, and the extent of his literature. His information on every subject to which he applied his mind was so exact and minute, that in matters of research his literary friends had frequent intercourse to him, to give them confidence in their own investigations." He marr. 10th Sept. 1762, Warburton, daugh. of Ronald Dunbar, Esq., W.S., who died 7th Sept. 1766, and had a son Daniel, min. of Prestonkirk, and two daugh., one of whom marr. John Moir, Esq., W.S., and the other, James Wilkie, Esq., of Gilchreston.—Publications—Observations on Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks (Edin. 1748), 8vo. Letters on Mr Hume's History of Great Britain (Edin. 1756), 8vo. A Sermon on Coloss. i. 23 (Edin. 1759), 8vo.—*Presb., Syn., and Test. Reg., Moncreiff's Life of Erskine, Sec. Sermon. 1780, &c.*

1778. JAMES MACKNIGHT, D.D., trans. fr. Lady Yester's, adm. 26th Nov. 1778; unani- mously appointed Joint Collector of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, 17th Feb. 1784, and died 13th Jan. 1800, in his 79th year and 47th min. Distinguished as one of the most able commentators and divines which the Church of Scotland has produced. Favoured by a good constitution, he was indefatigable in theological study, and not less in pastoral duty; while his judicious counsel was uniformly tendered in support of the ecclesiastical polity which guided the measures of the Church. To him she is mainly indebted for the Declaratory Act of the Assembly, 1782, concerning Moderation of Calls; and it has been well said, "that deep learning, sound judgment, and great respectability of character, rendered him one of the brightest ornaments of our Church." He marr., 30th April 1754, Elizabeth, eldest daugh. of Sam. M'Cormick, General Examiner of Excise, who died 10th March 1813, by whom he had four sons, of whom Dr Thomas was afterwards settled in the same church.—Publications—A Harmony of the Four Gospels, with a paraphrase and notes (Lond. 1756), 4to; 2d edit. 2 vols. (Lond. 1763), 4to. The Truth of the Gospel History (Lond. 1763), 4to. A Literal Translation from the Original Greek of all the Apostolic Epistles, with a Life of the Apostle Paul, 4 vols. (Edin. 1795), 4to; 2d edit. 7 vols. 8vo.—*Presb. Reg., Scots Mag. lxi., Chambers's Biog. Dict. iii., &c.*

1800. ANDREW BROWN, D.D., trans. fr. New Greyfriars, elected by the Town Council, 19th Feb., and adm. 24th July 1800; also adm. Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the Univ., 14th Nov. 1801, which he held in conjunction; elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 20th May 1813; died 19th Feb. 1834, in his 71st year and 47th min., characterised by the eloquent composition of his writings, the unobtrusiveness of his manners, and the kindness of his feelings. He marr. a daugh. of Mr Cranston of Harvieston, by whom he had a son; 2dly, 7th March 1805, Mary, eldest daugh. of Dr Gregory Grant, physician, Edin., who died 17th Jan. 1826; 3dly, 10th March 1830, Mary Ogilvie, relict of — Pearson, Esq., who died 18th April 1852.—Publications—[Two single Sermons (Edin. 1801, 1810), 8vo]. Notice of the Life and Character of Alex. Christison, A.M., Professor of Humanity

(Edin. 1820), 8vo. An elaborate History of America was prepared by him for the Press, but has not been published.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*, &c.

1835. JOHN LEE, D.D., LL.D., M.D., trans. fr. Lady Yester's, pres. by the Town Council, July 1834, adm. 22d Jan. 1835, was proposed as Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 18th May 1837, but defeated by a majority of 262 to 59, adm. Principal of the United College, St Andrews, 12th June 1837, which he resigned in November following. On the establishment of a Board in Scotland for printing and publishing Bibles in 1839, he was named Secretary, which he declined to accept; adm. Principal of the Univ. of Edin., 12th March 1840, a Deanery of the Chapel Royal of Stirling being annexed. He demitted his parochial charge in May, which was accepted 30th Sept. same year—was unanimously elected Moderator of the Assembly, 16th May 1844, and died 2d May 1859, in his 80th year and 52d min. With his vast stores of varied and minute information, it is to be regretted he had much ill health, which destroyed his energy, and prevented him accomplishing much of his literary projects, which would have given additional lustre to his memory, and benefited society. He marr. 5th July 1813, Rose, daugh. of the Rev. Dr Mason, min. of Dunnichen, who died 23d Oct. 1833, by whom he had William, min. of Roxburgh, and several others; 2dly, 30th June 1841, Charlotte E. Wright.—Publications—Dissert. Med. Inaug. De Viribus Animi in Corpus Agentibus (Edin. 1801), 8vo. Six Single Sermons (Edin. 1809–1829), 8vo. Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland, and Additional Memorial (Edin. 1824–1826), 8vo. Letter relating to the Annuity Tax, and the Ecclesiastical arrangements proposed for Edinburgh (Edin. 1834), 8vo. Refutation of the Charges brought against him by the Rev. Dr Chalmers and others, two parts (Edin. 1837), 8vo. Lectures on Church History, 2 vols. (Edin. 1860), 8vo. Inaugural Addresses (Edin. 1862), fcap. 8vo. Pastoral Addresses of the General Assembly (Edin. 1864), fcap. 8vo. He contributed a number of articles to Brewster's Edin. Encyclopædia—edited Vita Rob. Rollock for the Bannatyne Club (Edin. 1826), 4to; Wodrow's Life of James Wodrow, A.M. (Edin. 1828), 12mo—contributed Introduction to the Edinburgh Academic Annual for 1840—edited Joceline's Mother's Legacie to her Unborn Child (Edin. 1852), 18mo.—and contemplated editing the "Tracts of David Fergusson," which has since been done for the Bannatyne Club (Edin. 1860), 8vo.—*Presb. Reg.*, *Hogg's Instruct.*, *Anderson's Sketches*, &c.

COLLEGIATE, OR SECOND CHARGE.

Uncollegiated by the Presb., 27th April 1836, with a view to the erection of Greenside.

1598. JOHN HALL, trans fr. Leith. It is stated by Calderwood that he was adm. 18th April 1598, but the Town Council only appointed to travel with his Majesty for getting him, 26th May, his acceptance is intimated 10th Nov., and he was adm. 7th Dec. same year (in the New kirk). Hesitating to believe in the Gowrie Conspiracy, and to offer thanksgiving for his Majesty's deliverance on 5th August 1600, he and his brethren were, on the 6th, discharged from preaching, under pain of death, in his Majesty's dominions, so they left the city on the 14th; but Hall and another were called before the Privy Council 10th of the following month, and declared themselves satisfied of its truth; Mr H. was therefore reponed to his charge by royal authority in October. He was elected Moderator of the Assembly by a majority, 12th May 1601. He was seized with the pestilence April 1604, but recovered. Being unfavourable to the views of the brethren who held an Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605, he consented to their imprisonment, and would join in no steps for their relief. In 1606 he was nominated by the Assembly as constant Moderator of the Presb., and they were charged by the Privy Council, 17th Jan. 1607, to receive him within twenty-four hours after notice, under pain of rebellion. He had a gift from his Majesty, 17th Feb. 1605, of an yearly pension for lyff of ij^o li. from the priory of Qulithorn; to which was added another, 12th April 1608, of ij^o li. from the same source; was also named a member of the court of High Commission, 15th Feb. 1610, but was removed to the East, or Little Kirk, at his Majesty's request, after 21st of same month.—*Edin. Counc.*, *Presb.*, *Syn.*, and *Privy Counc. Reg.*, *Book of the Kirk, Row, Spotswood, and Calderwood's Hist.*, *Orig. Lett.* i., *Reg. Assig. and Presb.*, *Melville's Autob.* The next was

1626. JOHN MAXWELL, A.M., trans. fr. Trinity College, elected by the Town Council, 14th Dec. 1625, adm. 27th Jan. following, trans. to 1st charge same year.—*Edin. Council. Reg.*

1628. DAVID MITCHELL, A.M., trans. from Garvoek, presented by the Town Council, 25th Jan., and adm. before 9th April thereafter, with a stipend of i^m ij^o merka, £66, 13s. 4d., and was trans. to 1st charge about 1634.—*Edin. Council. Reg., Row's Hist.*

1635. DAVID FLETCHER, A.M., second son of And. F., merchant, Dundee, studied at the Univ. of St Andrews, and attained his degree in 1625, elected by the Town Council, 29th April, and adm. 22d May 1635. In 1638 he was assaulted and maltreated by several women for no other reason than hesitating to obey the populace of the day. Deposed by the Commission of Assembly, 1st Jan. 1639, for declining the *Gen. Assembly at Glasgow in the preceding year, and reading and defending the Service Book*. It was taken off, however, by the Gen. Assembly, 27th Aug. thereafter. His younger brother, Sir John, rose to be Lord Advocate in 1661.—*Act. Recd. U. St And., Edin. Council. Reg., Peterkin's Rec., Acts Gen. Ass. 1638, Monteith's Mort. ii., Baillie's Lett. i., Stevenson's Hist., Wodrow's MS. lxiii., Beatson's Pol. Index.*

1647. JAMES HAMMILTOUN, trans. fr. Dumfries, pres. by the Council and Gen. Session, 13th July, and adm. 26th Nov. 1647. He was a member of the Assembly, 1648, when he and Mr James Guthrie were appointed to draw up an account of the duties of Elders, and a form for visitation of families. In 1649 he was appointed one of the Visitors for the Univ. of St Andrews, 16th Jan. and likewise for that of Edinburgh, 31st July. He was also nominated by the Estates, May 1650, for examining the celebrated Montrose after his capture. In Jan. 1651 he was one of a committee who met with the Protestors at St Andrews to accommodate their differences, but it was without effect. While sitting with a committee of the Estates at Alyth, 28th Aug. thereafter, he was seized, with many others, by the English army, carried to England, and detained prisoner nineteen months. He was discharged by Parliament, 7th Aug. 1662, for declining to join the Bishops in church discipline, and died 10th March 1666, in 66th age and 41st min. "A learned and diligent man, whose preaching was doctrinal, rather than exhortatory." He marr. Elizabeth, daugh. of Mr Dav. Watson, min. of Killeavy, Ireland, by whom he had fifteen children; of whom Mr Archibald, min. of Killinehy, Jane, Mary, and Elizabeth, arrived at maturity.—*Edin. Council., Canongate (Bur.), Sess., Gen. Sess., and Test. Reg., Livingstone's Life and Charac., Nicoll, Lamont, and Brodie's Diaries, Reid's Ireland, Acts of Ass., and Parl. MSS., Reg. Sec. Sigill., Peterkin's Rec., Baillie's Lett. ii. iii., Stevenson and Wodrow's Hist. and Select Biog. i.*

1663. ANDREW KYNNEIR, A.M., trans. fr. East Calder, elected by the Town Council, 28th Oct. Died 1682, before 24th March, aged about 42, in 19th min., having marr. 10th Sept. 1668 Marion Mason, and had Alexander, Jean, Andrew, Barbara, James, William, and Andrew.—*Edin. Council., Guild., and Reg. (Marr. and Bapt.)*

1683. JOHN FARQUHAR, trans. fr. Tron Ch., elected by the Town Council, 24th March, deposed by the Commiss. of Assembly, Jan. 1691, for declining the authority of the Church.—*Edin. Council. Reg., MS. Acc. of Min. 1689.*

1690. GEORGE CAMPBELL, A.M., trans. fr. Dumfries, called said year, holding in conjunction the Professorship of Divinity in the Univ. He was also named on the commission for visiting schools and colleges the same year, and died 3d July 1701, aged about 66, in 43d min. Joined to great and universal learning, piety, and prudence, he had prodigious application and diligence, and was withal very modest, humble, and bashful. He is said to have read as much as some forty ministers had done. From a habit of rising early, in opposition to that of his friend Principal Rule, he was called "the Morning Star," so that on hearing of the death of his esteemed associate, only twenty-six days before his own, he quaintly observed, "The Evening Star has now gone down, and the Morning Star will soon disappear." He marr. Marion Fyfe, by whom he had James, Marion, and Christian, who marr. Mr Geo. Chalmers, min. of Kilwinning; 2dly, 4th Feb. 1697, Catherine, daugh. of Mr Rob. Blair, min. of St Andrews.—*Presb. and Edin. Reg. (Marr. Bapt. and Bur.), Edin. Grad., Edin. Christ. Inst. xxv., Leven and Melv. Pap., Culamy's Acc. ii., Wodrow's Anal. iii., and Hist. iii. iv., Acts Parl. ix., Bower's Univ.*

1703. JOHN ORR, trans. fr. Bothwell, appointed by the Presb. 9th Dec. 1702, adm. next year, died 25th Jan. 1707, in 44th age and 19th min. He had books lent valued at £8, 8s.

The Inventar amounted to *ij^m v^o lxxiiiij^{li}. ijs. vd.* Grizell Myreton, his widow, died after 1745. He had three sons and four daugh., Mr Andrew, min. of Carluke, John, David, Jean, Elizabeth, Grizel, and Janet.—*Presb. and Test. (Edin. Glasg. and Lan.), and Edin. Reg. (Bur.)*.

1708. WILLIAM MITCHELL, trans. fr. Canongate, called 17th May, appointed by the Presb. 23d and entered 27th June, elected Moderator of the Gen. Assemblies, 26th April 1710, 6th May 1714, and 2d May 1717; and appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary in 1710; trans. to the High Church, 11th Jan. 1721.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*

1721. JAMES CRAIG, A.M., trans. fr. Dunbar, called 17th Nov. 1720, adm. 16th March following, and died 31st Jan. 1731, in his 62d year and 30th min., "a very grave, modest man, and a fervent and distinct preacher, highly valued by his people," with a kind of burr in his speech, which, as he warmed in his discourse, was not much observed. The time spent in Church Judicatories he regretted as, from heat and contention, to him it was a source of uneasiness, and dispeace of mind. He marr. Margaret Oswald, who survived him, by whom he had fifteen or sixteen children, of whom only two survived him.—Publications—*Spiritual Life, or Poems on Divine Subjects (Edin. 1727), 12mo. Sermons, 3 vols. (Edin. 1732-1738), 8vo [of which two in the first vol. were published singly (Edin. 1732), 8vo].—Presb. and Yester Sess. Reg., Wodrow's Anal.*

1732. PATRICK CUMING, A.M., trans. fr. Lochmaben, called 18th Nov. 1731, adm. 20th Jan. following, elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 11th May 1749. Had D.D. conferred in 1752, was again elected Moderator of Assembly by a great majority, 14th May 1752, a third time, 20th May 1736, and died 1st April 1756, in his 81st year and 56th min. Distinguished by erudition, liberality of sentiment, and extensive benevolence, not less than by his talents as a public speaker, he acquired such influence in the Church as to have the chief management in her affairs from almost the time of his settlement in the city till 1751, through the support of the noble family of Argyll, then holding in their hands the Government of Scotland. After that period he allied himself to a certain extent in opposition to the measures and policy of the celebrated Dr Robertson. He marr. Anne, eldest daugh. of Mr David Lauder, of the family of Fountainhall, who died 24th Nov. 1769, and had five sons and a daugh. Robert the eldest, and Patrick the third, were both Professors in the Univ. of Edinburgh and Glasgow; Thomas the youngest, was a surgeon, and died in India in 1776; Jean, the daugh., died in the year preceding.—Publications—(Three Single Sermons, 8vo) 1726-1760, 8vo.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg., Wodrow's Anal., Moncreiff's Life of Erskine, Morren's Ann., Mackenzie's Life of Home, Carlyle's Autob., Douglas's Bar., Erskine's Disc. i., &c.*

1776. ROBERT HENRY, D.D., trans. fr. New Greyfriars, adm. 19th Dec. A pension of £100 yearly was bestowed on him by his Majesty, 28th May 1781, "in consideration of his distinguished talents and great literary merit," on the solicitation of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield. Died 24th Nov. 1790, in his 73d year and 42d min. No man was more steady or active in pursuing his purpose, or sought the means of attaining it with more integrity. As an ecclesiastic he followed the dictates of his own mind, and persevering in his principles was generally ranked with the minority in the Gen. Assembly. But the great masterpiece and work of his life was the History of Great Britain. During the early period of its publication it was attacked with hostility and venom, almost unequalled, by the celebrated Dr Gilb. Stuart, yet of which the elegant and accurate historian Hume observed, "his historical narratives are as full as those remote times seem to demand, and at the same time his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object of doubt or curiosity. All superfluous embellishments are avoided; and the reader will hardly find in our language any performance that unites together so perfectly the two great points of entertainment and instruction." He devised and carried into effect in 1762 a scheme for the widows and orphans of Dissenting ministers in the north of England. And a few days before his death bequeathed his library to the Magistrates, Town Council, and Presbytery of Linlithgow, as the foundation of one for the use of the public. He marr. in 1763 Ann Balderston, who died 15th Feb. 1800, without issue.—Publications—*The History of Great Britain, 6 vols. The last vol. being posthumous, was edited by Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood, and one or two chapters added by Mr Malcolm Laing (Lond. 1771-1793), 4to [5th edit. 12 vols. 1823, 8vo, translated into French, 1789-1796]. Revelation the most effectual means of civilising and reforming mankind: a Sermon (Edin.*

1773), 8vo. He also translated Goguet's Origin of Laws, Arts and Sciences, 3 vol. (Edin. 1761), 8vo.—*Presb. Reg., Hist.* vi., *Chambers's Biog. Dict.* iii., *Nimmo's Stirlingsh., Scots Mag.* liii., *New St. Acc.* viii., &c.

1791. HENRY GREIVE, D.D., trans. fr. New Greyfriars, pres. by the Town Council, March, and adm. 16th June; he died 10th Feb. 1810, in his 74th year and 48th min. He laboured to insure its success by exhibiting the infallible proofs of his ministry, and inculcating its fundamental doctrines of faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ, of repentance towards God, and a perpetual dependence on the operation of Spirit for quickening all good desires, and fulfilling all holy resolutions. Through the various judicatories of the church, he laboured to maintain the pure doctrine delivered in its standards, to secure the learning and piety of its ministers, and to guard their independence in the exercise of their function. He also possessed an innate and habitual taste for goodness, which being reflected in his appearance, manner, and conversation, constituted the charm of his social character. He marr. 14th June 1762, Janet Home, who died 14th March 1810; by whom he had a son, Henry Home, min. of Crichton, and others, the greater part of whom predeceased him.—Publications—(Three Occasional Sermons, Edin. 1784–1796, 8vo).—*Presb. Reg., Brown's Fun. Sermon.*, &c.

1810. THOMAS MACKNIGHT, D.D., trans. fr. Trinity College Ch., pres. by the Town Council, March, and adm. 15th May 1810. Unanimously elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 18th May 1820, and died 21st Jan. 1836, in his 74th year and 45th min. His great learning in various branches of knowledge pointed him out as well fitted for a Professorial chair, as he taught both in the Greek and Natural Philosophy classes with no small *eclat*. But though esteemed as a sensible and intellectual, yet he was not ranked as a popular preacher. He marr. 18th April 1808, Christian Craufurd, eldest daughter of Thomas Macknight, Esq. of Ratho, who died 29th Jan. 1862; by whom he had a son, James, W.S., and other children.—Publications—A Discourse, addressed to the Volunteers of Leith (Edin. 1795), 8vo. Account of the Rev. Dr Macknight. (Transl. of the Epistles, 2d edit.)—*Presb. Reg., &c.*

NEW OR LITTLE KIRK, NOW THE HIGH CHURCH.

1587. ROBERT ROLLOCK, A.M., Principal of the Univ., was appointed to teach in the East Kirk in the morning, 5th Sept. 1587, but 13th Dec. 1589, another was appointed for that duty; in 1596 he took a full charge, was elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 10th May 1597, and removed to the South-west quarter, or the Upper Tolbooth, probably the West portion of St Giles, in 1598.—*Presb. and Edin. Counc. Reg., Calderwood's Hist., Craufurd's Univ.*

1598. ROBERT BRUCE, formerly in the City. It had been resolved he should be admitted to this charge, 18th April 1598, with imposition of hands (a ceremony which had not been observed at his entry to the City, and which he considered unnecessary from the call of the people and his own acceptance), and considering it as throwing a doubt on the reality of his former ministry, he hesitated and objected till the 19th May following, when it was effected by the Commissioners of Assembly. He was deprived of his pension of xxiiij chalders victual, from the Abbey of Arbroath by his Majesty, 10th Feb. 1599, but retained it by decree of the Court of Session to the high displeasure of his sovereign. Yet it was considerably lessened by the royal pleasure, Jan. 1600. The ministers of the city being commanded by the King in Council, 6th Aug. following, to offer up thanksgiving for his Majesty's deliverance from the Gowrie Conspiracy, on the preceding day five of them, particularly Mr B., hesitated, being doubtful of its truth, when, on the 12th, they were discharged preaching in his Majesty's dominions, under pain of death, and on the 14th they left the city. In Sept. they were again called before the Privy Council, when four declared themselves satisfied of its verity. Bruce, however, still maintaining his opinion was confined in the house of Airth, 11th Sept., and in obedience to the sentence of the Priv. Council, sailed on the 3d, and on the 8th Nov. arrived in France. He returned to England in March, and was permitted to come to Scotland, 25th Sept. 1601, was again confined to Airth, April 1602, and, professing himself satisfied of Gowrie's guilt, he received permission 25th June, to travel in any part of the country, except four miles around Edinburgh. The Gen. Assembly, 15th Nov. thereafter, thought it reasonable that he should testify his satisfaction from the pulpit, which he refused, on which the

Commissioners of the Assembly, 25th Nov. 1603, declared his re-entry to the charge his own fault, and deprived him, 27th Feb. 1605, yet in the register 1608 he is still mentioned as in the charge. He was confined to Inverness, 18th Aug. 1605, where he remained four years in the exercise of his gifts, till he went to Aberdeen and stayed three months, when he was charged to return to his former confinement. On a vacancy, he supplied for a time the charge of Forres, after which he returned to his own house at Kinnaird, Aug. 1613. He also officiated at Stirling, on a vacancy in the second charge, till he was compelled to remove, March 1619 to Kinnaird, after which he went for a while to another property in Monkland. Going to Edinburgh on important pecuniary business, he was confined in the Castle from 29th Aug. 1620 till Jan. following, when he was ordained to return to Inverness and four miles around during the royal pleasure, to which he submitted, 18th April 1622, and remained till Sept. 1624, returning to Kinnaird on his private affairs, on condition of returning to Inverness when charged. In 1629, having ventured to preach in the vicinity of Edinburgh, he was, by his Majesty's order, confined to his own house of K., with only a liberty of two miles around it, where he died, 13th July 1631, in his 77th year and 44th min. His buikis were estimat at ij^e li. The abulzements at j^e li., and with his pension from Arbroath crop, 1631, amounted to xv^e li. His firm and energetic mind, inflexible independence, and stainless integrity indicated his superior character. To the spirit of a baron, sprung from the greatest warriors in the kingdom, he added that of a faithful servant of Christ, and if his language and manners seem now irreconcilable with the respect due to his sovereign, yet they show a manliness of spirit and principle not uncommon at that period. In person he was tall and dignified, with a majestic countenance and venerable appearance in the pulpit, and a knowledge of the Scriptures beyond most of the age. He marr., 9th June 1590, Margaret, daugh. of James Douglas of Parkhead, who died Nov. 1620, and left a son Robert (whose fifth descendant was the explorer and traveller of Abyssinia) besides others, and four daugh., Anna, Margaret, Maria, Jeane, and James.—Publications—Sermons upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, (Edin. 1590). Sermons preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh (Edin. 1591), [which, with another, and Life by Wodrow, were edited by Will. Cunningham, D.D., and printed for the Wodrow Soc. 1843, 8vo.]—*Sermons, Presb., Syn., Edin. (Bapt.), Counc., and Test. Reg. (Stirl.), Booke of Kirk, Petrie, Spotswood, Row, and Calderwood's Hist., Melvill's Autob., Scots Mag. lxiv., Orig. Lett., Chambers's Biog. Dict. i., Reg. Assig.*

1610. JOHN HALL, trans. fr. SE. quarter or Great Kirk, in terms of his Majesty's request, and adm. after 21st Feb. He was a member of the Gen. Assembly same year, and of the court of High Commission, 21st Dec. 1615. In 1616 he drew up with Mr John Adamson, min. of Liberton, a Confession of Faith and Catechism. In 1617 he signed the Protestation for the Liberties of the Kirk, 27th June, but soon after withdrew it, and demitted, March 1619, in respect of his age and infirmity, though, it has been alleged, it was more from fear of giving offence regarding the articles of Perth, and the loss of his pension. Suspecting he encouraged the populace in resisting these articles, the Privy Council, 17th June following, ordained him to remove to the burgh of Montrose within forty-eight hours, which was changed to Perth and two miles around, 12th Aug. thereafter. He died Aug. 1627. The utencils, &c., were valued at xlii., and the Frie Geir, at xiiij^m ij^e xxiiij^{li.}, while he was awand for hous-mail [rent], xxiiij^{li.} He marr. Speir, and had four sons, Mr John, Mr William, Andrew, and Robert.—Publication—Catechism (Edin. 1619).—*Edin. (Bapt.), Counc., Guild., and Test. Reg., Orig. Lett., Booke of the Kirk, Melvill's Autob., Scot's Apolog. Narr., Row and Calderwood's Hist., Wodrow's MS. Biog. ii.*

1626. WILLIAM STRUTHER, A.M., formerly in the city, adm. 25th Jan. On the erection of the Diocese he was constituted the Dean, and died 9th Nov. 1633, aged about 55, in 27th min. His Librarie was estimat at iij^m merks. His books lying at London unbound, ij^e merks. The utencils, silver work, &c., j^m merks. Frie Geir, debts deducit xv^m ix^e xxxiiij^{li.} vjs. viij^{d.} He founded vj^m merks to the Univ. of Edinburgh and Glasgow for maintaining two Bursars of Theology at each, to poor students of the said towns, or ministers' sons in the said presbyteries; the Councils and ministers of these cities being Patrons. He also left to the College Library, fifty buikis or volumes to be chosen by the Primar, and after him fifty to that of Glasgow to be chosen by the Principal; the rest of his library he bequeathed equally to Mr James Robertoun,

Commissary of Hamilton and Campsie, his brother-in-law, Mr Robt. Baillie, min. of Kilwinning, and Mr James Layng, min. of Kirknewton. He likewise left to the House of Correction *j^e li.*, to the poor of the NW. quarter, *j^e li.*, and further, *j^m li.* to the Trinity Hospital, which was afterwards recalled, because Sir James Ker of Crelinghall had broken and gone away with the lyk soume. He was very pious and learned, and perhaps the most eloquent and renowned preacher of his time. He marr. Elizabeth or Elspet, daugh. of Arch. Robertoun of Stonehall; she died Feb. 1641, and had William, Margaret, James and Elizabeth, twins, and Samuel.—Publications—Christian Observations and Resolutions, 2 vols. (Edin. 1628–1629), fcp. 8vo. Looking Glasse of Princes and People, with a Looking Glasse for Princes and Pope (Edin. 1632), 4to. True Happiness, or King David's Choice (Lond. 1633), 4to. Letter to the Earl of Airthe. [Grievances of Ministers (1635), sm. 8vo.]—*Edin. (Bapt.) Counc., and Test. Reg., Row and Calderwood's Hist., Reg. Pres., Presb. Reg., Evid. on the Univ. ii., Baillie's Lett. iii., Dempsterii Hist. ii., Decds Coll. of Glasg., Kirk Pap., Bannatyme Miscell. ii., Wodrow's MS. Biog. ii.*

1634. THOMAS SYDSEFF, A.M., trans. fr. Trinity College, pres. to the Deanery by Charles I., 18th Jan.; elected by the Council, 12th, and adm. 19th Feb. 1634; demitted 30th July following, having been consecrated Bishop of Brechin.—*Reg. Presb., Edin. Counc. Reg., Wodrow's MS. Biog. ii.*

1635. JAMES HANNAY, A.M., trans. fr. Halyroodhouse, pres. to the Deanery by Charles I., 13th May and 20th Oct. 1634, elected and pres. by the Council, 30th March 1635, and adm. soon after. Not being a favourite with his people, he engaged with the Bishop, 23d July 1637, in attempting to read the Liturgy, and being against subscribing the Covenant, he was assaulted in the church, Sunday, 8th March 1638, had his gown torn, and himself beat with hands. Deposed 1st Jan. 1639, for declining the Gen. Assembly and reading and defending the Service Book. He died before 21st June 1661, when his children had *j^e li.*, allowed by Parliament, out of vacant stipends, on account of their father's sufferings. He marr. Issobell Brown, and had Magdalen, John, Martha, William, James, George, Marion, and Issobell.—*Reg. Pres., et Sec. Sigill., Edin. Counc. and Canongate Reg. (Bapt.), Baillie's Lett. i., Stevenson's Hist., Peterkin's Rec., Wodrow's MSS., Acts Parl. v. vii., Maitland Miscell. ii., Charters of St Giles.*

1639. ALEXANDER HENDERSON, A.M., trans. fr. Leuchars, elected and pres. by the Town Council to the City, 4th May 1638, and elected and pres. to this charge 2d, and adm. 10th Jan. 1639. Nominated by the Commissioners of Parliament, Nov. 1640, one of those for concluding a treaty of peace with England at Ripon, which was agreed to at Westminster, 7th Aug. 1641, and his services were approved by Parliament, 28th Sept. following. He was elected Rector of the Univ., 1st Dec. 1640, and annually re-elected till the close of his life. He was elected a second time Moderator of Assembly, 20th July 1641, and same year appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty (or Dean of the Chapel Royal). A third time he was appointed Moderator of Assembly, 2d Aug. 1643, and on the 18th following he and seven others were selected to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. The accumulation and pressure of so many affairs, however, was too much for his constitution, and his voice was too weak for a city church. A proposal was therefore made for his removal to the principality of St Mary's College, St Andrews, then held by an aged incumbent, but he rather preferred a quiet charge in the country, and though liberty for his translation was given, yet he continued immersed in his ministerial and public duties till his labours terminated, 19th Aug. 1646, in his 63d year and 33d min. Though bred and fostered in the arms of Episcopacy, yet more mature experience led to a change in his opinions, and being pressed to receive the new Book of Canons, and Liturgy, he was brought to combine with others, and to his master-mind they submitted as their leader and guide till the Hierarchy was put down, and Presbyterian Government established on its ruins. Pre-eminent in discriminating judgment, and judicious, moderate, and prudent in counsel, yet fearless in defence of truth, he distinguished himself by re-modelling that national covenant which wrought in aftertimes such fearful results to the throne and to the country. In speech he was grave, impressive, and eloquent, and ever zealous to promote the interests of learning and education.—Publications—The Remonstrance of the Nobility, &c., within the Kingdom of Scotland, vindicating them and their proceedings

from the crimes wherewith they are charged by the late proclamation in England, 1639. The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland (Edin. 1641). Speech delivered immediately before the taking of the Covenant by the House of Commons and Assembly of Divines (Edin. 1643), 4to. [Three single] Sermons preached before the Houses of Parliament (Lond. 1644, 1645), 4to. The Bishop's Doom (Edin. 1762), 8vo. [Peterkin's Rec.] Declaration upon his Death-bed [concerning King Charles], 1648.—*Aiton's Life, Baillie's Lett., Christ. Mag. x., Wodrow's Anal. and Hist., New St. Acc. ix., Acts Parl. v., Bower's Univ. i., Livingston's Charac., Burnet, Stevenson, and Cook's Hist., Tombst., Edin. Counc. and Test. Reg., Reid's Westm. Divines, Turner's Scot. Success., Lockerby's Life of J. Brown.*

1647. GEORGE GILLESPIE, A.M., trans. fr. Greyfriars, elected by the Town Council, 22d Sept. 1647, and adm. shortly after; elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 12th July 1648, and died of consumption, 17th Dec. thereafter, in 36th age and 11th min. His learning, acuteness, and powers of application, illustration, and persuasion, rendered him of vast service in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as well as in the Church courts. Even Lauderdale and other statesmen quailed so much in arguing with him, that the Earl of Glencairn declared "There is no standing before this great and mighty man." He marr. Margaret Murray, who had £1000 sterl. given by Parliament immediately after his death, for the support of herself and family, on account of his services, but it was never paid. He had three sons and a daugh. Robert (who received ordination from the Presbyterian ministers, was imprisoned in the Bass for preaching at conventicles, alive at Auchtermuchty, June 1682; subsequently went to England, and died, and had his widow and children recommended by Parliament to his Majesty's bounty, 17th July 1695), George, Archibald who died in 1659, and Elizabeth, who marr. James Oswald, merchant in Edinburgh, afterwards of Fingletoun.—Publications—Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Church of Scotland (1637), 4to. Assertion of the Church Covenant of Scotland (1641), 4to. Dialogue between a Civilian and a Divine, concerning the present condition of the Church of England (Lond. 1644), 4to. A Recrimination charged upon Mr Goodwin, in Defence of Presbyterianism (Lond. 1644), 4to. Two Single Sermons (Lond. 1644, 1645), 4to. The True Resolution of a present Controversy, concerning Liberty of Conscience (Lond. 1645), 4to. Wholesome Severity reconciled to Christian Liberty (Lond. 1645), 4to. Aaron's Rod Blossoming; or the Divine Ordinance of Church Government vindicated (Lond. 1646), 4to. Male Audis, an answer to Coleman's Male Dicit (Lond. 1646), 4to. A Treatise of Miscellany Questions (Edin. 1649), 4to. It has even been said that he drew that excellent Manual of Religion the Shorter Catechism, in the course of a single night [which does not seem, however to be founded on authority].—*Edin. Counc. and Reg. (Bapt.), Wodrow's Anal. and Hist., Reid's Westm. Divines, Livingston's Charac., Sinclair's xviii., and New St. Acc. ix., Rutherford and Baillie's Lett. iii., Acts Parl. vi. ix., Brodie's Diary, Chambers's Biog. Dict. ii.*

1649. ROBERT DOUGLAS, A.M., trans. fr. Tolbooth Ch., elected by the Town Council, 22d Dec. 1648, adm. in 1649. Accompanied by divers commissioners of the Kirk he presented the Solemn League and Covenant to Parliament which was subscribed by all the members, 12th Jan., and was appointed one of the commissioners for visiting the Univ. of St Andrews, 16th following, elected a fourth time Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 4th, and nominated one of the commissioners for visiting the Univ. of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, 31st July same year. Had the honour of crowning Charles II. at Scone, 1st Jan. 1651, was elected a fifth time Moderator of Assembly 16th July following. He was seized at Alyth, 28th Aug. same year, carried prisoner to London and detained till 29th March 1653. Called to London, with others, May 1654, to consult with the Protector regarding the affairs of the Church. He preached at the opening of Geo. Heriot's Hospital, 21st June 1659, and after the restoration of his Majesty, May 1660, preached at the opening of the first Parliament, 1st Jan. 1661. Refusing to accept the Bishopric of Edinburgh, on the establishment of Episcopacy, he was removed to the Greyfriars, or SW. quarter, 2d June 1662, that the Bishop might be provided.—*Edin. Counc. and Gen. Sess. Reg., Lamont and Nicoll's Diaries, Acts Parl. vi., and MS., Wodrow and Cook's Hist. iii., Baillie's Lett., Chambers's Biog. Dict. ii.*

1662. ROBERT LAURIE, A.M., trans. fr. Tron Ch., pres. to the Deanery by Charles II., 17th, and collated 24th Sept. 1662, prom. to the Bishopric of Brechin in 1672.—*Min. Book Reg.*

Priv. Seal., Reg. Collat., Keith's Catal., Nicoll and Brodie's Diaries, Kirkton and Wodrow's Hist.

1672. JOHN PATERSONE, also trans. fr. Tron Ch., pres. to the Deanery by Charles II., 12th July, and adm. (before 6th Aug.) 1672, admitted burges and guild-brother, 13th Nov. 1673, and prom. to the Bishopric of Galloway in 1674. — *Min. Book Reg. Priv. Seal, Edin. Counc. and Guild. Reg.*

1675. WILLIAM ANNAND, A.M., trans. fr. Tron Ch., pres. to the Deanery by Charles II., 15th, and coll. 19th May. Had D.D. conferred by the Univ. of St Andrews, 1st Oct. 1685, and died 13th June 1689, in his 56th year and 33d min. "There was scarcely a more innocent man in Britain." He marr. 14th Jan. 1670, Helen, second daugh. of John Lundin of Auchtermairnie.—Publications—Fidem Catholicam, or the Doctrine of the Catholic Church (Lond. 1661-1662), 4to. Panem Quotidianum, in defence of set Forms, and of the Book of Common Prayer (Lond. 1661), 4to. A Sermon in the Defence of the Liturgy (1661), 4to. Pater Noster, a Treatise on the Lord's Prayer (Lond. 1670), 8vo. Mysterium Pietatis, or the Mystery of Godliness, &c. (Lond. 1671), 8vo. Doxologia, or Glory to the Father, reduced to Glorifying of the Trinity in Life, the Christian dutie (Lond. 1672), 8vo. Dualitas, or a Twofold Subject on the Power and Honour, &c. of Magistracy (Edin. 1674), 4to.—*Min. Book Reg. Priv. Seal, U. Album St And., Monro's Apology, Wood's Ath. Oxon. iv., Test. and Reg. (Marr. and Bur.), MS. Acc. of Min.* 1689, *Lamont's Diary, Chambers's Biog. Dict. i.*

1689. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, A.M., trans. fr. Dalsersf, called (after the Toleration was given) 6th Sept. 1687, his appointment was confirmed by the Town Council, 24th July 1689; he removed to his former par. (Dalmeny) in terms of the Act of Parliament, 25th April 1690, but returned again same year, and died Dec. 1696, aged about 70, in 41st min. He bequeathed $j^e li.$ to the poor of Dalmeny. His librarie was estimat at $ij^e li.$ Frie Geir $iiij^m lxxxixli.$ $js. viiijd.$ Being highly valued among the nobility he was the means of preventing the Duke of Hamilton, during the sitting of the Convention of Estates, at the Revolution, bringing in a measure which would have comprehended many of the Episcopalian Clergy, when the Act was made for restoring the old Presbyterian ministers. He marr. Anna Scott, who died 1st Oct. 1691; secondly Helen Eliot, who marr. John Duncan, merchant, Edinburgh. Sir Will. H. of Whytlaw, Lord Justice Clerk, was his brother-german.—Publication—A Cordial for Christians travelling Heavenward (Edin. 1696), 12mo.—*Edin. Counc., Guild., Test., Gen. Sess., (Marr.), and Cramond Sess. Reg., Wodrow's Anal.*

1697. GEORGE HAMILTON, A.M., trans. fr. St Leonards, adm. after 27th Jan.; elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 20th Jan. 1699; demitted 11th (which was accepted 18th) Jan. 1710, and died 26th May 1712, in his 77th age and 54th min. He was one who preached down vice with mighty force, and was proud of his strict discipline, and regard to the constitution of the Church. He marr. Elizabeth, sister to Dr John Hay of Conland, who died 2d Oct. 1708. His eldest daugh. Margaret, marr. Mr Robert Cleland, min. of Kilrenny.—*Presb. and Test. Reg., Wodrow's Hist. and MSS.*

1710. JOHN MATHISON, A.M., trans. fr. Tolbooth Ch., appointed by the Presb. 19th Oct., and entered 5th Nov. 1710; appointed one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal, Jan. 1735, and died 8th Nov. 1752, in his 73d year and 46th min. It has been frequently stated that he had the honour of suggesting, in 1741, the establishment of a fund for supporting the widows and children of ministers of the Church. This may be true so far as the fund established in 1744 was concerned, but justice requires it to be mentioned that a proposal had been made for the same praiseworthy object so early as 1716, by Mr Patrick Couper, min. of Pittenweem. Mr M. marr. Isobel Hairstones, who survived him, and had a son Gilbert, and a daugh. Jean.—Publications—The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and Knowledge thereof, in order to salvation, a Sermon (Edin. 1730), 8vo.—*Pres., Syn., and Test. Reg., Morren's Ann., Chambers's Biog. Dict. iv., Wodrow's Corresp. ii., Scots Mag. xxxiii., &c.*

1754. ROBERT WALKER, trans. fr. S. Leith, 2d charge, called 8th March, and adm. 11th Oct.; unanimously elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 23d May 1771, and died 6th April 1783, in his 67th year and 45th min. By the elegance, neatness, and simplicity of composition in his sermons, and by the grace and energy of his delivery, he rose to a high and justly acquired reputation as an evangelical preacher. He marr. Magdalen Dickson, who survived him.—

Publications—[Two Single] Sermons (Edin. 1748, 1776), 8vo. Sermons on Practical Subjects, 4 vols. (Edin. 1765–1796), 8vo.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*, *Sermons* iii., *Kay's Portr.*, &c.

1784. THOMAS HARDY, trans. fr. Ballingry, called 30th April, and adm. 25th Nov.; trans. to the New North Ch. 29th Nov. 1786.—*Presb. Reg.*

1787. WILLIAM GREENFIELD, A.M., trans. fr. St Andrew's Ch. holding in conjunction the Professorship of Rhetoric, pres. by the Town Council 21st Feb., and adm. 1st April, appointed Almoner to the King, March 1789, which he resigned in 1798. Had D.D. conferred by the Univ., 31st March, and was unanimously elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 19th May 1796. He demitted his charge 20th, and quitted the country, but as there were certain flagrant reports concerning his conduct, which his desertion seemed to preclude the Presb. from considering as groundless, they unanimously deposed him, 26th Dec. 1798, and laid him under a sentence of excommunication. He was also degraded by the Univ. from his degrees of A.M. and D.D., 31st of said month, and died in the North of England, 28th April 1827. He marr. Nov. 1784, Janet Bervie, who died 20th June 1827. His family assumed the surname of Rutherford.—Publications—Sermon preached at the opening of the Gen. Assembly (Edin. 1797), 8vo. Essays on the Sources of the Pleasures received from Literary Compositions (anon.) (Lond. 1809), 8vo. On the use of Negative Quantities in the Solution of Problems by Algebraic Equations (Trans. Roy. Soc., Edin. i).—*Presb. Reg.*, *Scots Mag.* lx., *Edin. Grad.*, &c.

1799. JAMES FINLAYSON, A.M., trans. fr. Old Greyfriars Ch., and holding in conjunction the Professorship of Logic, elected by the Town Council, 2d Jan., and adm. 14th March. Had D.D. conf. by the Univ., 28th of said month, was unanimously elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 20th May 1802, appointed Almoner to his Majesty same year, but resigned it, and died 28th Jan. 1808, in his 50th year and 21st min. In him the imperfections incidental to human nature were either so few, or so strenuously corrected, that in his life were exhibited a rare and animating example of self-promoted merit, unblemished purity of intention, and all the elevated and independent energies of a vigorous and virtuous mind that could not be otherwise than respected and esteemed; while to his generous patronage and aid not a few were indebted for their promotion in life. He was deeply interested in the welfare of the Church, and skilled in the management of her affairs.—Publications—Heads of an Argument in support of the Overture respecting Chapels of Ease (1798), fol. Preaching a means of promoting the General Progress of Human Improvement, a Sermon (Edin. 1801), 8vo. Sermons (Edin. 1809), 8vo. Sermon viii. (Scotch Preacher iv.). Life of Dr Blair (Blair's Serm. v.).—*Presb. Reg.*, *Tombst.*, *Sermons*, *Scots Mag.* lxx., *Chambers's Biog. Dict.* ii., *Cockburn's Mem.*

1808. WILLIAM RITCHIE, D.D., trans. fr. St Andrew's Ch., Glasgow, pres. by the Town Council, June, and adm. 18th Aug., elected Professor of Divinity, 10th May 1809, which he held in conjunction. Died at Tarbolton, where he began his ministry, 29th Jan. 1830, in his 83d year and 36th min. As a preacher he was argumentative and popular, while in appearance he was venerable and commanding.—Publications—(Five single Sermons, 8vo) (Glasg. 1803, Edin. 1809), 8vo. Statement connected with employing an Organ in Public Worship. (Statement in the Presb. of Glasgow, relative to the use of an Organ in St Andrew's Church).—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*, *Nelson's Life.*

1830. ROBERT GORDON, D.D., trans. fr. New North Ch., pres. by the Town Council, March, and adm. (in the High School where the congregation were meeting for the time) 9th Sept., unanimously appointed Collector of the Minister's Widows' Fund, 11th Aug. 1836, which he resigned 28th Nov. 1843, elected unanimously Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 20th May 1841. By adhering to the Protest, joining in the Free Secession, and signing the Demission, he was declared no longer a min. of this Church, 24th May 1843, and died 21st Oct. 1853, in 68th age and 38th min. He had talents of the highest order, which in early life were cultivated by the careful study of some important departments of science, and he was the inventor of a Self-registering Hygrometer. From the time he entered the ministry, however, his talents were devoted with unwearied ardour and zeal to the investigation, exposition, and application of divine truth. Fidelity to his Master, tenderness for the souls of men, and freedom from the spirit of the world, were prominent features in his character. Though others made a more conspicuous figure in the lamented Secession, yet none took a firmer stand in

those counsels which led to the separation of so many members of the Church from the support of the State. He marr. Isabella Campbell, by whom two of his sons, Robert and Donald Campbell, became min. in the Free Church.—Publications—The Duty of Searching the Scriptures, a Sermon (Edin. 1823), 8vo. Sermons (Edin. 1825), 8vo. Christ as made known to the Ancient Church (4 vols. Edin. 1854), 8vo. The articles Euclid, Geography, Meteorology (Edin. Encyclopædia).—*Presb. Reg.*, *Edin. Encycl.* xviii.

1843. DAVID ARNOT, D.D., died 15th May 1877.

1877. J. CAMERON LEES, D.D., translated from 1st charge, Abbey of Paisley, inducted 19th Oct. Present incumbent.

COLLEGIATE, OR SECOND CHARGE.

1594. PETER HEWAT, A.M., studied and attained his degree at the Univ., Aug. 1588, as min. and teacher in the East kirk he was allowed *xxli.* for his dewty till Beltane, 28th Feb. 1594; and had other *xxli.* to Lammas, 12th May 1596; promoted to Hailes same year.—*Reg. Laur. U. Edin.*, *Edin. Grad. and Counc. Reg.*

[CHARLES FERME, A.M., JAMES MUIRHEAD, A.M., and GEORGE GREIR, A.M., were severally authorised by the Presb. to preach in the N.W. quarter, 13th Dec. 1589—18th Dec. 1599, "at sic tymes as were necessary."—*Presb. Reg.*]

1598. JAMES BALFOUR, formerly in the City, ordained with imposition of hands, 19th May. Hesitating to offer public thanksgiving for his Majesty's deliverance from the Gowrie conspiracy, in obedience to the royal command, he and four others were discharged from preaching in his Majesty's dominions under pain of death, and two days after left the city. Being called before the Privy Council in Sept. he declared himself satisfied of its truth. By the continuance of his Majesty's displeasure, he and two others were transported, 16th May 1601, yet he continued notwithstanding. He was summoned to London, with seven others, by his Majesty, 21st May 1606, where they arrived in Aug. After various conferences and dealings, they were handed severally over to the charge of different bishops of England. Mr James being consigned to the care of John, Bishop of Norwich, 23d Nov. thereafter. All the means used being ineffectual in getting them to resile from their opinions, and adopt those of his Majesty in changing the government of the church, he and five others, 8th March 1607, solicited the Privy Council to be sent home. The bishops were no longer troubled with their charge, and Mr James was commanded, 1st May, to confine himself to Cockburnspath. In the beginning of July it was changed to Alford, but after proceeding so far on his way, he was compelled by disease to remain at Inverkeithing. He returned and was preaching in the city, when he was again removed by a royal warrant, 20th Jan. 1610. The city continued payment of his stipend till Beltan, 1st May 1613, when he died. He marr. in 1575, Barbara, youngest daugh. of Rich. Melvill of Baldowy, min. of Maryton, who survived him, and had a son, Andrew, min. of Kirknewton, and a daugh. Nicholas, who was threatened to be banished the city in 1620 for entertaining conventicles in her house.—*Presb.*, *Syn.*, and *Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1610. PETER HEWAT, A.M., trans. fr. S.W. quarter, in terms of his Majesty's request, and adm. after 21st Feb., was a member of the Assembly same year, and of the Court of High Commission, 21st Dec. 1615. He had a gift from his Majesty of the Abbey of Croceragall, 29th Dec. 1612, which entitled him to a seat in Parliament (which was ratified to him and his children for nineteen years after his death, on payment of v. merks yearly, by Charles II., 27th Oct., and by Parliament, 17th Nov. 1641), and was a member and one of those appointed by the Assembly, 17th Aug. 1616, for revising the Liturgy. He consulted with the ministers regarding a Protest for the Liberties of the Kirk in 1617, drew out one of his own, and still adhering to it was deprived by the High Commission, 12th July of that year, and confined to Dundee. He was still recognised, however, as min. and had his stipend paid by the city to Candlemas 1619, but he was charged to remove, and be confined at Croceraguell by his Majesty's warrant, 12th, and by that of the Privy Council, 17th June following. He died in the par. of Maybole, Aug. 1645, aged about 78, in 51st min. The insight of the hous, &c., was estimat at iij^e xxxiiij^{li}. vjs. viij^d., and the inventar and debts v^e lxxxiiij^{li}. He marr. Isobell, daugh. of Will. Smail, merchant in the city, who died Aug. 1644, and had issue,

Margaret, John, Lillias, Margaret, William, Elspeth, Margaret, John, and Janet. Another daugh. Elizabeth [probably Elspeth], marr. Bryce Blair of Goldring.—Publication—Three excellent Points of the Christian Doctrine (Edin. 1621), 4to.—*Edin. Counc., Guild., Bapt., and Test. Reg. (Glasg.), Acts Parl. v., Orig. Lett., Row, Spotswood and Calderwood's Hist., Reg. Presb., Melvill's Autob., Morrison's Dec. x.*

1622. JOHN MAXWELL, A.M., trans. fr. Mortlach, elected by the Town Council and Session, 18th July, and adm. soon after. On the division of the City in 1625, he was removed to the North-east quarter, or Trinity College.—*Row, Spotswood, and Calderwood's Hist., Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1635. ALEXANDER THOMSON, A.M., trans. fr. Cambuslang, elected by the Town Council, 3d July, and adm. same year. Deposed 1st Jan. 1639 for declining the Gen. Assembly, 1638, and reading and defending the Service Book. He died in 1646, aged about 53, when there was awand to him *j^m viij^c xxjⁱ. vjs. viij^d.* He marr. Margaret Moorehead, and had three sons, James, a merchant, his executor; John (who had £100 sterl. granted him by Parliament, 5th July 1661, in respect of his father's sufferings), and William.—*Edin. Counc., Test., and Reg. (Bapt.), Row and Stevenson's Hist., Peterkin's Rec., Wodrow's MSS. lixii., Acts Parl. vii.*

1639. ROBERT DOUGLAS, A.M., trans. fr. Kirkcaldy 2d charge, elected 14th Jan., and adm. same year (after 22d August); removed to North-west quarter, or West St Giles, 24th Dec. 1641.—*Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1641. HARRIE ROLLOCK, A.M., trans. fr. Greyfriars, fixed on the division of the city into six parishes, 24th Dec. 1641, died 2d June 1642, aged about 47. He marr. Dame Helen, youngest daughter of Alex. Lord Elphinstoun, and relict of Sir Will. Cockburn of Langton.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Baillie's Lett. ii., MSS., Acts Parl., Douglas' Peer. i.*

1650. DAVID DICKSON, of Busbie, A.M., Prof. of Divinity in the Univ., which he held in conjunction, appointed by the Town Council, 12th April 1650, and adm. shortly after, elected a second time Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 21st July 1652. Deprived Oct., and died Dec. 1662, in his 79th year and 45th min. As a preacher he was the most popular and powerful in his day, especially in the earlier part of his ministry, when his services at Irvine were crowned with great and wonderful success. He was highly instrumental in promoting the notable conversion at Stewarton about 1625, termed "the Stewarton Sickness." Nor was he less zealous and useful at the overthrow of Episcopacy in 1638, having taken a prominent part in the business of the Assembly at Glasgow. From the frequency of depositions and even of decapitations, a few years after, among those opposed to the Covenanters about this time, he observed, "the wark gaes bonnilie on," which became a common proverb. When the Church unhappily divided into Resolutions and Protesters, he joined and took a great lead in the party of the former. He marr. 23d Sept. 1617, Margaret, daugh. of Arch. Roberton of Stonhall, by whom he had four sons; Mr John, Clerk to the Exchequer (who predeceased him); Mr Arch. at Irvine; David (who also predeceased him); Mr Alex., min. of Newbattle, from one of whom descended Sir Robert D. of Carberry, a family now extinct.—Publications—A Treatise on the Promises (Dublin, 1630), 12mo. Explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Aberd. 1635), 12mo. Expositio Analytica Omnium Apostolicarum Epistolarum (Glasg. 1645), 4to. True Christian Love, in verse (1649), 12mo. Exposition of the Gospel of Matthew (Lond. 1651), 12mo. Explanation of the Psalms, 3 vols. (Lond. 1653–1655), 12mo. Therapeutica Sacra (Edin. 1656), 4to. [Translated (Edin. 1664), 8vo.] A Commentary on the Epistles (Lond. 1659), fol. Prælectiones in Confessionem Fidei, fol. [Translated] Truth's Victory over Error (Lond. 1688), 12mo. Several Pamphlets in the Disputes with the Doctors of Aberdeen, 4to, and some in defence of the Public Resolutions. The Directory for Public Worship was drawn up by him, with the assistance of Mr Alex. Henderson and Mr Dav. Calderwood—and The Sum of Saving Knowledge, by him in conjunction with Mr James Durham. Some Minor Poems, "The Christian Sacrifice," and "O Mother dear, Jerusalem."—*Edin. Counc., Test., Glasgow (Marr.), Canongate (Bur.), and Reg. (Bur.), Baillie's Lett., Lamont and Nicoll's Diaries, Wodrow's Life, Hist. i. iv., and Anal. i. iii., Livingston's Charac.*

1665. JAMES LUNDIE, A.M., trans. fr. Tron Ch., elected by the Town Council, 1st May, and adm. soon after; trans. to the Tolbooth Ch. in 1672.—*Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1672. ALEXANDER RAMSAY, trans. fr. Greyfriars, elected by the Town Council, 11th Dec., and adm. shortly after; re-trans. to the Greyfriars in 1674.—*Edin. Counc. and Guild. Reg.*

1675. ANDREW CANT, trans. fr. Trinity College Ch., holding, in conjunction, the Principality of the Univ., elected by the Town Council, 29th Sept., adm. soon after; and died 4th Dec. 1685, in 27th min. His librarie was estimat at v^m *li*. The insicht at ij^c lxviii. xiijs. iiij^d. Frie Geir iij^m iij^c xciiijⁱ. xiijs. iiij^d. He was “ane eminent and solide preacher;” and marr., 13th July 1663, Jean Cockburne, who died 25th Oct. 1675, by whom he had Jean, Anna, Marion, Andrew (his Executor), John (died 14th Dec. 1675), and Alexander.—Publications—Theses Philosophicæ, 4to. De Libero Arbitrio. Oratio de Concordia Theologorum et Discordia (Edin. (1676), 4to.—*Edin. Counc. Test. and Reg. (Bapt. and Bur.)*).

1685. ALEXANDER MONRO, D.D., prom. fr. the Professorship of Divinity, St Mary's Coll., St Andrews, holding the Principality of the Univ. in conjunction; elected by the Town Council, 9th Dec. 1685, and adm. soon after. Befriended by John, Viscount Dundee, he was nominated to the Bishopric of Argyle, 24th Oct. 1688, though neither elected nor consecrated. Demitted 29th April 1689; died in 1698. Universally allowed to have been a good scholar, a judicious man, and a person of considerable talent. He marr. 6th May 1673, Anna Logan, in the par. of Aberdour, and had issue, Anna, Elizabeth, and an only son, James, who studied at Balliol College, Oxford, successively took the degrees of A.M., M.B., and M.D., and became physician to the hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem, London, and was famous for his treatment in cases of insanity; 2dly, Marion Collace.—Publications—A Memorial for His Highness the Prince of Orange. Presbyterian Inquisition (Lond. 1691), 4to. Sermons preached on several occasions (Lond. 1693), 8vo. An Apology for the Church of Scotland (Lond. 1693), 4to. Spirit of Calumny, &c., Slander Examined, Chastised, and particularly addressed to Mr Geo. Redpath (Lond. 1693). An Answer to Dr Rule. An Inquiry into the New Opinions of the Presbyterians (Lond. 1696), 8vo. Letter to Sir Robert Howard, occasioned by his Twofold Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson (Lond. 1696), 4to.—*Edin. Counc., Aberdour, Dunferml. and Kinglassie Sess. Reg., MS. Acc. of Min.* 1689, *Keith's Catal., Fountainhall's Diary, Edin. Mag. xvi., Bower's Univ. i.*

1689. JOHN LAW, A.M., trans. fr. Campsie, called 22d July 1687, confirmed by the Town Council, 24th July 1689, was a member of the Gen. Assemblies, 1690, 1692, and was elected Moderator by that of 1694—was appointed Almoner to her Majesty—demitted 12th, which was accepted, 26th Nov. 1707, and died 26th Dec. 1712, in his 80th year and 57th min. He marr. Isobell, daugh. of Mr Robert Cunningham, min. of Holywood, north of Ireland, who died 8th Nov. 1703, aged 70. Their son, Mr William, was Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Univ., and founder of the family of Elvingston, East Lothian.—*Edin. Counc., Guild., Presb., and Reg. (Bur.), Tombst., Monteith's Mort. ii., Wodrow's Anal. iii., Peterkin's Const., Leven and Melv. Pap.*

1707. WILLIAM CARSTARES, A.M., trans. fr. Greyfriars, holding, in conjunction, the Principality of the Univ.—appointed by the presb. 17th, and entered 28th Dec.; elected Moderator of the Gen. Assemblies, 15th April 1708, 10th May 1711, and 4th May 1715, but was seized with apoplexy in August, and died 28th Dec. of the latter year, in 67th age and 35th min. To him Scotland is indebted for the annual meeting of her Gen. Assemblies, and for the establishment of her Presbyterian form of Church government at the Revolution, as he had the most powerful influence, both as chaplain and secretary, with his Majesty in getting it accomplished. He was against the abolition of patronage; but equally zealous against its restoration in 1712, when, with Prof. Blackwell, of Marischal College, and Mr Rob. Baillie, of Inverness, he went as a deputation to London, and drew a representation to the house of Peers against it. He was not only the confidant and adviser of King William, but under the two successive sovereigns was much consulted on all affairs relating to his native country. Though a skilful politician, he never forgot his character as a minister; by the unflinching discharge of its various duties, and by his wise and skilful direction, added to his exemplary conduct, he acquired general confidence, and directed in a great measure the affairs of the Church. Having tasted adverse fortune in early life, he did not forget those under her influence when his circumstances were prosperous. To many of the deprived episcopal clergy he proved himself a father and a friend; some of whom deeply bemoaned their loss at his funeral, 2d Jan. 1716.

He had a profound knowledge of human character, abounded in good humour, was deeply read in classical learning, delivered his sentiments without hesitation, and spoke Latin as fluently as if it had been his native language. He marr. a daugh. of Mr Kekewich of Trehawk, Cornwall, without issue.—Publications—The Scottish Toleration Argued (Lond. 1712), 8vo. The State Papers and Letters addressed to William Carstares were published by Principal M'Cormick (Edin. 1774), 4to.—*Presb. and Reg. (Bur.)*, *State Pap.*, *Wodrow's Hist.*, *Corresp.*, *MSS.* lxxxii., and *Anal.*, *Ferrie's Life of J. Carstairs*, *Dunlop's Serm.*, *Burnet's Hist.*, *Bower's Univ.*, *Edin. Mag. and Rev.*, and *Christ. Inst.* xxvi., *Chambers's Biog. Dict.*

1721. WILLIAM MITCHELL, trans. fr. Old Ch., called 10th Jan. 1718, and adm. 5th Feb.; elected a fourth time Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 10th May 1722, and a fifth time, 5th May 1726, though the last was carried only by a single vote. Being one of the deputation sent to congratulate his Majesty George II. on his accession to the throne, he died at York, on his way to London, from suppression of urine, 8th Sept. 1727, in 33d min. He was a superior preacher, a fluent speaker, and being perhaps the most wealthy minister in Scotland, had great influence at Court, and had indeed the leading power in the affairs of the Church after the death of Carstares. An instance of his liberality was given by his paying £100 sterl. to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, for which he received the thanks of the Assembly, 4th May 1718. He marr., Oct. 1705, Margaret Cunningham, relict of Mr James Stewart, advocate, and had a daugh., who died May 1726.—*Presb. and Reg. (Marr.)*, *Wodrow's Corresp. and Anal. Acts of Ass.* 1718.

1728. ROBERT KINLOCH, A.M., trans. fr. Dundee, called 19th April, and adm. 8th Oct., chosen Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 7th May 1747. Getting into ill-health, he demitted his charge, 24th Feb., and died 3d April 1756, in his 68th year and 43d min., having marr. Lillias, third daugh. of Colin Campbell of Monzie, who died 12th July 1769.—Publication—The Truth and Excellency of the Gospel Revelation, a Sermon (Edin. 1731), 8vo.—*Presb. Syn. and Reg. (Bur.)*, *Morren's Ann.*, *Wodrow's Anal.*, *Carlyle's Autob.*, *Playfair's Bar.* iii., &c.

1758. HUGH BLAIR, D.D. trans. fr. Lady Yester's, adm. 15th June, appointed 27th June 1760, Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the Univ., and 14th May 1776 Chaplain to the 1st Batt. 71st Foot, which situations he both held in conjunction, only for a time, when they were relinquished. Died 27th Dec. 1800, in his 83d year and 59th min. As a writer of Sermons few or none have excelled him in the beauty of composition, or variety of subjects. They recommended themselves so much to that virtuous monarch, George III., that an annual pension of £200 was conferred on him, 25th July 1780. From diffidence, and perhaps a certain degree of inaptitude for extemporary speaking, he took a less public part in the contests of ecclesiastical politics than some of his contemporaries, though his opinion was eagerly sought by those who had charge of these matters. From the same causes he never consented to become Moderator of Assembly. He marr. April 1748, his cousin, Katherine, daugh. of Mr James Bannatine, one of the min. of the city, who died 9th Feb. 1795, by whom he had a son, who died in infancy, and a daugh. who only reached her twenty-first year.—Publications—The Wrath of Man praising God, a Sermon (Edin. 1746), 8vo. The Importance of Religious Knowledge to the happiness of mankind, a Sermon (Edin. 1750), 8vo. Observations upon the Analysis of the Moral and Religious Sentiments contained in the Writings of Sopho and David Hume, Esq. (Edin. 1755), 8vo. A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the son of Fingal (Lond. 1763), 4to. Sermons, 5 vols. (Edin. 1777, Lond. 1801), 8vo. Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, 2 vols. (Lond. 1783), 4to. The Compassion and Benevolence of the Deity, a Sermon (Edin. 1796), 8vo. Four Articles in the Edin. Review (Edin. 1755). Translations and Paraphrases (used by the Church of Scotland), iv. xxxiii. xxxiv. xlv. Pastoral Admonition addressed by the Gen. Assembly, May 23d 1799, to the people under their charge.—*Presb. Reg.*, *Hill's Life*, *Sermons v.*, *Carlyle's Autob.*, *Mackenzie's Life of Home*, *Somerville's Life*, *Chambers's Biog. Dict.*, *Kay's Portr.*, &c.

1801. GEORGE HUSBAND BAIRD, D.D., trans. fr. New North Ch., holding in conjunction the Principality of the Univ., elected by the Town Council, 27th Jan., and adm. 30th April. Died 14th Jan. 1840, in his 79th year and 53d min. As a preacher he addressed himself rather to the moral sentiments of his audience than to their intellect. His sermons were filled with deep feeling, and his prayers highly devotional, which being joined to a solemn and

impressive delivery failed not to awaken a kindred feeling in his auditors. Amid many benevolent schemes into which he readily entered, that of increasing the means of education and religious instruction throughout Scotland, particularly in the Highlands and Islands, and in populous towns and cities, engaged his greatest attention. At his suggestion the General Assembly in 1824 formed a committee in order to carry this object into effect, of which he was appointed Convener. Entering into it with the warmest zeal, he corresponded extensively regarding it and, though far advanced in years, travelled not less than seven thousand miles in these extensive and desolate regions to facilitate its progress, and render it permanently beneficial. He stated "he had found nearly one hundred thousand human beings unable either to read or write, and innumerable districts where the people could not hear sermon above once a year, and had seen thousands of habitations where a Sabbath bell was never heard, where he had now witnessed schools and libraries established, knowledge increased, and greedily received." He marr. 8th July 1792, Isabella, daugh. of Thomas Elder, Esq., of Forneth, Lord Provost of the city, who died 18th Aug. 1826, by whom he had Thos. Elder Baird of Forneth, advocate, and others.—A Sermon on the Universal Propagation and Influence of the Christian Religion, was in the act of going through the press, but stopt after 48 pp. had been thrown off, in 1795, 8vo. He also edited Poems by Michael Bruce (Edin. 1799), 12mo.—*Presb. Reg.*

1840. JAMES BUCHANAN, D.D., joined the Free Church in 1843.

1844. JAMES M'LETCHE, D.D., died 15th Sept. 1866. No successor appointed.

THE TOLBOOTH CHURCH.

1641. ROBERT DOUGLAS, A.M., trans. fr. the High Ch., had this par. allotted by the Town Council, 24th Dec.; elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 27th July 1642, named by the Assembly, 18th Aug. 1643, one of their Commissioners to the Ass. of Divines at Westminster, attended the army in England in 1644, again elected Moderator of the Assembly, 22d Jan. 1645, and a third time, 4th Aug. 1647; re-trans. to the High Church in 1649.—*Edin. Counc. and Gen. Sess. Reg., Acts Parl. vi.*

1649. GEORGE HUTCHESON, A.M., trans. fr. Colmonell, elected and pres. by the Town Council, 7th Nov. 1648, adm. 23d March, and appointed by the T. Council to this charge 4th April 1649. He was one of those appointed same year for visiting the College of Edinburgh, and was appointed by the Commission of Assembly to join with the committee of the States and proceed to Breda in 1650, for entering into treaty with his Majesty, which terminated happily between the King and the Commissioners. He was also one of those who attended Arch. Marquis of Argyll after his condemnation, and accompanied him to the scaffold, 27th May 1661. Declining to join the Bishop in Church Discipline, he was discharged the exercise of his ministry by Parliament, 7th Aug. 1662.—*Edin. Counc. and Syn. Reg., Acts Parl. vi. vii., Kirkton and Wodrow's Hist. i., Blair's Life, Baillie's Lett. iii., Livingston's Life, Nicoll and Brodie's Diary, M'Ure's Glasg.*

1663. WILLIAM ANNAND, A.M., son of Mr Will. A., rector of Throwley, Kent, born at Ayr in 1633, studied and attained his degree at the Univ. and King's Coll. Aberdeen in 1649, and entered Student at University Coll. Oxford in 1651, ord. by Thomas, Bishop of Ardfert, Aug. 1656, as Assistant Preacher at Weston on the Green, Oxfordsh., thence promoted to the Vicarage of Leighton Budezard, Bedfordsh., and became Chaplain to John, Earl of Middleton; elected by the Town Council 9th Jan., and adm. 1st Feb. 1663; trans. to the Tron Ch. in 1675.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Reg. Collat., Fasti Aberd., Wood's Ath. Oxon. iv., Nicoll's Diary.*

1672. JAMES LUNDIE, A.M., trans. fr. the High Ch., elected by the Town Council 16th Aug.; trans. to the Tron Ch. in 1675.—*Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1675. WILLIAM MELDRUM, trans. fr. Tranent Pres. by the Town Council, 29th Jan., and coll. 16th July. Deprived in 1681 by refusing to take the Test, and died Jan. 1684, in 17th min. His librarie was estimat at iiij^e merks, the insicht at xcviij^{li}. vjs., and Frie Geir at j^m iiij^e li. js. He marr. Jean Colison, and had Christian, bapt. 24th June 1673, and Jean, 12th Nov. 1674, who was served heir to her fath., 14th Feb. 1684, and same day Mr George Meldrum, late one of the min. of Aberdeen, was served her nearest agnate; 2dly at Holyrudhous, 20th Sept. 1776, Sarah Lasoun, who died Nov. 1693.—*Edin. Counc., Tranent Sess. Reg.*

1681. JOHN HAMILTONE, A.M., trans. fr. S. Leith, pres. by the Town Council, 23d Nov.; demitted in 1686, having been prom. to the Bishopric of Dunkeld.—*Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1686. WILLIAM GAIRDYNE, trans. fr. 2d charge, elected by the Town Council, 24th Sept. Had D.D. conferred by the Univ. of St Andrews, 6th Nov. following. Deprived by the Privy Council, 17th Sept. 1689, for not reading [the proclamation of the Estates] and praying; absents himself the day of reading the proclamation; and praying only "God have mercy upon King William and Queen Mary, and the Royal family;" and for not reading the proclamation concerning the Fast, which he contemptuously threw down, when offered him. Died 2d Feb. 1708, in 40th min. He marr. 25th Aug. 1671, Barbara Guthrie, and had Harie (died 14th May 1673), David, Jonet, and Margaret.—*Edin. Counc., Test., and Reg. (Bapt., Marr., and Bur.), Act Rect. U. St And., Peterkin's Const., Rule's Sec. Vindication.*

1691. JAMES KIRKTON, A.M., trans. fr. Mertoun, called (after the Toleration was granted, 22d July 1687) to a meeting-house on the Castle-hill, which was confirmed by the Town Council, 24th July 1689, on which he was adm. to this Ch. 25th Jan. 1691. Died 17th Sept. 1699, aged about 71, and upwards of 44th min. He was one of the visitors for the College of Edinburgh, Aug. 1690, is said to have had "a weak voice," and to have been "a minister of great zeal, knowledge, and learning, a most curious searcher into the natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of Scotland, and a most successful and sententious preacher of the gospel." He marr. Grisel, daugh. of George Baillie, Esq., of Jerviswoode, and had four sons, George, a surgeon in Edin., Dr Andrew (died Sept. 1694), — captain in the navy, and — drowned in the Leith, 1676; and a daugh. Elizabeth, who died June 1673. His brother Robert died 25th Jan. 1711.—Publications—Life of Mr John Welch (Edin. 1703), 4to [Sel. Biog. i.]. A Sermon, being the last he preached (Edin. 1726). The Secret and true History of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to 1678, edited [with a biographical notice] by C. K. Sharpe, Esq. (Edin. 1817), 4to.—*Edin. Counc., Guild., Lanark Presb., and Reg. (Bur.), Wodrow's Hist., Edin. Christ. Inst. xxv., Brodie and Fountainhall's Diaries, M'Crie's Life of Knox ii., S. Presb. Eloq., Loren and Melv. Pap., Reg. Gen. Ass. 1690, 1692, Cont. of the Hist. Rel. Gen. Ass. 1690, Peterkin's Const., Chambers's Biog. Dict. i., Acts Parl. ix., Rule's Sec. Vind.*

1706. JOHN MATHISON, A.M., studied and graduated at the Univ. of Edinburgh, 26th June 1699. Chaplain to the Lord Advocate (Sir James Stuart), lic. by the Presb. 3d April 1706, called 19th Sept., and ordained 12th Dec. same year; trans. to the High Church in 1710.—*Edin. Grad., Presb. Reg., &c.*

1711. JOHN M'CLAREN, trans. fr. Carstairs, called 20th March, appointed by the Presb. 13th June, and entered 29th July. He refused to take the oath of Abjuration in 1712, and died 11th July 1734, in his 67th year and 42d min. He was one of six who protested against the Seceders being loosed from their parochial charges, Nov. 1733, and was esteemed as a man of solid learning, sound principles, and a great gospel preacher, who had a most fertile invention. His sermons abounding in similes which instructed and delighted his hearers, being prized for his ministerial abilities, plainness, and integrity, so that his services were acceptable, while he was singularly unblameable in his practice. It was said he had drawn up an answer to Limborch's System of Divinity. He marr. 25th July 1695, Eupham Park.—Publications—The New Scheme of Doctrine contained in the answers of Mr John Simson, Professor of Divinity in the college of Glasgow (Edin. 1717), 8vo. The Spiritual Burgess, a Sermon (Edin. 1735), 8vo.—*Presb., Syn., Glasgow (Marr.), and Edin. Reg. (Bur.), Brown's Gosp. Truth, Wodrow's Anal. iii.*

1735. JOHN TAYLOUR, A.M., trans. fr. Alloa, called 21st Nov. 1734, adm. 27th March after; died 12th Aug. 1736, aged about 54, in 23d min. He was reckoned a legal preacher, yet superior to most of his day in originality of genius and depth of thought. He married, and had a daugh. who marr. Mr Bennet, brewer, Edinburgh.—*Presb. and Reg. (Bur.), Wodrow's Anal. iii., Erskine's Supp. to Gillies' Hist. Collect., Kay's Portr. i.*

1737. ALEXANDER WEBSTER, trans. from Culross, unanimously called 6th Jan., and adm. 2d June. His natural abilities as a profound calculator enabled him to be of the utmost service to the Church by acquiring information, making calculations, and maturing a scheme for securing to the widows and children of Ministers and Professors, often left in destitute circumstances, a provision which prevented their being in want, and in the Gen. Ass. 15th May 1744 he

received their unanimous thanks "for the extraordinary pains and trouble taken by him in the rise and progress of the scheme," which was the first institution of the kind in Scotland, and has proved to be one of the most beneficial, as well as prosperous, of any in Europe. He was appointed Chaplain to the Prince of Wales, Aug. 1748, and elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 24th May 1753. In 1755 he drew up an account of the people in Scotland, which was the first time they had been enumerated, for the information of Government. Had D.D. conferred by the Univ. of Edinburgh, 24th Nov. 1760, was one of a deputation sent by the Commission of Assembly to present an address to George III. on his accession to the throne, 20th Dec. following; and was unanimously appointed General Collector of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, 26th June 1771. Also appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary for Scotland, and one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal, Sept. succeeding. He died 25th Jan. 1784, in his 77th year and 51st min. Though strictly evangelical in doctrine, he was of convivial and social habits, and yet the most loved and popular minister in his day, so that sittings in the Tolb. Church were not easily obtained, which led one of the city functionaries to observe, "it was ensier to get a seat in the kingdom of heivin than i' the Tolbuith kirk." His talents were also directed to the improvement of objects unconnected with his profession. To him is the nation indebted for suggesting the extension of Edinburgh by the erection of the new town. By his importunity with the lamented Colonel Gardiner, it has been stated, the fatal encounter at Preston in 1745 was hastened. As a philanthropist he was enthusiastic in seeking to promote the civilisation of the Highlands by the promulgation of the gospel and stimulating its inhabitants to industry. He was at all times a father and a friend to the poor, constantly accessible, and ever liberal either from pecuniary sources or by interest, when required to further the comfort and happiness of those who merited his assistance. He marr. Mary, eldest daugh. of Colonel John Erskine, of the Alva family, she died 28th Nov. 1766, in her 72d year, by whom he had six sons and a daugh. George became Civil Paymaster in the H.E.I.C.S., and died in Bengal, July 1794. Alexander, mate of the *Dutton* East Indiaman, died on his passage thither in 1782. Ann marr. Captain Eyre Robert Mingay, of the 66th Foot, and died 16th May 1786.—Publications—[Four Single Sermons (Edin. 1740–1754), 8vo]. Divine Influence the true spring of the extraordinary work at Cambuslang (Edin. 1742), 8vo. [Sec. edit. with PS. called forth] Vindication of said postscript (Edin. 1743). Calculations, with the Principles and Data on which they are instituted, relative to the Widows' Scheme (Edin. 1748), fol. Beside these he is said to have been the author of a well-known love song, "Oh, how could I venture to luv ane like thee."—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*, *Scots Mag.* xvi. lxiv., *Webster's Mem.*, *Morren's Ann.*, *Douglas' Peer.* i., *Edin. Grad.*, *Mackenzie's Life of Home*, *Somerville's Life*, *Carlyle's Autob.*, *Kay's Portr.* i., *Hist. of the Rebellion*, *Chambers's Biog. Dict.* iv., *Struthers' Harp of Calcd.* i. ii., *Bower's Univ.* ii., *Erskine's Disc.* i., &c.

1785. THOMAS RANDALL, trans. fr. Lady Yester's, adm. 9th June. Had D.D. conferred by Harvard Univ. in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1793. By the death of his maternal uncle, Sept. 1794, he succeeded to the property of Muirhouse, assumed the name of DAVIDSON, and died 21st Oct. 1827, in his 81st year and 57th min. He was an affectionate and assiduous as well as an evangelical minister, attentive in promoting the views of young men studying for the ministry, either in directing their studies or bestowing from his fortune, which tended much towards strengthening the popular party in the Church. To the various charitable institutions of the city he was a liberal benefactor, and stimulated others by his pious example. He marr. 29th Jan. 1772, Christian Rutherford, who died 6th July 1797, and had a son, William, who succeeded to the estate; 2dly, 20th Aug. 1798, Elizabeth, daugh. of Arch. Cockburn, Esq., one of the Barons of Exchequer, she died 30th March 1850, and had Archibald, an advocate, Thomas, Sarah, and Mary.—Publications—[Three single Sermons (Glasg. 177–, Edin. 1802), 8vo]. A Sketch of the Character of Dr John Erskine, one of the ministers of Greyfriars Church (1803), 8vo; and recommended Ford's Serious Address to Men in Business (Edin. 1815), 12mo.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*, *Muirhead's Fun. Serms.*, *Kay's Portr.*, &c.

1828. JAMES MARSHALL, A.M., trans. fr. Glasgow (Outer High Ch.), pres. by the Town Council — and adm. 12th June. During the struggle in the Church upon non-intrusion, he did not relish the extreme height to which it was carried by those maintaining these principles, and with whom he had uniformly acted; and therefore sought relief in adopting

views which led him to embrace Episcopacy, and renounce connection with the Church of Scotland. He demitted his charge, which was accepted 27th Oct. 1841. He took orders in the Church of England, as curate to the Rev. Dr Gilly, Vicar of Norham, and one of the Prebendaries of Durham; was instituted Vicar of Maryport, Bristol, in 1842, and afterwards of Christ Church, Clifton, where he died, 29th Aug. 1855, aged 59, in 36th min. He marr. 28th May 1822, Mary Catherine, daugh. of the Rev. Leigh Richmond, rector of Turvey, and had Hugh Graham, Leigh Richmond, and Mary Richmond (who died in 1863).—Publications—Address to the Students of Divinity in the Univ. of Edinburgh (Edin. 1817), 8vo. A Sermon preached after the interment of the Rev. Alex. Ranken, D.D. (Glasg. 1827), 8vo. A Sermon on Cruelty to Animals (Edin. 1829), 12mo. Early Piety, illustrated in the Life and Death of a young Parishioner (Edin. 1837), 18mo. Letters of the late Mrs Isabella Graham, of New York (Edin. 1839), 12mo. Inward Revival (Edin. 1840), fcap. 8vo.—*Presb. Reg., Anderson's Sketches, Kay's Portr. i., &c.*

COLLEGIATE, OR SECOND CHARGE.

Uncollegiated by the Town Council, 26th Nov., and by the Presb. 10th Dec. 1828, with a view to the erection of St Stephen's.

1643. JOHN OSWALDE, trans. fr. Aberdeen, pres. by the Town Council, 1st Nov., and adm. before the close of the year; was a member of the Commissions of Assembly, 1644-1646; and trans. to Prestonpans in 1648.—*Edin. Counc., Syn., and Gen. Sess. Reg., Acts of Ass.*

1663. ALEXANDER MALCOLM, trans. fr. Orwell, elected by the Town Council, 28th Oct.; trans. to Newbattle in 1667.—*Edin. Counc. Reg.*

1668. WILLIAM GAIRDYNE, passed trials before the Presb. of Arbroath, by whom he was recommended to the Bishop for license, 23d July 1664, elected by the Town Council, 7th Aug., and ordained and collated, 22d Oct. 1668; trans. to the first charge in 1686.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Reg. Collat.*

1687. THOMAS WILKIE, A.M., trans. fr. N. Leith, elected by the Town Council, 11th Aug. He was the only min. of the city not superseded at the Revolution by Civil and Ecclesiastical authority, and was appointed to the Greyfriars, 23d Jan. 1691. Being requested by some of them to waive his appointment, he replied, "he would very readily obey the good Town, provided his legal right, as one of the min. of Edin. was not prejudged." The Council then offered him the meeting-house in the Castle-hill, which he declined, as it was not one of the legal churches of the city, to which he considered himself to have an undoubted claim. He was then trans. to Lady Yester's in 1691.—*Edin. Counc. Reg., Cont. of the Hist. Rel. of the Gen. Ass.* 1690.

1693. JAMES WEBSTER, trans. fr. Whitekirk, called 23d Nov. 1692, adm. next year. He scrupled to take the Oath of Abjuration in 1712, had a process instituted against him before the Lord Ordinary (Grange), July same year, by the celebrated Dr Pitcairn, for calling him a deist, which his lordship preferred to get amicably settled, and was against giving toleration to Episcopalians. Died 18th May 1720, aged 61, in 33d min. He was a fervent and pathetic preacher, extremely popular, and greatly lamented, but chiefly celebrated for the stand he made for purity of doctrine in the prosecution of Professor Simpson of Glasgow in 1717, which led him, on one occasion, into such an extremity of passion, that there was a probability of his being deposed by the Assembly at the next sitting, had he not then appeared, and tendered an apology. He was understood to hold ultra-Calvinistic opinions, and rather to be what is termed a Supralapsarian. He marr. Dec. 1698, Mary, daugh. of Dr James Stewart; 2dly, Sept. 1703, Agnes, daugh. of Alex. Menzies of Culterallers, and, beside a child who died, had Alexander, a son, long distinguished as a minister in the Tolbooth church.—Publications—A Discourse, demonstrating that the Government of the Church is fixed, and not ambulatory (Edin. 1701), 4to. Essay on Toleration (1703), 4to. An Apology for his Sermon (1703), 4to. A Discourse on the Government of the Church (Edin. 1704), 4to. Sacramental Sermons and Discourses at the Lord's Table (Edin. 1705), 4to. A Sermon at the election of Magistrates (Edin. 1706), 4to. The Covenants Displayed (Edin. 1707), 4to. Prejudices against the Union (Edin. 1707), 4to. The Author Defended (Edin. 1707), 4to. Second Defence of the Author, 4to. Select Sermons

on Several Texts (Edin. 1723), 8vo.—*Edin. Counc., Test., and Reg. (Marr. and Bur.)*, *Wodrow's Corresp.* i., *MSS.* lxxxii., and *Anal.* iii., *Boston and Webster's Mem.*, *Bower's Univ.* ii., *Edin. Christ. Inst.* xxiii., *Carlyle's Autob.*, *Kay's Portr.* ii.

1721. WILLIAM GUSTHART, A.M., trans. fr. Crailing, called 30th Aug. and 17th Nov. 1720, appointed by the Presb. 18th, and entered 22d Jan.; appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary, and dean of the Chapel Royal, Nov. 1726, and died 27th March 1764, being eminent in his day for taking a leading part in opposition to the Oath of Abjuration, and his success in getting such alterations made on it as rendered it more palatable. He marr. 24th July 1711, Ann, daugh. of Adam Tait of Howdon; 2dly, 13th May 1718, Ann, daugh. of Robert Hepburn of Whitburgh. Two daugh., Elizabeth and Jane, died in 1792 and 1795.—*Presb., Syn., Edin. Counc.*, and *St Cuthbert's Scss. Reg.*, *Wodrow's Corresp.* ii., *Morren's Ann.* i., *Fraser's Life of R. Erskine*, *Carlyle's Autob.*

1765. DAVID PLENDERLEATH, trans. fr. Dalkeith, pres. by the Town Council, 15th Aug. 1764, adm. 30th Jan. after; and died 26th April 1779, in 47th min. He marr. 6th Sept. 1743, Helen Simson, who died 25th March 1796, and had a son, Robert, hcsier in Edinburgh.—Publication—Religion, a treasure to men, and the strength and glory of a nation, a Sermon (Edin. 1754), 8vo.—*Presb. and Edin. Counc. Reg.*, *Kay's Portr.* i.

1779. JOHN KEMP, trans. fr. Trinity Gask, adm. 25th Nov.; elected Secretary to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in 1789. Had D.D. conferred by Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1793, and died 18th April 1805, in 61st age and 36th min. His able and successful exertions in favour of the above-mentioned Society well merited their respect and gratitude. The tours which were continued by him for successive years were essentially useful in producing a body of information respecting their schools and missions in the Highlands. He marr., 2d Oct. 1780, Beatrix, daugh. of Mr And. Simpson, merchant, Edin., she died 12th March 1796, and had David (who marr. the eldest daugh. of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Bart.), and Agnes; 2dly, 2d June 1797, Mary Anne, youngest daugh. of Geo., Earl of Northesk, she died 10th Aug. 1798; 3dly, 26th Aug. 1799, Elizabeth, seventh daugh. of John, Earl of Hopetoun, she died 17th Sept. 1801, aged 33.—Publications—The Gospel adapted to the state and circumstances of man, a Sermon, to which are added Facts serving to illustrate the character of Thomas, Earl of Kinnoull (Edin. 1788), 8vo. Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (Edin. 1796), 8vo. The character of the Apostle Paul in some of its features, delineated (Edin. 1802), 8vo.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*, *Douglas' Pcer.*, *Soc. Sermons*, *Kay's Portr.* i., &c.

1805. JOHN CAMPBELL, trans. fr. Kippen, pres. by the Town Council, 31st July, and adm. 24th Oct.; appointed Secretary to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, Jan. 1806. Had D.D. conferred by the Univ. of Edin. 10th Jan. 1807, was elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 21st May 1818, and died 30th Aug. 1828, in his 71st year and 46th min. As a divine he had few equals in knowledge, and though his manner was perhaps dry and heavy, yet to those who were acquainted either with his services in the pulpit, or in private life experienced his friendly intercourse, he was kind, useful, and instructive. He marr. 29th Feb. 1788, Christian, daugh. of Dr Rob. Innes of Giffordvale, she died 23d April 1796; 2dly, 15th Oct. 1801, Jean, daugh. of Tho. Kinnear, Esq., banker, Edin., she died 1st Jan. 1838, aged 67, by whom he had a son, Daniel, who died in 1809, and several daughters.—Publications—(Four Single Sermons, 8vo), 1801–1818. Account of Kippen [Sinclair's St. Acc., xviii. xxi.].—*Presb. Reg.*, *Lorimer's Fun. Serm.*, *Haldane's Mem.*, &c.

NEW NORTH CHURCH, HADDO'S HOLE, OR WEST ST GILES.

1694. SAMUEL HALLIDAY, A.M., translated from Dryfesdale, adm. 7th Nov. He returned to Ireland, was settled at Ardstraw, and died in 1724, aged 87, in 62d min. His son Samuel was a min. in Belfast, and a great promoter of the Non-Subscription of Creeds and Confessions of Faith.—*Edin. Counc. Reg.*, *Wodrow's Anal.* ii., *Reid's Ireland* iii.

1699. GEORGE ANDREUS, A.M., trans. fr. Prestonpans, called 4th Aug., and adm. same year. Died 15th May 1705, in 39th age and 17th min. "His conversation with persons of every quality and condition was savoury, pleasant, and edifying. As an interpreter he was one among a thousand to those who were broken in heart and wounded in spirit. He was very useful to the sick and dying, and mighty in the Scriptures, eminent in prayer, diligent in his work, and frequent and serious in his intercourse with God." He marr. Geills Millar, and had two sons, George, the younger son became one of the tellers in the Royal Bank, and died 1st May 1739, aged 44, and a daugh., Rachel.—Publications—Sermons upon the Twelfth Chap. of Hebrews (Edin. 1711, posthumous), 4to.—*Presb.*, *Syn.*, *Edin. Counc.*, *Prestonpans Sess.*, *Test. and Reg. (Bur.)*, &c.

1710. JOHN FLINT, A.M., trans. fr. Lasswade, had been called to the city in 1695, on 18th July 1697, and a second time 6th Sept.; appointed by the Presb. 7th Dec. 1709, entered 1st Jan. 1710. He had not freedom to take the oath of allegiance in 1712, and died 19th Jan. 1730, in 71st age and 42d min. A worthy, affectionate, zealous man, and of considerable learning as a linguist. As a minister, he was pious, warm hearted, and useful, especially among serious Christians, being strict in his principles and practice. He marr. Janet Elphinston, and had a son, John.—Publications—Examen. Doctrinæ D. Johannis Simson, S.S.T.P. (Edin. 1717), small 8vo, and was serviceable in publishing Pool's Synopsis Criticorum.—*Presb.*, *Lasswade Sess. and Reg. (Bur.)*, *Boston's Mem.*, *Wodrow's Anal.* iv., *Corresp.* i., and *MSS.* lxxxii.

1730. JAMES SMITH, trans. fr. Cramond, called 31st March, and adm. 23d July; elected a second time Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 6th May 1731, prom. to the Professorship of Divinity in the Univ., and loosed 27th April 1732, although several "of the elders and deacons appeared, craving he might be continued, there being no inconsistency in discharging both offices."—*Presb. Reg.*, *Wodrow's Anal.* iv., and *Corresp.* iii.

1732. JOHN GOWDIE, trans. fr. Lady Yester's, adm. 14th Dec.; elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 3d May 1733, and loosed 1st Aug. thereafter, having been chosen Professor of Divinity in the Univ. At the meeting of their commission, 16th Nov., when, according to their instructions, a motion was made for proceeding with the four disobedient brethren, and another for delay, the former was carried by his casting vote. Being thus released from their benefices, and declared no longer min. of the Established Church, they shortly after founded the Associate or Seceding presbytery. Professor Gowdie had D.D. conferred 13th March 1750, and was elevated to the Principality of the Univ. 28th Feb. 1754. He died 19th Feb. 1762, in 80th age and 59th min., a grave and learned man. He marr. Jean Deas, who died 16th May 1736; 2dly, Anne, eldest daugh. of Walter Ker of Littledean, she died 21st April 1765.—Publications—Sermon preached at the opening of the Gen. Assembly (Edin. 1734), 8vo. Propagation of the Gospel, and the blessed effects thereof (Edin. 1735), 8vo. Salvation of souls, the desire of every faithful minister (Edin. 1736), 8vo.—*Presb. Reg.*, *Wodrow's Anal.* iv., *New Theolog. Dict.*, *Fraser's Life of R. Erskine*, *Ferrier's Mem. of Wilson*, *Bower's Univ.* ii.

1733. JAMES SMITH, prom. fr. Professorship of Divinity, holding the Principality in conjunction, elected by the Town Council, 18th, and re-adm. 25th July. Died at Coldstream in returning from Bristol hot-wells, 14th Aug. 1736, in 56th age and 30th min. He was distinguished "for easiness of speaking and distinctness of thought," so that he was highly popular, and had great influence in the Presbytery, and other courts of the Church. He was a member

of the Society in Edinburgh for the History of the Scottish Church; and was supposed to have had the interest of James, Duke of Montrose, Chancellor, for the Principality of the Univ. of Glasgow, at the last vacancy. His wife, Catherine Oswald, died 6th August 1730 in her 46th year.—Publications—The Misery of ignorant and unconverted Sinners, a Sermon (Edin. 1733), 8vo. Sermon after the death of the Rev. James Craig in 1731, and under his auspices Craig's Sermons were published (2 vols. Edin. 1732), 8vo.—*Presb. and Test. Reg.*, *Wodrow's Anal.* iii. iv., *Wood's Hist. of Cramond*, *Bower's Univ.* ii., &c.

1738. ROBERT WALLACE, trans. fr. New Greyfriars, adm. 24th Sept. according to the usual practice of succession from a single to a collegiate charge. The Town Council applied and obtained an interdict from the Lord Ordinary against the settlement, but as the city was only considered as one parish, and the appointment to the different churches was fixed by the Presb., and considering the "matter purely spiritual," he had no hesitation in accepting it, and the opposition proceeded no farther. He was elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 12th May 1743; appointed by the Commission 9th Nov. following to go with Mr Geo. Wishart to London, in order to make application to Parliament for an Act to provide for the widows and children of Ministers and Professors, in which they were successful, and received the thanks of the succeeding Assembly, "for their faithfulness and diligence." He was one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal and Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty, June 1744; had D.D. conferred by the Univ. of Edinburgh, 13th March 1759; and died 29th July 1771, in 75th age and 48th min. By a change of the Government in 1742, he was entrusted for four years with the management of Church business, and consulted in the distribution of Crown Patronage, and so successfully did he discharge this duty that no instance occurred which prevented a harmonious settlement. To his knowledge as a man of the world, were joined an acquaintance and zeal in mathematics, which rendered him of essential service in assisting to make the calculations on which were founded the annuities and provisions to the widows and children in the Act formerly noticed. He marr. Helen, daugh. of Mr George Turnbull, min. of Tynningham; she died 9th Feb. 1776, and left two sons and a daugh., all of whom died unmarried, Dr Matthew W., Vicar of Tenterden, Kent, George W., an advocate, author of various works, and Elizabeth.—Publications—The Regard due to Divine Revelation, and its Pretences to it, considered, a Sermon (Lond. 1731), 8vo. Reply to a Letter directed to the Minister of Moffat [by Will. Dudgeon] Concerning the Positive Institutions of Christianity (Lond. 1732), 8vo. Ignorance and Superstition, a Source of Violence and Cruelty, and in Particular the cause of the present Rebellion, a Sermon (Edin. 1746), 8vo. A Sermon on James, iii. 18 (Edin. 1746), 8vo. A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times (Edin. 1753), 8vo. The Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance Considered (Edin. 1754), 8vo. Characteristics of the Present Political State of Great Britain (Edin. 1758), 8vo. Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence (Lond. 1761), 8vo.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg.*, *Wodrow's Anal.* iii. iv., and *Corresp.* iii., *Scots Mag.* xxxiii. lxxi., *Carlyle's Autob.*, *Mackenzie's Life of Home*, *Morren's Ann.* i., *Edin. Grad.*, *Chambers's Biog. Dict.* iv., &c.

1772. WILLIAM GLOAG, D.D., trans. fr. Lady Yester's, adm., 21st July. He was unanimously appointed Sub-Clerk to the Gen. Assembly 24th May 1781, and Almoner to His Majesty, Feb. 1799. Died 27th April 1802, in 44th min. Of pure and unpretending manners, he was destitute of ambition, ostentation, or jealousy of others, and ever faithful, affectionate, and earnest in his ministration of the gospel. He marr. 30th Nov. 1773, Euphemia, eldest daugh. of William Wilson, Esq. of Soonhope, writer in Edin., she died 13th Jan. 1833, and had John, merchant and magistrate of Edin., — wife of William Kerr, Esq., Secretary to the G. P. O., Edin., and Jean, who died unmarried July 1803.—Publications—Two Single Sermons (Edin. 1792–1800), 8vo.—*Presb. Reg.*, *Moncreiff's Fun. Serm.*

1802. JOHN THOMSON, D.D., trans. fr. New Greyfriars, pres. by the Town Council Sept., and adm. 16th Dec. 1802; re-translated to his former charge 28th Sept. 1814.—*Presb. Reg.*, *Kay's Portr.* ii.

COLLEGIATE CHARGE, Uncollegiated in 1814.

1703. ROBERT SANDELANDS, trans. fr. Newbattle, called 9th Sept., and appointed by the Presb. 9th Dec. 1702, adm. 3d Jan. after; died 10th Jan. 1732, aged 70, in 41st min. He marr. 6th Nov. 1698, Sophia, daugh. of Sir Mark Carse of Cockpen, and had a son, Mark, and a daugh., Agnes, a child, died 17th Dec. 1705.—Publication—The Salutation of Endear'd flowing forth (Lond. 1683), 4to, and edited the Sermons of his Colleague, Mr Andreus, in 1711.—*Edin. Counc., Presb., Syn., Newbattle Sess., Test. and Reg. (Bur.)*.

1732. WILLIAM HAMILTON, prom. fr. Professorship of Divinity, called 23d March, and adm. 8th Aug., holding in conjunction the Principality of the Univ., but died 12th Nov. thereafter, aged about 63, in 39th min. Distinguished for piety, learning, and moderation, he was well qualified for taking a share in ecclesiastical matters, and co-operated with Mr Mitchell in managing the affairs of the Church. In the various situations he occupied, consummate diligence, candour, and prudence were evinced, so that his loss was generally deplored. He marr. at Glasgow, 25th Feb. 1696, Mary Robertson, who died 22d Jan. 1760, aged 85, and had nine sons and four daugh., of whom William was a merchant, and Gavin a bookseller, both in the city, Robert, Professor of Divinity, Gilbert, min. of Cramond, and Ann, marr. John Horsley, A.M., a min. in England, and was the mother of Samuel, the distinguished Bishop of St Asaph.—Publication—The Truth and Excellency of the Christian Religion, a Sermon (Edin. 1732), 8vo.—*Presb. Cramond Sess., Test & Reg. (Bur.), Wodrow's Anal. iii. iv., & Corresp. i., Anderson's House of Hamilton, Bower's Univ. ii., Edin. Christ. Inst. xxv., Lecchman's [Life], Serm. i., Wood's Hist. of Cramond.*

1733. JOHN GLEN, trans. fr. New Greyfriars, adm. 22d Nov.; died 8th Jan. 1768, in 49th min. He marr. Mary, daugh. of John Osburn, merchant, sometime Lord Provost of the city, she died 8th April 1761.—*Presb., Syn., and Test. Reg., Carlyle's Autob.*

1768. JOHN BROWN, A.M., trans. fr. New Greyfriars, adm. 24th Nov.; elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 22d May 1777, died 6th May 1786, in 62d age and 39th min. He was "distinguished not more by his majestic appearance than by his pastoral excellence, powerful reasoning, and singular attention to the charitable institutions of the city, especially that of the charity workhouse." Taking a great interest in the improvement of the Translations and Paraphrases of Sacred Scripture, he was appointed, 28th May 1776, Convener of the Assembly's Committee for that purpose, and had the happiness of seeing the selection which had been made approved of, 1st June 1781, and partially, if not generally used. He marr. in 1748; 2dly, 13th Nov. 1775, Marion Tod, who died 3d Oct. 1786, by whom he had James, min. of Newburn, and — wife of Mr William Somerville, merchant, Glasgow.—Publications—The Extensive influence of Religious Knowledge, a Sermon (Edin. 1769), 8vo. Plan for Regulating the Charity Workhouse, Edinburgh.—*Presb., and Syn. Reg., Burns' Mcm. of M'Gill, and on the Poor, &c.*

1786. THOMAS HARDY, trans. fr. the High Ch., pres. by the Town Council Oct., and adm. 3d Dec., appointed professor of Ecclesiastical History, which he held in conjunction, 31st July, and had D.D. conferred by the Univ. of Edinburgh, 4th Oct. 1788, was unanimously elected Moderator of the Gen. Assembly, 16th May 1793, appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary and Deans of the Chapel Royal Oct. following, and died 21st Nov. 1798, in 51st age and 25th min. Possessing an active and vigorous mind he was no mean observer of passing occurrences. Soon after his admission he lectured through the gospel of John, with so much popular favour that an enterprising bookseller offered to buy them for publication. He warmly espoused the moderate side of the Church, but lamented the difference which subsisted especially on the law of patronage, which stimulated him to propose a medium measure which was allowed to fall to the ground. He was an attractive and eloquent preacher, took a lively interest in the beneficent and charitable institutions of the city, and was honoured to be instrumental in the formation of the "Society for the benefit of the Sons of the Clergy of the Church of Scotland in Edin." It is to be regretted so few of his works were preserved for the public, which may be ascribed to his delicate health and premature death. He marr. 28th June 1780, Agnes, daugh. of the Rev. Geo. Young, min. of Hutton, she died 4th June 1812, and had

Charles Wilkie, min. of Dunning; William, Captain in the H.E.I.C.S.; Sophia, who marr. Mr Gilb. Bertram, merchant, Leith, 2dly, Rob. Allan, Esq., surgeon, Edin.; Agnes, Janet, and Anne, all died unmarried.—Publications—*The Principles of Moderation* (Edin. 1782), 8vo. *Plan for the Augmentation of Stipends* (Edin. 1793). *The Patriot* (Edin. 1793), 8vo. [Five Single Sermons (Edin. 1775–1794), 8vo]. Sermon I. (Scotch Preacher, iv.)—*Presb. Reg., Edin. Grad., Bower's Univ.* iii., *Kay's Portr.*

1799. GEORGE BAIRD, D.D., trans. fr. New Greyfriars, pres. by the Town Council, 28th Dec. 1798, and adm. 10th Jan. after, holding in conjunction the Principality of the Univ.; trans. to the High Ch. 25th March 1801.—*Presb. Reg., Kay's Portr., Anderson's Sketches.*

1801. DAVID DICKSON, of Persilands, trans. fr. Trinity College, pres. by the Town Council 27th Jan., and adm. 26th Nov.; died 3d Aug. 1820, in 67th age and 44th min. A diligent and faithful pastor, as well as a pious and good man. From his habitual exercise of riding on horseback, it was said, there was two things of which he never tired, riding and preaching. He marr. 10th Dec. 1777, Christian, daugh. of the Rev. Tho. Wardrobe, min. of Bathgate, she died 14th Dec. 1832, and had David, min. of St Cuthberts; James Wardrobe, advocate, sheriff-sub. of Stirlingsh.; Elizabeth Somerville, who marr. John Tawse, Esq., adv., Secretary of the Soc. for Propagat. Christian Knowledge; Margaret and Anne died unmarried.—Publications—Four Single Sermons (Edin. 1779–1819), 8vo. Sermons preached on different occasions (Edin. 1818), 8vo. The principal subject, joyful import, and glorious extent of Gospel tidings [Serm. pr. before the Lond. Miss. Soc., 1804, 8vo]. Account of Bothkennar [Sinclair's St. Acc. xvii.]—*Presb. Reg. Kay's Portr.* ii., &c.

1821. HENRY GREY, A.M., prom. fr. St Cuthbert's Chapel, pres. by the Town Council, Oct. 1820, adm. 11th Jan. after; trans. to Bellevue (afterwards St Mary's) 29th Dec. 1824.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg., Kay's Portr.* ii., *Anderson's Sketches.*

1825. ROBERT GORDON, D.D., prom. fr. Hope Park Chapel, pres. by the Town Council — and adm. 8th Sept.; trans. to the High Ch. 25th Aug. 1830.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg., Anderson's Sketches.*

JOHN BRUCE, trans. fr. Guthrie, pres. by the Town Council — 1830, and adm. (in the Methodist chapel) 13th Jan. after; trans. to St Andrew's Ch. 28th Dec. 1836.—*Presb. and Syn. Reg., Kay's Portr.* ii., *Anderson's Sketches.*

1837. CHARLES JOHN BROWN, A.M., trans. fr. Anderston, pres. by the Town Council — and adm. (in Brighton St. chapel) 20th April 1837. Joining in the Free Secession, and signing the Demission, he was declared no longer a min. of this church, 5th July 1843. He marr. Bannatyne Wright, and had issue.—Publications—*Church Establishments Defended*, with special reference to the Church of Scotland (Glasg. 1838), 12mo. Sermon preached before the Gen. Assembly of the Free Church (Edin. 1844), 8vo. *State of Religion in the Land* (Lond. 1844), 12mo. Lecture II. [on Protestantism (Glasg. 1837), 12mo]. X. [on the Revival of Religion (Glasg. 1840), 12mo]. III. [on the Conversion of the Jews (Edin. 1832), fcp. 8vo], and XI. [before the Scottish Reformation Society (Edin. 1851), fcp. 8vo].—*Presb. Reg., &c.*

1843. ROBERT NISBET, D.D., died 22d Nov. 1874.

1875. ALEX. WILLIAMSON, present incumbent, translated from Innerleithen, and inducted 1st July 1875. In his incumbency the congregation left St Giles, and they now occupy another building near the Meadows.

BISHOPS OF EDINBURGH,

WHO HAD ST GILES AS THEIR CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

1634. WILLIAM FORBES, D.D., promoted from Aberdeen, elected 1st Dec. 1633, patent from Charles I. 26th, and consecrated (at Holyroodhouse) 28th Jan. thereafter. He rigorously urged conformity to the Articles of Perth; and died after taking medicine, vomiting blood, 12th April thereafter, aged 49, in 20th min. Though of weak voice, he was esteemed as an eloquent and matchless preacher, of very extensive reading, and fully conversant with the original languages, who preached with such earnestness and zeal that his sermon not unfrequently extended to two or three hours, which, joined to his studious and rigidly temperate habits, reduced his strength, and probably shortened his life. It was said, by no mean judge, that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on the words of the apostle, "Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us, and opened the scriptures." He inculcated peace and union among Christians so strongly, that he was considered too favourable to the errors of the Church of Rome. He was also a Privy Councillor, and left copious animadversions on the works of Cardinal Bellarmine, which it is feared have been lost. Sydsers the Dean in his funeral sermon called him "the bright star of Israel." His hail buikis and librarie were estimat to iiij^m merks; utencils, silver work, &c., iiij^c lxxvli. xiijs. iiij^d.; he was awand to Mr John Chamberis, his servitour and chamberlane, for his zeiris fie v^e merks. Frie gier, debts deducit, amounted to viij^m j^c lxxxiiiijli. xiiijs. vjd. He marr. Elizabeth Forbes, who survived him, and had Andrew (Professor of Humanity at St Jean d'Angel), Patrick (to whom Andrew was served heir, 16th April 1656), and Thomas.—Publications—*Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, Christo Mediatore Eucharista* (Lond. 1658), 8vo.—*Keith's Catal.*, *Irving's Scot. Writ.* ii., *Spottiswoode i.*, and *Spalding Miscell.* iii., *Inq. Ret. Gen.* 4123, *Row, Spalding, and Stevenson's Hist., Edin. (Bapt.)*, and *Test. Reg., Reg. Presb., Stark's Biog. Dict., Baillie's Lett.* i. iii., *Catal. Scot. Writ., Wodrow's MS. Biog.* ii.

1634. DAVID LINDSAY, D.D., trans. fr. Brechin, installed 29th July. He had a grant of "ane hous at the palice of Holyrudhous," and of the Commissariat of Edinburgh from his Majesty, 10th Oct. 1636. When the new Scottish Liturgy, or Booke of Common Prayer, was attempted to be read in the High Church, 23d July 1637, he narrowly escaped the fury of the populace, both in church and returning to his residence, being put into the Earl of Roxburgh's coach and carried home, while it was pelted with stones by the mob. Deposed and excommunicated by the Gen. Assembly at Glasgow, with seven other Bishops, 13th Dec. 1638, for his adherence to Episcopacy. He went to England where he died in Dec. 1641. He possessed great learning, and was considered an eloquent orator. He marr. Katharine, daugh. of Gilbert Ramsay of Banff, who survived him, and had a son, John, who succeeded to his estate of Dunkeny.—Publications—*The Reasons of a Pastor's Resolution*; touching the reverend receiving of the Holy Communion (which led to his promotion to the See of Brechin) (Lond. 1619), 12mo. *True Narration of the Proceedings in the General Assembly, holden at Perth, 25th Aug. 1618*; together with a just defence of the Articles therein concluded, against a seditious pamphlet (Calderwood's Perth Assembly) (Lond. 1621), 4to.—*Keith's Catal.*, *Row, Spalding, and Stevenson's Hist., Lindsay's Lives* i. ii., *Jervise's Lands, and Mem., Peterkin's Records, Reg. Pres., et Sec. Sigill., Baillie's Lett.* i., *Chambers's Ann.* ii., *Nicoll's Diary, Maitland Miscell.* ii.

1662. GEORGE WYSHART, D.D., formerly of St Andrews 2d charge. After being released from his imprisonment in 1645, he accompanied the great Marquis of Montrose as chaplain,

both at home and abroad, and after his decapitation became Chaplain to a Scots Regiment in the service of the United Provinces, was at the Hague, 11th Jan. 1649; and Chap. afterwards to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, with whom he returned in 1660, and was appointed to the Rectory of St Andrews, and afterwards to that of St Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Had a patent 18th Jan., was pres. by Charles II. 2d May, and consec. (at St Andrews), 3d June 1662; died at Lammas 1671, in his 72d year and 47th min. Deeply imbued with a sense of religion, and having experienced what it was to have been a prisoner himself, he was scrupulously attentive at dinner to send a portion to the prisoners taken at Pentland. The insight was estimat at *iiij^c li*. Inventar and debts at *xxv^m viij^c xliij^{li}. xijs. ijd.* He left to the poor of Halyrude (Canongate) *v^o li*. He marr. Margaret Ogilvy, who survived him, and had Jeane (who marr. William Walker), Hugo, James, Captain Patrick, Robert, and Margaret.—Publication—J. G. De rebus auspiciis serenissimi et potentissimi Caroli, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britanniæ Regis, &c., sub imperio illustrissimi Jacobi Montisrosarum Marchionis, &c., 1644, et duobus sequentibus, præclare gestis Commentarius (Hag. Com. 1647), 8vo (translated, Edin. 1756, 8vo).—*Keith's Catal.*, *Walker's Sufferings*, *Mem. of Montrose, Lamont, Nicoll, and Brodie's Diaries*, *Kirkton, Burnet, and Wodrow's Hist.*, *Acts Parl.* vii., *Jervise's Mem.*, *S. Presb. Elog.*, *Min. Book Reg. Priv. Seal, Monifeth, Stirling, and St Andrews Sess.*, and *Test. Reg.*, *Morison's Digest*, *Chambers's Biog. Dict.* iv., *Tombst.*, *Nisbet's Her.*, *Stirling Pap.*

1672. ALEXANDER YOUNG, prom. fr. St Andrews, appointed 11th, and consec. (at Holyroodhouse) 14th July; trans. to Ross, 29th March 1679.—*Nisbet's Her.* i., *Min. Book Reg. Priv. Seal*, *Morison's Digest*.

1679. JOHN PATERSON, trans. from Galloway, through the powerful influence of Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale, app. 15th Sept. He had an yearly pension of £100 sterl. from his Majesty, 14th May 1680, and another in April 1686, of £150 sterl. Trans. to Glasgow in 1687.—*Reg. Sec. Sigill.*, *Min. Book Reg. Priv. Seal, Catal. Scot. Writ.*

1688. ALEXANDER ROSE, A.M., trans. fr. Moray. The *Congé d'elire* was issued about the 1st at the instance of Colin, Earl of Balcarras, and he was elected 22d Dec. 1687, app. 21st Jan. 1688. He signed an address to James VII. shortly before his abdication, 3d Nov. following, and took his seat at the Meeting of the Estates, 14th March 1689, but did not sign the declaration of 16th, declaring it a free and lawful meeting. He was deprived on the abolition of Episcopacy, by the Convention of Estates, 11th April same year, succeeded his uncle as Primus of the Scots Episcopal Church in 1704, and died of apoplexy, 20th March 1720, aged 74, in 48th min. He had a healthy constitution, was of tall and graceful appearance, and an accomplished and experienced man of business.—Publication—A Sermon preached before the Privy Council at Glasgow (1684), 4to.—*Keith's Catal.*, *Acts Parl.* ix., *House of Kilravock, Fountainhall's Diary*, *Min. Book Reg. Priv. Seal, Stirling Pap.*, *Scots. Mag.* lvii.

B.

RENTAL OF CERTAIN ALTARS IN ST GILES.

(Translated.)

ANNUAL RENTS OF THE ALTAR OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

In this folio are written the lands and annual rents of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the parish church of Edinburgh, within the burgh of the same, from the donation of the burgesses in honour of the said B. V., and these were written by the hand of John Rollo, common clerk of the said burgh, A.D. Sept. 1369, and fourteenth of the reign of King David second.

- From the land of Ade the carpenter, lying outside the Netherbow in the Cannongate and south part thereof, two shillings from the charitable gift of Robert Abell.
- Item, from the land of John Suetblude, from the west part of the said land, two shillings.
- Item, from the land above the east corner of the bend, where the Netherbow tends towards the Fraternity, 13 shillings and fourpence, in which at that time lived John de Camera, and is the land belonging to the B. Mary.
- Item, without the said bow, from the land of Walter Scot, lying between the land of Henry de Spens on the east and the land of Symon de Maxwell on the west, eight shillings.
- Item, from the land of Eden de Bynis, lying within the lower Bow, on the south part of the street, between the land of Andrew Pictor on the west and the land of William Hare on the east, ten shillings, and it is the property of the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of John Walter, beyond the east vennel which leads to the Fraternity, eight shillings sterling, the property of the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of John de Allynecum, lying on the south part of the burgh, between the land of William de Goffer on the west and the land of William de Favid on the east, five shillings in annual gift.
- Item, from the land of Thomas Brydyne, lying on the south side between the land of Symon de Prestoun on the east and the land of Lawrence de Keith on the west, in charity, five shillings.
- Item, from the land of the said Lawrence, which now belongs to Robert de Sedwort, five shillings in charity.
- Item, from the land of John Wygmore, near the west part of the land of the said Robert, six shillings in charity.
- Item, from the land of Robert de Cory, near the churchyard, ten shillings, and it belongs to the B. Mary.
- Item, from the shop of John Wygmore, opposite the land of the said Walter de Cory, on the south, between the vennel leading to the burying-ground and the shops of the corner on the south, thirteen shillings and fourpence, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of Anote Wlf, on the south side of the venelle, opposite the pretorium, eight shillings.
- Item, from the land of John the Goldsmith, on the east side of the common vennel, above the corner, two shillings in charity.
- Item, from the land of Elen Wad, lying in the road and the part between the land of Alexander Wygmore on the east and the land of Ade Millet on the west, five shillings in charity.
- Item, from the land of Ade de Bronhill, lying on the south part of the road, between the land of John Cwke on the west and the land of Patrick Clerk on the east, ten shillings, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.

- From the land of Alan Gynowr, lying on the south of the road between the land of Thomas de Lanyne on the east and the land of Malcolm the son of John on the west, two shillings, the gift of the said Malcolm in charity.
- Item, from the land of the said Malcolm the son of John near the east side of the said land from the corner of the common venell, two shillings, the gift of the said Malcolm in charity.
- Item, below the wall of the land of Robert Hithfut, on the south side of the road between the land of Thomas Brouster on the east and the land of John Peny on the west, three shillings and three pence, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of Ade Skynner, on the south side of the road between the land of Andrew Tinctor on the west and the land of John de Spens on the east, ten shillings, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of Cristine Maltmaker, lying on the west corner, two shillings, in charity.
- Item, from the land of John Milner, on the upper part of the road entering the town, four shillings annual rent.
- From the land of Alexander de Naper, lying between the land of Thomas Abel on the south and the land of David Faber on the west of the other part, thirty pence, in the charity given from the said land, the whole amounting to five shillings.
- Item, from the land of Andrew Castelward, lying below the Upper Bow on the north side, between the land of Thomas Masowne on the west, and that of Alan, the son of Walter, on the east, five shillings, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.
- Item, on that part of the street from the land of Ade Clifford, lying between the land of Thomas Skinner on the west and the land of William Schenard on the east, and the land belongs to the B. Mary, twenty shillings.
- Item, from the land of Patrick Lepar, lying on the side of the way between, of Symon de Kercaldy on the east and the land of Ede Dov on the west, twenty-six shillings and eight pence, and the land belongs to the B. Mary from the gift of William Hare.
- Item, from the land of James de Edynburgh, lying on the north side of the road between the land formerly Ade de Slynysby's on the west and the land of Robert Logan on the east, thirteen shillings and fourpence, in charity from the gift of the said James.
- Item, from the east land of John de Dodyngystoun, on the north side of the road, four shillings in charity.
- Item, from the land of Alan de Paystoun lying to the north, between the land of Hugh de Selkirke on the west and the land of John de Toryne on the east, eighteen shillings, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of the said Hugh de Selkirke, four shillings in charity.
- Item, from the land of John de Toryne, lying between the foresaid land of Alan de Paystoun on the east, thirteen shillings, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of Walter de Toryn, lying on the north side between the land of John de Lydall on the east and the land of Ade Dewer on the west, three shillings in charity.
- Item, from the land of Henry de Cramownd, lying outside the lower Bow on the north, between the land of Galfriel Tinctor, chaplain, on the west, and the land of Alexander Coci on the east, three shillings.
- Item, from the land of Eugen Pakar, *vis. viiid.*
 " " Roger de Mofeth, *vis.*
 " " Ade de Blakburne, *ixs.*
 " " Alexander Sproit, *xs.*
 " " Ede de Pyrly, *vis.*
 " " John Red, *iis.*
 " " Duncan Lam, *xld.*
 " " Robert Spysur, on the assedation of William de Benyng, *vis. viiid.* the land belonging to the B. Mary.
- Item, from the land of Patrick, the son of Henry, *ii lb. wax.*
- Item, from the house of St Nicholas, *i lb. wax.*
- Item, from the land granted to Sir Roger Wygmor, from the gift of the community, *vi lb. wax*

on the part of the purification of the B. Mary, annually paid under the [campanil] steeple.

Item, from the tenement of John de Dalrympill, which formerly belonged to John of Cambusnethan, lying in the north of the said burgh, between the tenement of John de Cameron on the east and that of John de Mar on the west, from the gift of the said John de Cambusnethan, twenty-six shillings and eightpence sterling, and the land belongs to the B. Mary.

Item, from the land of William de Benyng lying on the north side of the said burgh, between the land of Thomas Yhutson on the east and that of Henry de Kyrcauld, sixteen pence, the gift of Sir Bricius Clerk.

Item, Ralstoun, *vi* *lb.* *vis.* *viii* *d.*

Item, Cragcruke, *vi* *lb.* *vis.* *viii* *d.* } amounting to *xvii* *lb.*

Item, Groutall, *v* *marce*

The sum of the present annual rent, *xxix* *lb.* *xvis.* *viii* *d.*

RENTAL OF THE HOLY CROSS.

Alex. Masoun, *xiii* *d.* from waste land.

Item from the cellar held formerly by Laurence de Rantoun, *x* *s.*

" land of John Herice, *vs.*

" " Andrew Tauernar, *xii* *s.*

" " Ade, son of John, *xxv* *s.* *iiii* *d.*

" " formerly Wil de Laweder's, *xxv* *s.* *iiii* *d.*

" " Walter Lang, *vs.*

" " formerly John de Butlands, *vs.*

" " Ade Lame, *iii* *s.* *iiii* *d.*

" " Alexander Wygmore, *viii* *s.*

" " formerly Gilmor Pell's, on the north side of the street, *viii* *s.*

" " of said Gilmor, in the Booth street, *xx* *s.*

" " formerly John de Turribus', in same street, *x* *s.*

" " Ibett Hog, *iiii* *s.*

" " Jacob de Rulford, *xiii* *d.*

" " Fergus de Spens, *xx* *d.*

" " Jonet Strury, *vis.* *viii* *d.*—sum *vi* *lb.* *iii* *s.*

Rental of the altar of Holy Cross, from the gift of John de Quyltnes.

First, from the tenement formerly held by John de Quyltnes, lying on the north side of the Burgh of Edinburgh, between the tenement of Walter Mentyn on the east and the tenement of Sir Simon de Preston, knight, from the gift of the late foresaid John, 4 *lb.* *xiii* *s.* *iiii* *d.* Also, from the tenement of William Sciffer, lying on the west side of the said burgh, between the tenement of Thomas Lanyn and the common vennelle extending to the cimetry of St Giles, from the gift of the said late John, *xx* *s.* in charity.

Item, from the middle tenement which is called Batalwawys, lying to the north of the said Burgh, between the tenement of Margaret Gillyote on the north and that of Alan Gynour on the west, from the gift of the said John, *xl.* shillings.

Item, from a tenement of the hospital of St John belonging to Duncan Lam, lying in the Newbegyng of the said Burgh, on the east thereof, between the tenement of Richard Mason on the north and the tenement of Peter Harper on the south, from the gift of the said John, *xxiii* *d.*

Item, from the tenement of Peter Harper, lying between the tenement of Duncan Lam on the north and the tenement of Thomas Pery on the south, from the gift of the said John, *iiii* *s.*

Item, from the tenement of Thomas de Byris, lying on the south of the Newbegyng of the said Burgh, between the tenement of Fergus de Spens on the north and the land of the said John on the west, from the gift of the said John, five shillings.

Item, from the land of the said late John, lying between the tenement of Thomas de Byris on

- the east and the tenement of William de Grant on the west, from the gift of the late John, four shillings *id.*
- Item, from a house with a croft, with its pertinents in the Newgat of the said Burgh, lying in the south part of the same, between the croft of Roger Wygmer on the west and the common vennelle leading to the church of the B. Mary in the field on the east, *xxvi. vii. d.*, from his gift and from a croft lying in the Newgat on the south, between the croft of Soltre on the west and the croft of S. Leonard on the east.
- Item, from a tenement of Sir John de Pentland, presbyter, lying on the south of the said Burgh, between the tenement of Andrew Pictor on the east and the tenement of John Watson on the west, from the gift of the said John, five shillings sterling.

HOLY CROSS BESIDE THE GREAT ALTAR IN THE CHURCH OF ST GILES.

- Stated service for the said year to a chaplain annually celebrating, and founded by Thomas de Fairle, 1429, namely the following rents :
- From the land of Thomas Fayrle, lying to the south of the Burgh South Road, between the land of William Teoderyk on the east and the land of the late William Robert on the west, *xls.* annually. And from the tenement of James Atkynsoun, lying on the north of the King's road, between the land of Thomas Cant on the east and the land of the late Thomas Malvil on the west, *xxvi. vii. d.*
- Item, from the tenement of the late James Foulefurd, in the said Burgh on the north side, between the land of the late William Thorne on the east and the land of the late Andrew Rede on the west, *xiii. iii. d.*

ALTAR OF HOLY CROSS.

- Joneta Strury.
From the land of said Joneta *iiii. b.*, and it belongs to Holy Cross.
- Thomas Yhotsoun, *xiii. iii. d.*
Gotheray Fairinle, *iis.*
Schynhard's Land, *xxs. vii. d.* James Rede.
Land of Robert Qwytyng, *xxvs.*
Walter Lang, *xxs.*

RENTAL OF ST NICHOLAS.

- First, from the tenement of William de Fausid, assigned to him by the community, lying in the Booth Raw, between the tenement of John Gylmor on the east and the common venelle extending to the cemetery of St Giles on the south, *iii. b.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of Ibbote Hog, between the tenement of the late Ade de Bronhyl on the east and the tenement of John Lepar on the west, *iii. b.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of the late John Lely, between the tenement of John de Turribus on the east and the tenement of Sir Robert de Pentland on the west, eight *s.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of Thomas Skynnar, between the tenement of the late Lyoun Heriot on the east and the tenement of Alan de Ballon on the west, *xs.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of the late John Estyryn, between the tenement of Ade Lam on the east and the tenement of Andrew Beth on the west, *xiii. iii. d.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of the late Ade Dewar, between the tenement of William de Tvrynon on the east and the tenement of Alexander de Paastoun on the west, *vs.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of the late John Barker, between the tenement of Robert Pottar on the east and that of John de Barnstoun on the west, *vi. vii. d.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of Andrew Youtsoun, lying in the Canongate between the tenement of the late Nicholas Stryngar on the east and the tenement of John Clerk on the west, *vs.* annually.
- Item, from the tenement of Nicholas Stryngar, in the said street, between the land of St Leonard on the east and the tenement of Andrew Youtson on the west, *vs.* annually.
- Item, from the west tenement of the late John de Dodyngstoun, between his tenement on the east and the tenement of John de Camron on the west, *vii. s.* annually.

- Item, from the tenement of Sir Simon de Prestoun, between the tenement of John de Qwyltnes on the east and the tenement of John de Fentoun on the west, viis. annually.
- Item, from the land of Alexander Ballon, lying in the Canongate between the land of John Logan on the west and the land of the late Martin de Browchton on the east, iis. annually.
- Item, from the land of David Rede in the town of Leyth, iiiis.
- Item, from the croft of St Nicholas, lying under the wall of the castle of Edinburgh on the south, four shillings annually.

RENTAL OF ST ANDREW.

- Item, from the land of William Wrycht, between the land of Andrew Bet on the east and the land of John Clerk on the west, xxs.
- Item, from the shop of the late Thomas Lanyn, lying in the Booth raw between the land of Bricius Clerk on the south and the land of John Dalrympyll on the north.

RENTAL OF ST GILES.

- From the land of the late Alexander Wygmer, iiiii marcs *xxd.*
- Item, from the land of John de Lawder, *xxvis. viiiid.* ; sum *iiiiib.* *xxd.*
- Item, from Cristine Gun, left to the altar of St Giles as it effeirs to the land lying in the burgh between the land of John de Duddynstoun on the west and the land of Malis Mason on the east, xxs.

RENTAL OF ST PETER.

- First, from the land of the late Walter de Cragbarrybuclar, *xxxvs.*
- Item, from the shelf [folio] and cellar of the late Ade Multrar, *xxvis. viiiid.*
- Item, from the land of the late John Conyhour, *xvis. viiiid.*

GIFT OF JOHN DE PEBLIS TO THE ALTAR OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

Rent of the Altar of St John the Evangelist situated in the north chapel of the Church of St Giles of Edinburgh, given and conceded to the said altar by John de Peblis, burgess of the said Burgh, and Margaret, his wife.

- First, *xiiis.* and *iiiiid.* annual rent of the land of the late Thomas de Bronhil, annallay taken up, lying on the north of the said Burgh, between the tenement of William de Fersyth on the east and the tenement of John Gardener on the west.
- Item, from the tenement of William de Fersyth, *xiiis. viiiid.* annually paid, lying to the north of the said Burgh, between the tenement of the late John Estirlyn on the east and the tenement of the late Thomas de Bronhil on the west.
- Item, from the tenement of John de Clyfton, *xxvis. viiiid.* rent, annually paid, lying to the north of the said Burgh, between the tenement of Duncan Rollo on the east and the tenement of the late John Bur on the west.
- Item, he gives and concedes to the said altar his tenement lying on the south side of the Nether Bow of the said Burgh, with all its pertinent between the tenement of the late John Barbar on the south and the King's Way above the rampart on the north.

CERTAIN MEMORANDA.

- Memorandum, that on the last day of December year &c. ninety-nine, after count and reckoning, John Fraser holds of the community in church rents, *viilib.* *iiiiis.* *ixd.*
- Memorandum, that John Prymros received for the new fabric and dues in the year &c. ninety-nine, *iiii^sv/b.* *xxd.*
- Item, the same dues in the year, &c. *ccccxxxv/b.* *iiiiis.*
- Item, the year, &c., forty-first computed in feet.

- Memorandum, that on the x day of November year, &c., cccc, count and reckoning equally computed.
- Item : memorandum, that by the indentures xxii day of November 1401, first count between John Fraser and John de Prymros, the said John Prymros received for the new dues, vi^{xxiii}lb. xis. iiiid.
- Memorandum, that 20th day of Nov., year, &c. forty-first, Adam de Spot, dean of gild, charged himself to the gild brothers xiii^{lb.} xiiis. iiiid., and then paid to John Prymros vi^{lb.}, and so owes count and reckoning, vii^{lb.} xiiis. iiiid., which were assigned to John Prymros in the total great reckoning.
- Memorandum, that count and reckoning on the vigil of St Nicholas of the rents of the church, John Frysell in the year 1402, said John is bound to the community in xlv^{lib.} xv. ix^{d.}
- Item, that on the same day after reading the indentures between the said John Frissell and John Prymrose, the said John de Prymrose received for the new fabric and dues xii^{lib.} xviii^{lib.} xs. ix^{d.}
- Memorandum, that John de Cambusnethan gave in perpetuity, annually levied by the Brother Preachers of Edinburgh for the said brothers, a pound of pepper from his tenement lying in the said burgh of Edinburgh on the south side between the tenement of John de Cameron on the east and the tenement of John de Irwyn on the west.
- Memorandum, that with the Dean of Gild there remain in *le tresourhous* of the church the following charters and letters : First, the charter of King Robert de Broys on the infudation of the Burgh ; Item, charter of John de Quhitenes of the infeudation of the altar of the Holy Cross ; charter of Lord David King regarding the Port of Leth ; charter of the said King David regarding the customs of Newbotil ; charter of Lord Robert the King regarding the gift of two hundred pounds ; charter of Lord Robert the King regarding the Port of Leth ; charter of Lord Robert the King regarding the gift of the market place [forum], called *le belhous* ; Charter of Lord David King regarding the donation of a hundred feet in length and xxii^{rum} feet in breadth near the tholoneum ; Confirmation of King David of the lands of Craigeruke ; gift of Lord Robert the King regarding dues ; indenture between the community and masons ; gift of Jonete Stury to the altar of Holy Cross ; confirmation of Lord David the King of this gift ; confirmation of Lord Robert the King of the same ; confirmation of Lord David the King regarding Petrawyn ; confirmation of King David regarding Merchamston ; confirmation of King David regarding Petrawyn ; confirmation of King David regarding Quirmerchamston ; confirmation of Lord William Bishop of St Andrews, regarding Petravyn ; resignation of Petrauyn ; resignation of Sir William Mure of Merchamston ; concession of King David regarding the lands of Raylstoun ; donation regarding the lands of Craigeruke ; donation of Patrick Grahame regarding the lands of Craigeruke ; donation of Hugh de Brounhill ; charter of William de Mole, burges of Haddington ; confirmation of King David regarding the lands of Railstoun ; charter of Grothal ; charter of Craigeruke ; charter of Railstoun by William Mure ; charter of John Cow regarding sale, &c. made ; donation of Mathew Gilsoun ; a missal and rental, with portferio and crown of B. Mary.
- Memorandum that the late John Strury left for the welfare of his soul for the upkeep of a candle before the altar of the B.M.V., viis. from the land which John Goldsmith holds in feu.

C.

ABSTRACT OF THE CHARTERS OF THE CHURCH OF ST GILES.

COLLATED BY D. LAING, ESQ., FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

(Translated.)

1. Charter of Matthew, the son of Juliane, 1344-5 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 3).—Gives to the chapel of the B. V. two shillings annual rent from his burghess land, and if said happens to be destroyed, dues to be levied when new erection takes place.
2. Confirmation of Henry de Brade of the charter of Henry Multerer, 1350 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 4).—Relates that Henry Multerer, burghess, gave to the altar of S. John Evang., in the choir of the B. V., and to a chaplain celebrating there, the lands of Grothill; confirms said gift, and resigns all rights regarding it. Done at Edin., last day of June, before the feast of St Luke.
3. Charter of Merchamstoun, 1358 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 5).—King David gives, &c., to God, B. V., and S. Katherine, and to a chaplain officiating at her altar, for the soul of Robert Hog, burghess, and Margaret, his wife, and all ancestors and successors, &c., the lands of Over-merchameston, the presentation to belong to Robert Hog, and after his decease to the alderman and community of Edinburgh.
4. Charter of Craigeruke, 1362 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 7).—Sir Patrick Grahame of Kynpunt, and Sir David de Gram of Dundas, his heir, assigns and concedes to John de Allyntrum, burghess of E., all the lands of Craigeruke.
5. Charter of Craigeruke, 1362 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 8).—Patrick Graham of Kynpunt, and Sir David de Grahame of Dundas, concedes to John de Allyntrum all right and claim which he may have to the lands of Craigeruke.—Witnesses, &c.
6. Confirmation of King David, 1362 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 11).—King confirms donation, &c., made by Patrick and David de Grahame, to John de Allyntrum, of the lands of Craigeruke.
7. Charter of John de Allyntrum, 1362 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 12).—In honour of the B. V. and all saints, for welfare of soul of late King and Queen, and the prosperity of the King, and Lord Douglas and wife, and Sir Archibald de Douglas, when they die, &c., and for his own soul, and that of Johanne, his wife, gives to a chaplain at the altar of B. V. his lands of Craigeruke; disposes the patronage of the chantry to the alderman and community, and failing them, to the Archdeacon of Lothian.—Witnesses, &c.
8. Confirmation of King David of said gift, 1362 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 14), in the usual terms, remitting the ten shillings owing to the crown from Craigeruke for the keep of the castle.
9. Confirmation of Grothill, 1362-3 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 15).—Robert Multerer, son and heir of the late Henry, confirms his father's gift to the altar of S. John Baptist, in choir of the B. V.
10. Charter of Railstoun, 1363 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 16).—Sir William More of Abercorne gives, &c. to God, the B. V., and all saints, and to a chaplain at the altar of B. V. in church of St Giles, all lands of Raylistoun.
11. Confirmation of the above by King David, 1364 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 18).
12. Confirmation of King David of the charter of William Hare, 1366 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 19).
13. Charter of the assedation of the lands of Craigeruke, 1376-7 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 20).—The aldermen, bailies, and community set to Patrick Leper, and John Leper, his heir, the lands of Craigeruke, burdened with the payments to the altar and chaplain.

14. Act of the Burgh Court regarding the charter of Simon de Kyrcauld, 1381 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 21).
15. Confirmation of King Robert of the donacion of Jonete Stury, 1386-7 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 22).
16. Charter of sale by Thomas Abel, 1387 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 23).—That Abel had sold and confirmed to John, son of Henry, of said burgh, fifty shillings and fourpence sterling payable annually to him from the tenement of the said John.
17. Contract between the provost, &c. and masouns for addition to S. Giles Church, 1387 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 24)—given in text.
18. Charter of John de Qwytnes, 1392 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 26).—Gives and confirms to B. V. and all saints, for support of a chaplain at the altar of Holy Cross, the concession which his father made.
19. Charter of King Robert of the right of patronage of the church of St Giles, 1393 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 29).—The king considering that the monastery of Scone, of the order of St Augustin, in the diocese of S. Andrews, founded in the principal see of the kingdom, had sustained great expenses "on the occasion of our unction and coronation, and at similar times in those of our progenitors, through the great and frequent gatherings of people," wishing to provide for the honour of God and the increase of divine worship in said monastery, gives to the canons of the said monastery the right of patronage of the church of S. G. of Edinburgh, and all the rights which our predecessors had in the same, with the lands and possessions belonging thereto; ordains that after Master James Lyoun, now vicar of the church, the abbot should have power to appoint, and the Archbishop of St Andrews is ordained to give collation to the benefice.
20. Charter of the consent of Walter, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1395 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 30).—Ordains that after it is vacated by James Lyoun, St Giles should be annexed to Scone, the abbot and canons being burdened with the upkeep, &c. of the church, giving them the revenues with the exception of the pension of forty-five marcs payable to James Lyoun.
21. Confirmation of the donation of John de Peblis, 1395 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 32-7).—King Robert confirms the donation made to the chapel of St John the Evangelist, situated on the north of the church, the ten pounds annually leviable within the burgh of Edinburgh.
22. Bull of Pope Benedict regarding the right of patronage of the church of St Giles, 1395 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 33).—The Pope ratifies the former charters conferring patronage on the Abbey of Scone.
23. Bull regarding the patronage of St Giles, 1395 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 34).—Pope Benedict confirms previous charters as before, and gives leave, in order to save the pension to the vicar of forty marcs, that it shall be lawful for the monastery of Scone to serve the church by one of their own canons judged fit for the office by the Bishop of St Andrews.
24. Charter of King Robert made in 1400 to Andrew Leper and Ade Foster of Corstorphyn (*Laing's Charters*, p. 37).—Grants to Andrew Leper, burgess of Edinburgh, the tenement of umquhile Bet, lying between the land of Robert Whytyng and Andrew Dicsoun, and ten shillings annual from the land of said Dicsoun, between the land of Andrew Bet and Wil. de Hervingstoun, and various other annuals from subjects within the burgh—the amount of which is given.
25. Adam Foster served as heir to Leper, 1402 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 38).—An instrument made before the baillies of the burgh (names given), defining the lands in former charter, and declaring Adam heir to the same.
26. The charter of xxx. of annual rent of the tenement of Adam of the Spott, 1404-5 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 40).—Adam de Spot, burgess of Edinburgh, declares that with the consent of Petronille, his wife, he sold to John Rede, executor of his will, the land of the umquhile John de Peblis, for the sustentation of a chaplain celebrating divine offices—namely, Sir Thomas de Halyday, and of other chaplains perpetually celebrating at the altar of S. John the Evangelist, founded in the chapel situated in the north part of the church of St Giles of Edinburgh by the grant of the said John de Peblis, paying annually twenty shillings, and the position of the land is defined and declared subject to the foresaid burden.

27. Return of Sir John Foster as heir to Adam Foster, his father, 1405 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 41).—Adam Foster's lands are defined with their burdens, and Sir John Foster declared proprietor thereof before an inquisition of baillies of the burgh.
28. Charter of John de Barre, 1411-12 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 44).—Johnne de Barre, burgess of Edinburgh, declares that he had sold to John Broun, Clerc of the burgesses of the said Burgh, his whole land lying in the toun of Leith, between the barony of Restalrig, between the land of the Abbot of Melrose on the east, and the garden of Simon de Hiltoun on the west, for a sum of money paid to him in his great necessity. Burden payable noticed, sale confirmed, witnesses' names.
29. Charter of John Eldar of Corstorphin, 1423 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 44).—John Eldar, John Barre, burgess of Edinburgh, and Mariotte, daughter of John Eldar and wife of John Barre, ratifies the sale previously made to John Broun. Various witnesses.
30. Confirmation of the charter of John Forstare, 1425-6 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, xvii).—James, king of the Scots, confirms the charter which is given, founding a chaplain celebrating at the altar of S. Ninian in the parish church of St Giles, and attaching thereto certain annuals from the burgh, retaining right of presentation to himself and his heirs. "I wish also and ordain that no one except a priest, nor anyone having cure of souls, shall be presented to said chaplainry, and that the chaplain shall give personal and continual residence in the chapel. I wish also that if any chaplain should be promoted, the said chaplainry shall become vacant, and that the said chaplain shall not be a parish priest, but on all days shall celebrate divine worship when disposed, and say *Placebo* and *Dirige* with commendation of souls, privileges excepted, for the souls of the above. Nothing then can be done except by the prayers of the devout." Many witnesses belonging to the burgh, and signed by the seals of king's officers.
31. Charter of confirmation of *vs. viiid.* annual given by John Alncrum of the lands of Andro Learmonth, 1426 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 46).—John de Alncrum, burgess of Edinburgh, declares that he has given, for the welfare of the souls of King James and others, when they shall "migrate from this light," and for the welfare of the souls of burgesses, &c., and of his own soul and that of Isabel, his wife, and of Sir John de Lanyn, and of Sir John de Hyll, chaplains, and to the foresaid and their successors, chaplains celebrating divine offices endowed from the lands of Craigeruke at the altar of Sanctè Mary Virgin in the parish church, an annual of *vis. viiid.* from the lands of Andro de Learmonth for a perpetual anniversary—namely, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and mass *Di requie*—at the said altar on the sixteenth day of July, at which there shall be nine chaplains with the priest, and the bell shall be rung through the street as well as in the church according to custom.
32. Charter of Thomas de Bening and Thomas Gudewyne, 1426 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 47).—The above persons of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, and procurators of lands and rents within the kingdom of Scotland, declare that they have let to John Broun Clerc of the burgh of Edinburgh, their waste temple land—measurement given—lying below the wall of the Castle and to the east of the King's Road between the land of unquhile Thomas Quhit on the north and our temple on the south, to have, &c., witnesses, done at Baltrodoch.
33. Charter of John Broun Clerc, probably 1426 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 48).—Gives to his son, Thomas, his land, stone house, built by him, with brass door and garden. Property and duties payable therefrom defined. Witnesses.
34. Charter of Sir John Forstar, Knight of Corstorfin, 1427 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 50).—Assigns and lets in feu-firm, John Broun Clerc, superiority of his garden or tenement, which is described as above. Witnesses.
35. Charter of John de Narne, 1428 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 51).—Burgess of Edinburgh assigns to John Broun Clerc a piece of land lying in his croft to the south of the King's Street, which is vulgarly called Kowgate. Boundaries given and witnesses' names.
36. Confirmation of the charter of Thomas de Fayrle by King James I., 1428 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 52).—Recites the charter by which Thomas gives for the welfare of the souls of the king and queen, and others—to God, the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, and to all saints, and to a chaplain celebrating divine offices at the altar of S. Cross, near and beside the great

- altar in the church of St Giles, various annuals from certain tenements, which are given for the use of the said chaplain as he shall answer to God in judgment. Witnesses of the charter and of the king's confirmation.
37. Charter of resignation of John Lepar, 1428 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 53).—John Lepar makes known to all men that he has resigned to Sir John de Hill, chaplain, and his successors, celebrating at the altar of the B. Mary in the church of S. Giles of Edinburgh, the ecclesiastical lands of Crageruke lying in the vice-county of Edinburgh. Sealed by John Lepar and witnessed by others.
 38. Agreement between Sir John Bridin, chaplain, and John Lepar, burgess, 1428-9 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 54).—Sir John Bridin, chaplain at the altar of Saint Nicholas, enters into agreement that a certain portion of the croft of St Nicholas shall remain with the chaplain of the said altar, and another portion with John Lepar, his heirs and assignees, paying thence to the said altar two shillings annually. It shall be lawful to the chaplain to demit in feu-firm his part of the croft, which he now does to John de Bonkyl, paying annually to the said altar xviii. He also assigns to Sir John de Hyl a certain part for vis. viii*d.* to the said altar.
 39. Charter of William Libertoun, provost, and the baillies to the altar of St John the Evangelist, 1429 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 55).—With the consent of Sir Thomas Haliday, perpetual chaplain of the altar of St John the Evangelist in the parish church of St Giles, they assign and let in feu-firm to Thomas de Soltre, burgess, the land or house—boundaries and rents described. And if it should happen that the said fifty marks 11 shillings and fourpence be not regularly paid, the land or house shall revert to the said altar.
 40. Charter of John and William Heres, canons of Holy Cross, 1432-3 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 56).—They consign and let in feu-firm to Andrew Bel, burgess, our land—boundaries and duties given. Witnessed by John de Livingtoun, provost, and others.
 41. Charter of Alan de Twedi, 1433-4 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 57).—Alan de Twedi, burgess, declares that inasmuch as James Atkynson, burgess, would sell him an annual of two mares from the tenement—boundaries described—for a certain sum, he obliges himself that he will make payment whenever the said James, or his heirs, will pay to him at the great altar of St Giles twenty-one pounds six shillings and eight pence Scots money.
 42. Charter of David Broune, chancellor of Glasgow, 1435 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 57).—Declares that he has let in feu-firm to Sir Andrew Young, rector of the church of Menteth, his land—boundaries given—paying annually to the altar of our Lord in the parish church of the city of St Andrew, founded by me in the south aisle thereof, ten shillings annually.
 43. Charter of Margaret, wife of Gregory Logan, and William Logan, their son and heir, 1437 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 58).—Declares that they have assigned to John Broun Clerc their land—boundaries defined and burdens—and gives sasine to the said John by the hands of John Yul, and by the delivery of earth and stone as the custom is in our burgh. Various witnesses.
 44. Instrument of sasine of the chaplainry at the altar of St Duthac, 1437-8 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 59).—In the name of God, Amen, in the presence of Provost and Ballies, Thomas de Cranestoun and William de Cranestoun declared that the unquihle Thomas Ker, one of the ancestors of the said William, founded a chaplainry at the altar of S. Duthac in the church of S. Giles of Edinburgh, and seek of the Provost and Ballies that they should be admitted to the patronage of this chaplainry after the demise of a certain Sir Ade Henricus to whom it belongs. Their petition thought reasonable and granted. Charter defective, and words omitted.
 45. Charter of Thomas de Cranstoun, 1437-8 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 61).—In honour of the Body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mother, and of all saints, and for the welfare of the Souls of the late James, King of Scots, and our King his son, and others, they have given to God and the B. Mary, for the sustenance of a chaplain, celebrating in honour of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the altar of St Duthac, Bishop, in the church of St Giles, an annual rent of five marks six shillings and eightpence Scots money, from the land of the late Patrick Cante—boundaries given—and

- also other annuals from other lands in the burgh, the presentation to belong to their heirs and successors; the chaplain to keep continual residence, and has no power to employ a substitute, and if these heirs do not present a chaplain within a month after the chantry is vacant, the Provost, baillies, &c. are to do so, &c.
46. Charter of Cristiane Marschel, wife of Andrew Marschel, 1438 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 63).—Declares that they sold to John Broun, Clerc of the Burgess' of Edinburgh, certain temple lands lying in the burgh, in the street which is called Newbegin, to the east of the King's Road—boundaries given—for a certain sum paid her, and Mariotte, her daughter, which land is held mediately of the said John, and of St John of Jerusalem, Lord Superior, and “which land we have resigned into the hands of Lawrence Spot, baillie of the Temple lands.”
47. Charter of Alan de Fairinle, of the altar of St Nicholas, 1439 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 64).—With consent of Clement de Farinle, his son and heir, and to the honour of God, &c., for welfare of King James and Queen Johanne, and others, gives to God and the altar of St Ninian, and to a chaplain celebrating annually at said altar, in the church of St Giles of Edinburgh, on the south side of the said church, certain rents amounting to forty marks seven shillings and fourpence, payable from the following lands—lands defined—and portions payable from them. I wish that the presentation to the said chaplainry should pertain to my heirs, and if they fail to present within eight days after it is vacant, the patronage to go to the provost and baillies—the chaplain, when disposed, shall make daily mass as other priests do in the said church, and he shall be bound, *die uero Lune*, to celebrate mass for the dead, *Requiem eternam*, and at the beginning of the mass to exhort the people that they should pray for the souls of the foresaid, and should say a *Pater noster* with the *Angelic salutation*. He is bound also, when I and my wife migrate from this light, to celebrate at the said altar for our souls, in testimony whereof I have appended my seal. Witnesses.
48. Pension of Torphichen, 1442. Regarding the letters following, instrument was made and transumpt sought by Patrick de Cockburn, provost, with the baillies, James Balbirny, and others, A.D. 1448.—“Brother John de Lastro, master of the sacred house of St John of Jerusalem, humble custodian of the poor of Jesus Christ, to Digneros the Scot greeting. On account of thy merits and daily obsquies made by thee to us, and to our religious order beyond the sea,” acknowledges that he is not able to live comfortably on the ten golden scuti payable to him from their house of Torphichen in Scotland, and grants him other ten scuti, payable at the first feast of St John, and that the said twenty scuti should be payed him by the procurators of the said house, enjoining them to obey this mandate by virtue of their holy obedience—in testimony of which our magisterial seal is appended—given at Rhodes, in our Convent, twelfth day of June 1442.
49. Charter of Thomas de Cranestoun to the altar of St Duthac, 1443 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 67).—States that a chaplainry had been founded by him and his late wife, Mariotte, with the consent of his son and heir, William de Cranstoun, at the altar of S. Duthac, Bishop, in the parish church of St Giles, and infest in certain specified rents and lands in the burgh, he of new, with the consent of his son, in honour of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the virgin and all saints, and for the welfare of the late King James, and of our King James his son, and queen Johanne, and their ancestors and successors, and of his own father, mother, brothers and sisters, and for the soul of his late wife, gives for the sustentation of a chaplain certain annual rents from lands described—reserves the presentation—insists on the chaplain residing, and gives right of presentation, should his heirs fail to exercise it within a specified time, to the Provost and Baillies.
50. Note of another charter by the same Thomas.—That he gave to the altar and chaplain foresaid, 40 shillings annually, payable from a tenement in the burgh, described.
51. Charter of Andrew Cranby, 1443 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 69).—Declares that he sold to Sir Patrick Lesour, rector of Newton, an annual of thirty shillings, from lands described, for a sum of money payable to him in his urgent necessity.
52. Ane obligacioun of Quhitehddis to Cranstoun anent the lande out of the whilk the annual mortifit to Sanct Duthoc's altar is to be tane up, 1443-4 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 70).

- Qulitheede and Johne of Dee, burgesses of Edinburgh, declared that, notwithstanding Thomas of Cranstoun, constable of the castle of Edinburgh, has let to them his land—described—paying yearly to the lord of Fentoun and the altar of S. Duthac six pounds usual money of Scotland, &c., they oblige themselves and heirs that it shall be lawful to the said Cranstoun to recover the said land if the annuals should not be paid at the usual terms.
53. Charter of James Corour, 1445 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 71).—With consent of Christiane, his wife, he has sold his tenement, described.
 54. Charter of Simon Dowele, 1445.—Simon, son and heir of the late John Dowele, declares that he has sold to Andrew Bell an annual rent of twenty shillings. Witnesses.
 55. Letters of Abbot Humbert, 1446 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 73).—Abbot of the convent of St Anthony, belonging directly to the Roman Church of the order of St Augustine, *bien-nensis* diocese, also the preceptors, priors, brothers, and religious belonging to the foresaid chapter. Lately in our general chapter, brother Michael Gray, preceptor-general of the house of S. Anthony, in Scotland, set forth that certain canons of the said monastery, and of the order in Scotland, had encouraged litigation between the religious, had refused obedience to their superiors, and had appropriated revenues to themselves, for their own benefit. We, therefore, desiring that all strifes between our religious should at once be extinguished, &c., declare the preceptories of our order perpetual benefices, and other possessors of them shall not hold the offices in perpetuity—[blanks]. We enjoin that each should walk in the vocation in which he is called, and honest conversation in the Lord, and worthily persevere to put a stop to all disputes—given at Sanct Anthony, in the large hall of the said house—present Ludovick Cornillion, Lord of Bruseto, Mater Michael Franses, bachelor of laws, and James Pignoli, beneficed in Perpignian.
 56. Charter of Patrick Cokburne, provost, the baillies, and community of Edinburgh, 1447 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 74).—Declare that they have let in few-firm to William Nutt, burghess, certain land to the west of the forum and cross of the said burgh—land described—for the good of the altar of St Andrew, which land had been resigned by Sir John Erale, chaplain—burdens payable detailed.
 57. Charter of the High Altar, made by the provost, bailles, &c., 1447 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 78).—Have given to Sir Alexander Hundby, the place of chaplain at the high altar in the church of St Giles of Edinburgh, with all its profits and rents—these given in detail—and he is bound to say daily mass for the souls of the fewars and community of said burgh, to bear up the weight of the said college church, to minister in the choir on ferial days, habited in his surplice at high mass and vespers, in festivals at mattins, high mass, and vespers; that he will observe the statutes of the college, and not resign his place in favour of another.
 58. Obligation by the chaplain of the High Altar, 1447.—Alexander Hundby, chaplain, undertakes to fulfil the above duties—obligation given in text.
 59. Charter of Thomas Clerc, made to Gilchiste Skynnar, 1447–8 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 79).—Declares that, with the consent of his father, John Broune Clerc, he had let to Skynnar certain lands described.
 60. Memorandum of Sasine to Andro Bell, 1447–8 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 80).—Memorandum that William Gray, baillie, at the instance of Andrew Bell, came to a tenement—described—and a resignation thereof being made in his hands, he gave Andrew Bell infestment by the exhibition of stone and earth as is the custom.
 61. Indenture regarding lands in the town of Leth, 1448 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 81).—It is agreed between Lord William Crichton, chancellor of Scotland, and brother Michael Gray, preceptor general and master of the hospital of St Anthony at Leith, that the said Crichton gives to God and the hospital of St Anthony certain lands in perpetuity—described—for the sustentation of a chaplain at the altar of our Lord, on the south of St Anthony's church, for the souls, &c., regulation regarding patronage, &c. Also, it is agreed that if Crichton should aquire an acre of the lands of Peilrig, lying to the south of St Anthony, extending to the king's highway, the Preceptor and his successors should construct thereon an hospital for six beds, &c. And if it should happen that the

- preceptor or his successors should not implement this agreement, Crichton should be allowed to transfer the chaplany, &c., to the parish church of Creichtoun.
62. Swift's charter made to his soun upon a land wadset to the King, 1448 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 83).—John Suyft, burgess, declares that he has given to his son Robert his tenement—described—until he happen to be promoted to an ecclesiastical benefice of the annual value of twenty pounds, and if the benefice should be less, and the said Robert happens to marry after his decease—to his heirs, whom failing, to certain others named.
 63. Swift's charter made to his son Henry, 1448 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 89).—John conceeds a tenement to his son—described—to his heirs, &c.
 64. Swift's charter to his soun Johne, 1448 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 86).—In the same terms as the foregoing.
 65. Swift's charter to his soun Walter, 1448 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 87).—In the same terms as the foregoing.
 66. Swift's charter to his douchter Elizabeth Swift (*Laing's Charters*, p. 87).—In similar terms to the foregoing.
 67. Charter of Confirmation of Master Thomas de Lawdre, 1449-55 (*Laing's Charters*).—King James confirms charter made by Thomas de Lawdre, canon of Aberdeen and master of the hospital of Soltre, by which, for the souls of his father, mother, sisters, benefactors, and parishioners, he founds a chaplainry in the church of St Giles, in the Aisle of St Cross at the west colum, at the altar of St Martin and St Thomas, under certain conditions, the presentation to remain with himself, after to Master William de Lawdre, afterwards to the Provost and Baillies—that the said altar of St Martin and S. Thomas shall not be moved by the Provost and baillies from the place it occupies, and that if this happens I wish Sir William de Lawdre of Haltoun and his successors should have the chaplainry and right of presentation elsewhere than in the said church; that the chaplain should personally reside, say mass daily, and hold no other benefice under pain of forfeiture; and for the upkeep of the chaplainry I give—annuels and lands from which they are to be drawn.
 68. Charter of Gilerist Turnbule, 1450 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 90).—Gives and lets in feu-firm to Robert Coxson his shop—tenement described—paying annually to the chaplain of the Altar of the Holy Blood in the Ch. of St Giles, near the north door thereof, twenty-six shillgs. and eightpence.
 69. Gilcreist Turnbillis charter, 1450 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 91).—Declares he has let in feu-firm, &c., to Robert Coxon, burgess, the front house of the under-mentioned tenement—described—with its burdens, to the chaplain of the altar of St James, thirty shillgs., and for the upkeep of the light called *le lamp* in the choir, six shillings.
 70. To the altar of S. Cristopher, founded in the parish church of St Giles, 1450-1 (*Laing's Charters*, Appendix, lxvii).—In name of God, Amen, personally appeared William Skynner and others—names given—Skinners within the toun of Edinbgh., and obliged themselves in the manner following, that to the sustentation of a chaplain at the altar of S. Cristopher, newly founded by them, they will lend helping hands for the whole term of their life, and according to their ability; that apprentices shall pay twenty shillings, and that no apprentice shall be admitted to the guild unless he promises to lend helping hands, &c.; and that if there be any debate among the said skinners, both parties shall submit their controversy to the brethren of the guild, and shall abide by the decree of the council, &c. Done within the church of S. Maria in the fields.
 71. Charter of Thomas Hodgesoun made with Sir Patrick Lesour, 1451 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 92).—Declares that with consent of his wife he has sould to Sir Patrick, rector of the church of Neutoun, an annual rent—land described.
 72. Cameroun's charter, 1451 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 93).—William Cameroun, burgess, for the love which he has, gives to his wife Elizabeth the tenement—described—to be held by said Elizabeth, and afterwards to go to his son James Cameroun and heirs—burdens described, among others, an annual to the chaplain of the altar of St Katherine, virgin.
 73. Letters of the Provost and Baillies of Edinbgh. regarding the transumpt of certain

- charters, 1451 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 94).—George de Fanlow, Provost, &c., sitting in judgement, compeared Sir William Park, vicar of Edram, and produced certain letters asking us to authorise a transumpt to be made by a notary, the tenor of which is as follows: John Yuile sells certain lands to Sir John Gray, canon of Glasgow and rector of the church of Listoun—lands described—James Robertsoun sells to Sir John Gray, Rector of Kirkliston, an annual rent—lands described. Some other documents of a similar character. A transumpt ordered to be made by a notary-public.
74. Charter of Master John Gray, 1451 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 99).—John Gray, Master in Arts and Medicine, rector of the church of Kirkliston, for the souls, &c., gives to the support of a secular chaplain at the altar of S. Kentigern, lately founded by me, certain annual rents from lands—described. Usual conditions regarding presentation and duties of chaplain.
75. Bond by Sym of Edinham to Johnne Broun Clerc, 1452 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 101).—As John Broun Clerc has set him in feu-firme his land, obliges himself to uphold the same, &c.
76. Charter of King James II., 1453 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 102).—Gives to William de Ledale, &c., the lands of Lochtilow, within the barony of Bathcat, certain lands described, with their burdens.
77. Charter of Patrick Lesour, 1454 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 103).—Patrick Lesour, rector of the parish church of Neutoun, for the souls, &c., gives to the support of a secular chaplain at the altar of St Michael, archangel, founded by himself in the Parish church of St Giles—the following rents of lands described. Town to present within twenty days of a vacancy—chaplain to reside. If the town do not exercise their right, presentation to lapse to the abbot and convent of S. Cross. If the chaplain does not celebrate for fifteen continuous days, he shall vacate his chaplainry; if the chaplain keeps a whore or a concubine or is promoted, he shall vacate. Chaplain every Sunday, and on the greater festivals, shall celebrate high mass vested in his surplice. In the beginning of his mass he is to exhort the people to say a Paternoster with the angelic salutation for the souls of the foresaid; for my decease, to keep the anniversary of my death; to say *Placebo* and *Dirige* with notes on the day of my death, and on the morrow mass, of requiem with notes and the service of seven chaplains. He is bound to provide necessary vestments and ornaments of the altar, and bread, wine, and lights, and on all the six feria he makes general absolution with the penitential *Psalm Miserere, Mei Deus, et De profundis*, with sprinkling and blessing of my tomb before the said altar, if Christ would give me requiem, &c.
78. Bond of the Bugh of Edingh. to Williame Prestoun of Goirtoun, 1454-5 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 106).—Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres we the prouest, &c., to be bundyn ande sikirly oblist to William of Prestoune of Goirtoun, sone and aire to umquhile William, &c., ande to the freinds and surname of thaim, that foralsmekle as William of Prestoune, the fadir, quham God assoillie, made diligent labour and grete menis, be a he and mighty prince the king of France, and mony uthir lordis of France, for the gettyn of the arme bane of Sanct Gele, the whilk bane he frely left to our mothir kirk of Sanct Gele of Edinburgh, withoutyn ony condicion makyn. We considerand the grete labouris and costis that he made for the gettyn thairof, we promit as said is that within sex or seivin yhere, in all the possible and gudely haste we may, that we sal big ane ile furth fra our Lady ile, quhare the said William lys, the said ile to be begynnyn within a yhere, in the whilk ile thare sal be made a brase for his lair in bosit werk, and aboue the brase a table of bras with a writt specifand the bringing that rillyk be him in Scotland, with his armis, and his armis to be putt in hewyn werk in uthir thre partis of the ile. Alswa, ane alter to be maid in the said ile, with buke and chalice of siluer, and al uthir grath belangand tharto. Alswa, that we sal assing the chappellane of quhilom Schir Williame of Prestoune to sing at the alter fra that tyme furth, and gif ony freindis lykys to feft ony ma chappellanis, thai sal be thankfully ressauit to singe at the alter. Item, that als oft as the said ryllik beis borne in the yheir, that the surname and nerest of blude to the said William sal beir the said ryllik before al utheris. Alswa, that fra the

- dede of the said Williame fadir, thare sal be fundyn a chappelane for the termis of five yheris to singe for him. Item, we promit that thare sale be an obit yherely done for him, sic as efferis the time of the yhere of his decesse. In witness of quhilk thingis we have set our commoun sele at Edynburgh the xi day of the moneth of Januare, the yhere of Oure Lorde a thousande four hundreth fyfty-four yheris.
79. Charter of the Provost, baillies, &c., to Andro Napare, 1456 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 107).—With the consent of Sir Robert Lintoun, chaplain at S. Katherine's altar, they have assigned to Napare, &c., lands of Uprmerchamstoun belonging to the said altar by the foundation of Rob. Hog, &c.
80. The gift of the Black Freiris, 1457 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 108).—James, King of Scots, &c., confirms charter of Alexander, King of Scots, giving to God, &c., and the preacher brothers of Edingh., the broad way in which was our manor, with the entrance which is called *Le Vennel*. Witnesses and seals.
81. Instrument of sasine of a certain annual in Leith in favour of Sir John Moffate, 1462-3 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 109).—In name of God, Amen, &c., compeared Alexander Forstar of Corstorfyne, knight, shows that he was granted sasine of said annual of lands described. Certified by a notary, William de Camera.
82. Letter of reception of the bishop of the place, 1464 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 110).—James, D. G. bishop of St Andrews, &c., know ye that we have seen certain letters of William Forbace, perpetual vicar of St Giles, &c., to the religious brothers of the order of the Minorites regarding the church or chapel of S. John Baptist, situted without the burgh of Edingh. to the following effect: Wil. Forbace, canon of Aberdeen and perpetual vicar of St Giles, &c., greeting—Whereas by the venerable father, Brother David de Carnok, of the order of Minorites, I have understood that he and the brethren of the said order desire to war for God in the church or chapel of John the Baptist, without the Bugh of Edingh., in possession of and properly belonging to my church of Edinbgh., according to the institution of the brethren, drawn from the blessed Francis, and supplicates my consent, I therefore, considering the prayer to be just, also that it is in accordance with the canons of sacred councils to plant holy religion, and to nourish it when planted, grants the chapel, and should it not be occupied by the Brothers of the observance, it shall revert to him and his successors, which letters were ratified by the Bishop.
83. Charter of the provost, &c., of the bugh of Edingh., 1466 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 112).—James, D. G. King, &c., because our beloved provost, &c., desire that the Parish church, &c., belonging to our presentation, should be erected into a perpetual college by the episcopal ordinary with certain canons and prebendaries, and that a perpetual provostship should be created and ordained in said church, and that under the provost there should be a perpetual vicar having care of souls. We therefore, &c., gives and concedes, and that the provostry and vicarage should be in the gift of the crown.
84. Charter of confirmation to a chaplain in the church of St Giles of Edingh., 1466-7 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 113).—James, King, &c., confirms charter of Alexander Curroure, vicar of the parochial church of Dunsiare, in the diocese of Glasgow, and James Logtoun, chaplain, giving to God, &c., and to a chaplain celebrating annually at the altar of St Nicholas in the parish church—land described—the donation to belong to them, and afterwards to go to Lord Steuart, of the Barony of Bradwode, and if he does not present within forty days of a vacancy, to the Provost, &c.; said chaplain to say daily mass, &c.; also on the eighth day of July in every year he is to place *super exequis* thirty shillings and fourpence, of which he shall give ten shillings and eightpence to presbyters of the college of St Giles, &c., and twenty pence in wax candles and torches, and to the cleric ringing the bell in church sixpence, and to the bellman ringing through the town sixpence. If the chaplain keeps a concubine, or does not give personal residence, he is to vacate his chaplainry. Witnesses.
85. Robert Logane to the altar of St Nicolas, 1466-7 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 116).—Patrick Logane of Cotfelde, ballie of Restarig, comes to the land of Hug de Bar, and gives sasine according to the following tenor: To yhou I bid and commandis that thir lettres sene ye resave a resynacioun to be made in your hands be Maister Alexander Curor of all

- and hale the forty schillings worth of annual rent, &c., and that ye gif heritable possessioun to Sanct Nicolas and to Schir James Skynnar, chapillane of the chaplanry to be fundyit at the altar of S. Nicholace, &c. In witness, &c.
86. Charter of a confirmation to Robert Auldhoeh for the support of a chaplain.—James, king, &c., confirms charter of Robert Auldhoeh, burgess, for the soul of James Second and others, giving to Master Robert Coltis, chaplain, and his successors, celebrating at the altar of St Katherine, an annual rent from lands described on the usual conditions; founder's heirs to be patrons, and if they do not present within forty days, toun to have the appointment, one of the founder's kin and blood to have the preference if any found fit.
87. Grant of the aisle and chapel of St John Baptist to the Incorporation of the Masons and Wrights, 1475 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxviii).—Till all and sundry, the Provost, &c., greeting in the sone of the glorious Virgine, &c., for the eiking and suplying of divine service daily to be done at the altar of St John Bapist, assign to oure toun and neighbours, the hale craftismen of the masonis and of the wrichtis, &c., the yle and chappell of St John B., fra the ald hers of yrne inward, and to be haldin, &c. The said craftismen to use, occupy, and aduoury the said yle as their awin proper yle, sic like as other craftismen within the said college Kirk, to thug the licht of the said altar as utheris dois yherly, &c. In witness, &c.
88. Charter of foundation of a chaplainry of John Dalrymple at the altar of St Eli, 1477 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 119).—John Dalrymple, for the souls of James First and Second, and of others, to the glory of God, &c., gives for the support of a chaplain at the altar of St Eli, confessor, an annual rent of ten marks, payable from certain lands specified, usual duties of chaplain specified, as in former charters.
89. Charter of mortification of the altar of St Martin, 1477 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 121).—James, King, &c., confirms charter of James, Bishop of Dunkeld, founding for the welfare of the soul of James III., Queen Margaret, and others, a chaplainry in the Aisle of S. Cross, at the west column at the altar of St Martin and S. Thomas, and have given to the B. V., &c., and to St Columba, patron, and to the chaplain celebrating at the said altar, a certain annual rent of ten pounds—land described—Presentation to belong to the Bishops of Dunkeld; also gives an annual rent for the sustentation of three lamps in the church, in the said aisle, before the altar of S. Martin, which lamps are to be lit all winter at the second ringing of the bell calling to vespers, and to continue lit till the closing of the doors, to be supplied with olive oil.
90. Charter of William Forbes, provost of the church, 1477–8 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 122).—With the consent, &c., of his chapter, considering that his parishoners have so increased that there is no room for burial in the church, gives and concedes to God, &c., that part of his garden lying contiguous to his manse, near the College church, boundaries defined, to be a cemetry for his parishoners, to have and hold, &c. Appends his own seal and that of the chapter, and the signatures of the canons—Wil. Forbes, Provost, his own writing; Richard Robert, Prebendary of Craigeruke, do.; John Crauford, do.; John Fyndgud, curate, do.; William Thomesoun, do.; John Skathmur, do.; John Cliddisdale, do.; Thomas Halyday, do.; Thomas Rechartson, do.; Thomas Mathisoun, do.; Sir James Bawbyrny, do.
91. Regarding the pensiou granted to Master William Forbes, 1478 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxix).—Grant was made under the great seal to the above Provost of an annual pensiou of two hundred and twenty marcs by the provost, baillies, &c., payable annually from the commune Mills of Dene.
92. Infeudation of Patrick Baroun, 1478 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 124).—Patrick Baroun, burgess, for the souls, &c., gives to a chaplain at the altar of St Andrew, on the south side of the college church, various annual rents from a great many lands specified; presentation to be given to one bearing the name of Baroun, if such fit; duties of chaplain defined as in preceding charters.
93. Charter of confirmation of two charters made by John Otterburn, 1478 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 128).—King James confirms charter of John, Bishop of Glasgow, for the soul, &c.,

- giving to God, &c., and to altar of S. Kentigern, our patron, and patron of the cathedral church of Glasgow, a certain tenement specified; also to the chaplain of the altar of S. Duthac, situated in the church of S. Giles of Edlingh., five marks Scots, &c.
94. Charter of Walter Bertrahame, for the support of a chaplain, 1478 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 131).—James, King, &c., confirms charter of the above burgess, giving for the welfare of the souls of various persons, to God, &c., for the support of a chaplain at the altar of St Francis, behind the great and authentic altar, various annual rents. Duties of the chaplain defined as in preceeding charters; gives also to the poor and priests for the soul of the above on the anniversary of his death, certain rents, the distribution of which is to be done in a specified manner, after *Placebo* and *Dirige*, celebrated by the chaplain and other sixteen chaplains, and Mass of Requeim by twenty chaplains—payments to these and others specified—each portion to the poor to be three pence in bread, three in veneison, and three in flesh, fish, butter, or cheese. The portions to be placed on a table in the church during the whole mass.
95. Charter of Andrew Mowbray, burgess of Edlingh., for the suport of a chaplain, 1478 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 136).—King confirms charter of Andrew Mobra, which states that as by Prayers and Masses, which the son offers for the sins of the father, sins are forgiven, the pains of purgatory lessened, and the souls of the dead frequently liberated therefrom and gathered into the joys of Paradice, he therefore gives to the new chaplainry found at the altar of St Ninian, various annual rents from lands specified—usual regulations as to presentation. Also as holy Scripture testifies that as water extinguishes fire, so charity extinguishes sin, gives certain annuals to priests and poor—money to be distributed according to certain rules minutely given. Ten chaplains of the choir to say *Placebo* and *Dirige* on the night preceeding the anniversary of his death, and Requiem Mass on that day, both deacon and sub-deacon suitably vested; and if they do not do so, the chaplain to choose sixteen other chaplains who shall celebrate, to each of whom he gives six pence—payments for bells—bellman of the town—candles as in preceding charters.
96. Charter of Thomas, Bishop of Dunkeld, to the support of a chaplain in the church of Saint Giles, 1480-1 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 141).—King James confirms charter of the above, founding a chaplainry in aisle of St Cross, at the west column at the altar of St Martin and S. Thomas, and makes the usual regulations regarding the duties of the chaplain, whom he endows with certain rents specified.
97. Charter of Mortification of Patrick Baroune, 1482-3 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 143).—James, King, &c., confirms charter given previously as above.
98. Charter of Robert Bell, Burgess, 1483 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 143).—Declares that he has given to Sir David Lychton, archdeacon of Ross, certain lands specified, paying annually to the altar of our Lord's Piety in St Giles', twenty shillings and eight pence.
99. Transumpt of the charter of John Quhitheid, made to him by the toun, xxii March 1483 (Laing's *Charters*, p.145).—Community declared to have sold to John Whithead certain lands specified and defined.
100. Mortification of James Townys. Registered 1484 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 146).—King confirms charter of the above, giving to God, &c., and to a chaplain officiating at the altar of our Lord's Piety, in the college ch. of St G., on the north side of the choir door, certain annual rents specified from lands defined—usual regulations regarding presentation and duties of chaplain as in previous charters.
101. Charter of Alan Brown, regarding ten shillings payable for the support of a candle at the altar of the blessed Virgin, 1484-5 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 148).—Gives an annual rent for a wax candle before the said altar, to be placed on the joist or *le hers* before the altar.
102. Confirmation of the charter of Sir Alexander Barcar, 1486 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 149).—King James confirms charter of Barcare, vicar of Petynane, giving for souls of certain persons named, to God, &c., for the support of a chaplain at the altar of S. Blase, in the college ch., various annual rents from lands defined. The regulations regarding presentation and duties of chaplain as in preceeding charters.
103. Confirmation of the charter of Master Richard Robesoune, 1488 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 152).—King confirms charter of the above Robesoun, Rector of Suthik, giving for the welfare

- of the souls of various persons, a rental from land specified, to a chaplain celebrating at the altar of St Dionysius, situated behind the great altar. Presentation to go to the burgh after his death—if a fit person of his kin can be found he is to be appointed.
104. Decree of the Lords of Council, 1490 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 153).—Decree that Edmond of Chesholme shall pay to maister William Forbes, Provost of Sanct Gelis Kirk, four chalder of aitie, price of the chalder xxi markis, of twa yheris teyndis of Pettindreich, xx bolls of ry and ber, price of the boll xvii s., and xxviii bollis of aitie and x bolls of bere, price foresaid, of a yheris teyndis of Fouleford, taken up and intromettit with be the said Edmond, as wes sufficiently pressit before the lordis, and ordains our Sovereane Lordis lettres to be direct to distrenyhe the said Edmond, his landis and gudis herfore, and that the said Edmond wes summond to this accioun, oft tymes callit and nocht comperit.
105. Charter of mortification and confirmation for master Alexandro Inglis, archdeacon of St Andrews, 1490-1 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 154).—King confirms charter of late John Dalrimple, of ten pounds annual rent from certain lands specified.
106. Charter of confirmation on the charter of Isobelle Williamsoun, 1490-1 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 154).—James, King, &c., confirms charter of Isobella Bras or Williamson, for the souls of certain named, giving to God and Jesus Christ crucified, in honour of his glorious passion, and to a secular chaplain celebrating at the altar of S. Laurence, in the south side of the Parish ch. of St Giles, near the middle of the church, various annual rents from lands specified and defined. Regulations as to presentation and duties of chaplain as in previous charters.
107. Confirmation of the charter of Master William Fowlar, 1491 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 157).—King James confirms charter of William Fowlar, canon of Dunblane, for giving in honour of God, &c., and St Gregory Pope, and for the benefit of the souls of certain persons named—various annual rents specified—to a chaplain celebrating in honour of S. Gregory Pope, at the altar of St James the Apostle. Regulations regarding presentation and duties of chaplain as in preceeding charters.
108. For St Ninian, in the College church of St Giles of Edingh., 1493 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxix).—2d of Sept., year &c. 93, second of Pope Alexander VI., compeared the honorable man James Crauford, one of the baillies of the Bugh of the Cannongat of Holyrood, and gave hereditary possession of a certain annual rent to Hugh Lausone, chaplain to the altar of S. Ninian, for the sustentation of a lamp burning before said altar.
109. Charter of Mortification of Andrew Mowbray, 1492-3 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 160).—King confirms charter of the above, giving for the souls of certain persons named, for the support of two secular chaplains at the altar of St Ninian, on the south side of the Church, near the altar of S. Laurence, certain annual rents specified from lands and houses defined. Presentation and duties of chaplain as in previous charters. He wishes that if the revenue of said lands exceeds forty marcs, the excess shall be placed in an iron safe having two keys, one of which shall be in keeping of one of the chaplains, and the safe in the keeping of the other, and the other key in keeping of the Dean of the church; one part shall go in charity, another to my relations, and the third for reparation of the said houses, and for the upkeep of vestments, ornaments, lights, and support of divine service. A copy of this charter to be laid, on the anniversary of his death, on the said altar in presence of the people. The dean of the church gives to the said altar a covering [tapam] of jacynth colour with golden ornaments, four *casulas* or *fericas* of diverse colours, and the fourth of *birdealexander*, with albs and amices complete, and a golden chalice weighing nineteen ounces, and two golden vials weighing thirteen ounces, a missal for the altar, with breviary. Regulations as to chaplain and celebration of *obit*, much the same as in previous charters, &c.
110. Transumpt of confirmation of the charter of Mariorie Redeschaw, 1493 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 164).—King confirms charter of the above, giving, for the benefit of the souls of certain persons, to the altar of St Katherine in the south of the church of St Giles, and to a chaplain there, various annual rents specified from certain lands named; makes regulations as to presentation and duties of chaplain same as in preceeding charters, and it shall

not be lawful for the patron to retain or convert the rents, under the penalty contained in the apostolic Bull annually published, *Quod excommunicatur a papa qui rapiunt vel usurpant fructus aut jurisdictiones pertinentes ad ecclesiam.*

111. Charter of confirmation to the support of a chaplain at the altar of St Columba, 1493-4 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 169).—King confirms charter of Adam William, master of arts, and chaplain of the Chaplainry of S. Columba, founded at the altar of St Martin, bishop, and Thomas, martyr, giving for the benefit of the souls of certain persons to the altar of St Columba, and to a chaplain celebrating there, an annual rent from lands described, the presentation to belong to the Bishop of Dunkeld.
112. Charter of admortification and confirmation regarding the charter of Archibald Naper of Merchamestoun, 1494-5 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 171).—King James confirms charter of the above, giving for the souls of certain persons named, to a chaplain celebrating for them at the altar of St Saviour, in the north part of the church, an annual rent; regulations as to saying requiem similar to those in preceding charters.
113. Confirmation of the charter of Walter Bertram, 1494-5 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 173).—King James confirms charter of the above Provost of the Toun of Edinburgh., giving for the Souls of certain persons named, to God, &c., for the support of a secular chaplain at the altar of St Laurence various annual rents, usual regulations regarding presentation, and also regarding services on anniversary of death, and payments to those assisting, and bell-ringers, &c.; "also that the bells shall be rung at *Dirige* and mass as is the custom, and the greater bell after *Dirige* in vespers up to six o'clock, also at six o'clock that which is commonly called *le munyng*, and at the end they shall strike three times, with intervals, to incite the people to pray for all the Christian dead; and to the bellman ringing the hand-bells through the toun I give fourpence, and to four singing boys of the choir singing versicles threepence, and to the cleric keeping the cross, candles, and ornaments sixpence;" then follows distribution of portions to the poor, one to go to the lepers. The chaplain also is to inquire whether the prior and convent of the preaching brothers are regular in making masses and distributing to the poor according to the tenor of another deed made by the granter of this charter. The Provost and Baillies have power to see that this deed is carried out, and if any mass be omitted, they can recover three shillings, and for every low mass twelve pence, and they have power to see that everything is done as the granter desires, and to distrain rents if the services are not done properly.
114. Charter of Master William Forbes, 1496 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 179).—With the consent of his chapter, he, the Provost of the church, gives to the provost, &c., that north part of his manse and glebe nearest and most adjacent to the said church—namely, the land and chamber of the curate, and the school below, with their boundaries, &c. They are held bound to erect, a new house for the curate, and a fit school below for the scholars above the stable, and in the place where it is now situated; also, they shall build a latrine in the house, commonly called *le galtry*. They shall be bound to cause to be annually made at the great altar an obit for him the Provost, with mass, &c., at their expense, &c.
115. Charter of confirmation of a chaplain, 1498-9 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 181).—James, the King, &c., confirms charter of John, Bishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland, whereby for the souls of certain persons named, he gives to a chaplain at the altar of St Katherine various annual rents from lands named; also, charter of Thomas Cameroun, who gives to the said altar a chaplain, and endows it with certain rents. In both charters rights of presentation defined.
116. Charter of admortification regarding the charter of Sir Alexander Barcare, 1501 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 184). Confirmed by the King; tenor of the charter already given.
117. Charter of admortification of Richard Hopper, burgess of Edinburgh., 1502-3 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 185).—King confirms charter of the above, giving, for the benefit of the souls of certain persons, to God, &c., and to St Roch, confessor, for the support of a secular chaplain at the altar of the Virgin and her visitation, and of S. Roch, built by him lately in the church of St Giles, in the new aisle of St Thomas, Martyr, various annual

- rents. The regulations regarding presentation and the duties of the chaplain at the altar of the Virgin and S. Roch similar to those in preceeding charters.
118. For the Prebendaries and Chapellains of the Church of St Giles of Edinburgh, 1505 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxi).—On the 21st October 1505, compared the honourable man Richard Fassyntoun, one of the baillies of the Cannongate, &c., at the instance of Marjory Doby, wife of the late Thomas Horne, resigned into the hands of the said Richard certain lands burdened with an annual—for an anniversary made within the College of St Giles by Prebendaries and chaplains for the soul of the said Thomas and Marjory his wife.
119. Charter of admortification made by Robert Vaus, burges of Edinburgh, 1404-5 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 190).—King James, &c., confirms charter of the said Robert, burges of Edingh., with the consent of the chapter of the collegiate church of the said burgh, giving, for the souls of various persons named, to God, &c., and to Sir Edward Bog, chaplain, and to chaplains perpetually celebrating at the High Altar of St Giles, several annual rents from lands and tenements specified, the presentation to belong to himself and heirs, afterwards to the community of the burgh. Duties of the chaplain defined, and the offices he is to say on the anniversary of the donor's death: *De Profundis, Requiescat, Domine exaudiat oracionem meum et clamor meus ad te veniat, oremus absolue quesumus, &c.*
120. Ane charter of feu-firme maid to David Meluile of ane land pertening to the chaiplin of the Haly Bluid, 1506 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 192).—To all, &c., Alexander Tod, chaplain, prebendary of the altar of Holy Blood and St Cross of Lucanus, with consent of the community, &c., have let in feu-firme to David Melville the land pertaining to me for my prebend. Lands described. Witnesses.
121. Chartour of aine annual rent of xls. in favouris of the Masones and Wrychtis, 1508 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxii).—To all, &c., Walter Marbrone, mason, burges, &c., with consent of Margait, his wife, has sold Jacob Strury, mason; Thomas Duncan, carpenter; and Sir Jacob Gilson, chaplain, in name of the brethren artificers and successors, for the support of divine service at the altar of S. John Baptist and evangelist, situated on the north side of the church, and immediately behind the altar of St Cobert, to the north of the church, a certain annual from tenement—described—for a certain sum paid me by said artificers and brethren. To have and hold, &c.
122. Preceptory charter of confirmation of Jonete Elphinstoun, 1508 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxiii).—Charter of Jonette Elphintoun, widow of the late Master Richard Lawsoun of Hieriggis, on a charter of alienation made to her by Jonet Bailyhe, &c., of the lands of Jonette Bailyhe de Crawmond-regis, and a forth part of the mill therof, &c.
123. Precept charter of confirmation of the said Jonett, 1508 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxiv).—Precept of the charter and confirmation of the charter of foundation made by the said Jonette to the support of a chaplain celebrating in the church of St Giles, &c., of certain lands and part of the mill, and five marcs leviabie annually from certain lands within the burgh.
124. Charter of mortification of Jonet Elphynston, 1510 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxiv).—King James confirms charter of the above, wherein, for the souls of certain persons named, she gives in free and perpetual charity to Sir William Lyntoun, chaplain, and his successors at the altar of All Saints, also of St Thomas, apostle, and Appollonie, virgin, built within the college church, and on the south part thereof, below the door or entrance going westward, and an altar or cell by the honourable man, Alexander, provost of the burgh, lately founded and built—all and sundry her lands of Crawmand Regis, and share of mill and certain annuals within the burgh. A great many regulations regarding the Presentation and chaplain's duties—if he be notorius with a concubine, or is a night wanderer, or drunkard, or known for other evil practices, he is to be deprived of his chaplainry—he is to say certain prescribed services, &c., and as he will answer to God in the day of judgement, when he will have to render an account for his deeds, he is to make an anniversary with sixteen chaplains of the choir on the last day of July, and distribute portions to the poor, according to regulations prescribed. Sums to be paid to chaplains,

- bell-ringers, &c., and to the dean of gild to shillings, for seeing all things done honestly. Conditions stated at great length, but resembling those in previous charters.
125. Resignation of the Bedelry of St Giles church, &c., 1510-11 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxx).—20th day of February 1510-11.—Master David Lauder, vicar of Ersiltoun, renounced pure and simply, and demitted his title and donation or admission, which apparently he had of the said prebend or *le bedelry* of the college church, &c. The Provost, Master Gawin Douglas, and all the prebendaries except the official (who sent an excuse by his chaplain, Sir James Murray), then admitted the said David to the prebend belonging to him, and the Provost assigned to him his stall in the choir and place in the chapter, as is the custom and canonical according to the tenor of the foundation and erection of the said college. All the prebendaries then made to the said Lord Provost manual obedience according to the tenor of the said foundation and erection of the college. 27th day February 1510-11.—Master Gawin Douglas, provost of the college church of St Giles of Edingh., official, and all the prebendaries of the same, in respect of this day's defection in the celebration with honour of the mass of the most holy blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, they firmly promised to make and sing every ferial day under penalty, for personal penalty *iid.* and festival day *iiid.*; if it should happen to be wanting in the whole, the prebendaries shall pay a marc to the good gild of the confraternity of the Holy Blood, and that on that day none shall have the privilege of synod from such service. Also, the Lord official made protestation in the name of certain prebendaries that if it should happen after reckoning made of the accumulation of pence of this fraternity to any great sum, that they should have somewhat for their refreshment for doing this service. These acts were done in the chapter chapterly convened.
126. Charter of Alexander Rynde, 1512 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 193).—To all, &c., Alexander Rynde, son and heir of the late Henry Rynde, burgess, &c. greeting: Know that for the soul of James III. and others named, I have given to a chaplain at the altar of our Saviour Jesus Christ, within the church, &c., various annual rents from lands described, donative, &c. to belong to himself and heirs, and to those of Henry Napare alternately, and that if he should have a son a priest, now or of the next disposition, he is to receive the appointment; if he has no son, it shall go to a priest of his blood, &c. Directions as to chaplain's duties, and regulations for distributions to the poor.
127. Another charter of Alexander Rynde, 1512 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 197).—To all and sindry, &c. Whereas by the pious prayers which the son offers for the sins of his Father, especially continual celebrations, we believe sins are demitted, the pains of purgatory softened, and frequently the souls of the dead are liberated from their punishments and gathered to the joys of paradise, for the souls of various persons named, he gives to S. Vincent, martyr, and to support a chaplain at the altar of St Saviour, within the church of St Giles, in the east end thereof, an annual rent from land specified. The chaplain's duties laid down as in previous charters.
128. Charter of admortification regarding the charter of the foundation of Sir John Crauford, 1512-13 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 199).—James, King, &c., confirms charter of the above prebendary of St Giles, charter founding a chapel in the Bugh Muir, in the Book of S. Katherine of the Sens.
129. Charter of admortification of Sir Alexander de Blyth, Knight, 1513 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 199).—James, King of Scots, confirms charter of the above Blyth, Provost of Edinbgh., giving to a chaplain celebrating at the altar lately founded by him in the new aisle of St Giles, in the west end, toward the south, in honour of the Virgin Mary, and S. Gabriel, archangel, several annual rents from lands described; makes conditions as to presentation and duties of chaplain, similar to those in above charters; also for gifts to be given to the poor, and for a lamp before the altar of the chapel from St Michael's festival to that of the Purification of the B. Virgin. The chaplain is also to maintain a young scholar to act as an alcolyte.
130. Charter of mortification of Walter Chapman, 1513 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 203).—King James confirms charter of Walter Chepman of Ewirland, burgess of Edingh., in which, for the souls of various persons, among whom is Mariote Kerkettill, his late wife, he gives to

- God, &c. for the support of a secular perpetual chaplain at the altar of St John the Evangelist, in the chapel newly founded by him in the south part of the church, various annual rents from lands described; duties of chaplain specified. A lamp to burn before the altar at vespers every night in winter from the feast of all Saints to that of the Purification of the B. V. The patronage after founder's death to go to the community, who shall not be allowed to apply the chapel to the use of the choir, or erect it into a prebend. Usual conditions as to saying offices for the dead.
131. Charter of Sir William Browne, Rector of Mouswald, 1517 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 208)—William Browne, chaplain, Rector of Mouswald, for the benefit of certain souls, gives to God, &c., and to a chaplain celebrating at the altar of S. Blase, martyr, various annual rents from lands specified—usual conditions as to presentation and duties of chaplain—ordains a solemn festival should be held in honour of the most glorious name of Jesus, and also in the feast of the most holy circumcision, to be celebrated with all honour and solemnity as the custom is within the said college.
132. Confirmation by the Archbishop of St Andrews of charters granted by the Town council of Edinburgh to the Masons and Wrights, 1517 (*Laing's Charters*, Appendix, lxxxix).—To all sons of universal church, &c., the Archbishop, &c., Primate of Scotland, also commendator of Dunfermling, greeting, having seen certain letters, &c., confirms said letters presented on the part of the deacons of the masons and carpenters as to the fabric of their altars.
133. Instrument of sasine of lands in Edingh., 1520-1 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 211).—William Clerk, one of the baillies of Edingh., came to the land pertaining to the late Patrick Scot—land defined—which James Tounis resigned, and the baillie give hereditary sasine to Sir Alexander Kynneir, chaplain, and one of the prebendaries, &c., for an anniversary made at the obit of Isabelle and Adame Strathauchin.
134. Election of Sir David Yhong to the first prebend in the church of St Giles, 1521 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 212).—On the 12th day of June 1521, Sir John Geddes, prebendary and commissary, for this purpose of Master Robert Crichtoun, provost, now pursuing his studies abroad, with the prebendaries of the said church chapterly convened, erected David Yhong chaplain, being found fit, into the cure of the first canonry or prebend of said church, second after the provostry, according to the tenor of the foundation, vacant by the death of Sir William Franche. Witnesses.
135. Institution of the above.—Same day and hour, Sir John Crauford, one of the Prebendaries, by special mandate of Sir John Geddes, by his living voice, put the said Sir David Young in possession of the first prebend after the provostry, and assigned to the said Sir David his stall in the choir and place in the chapter, with canonical oaths, according to the foundation.
136. Indenture between Nicholaus Carncors and other burgess and Sir Thomas Ewin, chaplain, 1522 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 213).—Between Carncors and others, Kirkmaisteris of the copnary and altare of the Holy Blude, and Sir Thomas Ewin, chaplain, Forsameikle as the said Schir Thomas Ewin, movit of devotion whilk he hes to the said altare, and hes founded ane chaplainry, &c., and be the tennour of thir presentis makes the said Kirkmaisters and brethir of the said fraternitie patrons efter his decease—rules regarding chaplain laid down, and obligations of the Kirkmaisters to maintain service—the chaplain to be paid from certain annual rents specified, &c.
137. Instrument of sasine of twenty shillings annual rent, 1522-3 (*Laing's Charters*, p. 216).—George Knichtson resigns an annual rent into the hands of one of the baillies who infefts Sir Thomas Ewin, chaplain, in the same.
138. Charter of confirmation of John and Johnette Patersoun, 1523 (*Laing's Charters*, Appendix, lxxxix).—King James, "with the consent of the Lords of our Kingdom, in the absence of our beloved cousin and tutor, John, Duke of Albany," confirms charter of the above, giving for the souls, &c. to Sir Andrew Quhite, chaplain, and his successors at the altar of St Sebastian in St Giles various annual rents specified, the usual regulations as to presentation to the chaplainry and duties of the chaplain; also, a charter of Jonetta, widow of the late Alex. De Blyth, giving to the support of a perpetual secular chaplain

- at the altar of St Gabriel, archangel, which her late husband founded, certain rents defined; also a charter of the said Jonetta founding a chaplainry at the altar of St Sebastian, and giving certain annuals for that purpose.
139. Institution of Sir John Faw to the chaplainry of St Ninian, 1524-5 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 217).—March, 23 day, 1525, Archibald Wedell, burgess and procurator of Patrick Cranstoun of Ratho byris, patron of a chaplainry founded by his predecessors at the altar of S. Ninian, with the consent of Robert Douglas of Pumfrastoun, his curator, came personally to the said altar and gave institution to the chaplainry, vacant by the death of Sir James Thomsoun, by the delivery of the books, chalice, and ornaments of the said altar to Sir John Faw. These acts were done at the said altar. Witnesses, &c
140. Institution of Sir Thomas Richardsoun to the chaplainry of S. Blase, 1525 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 218).—Oct. 1, 1525.—Peter Thomsoun *alias* Iley, William Broun *alias* Albany, John Diksoun *alias* Ross, Heralds, in the name of the heralds of the King of Scotland, also James Johnsoun, Keybearer [claviger], came to the altar of St Blase, martyr, and give institution to a chaplain as in the former charter.
141. Charter of admortification of William Hoppare, 1527 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 218).—The King confirms charter of the above Prebendary of St Giles, wherein for the souls of certain persons named he give to the Honour of God, &c. to a secular chaplain officiating at the altar of S. Roch, certain specified rents. Presentation defined, and duties of the chaplain, who is specially to say mass in honour of S. Triduane. Portions to be given to poor. On the day of Commemoration of all Saints, thirty chaplains shall celebrate a triquitale—namely, thirty masses within said church for my soul, for which each chaplain shall receive six pence, and five shillings shall be distributed to the poor. Various directions as to management of the property. "Lastly, I wish that the said Provost and Prebendaries and collectors of the said church gathered at the sound of the bell, chapterly in their vestibule or chapter, shall swear on the gospels that they will implement all the contents of the charter of my foundation."
142. Charter of admortification of Sir John Quhite, 1527 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 224).—King James confirms charter of the above Presbyter Prebendary of Petcokis, in the college church of St Baye, virgin, of Dunbar, in which, for the souls of various persons named, he gives to a chaplain, Sir David Cristesoun, and his successors at the altar of the Holy Blood, in the south of the church, certain tenements, &c. specified. The usual conditions as to the presentation and offices of the chaplain.
143. Charter of Walter Chepman made to the altar of Saint Saviour, 1528 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 227).—Walter Chepman of Ewirland, for the souls of certain named, and soul of King James IV., and for the souls of all our nobles and faithful children who with him were slain in defence of the freedom of their Kingdom at Flodden in conflict with the English, and for the souls of his present wife, Agnes Cokburn, and late wife, Mariote Carkettill, and of all of both sexes whose bodies are buried within the church of St Giles or its cemetery, gives to God, &c. for the support of a chaplain at the altar of Jesus, our Saviour and Redeemer, crucified for us, within the chapel of the cross, below the lower part of the said cemetery lately built by me—various lands specified. Donative to belong after death of donor to his heirs. The usual regulations made regarding the chaplain. If the said chaplain keep a whore in his house, or engages in games of cards or dice, or similar games, he shall lose his chaplainry; also, if he does not continuously celebrate mass within the chapel for twenty days, he is to have no right to church women, baptise, marry, or bury without the consent of the Provost of St G. and Prebendaries, and if he attempts to do any such things without licence from the mother church, he shall lose his chaplainry.
144. Confirmation of the same, 1528.—King James confirms the above, and appends seal with witnesses.
145. Charter of confirmation of the Master Carpenters and Masons of the burgh of Edingh. regarding their privileges, 1527-8 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxxvii).—King James V. confirms three charters—(1) 15 Oct. 1475, in which the toun grants them the "ile and chapel of St John fra the ald hers inwart;" (2) 15 Oct. 1475, in which Provost, baillics,

- &c. confirm the statutes made by the Masons and Wrights ; (3) 26 Aug. 1489, complaint made by the masters of the couper craft that divers persons of the said craft have been obstinate in "observing and keping of gud will ordinance and statutis," and for the uphald of divine service at St John's altar, and especially withholding their weekly penney. The council orders dues to be paid, those disobeying to be poyned, and the 'Outlandis' men to be put out of the toun. These charters are confirmed by the King, and every prentice is ordained to pay 20s. Scots, and on being made a master 30s. Scots to the altar of St John.
146. Charter of Sir Gilbert Lauder, chaplain to the altar of S. Nicholaus, 1532 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 233).—Whereas the chaplain has had for twenty-four years or thereabout the lands and village of Petrav, lying within the vice county of Fife, formerly assigned to his predecessors by Roger Hog, patron of said chaplainry, for which lands they had been paid twelve pounds Scots money, also an annual pension or rents amounting to twenty-six shilgs. and eight pence ; he now lets in feu-firm, for certain reasons given, said lands and village to certain persons.
147. Charter of Ade Ottirburn, 1535-6 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 234).—Sir Adam Ottirburn of Reidhall, Provost of the burgh, for the souls of certain persons named, gives to God and the B. V., and her altar, situated within the church of St Giles, various annual rents specified to be given to the Prebendaries of the choir for singing *Dirige* on the anniversary of his death, and certain portions to go to the poor and brethren Minorites of the observance.
148. Charter of Sir Richard Lawson (Laing's *Charters*, p. 236).—The above canon of the church of St Giles and of Grotal gives in augmentation of his canony and prebend an annual rent of five shillings Scots from certain lands specified.
149. Instrument of sasine given to the brothers of the Holy Blood, 1536-7 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 237).—Simon Preston, one of the baillies of the burgh, comes personally to the land of John Malcolm, and receives resignation of a certain rent, and makes sasine to William Simsoun of said rent, and to the four principals or Masters of the fraternity of the Holy Blood, in the ch. of S. G., for the supply of oil and wax in honour of the most blessed and most glorious sacrament at the altar of the Holy Blood, situated within the said church.
150. Charter of William Bell of the Patronage of the Altar of our Lord of Piety, 1536-7 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 238).—Said William, patron of the donation of ane alterage callit our Lady of Piety, on the north side of the entre of the qweir of the said church, &c. As the candlemakers "of gude mynde, and for honour and policy of halikirk, and for augmentation of divine Service til be done at the said altar of our Lady of Piety for suffrage and prayers to be done be thame, desyrit ane chaplane quhilk daily nicht do mes at all tymes quhen he was disposit for the said maisteris and candlemakris and thair successors." He therefore grants them "fre facultie, licence, and freedome till have and put in ane chaplain at the said altar at all tymes when he beis disposit for suffrage to be done for thame." Obliges himself and heirs, &c.
151. Charter of admortification of Master John Chepman, 1537 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 240).—King James confirms charter of the above for the souls of certain, gives to the support of a chaplain at the altar of St John the Baptist, situated in the cell or chapel founded by his uncle, various rents specified. Money for priests, lamps, wax, &c., and portions to the poor, "eightpence to each of thirty chaplains for saying *Placebo* and *Dirige* on the anniversary of my death, with the mass *De quinque vulneribus* on the day immediately following." Other regulations much the same as those in previous charters.
152. Institution of Sir Thomas Scone, chaplain, 1541 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 245).—10th day of December, William Chepman, notary and writer of the King's signet, came to the chapel founded by late Walter Chepman, under the invocation of Christ crucified, below the churchyard of St Giles, and to the altar of the same, and as patron of the chaplainry vacant by the death of Sir William Bradefute, inducted the said Thomas by delivering to him the chalice books, missals, and vestments of the said altar.
153. Charter of admortification made by Sir Thomas Ewing, 1541-2 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 246).—King James confirms the charter of the above, wherein for the souls of certain named he

- gives to God, the Virgin, and the Altar of the Holy Blood, and to a chaplain there celebrating, a great many specified rents. The duties of the chaplain, and portions to the poor, and right of presentation similar to those in charters noted.
154. Charter of Sir Henry Mow, 1542 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 253).—Chaplain and Prebendary of Grotale, within the choir of St Giles, with the consent of the Provost and Prebendaries, for certain large sums and usefulness of his prebend, lets in feu-firme the lands of Grotale.
 155. Transumpt of the Protocole of the land of William Baillie, 1549 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 255).—Abraham Crechtoun, Provost of the collegiate church of Dunglas, official of St Andrews within the Archdeaconry of Lothian, gives judgement in the case of Sir William Johnstone, chaplain of the altar of the Holy Blood, and John Dongall, one of the Masters of the confraternity of the said altar, regarding certain lands. Charter imperfect.
 156. Presentation of Sir John Symson to the Prebend of S. Michael, 1551 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 256).—To the venerable Master Robert Creichtoun, Provost of the church of St Giles, and canons greeting, We present to the Prebend of S. Michael, at the altar of the same, vacant by the demission of Sir Edward Henrisoun, Sir John Symson, presbyter. In testimony of which we append our common seal.
 157. Institution of the same.—Sep. 8, 1551. Sir John Symson came to the church of, &c. and requested Laurence Tod, vicar and president of the church for the time, to give him institution, &c. Wherefor the Lord President gave institution to the said John, and assigned to him his stall in the choir and place in the chapter.
 158. Instrument of Sasine of Sir George Littiliohne, 1552 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 257).—Andrew Craig, burghess of Edinburgh, and heir of, &c., confesses that he is owing Sir George Littiliohne, chaplain of the chapel of the altar of S. Blase, founded under the invocation of the most sweet name of Jesus, situated within the church of S. Giles, an annual rent from a tenement described, notwithstanding that tenement was burnt and in great part destroyed by our ancient enemies of England, in the month of May 1544, and rebuilt by the said Andrew, therefore the said Andrew obliges himself to make payment, &c.—Endorsement, Sept. vi. 1557. The whilk day the baillies sitting in judgement ordains the officers to pass to the tenement of land herein specified, pertening to Andrew Craig, and distringhe the inhabitants therof for the Martinmas and Whitsunday terms last bypast annual rent, &c.
 159. Confirmation of the divided lands of Ravelston, 1553-4 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 259).—To the sons of universal church, Alexander Forrest and John Sinclair, respective provosts of B. Virgin of the fields and Rosling, St Andrews diocese, constituted executors for the purpose within these writings, by John, archbishop of St Andrews, greeting.—Letters patent of the archbishop, and charter of Master Ninian Hamiltoun, prebendary of St Giles. After reading which, the provosts cite all having interest to compear before them in the parish ch. of St Giles, in the chapel of S. Gabriel the archangel, on a certain day and hour, when they confirmed the concession of lands made in the charter of Ninian, done in the aisle of St Gabriel.
 160. Ane copy of umquhile Patrik Govan's charter, 1557 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 263).—To all and sundry, Sir Robert Liddell, chaplain of the blessed virgin Triduan, at the altar of St Roch, confessor. With the consent of the Provost and prebendaries, lets in feu-firm to Patrik Govan and heirs, a tenement defined, paying annually a rent specified, and other burdens named, for certain church dues, portions to the poor, &c., signed by the Provost and Prebendaries.
 161. Charter of Sir John Wilsoun, 1561. To all, &c., the above chaplain in the chapel of the altar of St Katherine, virgin, founded by the late Thomas Cameroun, greeting. Inasmuch as the tenement pertaining to his chaplainry has become ruinous, and not being able to keep it in repair, he lets it in feu-firm to William Symson, dyer, with the consent of the community, with garden and houses—land described—paying annually certain specified burdens. Witnesses.
 162. Presentation of Sir Andrew Bartherem to the chapel of S. Blase, 1562 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 267).—To all, &c., James Carmichael, burghess, &c., know that I have given to Sir

- Andrew Bartherem, chaplain, for the whole time of his life, that perpetual chaplainry or service under the invocation of the name of Jesus, at the altar of S. Blase, bishop martyr, on the south side of the choir of St Giles, vacant, which has fallen into my hands by the demission of Sir George Litiliolne, and have instituted him into possession of the same, by presenting to him the Holy books of the Bible or Evangelists, and of the ornaments of the altar and chaplainry, and that it shall be lawful to the said Sir Andrew to fulfill the burdens and service thereof, by himself or substitute, notwithstanding, perhaps, the foundation is against it in this matter.
163. Instrument of institution of the same. In the year 1562, sixth September, Sir James Yhoun, vicar of Fischewik, at the request of Sir Andrew Bartherem, chaplain, came to the place of the altar under the invocation of the name of Jesus, and there instituted into the possession of the said chaplainry Sir Andrew, by giving one of the books of Sacred Scripture. These were done, &c., day and hour, present Robert Glassfurde, burgess of Edinh., and James Maxwell and James Marchbanks, notaries.
164. The hospital of St Giles Kirk, sett in few-farm, 1566-7 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 267).—To all and sundry, James Cheisholme, provost, &c., states that his Provostal hospital within the cemetery has fallen into ruin, and day by day tends to fall, and it is thought may come down suddenly by tempest, and "our church policy is abolished, and the sacred ornaments dedicated to God and the use of the State, and by the invasion of the English destroyed and burned," and he is not able to build the house up again; therefore for the reparation of the said hospital, and the sum of eighty marks payed by David, Lord Drummond, and Lillias Ruthven, his wife, for replacing the vessels, and ornaments, and utensils of the church, and with the consent of the archbishop, also of the prebendaries, he lets in few-farm his provostal hospital, paying an annual rent of five marcs, reserving to the provost and curate a bed in the east part of the house whenever they reside there—gives Sassine, &c.—appends seal of the chapter, at Stobhall, and signature signed by a notary, and by John, Archb. of St Andrews.
165. The decret of the preistis of Sanct Geillis Kirk, 1566-7 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 269).—At Edingh., the xxii of Januar 1566. The Lords of counsale under written—names given—aneant our Souerane Ladyis letteris purchased at the instance of Laurence, Lord Oliphant, againis Schir William Murray of Tulibardine, Knycht, Master James Clephane, provouest of the college Kirk of Sanct Geill, Sir James Johnstoun, vicar portioner thereof, William Hamilton, and ten other prebendaries—names given—alleging that they let to the said Lord Oliphant the tiend sheaves of the Kirk of Dunbarney, with the pendicles thairof, namely the Kirks of Potty and Moncreiff, with their Kirk lands, for the space of xix yheris—name of Oliphant's cautioner—the said Lord has made no payment for certain yheris bypast, and also Sir W. Murray, "alleging the college Kirk of Sanct Geill to be ane common kirk, and that all commoun kirkis within this realme are assinnit to our said Souerain and the fructes thereof," &c. The said complainer appeared by Maister Thomas M'Calyheane, his procurator, and the said provost and prebendaries be Maister Alexander Skene, thair procurator, and Sir Wil. Murray be Maister Robert Creychtoun, his procurator—after reasoning, the Lords of council ordained Lord Oliphant to "answer, obey, and make payment to the said Provost and Prebendaries of certain sums mentioned, because it was allegit that the said Kirk of Dunbarney, with pertinents, &c., wes of auld given to the provost and prebendaries, as property to thame, and thair predecessouris hes been in continual possession," &c. Extracted by James Balfour.
166. Confirmation of twa giftis maid to the Provest, &c., of Edinburgh, 1568 (Laing's *Charters*, Appendix, lxxxviii).—Our Souerayne Lord ordains ane lettre of confirmation to be maid, &c., confirmand twa giftis maid in forme of actis be the provost, &c., to Edward Hendirsoun, of the Prebendarie callit Sanct Fabiane and Sebastiane, &c., vacant by the deceis of Schir William Johnstoun, Prebendary, with rents, &c., also givand, disponand to the said Edward Hendirsoun the office of maistership of the Sang Scole, &c., with all the feis and profits thairto belangand, and that efter renunciation and gevin ower of the said office be Schir John Fety, ane of the prebendaries of the quheir of St G. Kirk—and thair

- ordain the gift to be made under their common sele, &c., subscribit to the said Lord Regent at Edingh.
167. Instrument of Sasine of Master David Guthrie, 1570 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 272).—In the year above, Master David Guthrie having a charter precept sasine made by David, Lord Drummon, and Lillias Ruthven, his wife, regarding the alienation of a certain hospital, with garden and pertinents within the cemetry of the college Kirk, &c., came into the presence of Thomas Douglas, baillie, and there presented on the part of said Lord a precept of sasine, wherof the tenor follows. We have commanded James Kynros and Thomas Douglas, our baillies in this matter, hereditary sasine of said hospital, &c. In testimony wherof we append our seals, at Innerpeffray, before certain witnesses named. After which letter being read, the said baillie gave donation of the said hospital to the said Master David, by earth and stone as is the custom. These, &c., were done on the site of the hospital—date and witnesses and notary's signature.
168. Charter of Master David Macgill, 1587 (Laing's *Charters*, p. 273).—To all and sundry, Master David Macgill, king's advocate, baron of the barony of Cranstoun Rydill, and patron of the altar of S. Duthac, within the college church, &c., greeting, because the donation of the foresaid chaplainry now pertains to me by the resignation of Master Thomas Westoun. Know that I have given it to my servant, Andrew Dalrymple, for the time of his life. I command you, therefore, William Ury, to put the said Andrew in possession of said chaplainry, by delivery of the book of Psalms or the evangelists, as the manner is. Humbly requiring the Lords of Session and Council to direct letters in favour of the said Andrew, &c. Endorsement, November 8th, 1587. William Urie, younger, procurator within specially constitu, past to the pulpit standing within St Giles Kirk att. Edinburgh, and there by vertue of the gift within written, gave institution and possession to Andrew Dalrymple, personally present and acceptant of the chaplanrie of S. Duthac's, with all profits, &c., by deliverance in his hands of ane Psalm Book, as use is, wherof the said Andrew asked instruments of me, notary public, &c. Witnesses. Ita est magister Willelmus Kelly, notarius publicus, in premissis teste manu mea.

D.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST GILES,

WITH THE REVENUES OF THE PREBENDARIES THEREOF.

(MAITLAND'S *History of Edinburgh*.)

This collegiate foundation consisted of a provost, curate, sixteen prebendaries, a sacristane, bedall, minister of the choir, and four choiristers.

The provost, for his maintenance and support of his dignity, was to receive the fruits, rents, and profits; together with the adjacent manse, or parsonage-house, and glebe belonging to the church, with the right of chusing a curate, to whom he was to allow the sum of twenty-five marks yearly, with a house near the church, to dwell in. The curate, in the provost's absence, was to officiate in his stead, to preside in the choir, in the absence of the two senior prebendaries, and not to be removed but by an act of the provost and chapter.

The second prebendary had a stipend of forty marks yearly, arising from his prebend of Raystoun.

The revenue of the third was twenty-nine marks per annum, out of his prebend of Craigcruck.

The profits of the fourth, from his prebend of Marchiston, amounted to twenty marks yearly.

The fifth, from his prebend of Grotall, fifteen marks; and an annuity of seven marks in Edinburgh.

The sixth, from his prebend of St Andrew's, and the profits belonging to the chaplainry of St Andrew's in the church of St Giles.

The seventh received the revenue arising from his prebend of St Michael, in the said church of St Giles.

The eighth, the produce of his prebend of St Michael de monte Tomba, in the church of St Giles.

The ninth received that part of the income of his prebend of the Holy Cross, arising from the benefactions of John White and Stephen Robertoun, amounting to thirty marks yearly.

The tenth had that part of the profits of his prebend of St Salvador, of thirty marks per annum, founded by John Stury and Stephen Robertoun, at the altar of the Holy Cross in this church.

The eleventh, from his prebend of St John the Baptist, the foundation of John Peblis and Sir William Preston, the sum of twenty-seven marks yearly.

The twelfth had the profits of his prebend of St Nicholas, amounting to sixteen marks yearly; together with four marks from the foundation of Thomas Ker, at the altar of St Duthac in this church.

The thirteenth received the produce of the prebend of *Sancti Crucis de Lucano*, amounting to sixteen marks yearly, and four marks annually out of the chaplainry of St Duthac.

The fourteenth had the profits of the prebend of St Sebastian, with the surplusage of the income of the chaplainry at St Duthac's altar.

The fifteenth received the revenue of his prebend of the Sacristan, which were the profits of the parish clerk's office, antiently due to the Sacristan.

The sixteenth had the produce of his prebend of minister Chori, amounting to six marks per annum, with the small oblations at the lights at St Marnoch's, and to have a beddal under him.

The four choiristers or singing boys, who were allowed by the common council, and admitted by the chapter, had an allowance of five commons each.

The curate, prebendaries, sacristan, and minister, besides the stipends above mentioned, were allowed the profits of the chaplainries of our Lord, founded by John Cookson, at the altar of *Nostre Domine*; and that at the high altar, by John Cliddisdale, which were divided amongst them.

The sacristan, minister, and choiristers were presented by the common council; the prebendaries of Le Foure's foundation were collated by the bishop; and the rest in the town's gift and admission to the chapter, by virtue of a grant from the king, as aforesaid.

E.

NOTICES OF ST GILES IN BURGH RECORDS.

12th January 1450-1.—In favour of the Altar of Saint Christopher, founded in the Parish Church of St Giles of Edinburgh, according to the rule of the said Church, for the Skinners of the Craft underwritten in the following instrument. The said Skinners established statutes for the maintenance of the said altar, as appears from the same instrument, which instrument the Skinners forthwith required the common clerk, notary, and scribe of the burgh to register and engross in the common book of the guild of the said burgh, and it is ordained to be so done by the provost, Thomas of Cranstoun, and by the bailies, John of Halkerstoun, Mathew of Chambers, and Richard of Farneley, Adam Cant, dean of guild, John Lamb, treasurer, the council and dusane of the said burgh. The tenor of the instrument truly follows, and is thus:—

“In the name of God, Amen: Be it known clearly to all by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation of our Lord one thousand four hundred and fifty, in the fourteenth Indiction, in the twelfth day of the month of January, in the fourth year of the pontificate of the most Holy Father in Christ and our Lord the Lord Nicholas the Fifth, by Divine Providence Pope, in presence of me notary public and the witnesses subscribing personally appeared discreet and honest men, videlicet:—William Skynner, Gillcrist Turnebule, Hugh Tod, Alan Skynner, William Stalitt, James Harlaw, David Littell, Thomas Yule, William of Camusmethane, Edmund Skynner, John Mathe, David Wilky, Thomas Salman, William Lachlane, John of Kypmill, William Ramsay, and Andrew (*blank*), skinners within the town of Edinburgh, with one consent and assent, are obliged in manner following, videlicet, That for the service and support of a chaplain to celebrate at the altar of Saint Christopher, lately founded by the above written within the Church of St Giles of Edinburgh, and for the repair of the ornaments of the said altar, each of the said persons for the whole period of his life, and according to his means, shall put to helping hands; Item, every one receiving an apprentice to the craft of Skinners shall pay to the repair of the said altar five shillings of the money then current, and also that no apprentice shall be received by any one of them to the said craft of Skinners unless he has been in like manner taken bound that, after the expiry of the years of his apprenticeship to freedom, he shall put to his helping hands according to his ability to the reparation of the said altar as aforesaid; Item, that every apprentice before he shall be admitted to the craft of Skinners, shall swear and become bound, so soon as he shall come to the freedom of his apprenticeship, not to receive any apprentice to the craft of Skinner unless he shall pay five shillings to the repair of the said altar as aforesaid, and so in like cases for ever; Item, it is ordained that if any debate, discord, or controversy among the said Skinners shall henceforth happen to arise in any manner of way, both the contending parties shall abide by and submit to the determination and judgment of said matters by the brethren of the craft, and to the decree of the council and dusane of the burgh, without any contradiction or appeal; and, moreover, that they may observe the above-mentioned appointments inviolably, each of the said Skinners for himself has been taken bound by a like oath. Upon which, all and sundry, the said William Skynner, in the common name of the Skinners then present and named, asked one or more instruments to be made by me notary public subscribing. These things were done within the Church of Saint Mary in the Feld, the third hour in the afternoon, of the year, day, indiction, month, and pontificate as above, in the presence of good and discreet men, Sir Alexander Hundby, John Moffat, John Hendirson, chaplains, and Thomas Broun, merchant, with other witnesses specially called and required to the premises.”

13th September 1456.—The said day, before the provest baillies and counsale of the toun, Patrik Donald grantit and promittit that he sould gif ij markis of annuell yeirlie to be raisit of

his tenement lyand in Todrikkis Wynd to the reparatioun of the altare of Sanct Vbertis foundit be the craft, and till infest it yeirlie, and gif sesing thair of to the said altare for his stane and lair place that he hes befor the said altare, or ellis to remove the said stane and tak it away.

15 October 1475.—Till all and syndry quhom it efferis quhais knowlege thir present lettres sall cum.—The prouest ballies counsall done of gild and dekyannis of the hale craftismen within the burgh of Edinburgh greting in the Sone of the glorious Virgine. Wit ye ws in the honour worschipe and glore of Almychte God and of the glorious virgin Sanct Mary, and of our patrone Sanct Gele, and for the furthering helping eiking and suppleing of diuine seruice daily to be done at the altar of Sanct Jhone the Ewangelist, foundit in the College Kirk of Sanct Geile of Edinburgh, and for reparatioun beilding and polecy to be maid in honour of the said sanct, of Sanct Jhone, and of the glorius sanct Jhone the Baptist, to have consentit and assignit, and be thir our present lettres consentis and assignis, to our lovit nyctbouris the hale craftismen of the Masonis and of the Wrichtis within the said burgh, the ile and chapell of Sanct Jhone fra the ald hers of irne inwards als frely as it is ouris, with all the fredomis proffittis and esementis thairto pertenand at we haf or may haf richt to, nocht doand nor committand ony preuidice or skaith to Sir Jhone Scaithmure or his successouris in his first feftment or priuilegis that he has broukit or joisit of befor. To be haldin and to be had the said ile and chapell of Sanct Jhone fra the irne hers inuirt with the pertinentis to the saidis craftismen the Masonis and Wrichtis of the said burgh and to thair successouris for euir, with power to edify big reparell and put it ony pairt thair of to polecy or honour of the saidis sanctis outhir in werk or diuine seruice quhatsumeuir at the altar or vther wayes, nocht hurtand the auld feftment. And the saidis craftismen to vse occupy and aduoruy the said ile as thair awin proper ile, siclyk as vtheris craftismen occupis within the said College Kirk, nocht doand ony preuidice to our patronage or to the auld feftment or to the auld laus in the said Ile. And at the said craftismen sall adoury and haf the day of Sanct Jhone the Baptist and to thig to the licht of the said altar as vtheris dois in the kirk yerlie. And this till all thame quhom it efferis we mak it knawin be thir our present lettres. And in witnessing hereof our commoun sele of caus of the said burgh, togidder with the selis of Alexander Turing, David Quhytehed, Bartillmo Carnis, balyeis for the tyme, and Alexander Richerdsons sele dene of the gild, in token of gevin consent and assignatioun to the saidis craftismen of the said ile, be the handis of the dekin for them all, ar to hungin at Edinburgh the xv day of the moneth of October the yeir of God j^m four hundreth sevinty and five yeris.

Till all and syndry quhom it efferis quhais knowlege thir present lettres sall cum;—The prouest ballies counsall and the dekyannis of the hale craftismen of the burgh of Edinburgh greting in God euirlestand, Wit your vniuersiteis that our comburgessis and nyctbouris all the craftsmen of the Masonis and the Wrichtis within the said burgh quhilkis presentit to ws in jugement thair bill of supplicatioun desyring of ws our licence consent and assent of certane statutis and reullis maid amangis tham self for the honour and worschipe of Sanct Jhone in augmentatioun of devyne seruice, and richt sa for reuling governyng of the saidis twa craftis, and honour and worschipe of the towne, and for treuth and lawte of the saidis craftis profitable baith for the wirkaris and to all biggaris, the quhilk bill togidder with thair statutis and reullis befor ws red, and thairwith we beand wele awysit, considerit and fand that thai war gud and loveable baith to God and man, and consonand to ressoun, and thairto we assentit and grantit tham thair desyris, togidder with the Ile of Sanct Jhone in the college kirk of Sanct Gele to beild and put to polecy in honour of the said Sanct, and for the sufferage of devyne seruice, and thir ar the artikallis and statutis at we haf approvit and for ws in sa fer as we haf power; In the first it is thocht expedient that thair be chosin four personis of the best and worthiest of the twa craftis, that is to say twa masonis and twa wrychtis, that sall be sworne, quhilkis sall serche and se all wirkis at the craftismen wirkis, and that it be lelely and treulie done to all biggaris; Item, gif ony man beis plentuous of ony wirk or of ony wirkman of the saidis craftis thai to complenye to the dekin and the four men or to ony twa of tham, and thai persons sall caus the scaith and wrang to be amendit, and gif thai can nocht the prouest and baillies to gar it be amendit as efferis. Item, gif ony persoun or persouns of the saidis craftis cummis of newe after this act to the guid towne and schapis to wirk, or to tak wirk apoun hand, he sall first cum to the said four men and thai sall examyn him gif he be sufficient or nocht and gif he beis admittit he sall lay

downe to the reparatioun of the altar a merk. Item, that na master nor persone of ony of the craftis tak ony prentis for les termis than sevin yeirs, and ilk prentis to pay at his entre to the said altar half a merk, and gif any prentis of quhatsumeir of the saidis craftismen, or yit his feit man, pasis away or the ische of his termes but leif of his master, and quha that resauis the prentis or feit man thai sall pay to the altar ane pund of walx the first falt, the second falt twa pundis of walx, the third falt to be pvnist be the provest and ballies of the towne as efferis; and allswa quhen ony prentisses has completit his termis and is worne out, he sall be examinitt be the four men gif he be sufficient or nocht to be a fallow of the craft, and gif he be worthy to be a fallow he sall pay half a merk to the altar and brouke the priuilege of the craft, and gif he be nocht sufficient he sall serf a master quhill he haf lirit to be worthy to be a master, and than to be maid freman and fallow. Item, gif thar be ony of the craft that disobeyis or makis discord amangis the craftismen of ony of the craftis, or that ony of them plenyis apoun them sall be brocht befor the dekynnis and ouermen of the craftis, and thai to gar amend it be treti amangis thaimself, and gif thai can nocht be faltouris to be brocht and pvnist be the provest and ballies of the towne for thair trespas as efferis. Alswa the saidis twa craftismen sall caus and haue thair placis and rowmes in all generale processions lyk as thai haf in the towne of Bruges or siclyk gud townes, and gif ony of the craftismen of outhor of the craftis decesis and has na guds sufficient to bring him furth honestly, the saidis craftis sall vpoun thair costes and expensis bring him furth and gar bery him honestlie as thai aucht to do of det to thair brother of the craft; and allswa it sall be lefull to the saidis twa craftis and craftismen of Wrichtis and Masounis to haue power quhatsumeir vtheris actis statutis or ordinancis that thai think mast convenient for the vtilite and profet of the gud towne and for tham to statut and ordane with avys of the hale craftis and of our successouris, thai to be ratifiit and appruiffit siclik as thir actis, and to be actit and transsumpt in the commoun buke of Edinburgh, hafand the samyn forme force and effect as this present writ has. The quhilkis actis ordinance and devys shewin to ws and considerit we appruff ratifyes and for ws and our successouris confirmis and admittis in so far as we haf power. In wites of the quhilk thing to thir present lettres we haf to affixt our commoun sele of caus, togidder with the seles of the ballies of the said burgh for the tyme, in takynng of appreving of all the thingis aboue rittin, the xv day of October the yeir of God j^m iiiij^e seventy and five yeirs.

31 *January* 1475-6.—Tyll all and sindri quham it efferis quhais knowlege thire present lettres sall tocum, the provest baillies and counsale of the burgh of Edinburgh greting in Gode eirlestande, To youre vniuersite we mak it knawin that thare comperit befor ws in oure Tolbuth, we sittande in iugement, the best ande worthiest personis of the haile craft of Wobstaris within the said burgh, quhilkis presentit to ws thare bill of supplicatioun, in the quhilkis we contenit certane statutis and articulis maide ande avisit with thame for the honour and loving of Gode Almichty, and of his moder the Virgine Marie, and of Sanct Seuerane, ande for the suppleing ande vphalding of dyvine seruice and aperaling of thare altar of Sanct Seueriane foundit ande vphaldin be thame in Sanct Gelis Kirk, and for the gouernance of thare werks ande laubour and gude reule baithe fore worschip of the realme, commone profite and laute of the craftismen, and for vther diuers ande mony causes of gude motive; the quhilk bill we haue sene herde and gert be rede, ande tharewith beande riply avisit, considerande thare desiris of ws tharein to haue our benevolence assistance ande leif thereof, and to haue oure affirmatioun and ratificatioun thair apoun safer as in ws is or may be, we tharefore has considerit the said desiris ande statutis and findis tham consonand to resone, honour, and worship to God and haly kirke, profitabile of the realme and craft; and thir ar the desiris and statutis:—In the first, at the haile craftismen may yerelie ches tham a dekin like as vther craftismen dois, quhilkis sal reule and gouerne the craft in al gude reullis as efferis; to the quhilk dekin al the laif of the craft sal obey in al leifull ande honest thingis concerning the craft; and this dekyn to be chosen with fremen of the craft at ar burges, and nane vther to haue voce tharein. Item, that na man occupy the craft as for mastere quhil he be maid burges ande fremen, ande to be examinyt be the dekynne and maisteris of the craft gif he be worthy, and that he sal haue gude and sufficiand graith and werkclounmys to be sene and considerit be foure men of the craft; this beande he sal pay twa merkis and twa pundis of walx to the altare and vphald thereof, and gif he be a burges sone he sal pay half a merk to the altare forsaid. Item, na masteris sal tak an prenteis for les termis than five yeiris,

and sal pay at his entrie to the said altare five schillingis, or les as can be tretit with the craftisman gif he be nocht of power, and the minisar of thir five yeiris sal pay xxx. quhen it is tayntit apon ony maister. Item, thare sal na maister take ane vther maisteris prentis in seruice, nor ane vther manis feit seruand quhil he be freid, or els haue leif of his maister that awis him, vnder the pane of xs. and a li. of walx, and to restor the prentis and seruand agane. Item, that na man tak on hand to ressave nor wirk ane vtheris manis warpit yarn, na wirk but leif, bot he sal pay $\frac{1}{4}$ of walx or the price thareof. Item, ilke man or woman that occupis the craft sal geif the prest his mete, and ilke wolk geif to the altare a peny, and to be gaderit be the dekin, and ilke feit serunde sal geif in the yere $\text{iiij}d.$; and als at thai personis that dissobeis the dekin, and will nocht vnderlie the ordinance of the craft statute for the gude thairof, als oft as he dissobeis he sal pay a li. of walx, or the price thairof, and to be tane but fauour. Item, that na woman sal occupy the craft as for a maister to hald werkhous bot geif scho be a fremanis wif. Item, that na man sal tak ony lomys to hir for dout of spilling of the werk bot geif it be a freman, and quha that dois sal pay a li. of walx ay quhen it can be tantit tharewith. The quhilkis statutis articlis ande al pointis contenit tharein we find tham lovable to God and haly kirke, and honorable for al the realme, profitable and worschip for the craftismen, ande thairfore we admitt the samin, ande for ws ande oure successouris we the saide provest baillies ande counsaile of Edinburgh appreis and ratifiis in all points ande articulis as is aboue writtin, insafere as in ws is ande that we haue power, and this to al ande sindre quham it efferis we mak ite knawen be thir our lettres; ande fore the mair witnessing to the samyn we haue to hongin oure commone seile of caus at Edinburgh the last day of Januare the yere of our Lord $\text{j}^{\text{m}} \text{iiij}^{\text{c}} \text{lxxv}$ yeris.

6th August 1489.—Till all and syndry quhais knowlege thir present lettres sall cum, the provest, ballies, and counsall of the burgh of Edinburgh greting in God eurlesting, wit ye that the day of the making of thir present lettres comperit befor ws sittand counsaly gadderit and for jugement within the Tolbuith of the said burgh, in the inner chalmer of the samyn, thir persouns vnder written, Alexander Browne, cowpar, Jhone Richartoun, William Coupar, Jhone Jhonsoun, and Gilbert Turnour, masteris of the Cowpar craft within the said burgh, and thar presentit till ws thair supplication and bill of complant makand mentioun that diversis personis of the said craft quhilkis ar and has bene of lang tyme obstinat and inobedient in obseruing and keping of gud reull ordinance and statutis maid and ordaint of befor and confirmit be our predecessoures to the maisteris of the wrichtcraft for the uphald of diuine seruice and augmentatioun thairof at Sanct Jhonis altar situat in our College Kirk of Sanct Gele within the said burgh, and speciale in the withhalding and disobeying in the deliuering and paying of the oulkly penny to God and to Sanct Jhone and to the reparatioun of the said altar, and als in the disobeyance in the payment making of thar prentis siluer at thair entre, quhilk is five shilling, to the reparatioun and poley of the said alter, nor yit will nocht pay thair dewteis at the wpssetting of thar buthis sicylke as the masters of the wrychtis ar ordaint and statut to pay, considering the said Couper craft is conformit to tharis and bundin with tham to fulfill the reulis and pay sicylke dewteis to the Sanct and altar as thai and thai lymmit togidder, and [adionit] to gadder and inbring the samyn dewteis and mak compt and rekynnyng thairof to thair dekyin and kirk maisters of the Wrichtis as efferis, and sicylke as is vsit amangis vther craftis of the said burgh, and as anentis the outlandis folkis that the said masteris of the Cowpar craft complanit vpoun lauborand and vsand thair craft and practik thairof in this toвне, passand fra hous to hous mendand and spilland nychtbouris wirk and stuf, hafand nother stob nor stake within this towne, nor yit walkis nor wardis nor yit beris sic portable chargis with tham as extentis and vtheris quhen thai occur, nor yit beand sufficient in thair labour and werkmenschip, and thairthrow neuertheles hurtis and scaithis the saidis masteris in thair fredomes and priuilegis contrar to all gud reull ordour and poley within burgh, Quharupon the saidis masteris of the Cowpar craft besocht ws of remeid for the honour and loving of God and Sanct Jhone, and the sustentatioun and wphalding of diuine seruice at his altar forsaid, patrone to the saidis craftis, The quhilk bill and supplicatioun beand red herd and vnderstandyn and diligente considerit be ws that thair petition was consonant to ressou and to the lovage of God and thair patrone forsaid, and als consonand to the commoun proffet of the said burgh, we decret ordanis and deliueris concordand to thair resonable desyris and petition that all the poyntis and articlis contenit in

the statutis of the Wrichtis confermit be the tovne be obseruit and kept to the masteris of the Cowpar craft, and be tham in all thingis accordand to thair craft, and quha that disobeyis tham that ane officer pas with tham and tak a poynd of the disobeyar, and mak penny [payment] thairof to the awale and quantite of the dewteis awand to Sanct Jhone the altar and chaplane thairof for the tyme, siclyk as vse and wont has bene, and at the said officeris sall caus the masteris and ingadderaris of the said dewteis to be answerit and obeyit thairvntill, and thai to mak compt rekynning and payment to the dekin and kirkmaster of the said altar, and at all the laif of the wrichtis statutis forsaid be obseruit and kept with tham and be tham according to thair faculte; and anentis the outlandismen quhilkis prevenis tham in thair laubouris and proffetis, that officeris pas with tham and forbid and put tham fra the occupatioun thairof in this towne, bot gif thai mak residence thairvntill, and pay thair dewteis to Sanct Jhone and the craft, and be resauit thairvntill be the masteris thairof, and to fulfill the statutis aboue expremit as efferis, sa that the disobeyaris be pvnist be the officeris of the towne efter the tenour of the saidis wrichtis statutis maid of befor and confermit be our predecessouris. In witnes of the quhilk thing we haue gart append our commoun sele of caus to thir present lettres at Edinburgh the xxvj day of August the yeir of God j^m four hundreth auchty and nyne yeiris.

1491.—[Statute anent the government of the master masons of the Colledge Kirk of St Giles, of the Burgh of Edinburgh.]

The quhilk day, the prouest dene of gild baillies and counsale of the burgh of Edinburgh thinkis expedient and als ordanis that thair maister masoun and the laif of his collegis and seruandis of thair kirk wark that now ar and sall happin to be for the tyme sall diligentlie fulfill and keip thair seruice at all tymes and houiris as after followes: That is to say, The said maister and his seruandis sall begyn to thair werk ilk day in somer at the straik of v houris in the morning, and to continew besylie into thair lawbour quhill viij houris thairafter, and than to pas to thair disione and to remane thairat half ane hour, and till enter agane to thair lawbouris at half houris to ix houris before none, and swa to wirk thairat quhill that xj houris be strikken, and afternone to forgather agane to thair wark at the hour of ane, and than to remayne quhill iij houris afternone, and than to gett a recreatioun in the commoun luge be the space of half ane hour, and fra thine furth to abyde at thair lawbour continually quhill the hour of vij be strikkin: And in winter to begyn with day licht in the morning kepannd the houris abouewritten, and to haif bot thair none shanks allanerly afternone, and to remayne quhill day licht be gane. And gif the said maister quhatsumeir or his collegis and seruandis faillis in ony poyntis abouewritten, or remainis fra his said seruice ony tyme, he to be correctit and pvnist in his wages at the plesour of the dene of gild that sall happin to be for the tyme, as the said dene will ansuer to God and to the guid towne thairvpoun. (Lowse leiff dattit 1491.—Tr.)

20 August 1500.—Till all and syndry quhais knowlege thir present letteres sall tocum, the provest ballies and counsall of the burgh of Edinburgh greting in the sone of the glorious Virgine, Sene it efferis till ws of our officis to declair the verite of all thingis pronuncit desyrit and ordanit befor ws in jugement, heirfor it is that to youre vniuersiteis we mak it knawin that thare comperit befor ws sittand counsaly gaderit in to the Tolbuthe of the said burgh the masteris and craftismen of the Walkaris and Scheraris of claith within the burgh, that is to say, Williame Steill dekin, Patrik Frry, the spous of vmquhile Johne Balfour, the spous of vmquhile Johne Yule, James Hog, Johne Gray, Robert Costrall, Robert Bard and George Weir, for thame self and in the name and behalf of the hail brethir of the said craft, the quhilkis present till ws thare supplicatioun desyrand for the loveg of God, worschip and polece of this burgh and commoun proffitt of the nichtbouris thairof and all vtheris reparand thairto, and for Godis seruice to be done at thare altare of Sanctis Mark, Philip, and Jacob, foundit and biggit be thame in oure Colledge Kirk of Sanct Geill of the said burgh, and for the anornyng and reperaling of the samyn, that we wald graunt to thame thir diuisis priuelegis statutis and reulis vndirwrittin, conformand and syklyke as vthir faculteis and craftis has within this burgh accordand for thame, and we wald cause the samyn to be obseruit and kept amangis thame of the said craft, and autorist be ws insafer as we haue autorite and powere:—The tenour of the quhilk applicatioun followis in this maner, that is to say. In the first that we may haue faculte and powere yeirlie to cheis our kirkmaister of the said altar as vthir craftis dois; and at euery freman of our saidis craftis pay for the vpsett of his buthe five croonis vsuall mony of Scotland,

and or he sett vp buthe that he be examit be foure maisteris of the said craft quether he be abill and worthy thairto or nocht to serue the nichtbouris of the toone and vtheris reparand thairto, and gif he be fundin abill to sett vp buthe that he be worth of his awin substance three pair of scheris and of powere to pay ane steik of hewit claith, swa that gif ony falt standis in him he to safely the pairty sustenand the scaith; and at euery master of our saidis craftis that takis ane prenteis to pay at his entre ten schillingis to the sustentatioun of Godis seruice to be done at the said alter; and gif it sall happin ony maister of the saidis craftis to tak or ressave ane vthir masteris prenteis, seruand or wagit man, he sall pay twenty schillingis Scottis mony to the said alter; and gif ony personis of the saidis craftis beis ouertane wyrkand with cardis notit or previt apone him he sall pay for ilk tyme he beis ouertane or tayntit thairwith fiveteine schillingis Scottis mony, to be distribuit in this wys, five schillingis to Sanct Gelis werk, five schillingis to our said alter, and five schillingis to the findar quhat euir he be, and at the kirkmaister for the tyme and ane honest man of the saidis craftis with him may pas to the nichbouris tharof in sobir wys for the ingathering of thir dewiteis and sowmes aboue expremit to the vphald of Godis seruice at our said alter and the ornaments of the samyn, buke, challice, vestimentis and siklike neidfull thingis, and gif neid beis tharfor till poynd and distrenye with ane officiar of the tovne as efferis; and now becaus the communitie of our craft Walkaris and Scheraris within this tovne walkis wardis extentis and beris all vthir commoun chargis within this tovne, and the outland walkaris and scheraris duelland vtouth the fredome of this burgh takkis the werk of the nichtbouris and wynnyn tharof and beris na portable chargis within this tovne, that thairfor ilk out walkar or scherar of claith to landward cumand within this tovne and takand the stof thairof till wyrk sall pay ilk oulk ane penny, quihlk is bot small valour, till vphald the devyne seruice at the said altar of Sanct Mark, Philip, and Jacob, to be ingatherit be the dekin and kirkmasteris of the saidis craftis for the tyme; the quihlkis desiris statutis diuisis and reulis was thoct expedient and conuenient for the lovenge of God, honour and polecy for the said kirk and this burgh, and for the commoun proffitt of the samyn and of all our Souerane Lordis liegis, we be thir our present letteres ratifis and apprevis, and alslang as it salbe thoct expedient till ws and our successouris, provest ballies and counsale of this said burgh, for the commoun wele and proffitt of the samyn confirmis, interponand our autorite for the obseruyng and keping of the premissis safer as we haue powar according to the desyre of the saidis craftsmen: And this to all and syndry quham it efferis or may elleir we mak it known be thir our present letteres, writtin vndir our commoun seill of cause of the said burgh, at Edinburgh the twenty day of the moneth of August the yeir of God ane thousand five hundreth.

26 August 1500.—Till all and sindry to quahais knowlege thir present letters sall cum. The provost, baillies, and counsall of Edinburgh, greting in God evirlesting. Witt your Universitie, that the day and dait of the making of thir present lettres, comperit before us in counsall gatherit, John Steill, kirkmaster; George Bell, William Hockburne, Johne Quhyte, Robert Richartsoun, Johne of Lauder, William Lamb, Thomas Foulare, William Dick, Morice Slenny, and the laife of the maisteris of the talzors craft within this burgh, and put till us thare supplicatioun, contenannd certane statutis and rewles devisit be thame, to be affirmit be us, for the loving of God Almichty, the honour of the realme, the worschip and profit of this gude toune, and the profit of all our soverane lordis, lieges, and utheris reparand thareto; of the quihlk supplicatioun, the tenore followis:—My Lordis Provost, baillies, and worthie counsale of this nobill toun, unto zoure honorable discracionis, richt humily menis and schawis the kirk-mastir, and the laife of the masteris of the talzour craft within this burgh, that first for the loving (praise) of Almichty God, the honore of the realme, the worschip and profit of this gude toune, and the profit of all oure severane lordis leigis, and utheris reparand thareto, and in exempill of utheris, and for the augmentatioun of Divine service at the altar of Sanct An, oure matrone of the samen, situate within the Colledge Kirk of Sanct Geils of the said burgh. We desyre that we nicht have thir statutis, articulis, and rewlis followand, grantit and gevin till us be zour autoritie, quarethrow gude rewle and gyding may be had amangis us of the said craft, baith masteris and servandis, and oure successoris; considering it is saide be comone auctorite, that multitude but reull maks confusion, and to eschew the vice thereof, and be estimit in tyme to cum, thir followand ar oure rationable desyris:—In the first, That for the several encresments of vertue, practick and knowledge, standis in gude begyning and foundment, and fra thine furth to

continew in vertue, and persevere to final end : That fra thine furth, all manir of prentice to be tane at the said craft, sall stand in prenteischip for the space and termes of sevin zeirs, and na less, without dispensatioun of the principall master of the said craft, and specialie favour of the sonnys of the said craft ; and ilk prentice to pay at his entrie, to the reparatioun and uphalding of Divine service and oure said altar, ten schillings ; and that nouthir thir prenticis, nor nane othyr persoun of the said craft, be sufferit to set up both within this said burgh, without he be fundin sufficient, habill and worthy thairto, in practick and utherwayis, and admittit thareto, first be the sworne masters of the craft, and maid freman and burgess of the said burgh ; and for his upsett, to pay forty schillings to the reparatioun and uphalding Divine service at oure said altar. And that na maner of master of the said craft to houss, harber or resett any uther master's prentice or servand ; and gif he dow, he sall pay ane contribntion and taxt to oure said altare, at the discratioun of oure said sworn masteris principall of the saids craft, and the causis thereof to be reformit be thame : And that ilk master haldane both within this said burgh of the said craft sall pay his wolkly penny to the reparatioun of the adhornementis of our saids altare, and to sustene the preistis mete thereof, as it cummys about ; and that the said kirkmaster and certane of the principall masteris of the said craft, that sall happin to be for the tyme, may have full facultie, leife and privilege, with ane officare of the toune, to pas with thame for to poind and distrenzie, gif neid be, for the taking, raising and inbringing of thir dewities forsaid, to the sustentatioun and uphalding of Goddis service, as said is, but danger, stop or impediment. Quharfore, as this our rationable and simpil desyris and petition is conform to equitie, and ar consonant to honore and pollecey, according to the usis and consuetudis of great antiquite in uther realmys and provincis ; that ze wald grant till us thame ratifyit, approvit and confirmit be zow under zowr sele of causis, in perpetuall memorial of gude rewle to be had in tyme to cum, with zowr answere hereupon we humily bescek. The quhilks articulis, statutis and rewlis, beand red, hard and understandin, and diligently considrit be us, that they ar for the lovage, first of Almichty God and sustentatioun of Divine service, and for gude rewlis to be had in tym to cum amangis thame of the said craft, in augmentatioun and suple of the comone profitt, and for till eschew misgydit wayis, that has bene usit in tyme begane ; we have ratifyt, approvit and confirmit ; and be thir presents for us and our successors, ratifys, approvis and confirmis the samin in all poyntis and articlis to the said masteris and their successoris of the saide craft, in perpetuall memoriale in tyme to cum for evirmair ; and this to all quham it efferis, we mak knavin by the tenore of thir our lettres. In witness of the quhilk thing, to thir our present lettres oure comone sele of oure said burgh we have gart append, at Edinburgh, the 26th day of the moneth of August, in the yere ane thousand and five hundreth zeres.

20 November 1501.—[On the twentieth day of the month of November, in the eleventh hour, George Tours, Provost, instantly required, advised in all kindness, and commanded the prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of St Giles of Edinburgh to observe their due service in the said church, according to the tenor of the foundation and erection of the same college, under the penalties which might be imposed on the same prebendaries by the said Provost, Bailies, and Councillors of the burgh. Witnesses—Alexander Lauder, Walter Young, James Tours, and many others ; John Fowler, Dean of Guild.]

9 February 1503-4.—Item, the dene of gild with ane baillie to se that na preistis pas to gadder almous with thair pece bot ane day in the yeir for ilk altare.

14 February 1503-4.—Is declairit that Elizabeth Wod, the spous of umquhill Allane Winderettes, product the infetment of the chaiplenry at St Eloyes altare and the sowm thairof ; anent the patronage, to be tailyeand the said donatioun after herself to Margaret M'Crerik her dochters airis of hir body quhilkis failyeand to Wods airis, the presentatioun to be within xv dayes after it vaik, quhilk gif thai slip than to pertene to the towne *hac vice*, and gif thai failyie of aventur and beis nocht levand to pertene to the toune for euirmair.

18 April 1504.—(Ane statute with consent of the prebenders of St Geillis kirk anent the dergis, sawle mas feists, and vthers, that the absents for the tyme sall haif na fie nor waiges for the draiges and sawle mes bot the persouns present except the seik and the superexorsistene attour the waiges to be distribute at the sicht of the patronis, provest and baillies counsale and vtheris, gif thair be.—*Tr.*)

(Ane vther statute that ane collectour be chosin to gadder the falts of the prebenders fail-yeand and absent fra thair seruice, and the speciall paynes and vnlawes is declarit. Thir on the lowse leiffis.—*Tr.*)

27 February 1510-11.—[On the twenty-seventh day of the month of February, about the twelfth hour of the day, in the year of our Lord 1510, the thirteenth indiction, the eighth year of the pontificate of Pope Paul the Second. Master Gavin Dowglas, provost of the Collegiate Church of St Giles of Edinburgh, the official, and all the prebendaries thereof, in respect of the failure to-day in the celebration with accustomed honour of the mass of the most holy blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, firmly promised in future to celebrate and sing the same on every Wednesday, under the penalties for every week day for each person twopence, and for a festival fourpence; and if all should fail, the prebendaries should pay one merk to the common good of the confraternity of the Holy Blood, and they should not have the privilege of synod in any day to excuse from the said service. And the official, in name of the other prebendaries, protested that if it shall happen, upon taking account of the money which may be accumulated of the said confraternity, it amounts to a large sum, that they shall have a little of it for their own refreshment, the service being first done in this manner. These things were done in the chapter chapterly convened about the foresaid hour. Sir Alexander Lauder, of Blith, Knight, Provost of the town, asked an instrument. Witnesses, William Hoppar, Adam Carketill, Patrick Brown, (*blank*) Elleis.]

30 September 1513.—[Master Gavin Douglas, provost of the collegiate church of St Giles of this Burgh, is made burges, gratis, for the common benefit of the town.]

5 September 1517.—To all and sindrie quhom it efferis to quhais knowlege thir present lettres sall cum, the prouest baillies and counsall of the burgh of Edinburgh greting in God eurlresting, witt your vniuersiteis that the day of the daitt of thir presents comperit befor ws sittand in the Tolbuith in jugement the hail craftismen of the candilmakers of the said burgh, that is to say Robert Fassintin, Androw Galloway, Ambrose Gray, William Wilsoun, Malise Malloch, and Jhonn Selyman, the quhilk persouns and craftismen presentet as thair supplicatioun and bill of thair desyres for the conforming and keping of thair statutes and rewles maid for the commoun weill of this burgh, and Kings lieges reperand thairto, accordand and conformand to the awld statutes and privileges that thai had of the prouest baillies and counsall of the said burgh of before, the quhilk supplicatioun and bill red before ws at lenth, and we thair-with beand rypelic avyset thocht the samyn consonant to resoun and greitt appeirand profeitt to the said craftismen, to this guid toun and Kings lieges reparand thairto, and thairfor it is our will, and als we decerne and ordanis, that the said craftismen and thair successouris bruik joyse and vse all thair awld fredome, statutes, rewles, articles and conditionis maid for the guid rewle of the said occupatioun and craft as after followis: In the first, that yeirlie the hail craft of the said candilmakeris within this burgh sall cheyse ane deykin amangs thame that is fremen and burges of the toun, quhilk deykin sall be oblist and sworne to rewle and conforme the said craft in all guid rewle and ordinance for the honour and worschip of the realme and toun, lyke as vther craftismen dois within the samyn. Item, that na maner of man nor woman occupy the said craft as to be ane maister and to set vp buith, bot gif he be ane fremen or ellis ane fremanis wyfe of the said craft allanerlie, and quhen thai sett vp buith they sall pay to Sanct Geills wark half a merk of syluer, and to the reparatioun, beylding and vphalding of the licht of ony misterfull alter within the College Kirk of Sanct Geill, quhar the said deykin and craftismen thinks maist neidfull, half ane merk, ay and quhill the said craftismen be furnist of ane alter of thair awin. And in lykwayis ilk maister and ocupear of the said craft sall, in the honour of Almichtie God, and of his blissit mother Sanct Marie, and of our patrone Sanct Gele, and of all sanctis of heaven, sall give yeirlie to the helping and furthering of ony guid reparatioun ather of licht or of ony other neidfull grayth till ony alter situat within the said College Kirk maist neidfull, xs., and to [be] gadderit be the deykin of the said craft ay and quhill thai be proydet of ane alter to thame selfes, and he that disobeyis heirin the deykinis and the laif of the craft sall poynd thame with ane officer of the toun, and him pay ane pund of walx to our Lady altare quhill thai get ane alter of thair awin, and that nane of the said craftismen send any lads, boyes, or seruands oppinlie vpoun the hie gaitt with ony candill to rowpe or to sell in playne streitts, vnder the payne of escheitting of the candill and paying ane pund of walx to our Lady alter the

first falt, the second tyme escheitting of the candill and paying of twa pund of walx, the thrid time escheitting of the candill and his persoun to be brocht with the deykin and craftsmen of the said craft to the provest and baillies of the toun, and thair to be pvnist, with avyse of the said deykin for the tyme and the laif of the said craft, for the brekking of thair said statutes and rewles; bot it sall be lefull to ilk maister of the said craft to haif ane seruand that sall gang honestlie throw the toun with his creill and stufe to furneis his callands with, bot nochte to rowpe thame oppinly to sell, and that he beir on his creill his maisters mark to ken him and his stufe, and quha that beis sene gangand vtherwayes the candill to be escheitt and pvnist as said is. Item, that na man of the said craft tak ony prenteis for les termes than foure yeir, and that na man of the said craft nor na vthers tak nor fie ane other mannis prenteis nor seruand without licence and leif of his maister asket and obtenit quhill the compleitt end and ische of thair termes; and quha sa dois the contrar heirop the deykin and the laif of the said craft to pvnis that as effeiris, and attour that all the maisteris of the said craft mak guid and sufficient stufe and honestlie handlit and sufficient worth the money, and that all wemen be expellet the said craft bot fremenns wyffes of the said craft allanerlie, thay doand and obeyand to the deykin and craftsmen lykeas is contenit in the foresaidis statutes, bot gif it be allanerlie for thair awin vse and byrning in thair howssis, and quha that will nocht be maid freman he sall nocht sett vp nor hald buith bot to be ane seruand vnder a master quhill he grow and be reddy thairto, and that nane of the saidis craftsmen seruands boyes nor prenteis thair termes beand rwn mak seruice to ony vther men except the craftsmen of the said craft, vnto the tyme that thay be reddy to wirk thair awin wark and to be fremen of the toun. The quhilk articles statutes and rewles we the said provest baillies and counsal of the said burgh for ws and our successouris apprevis ratifeyis and confermis the samyn in swa far as effeiris till ws or hes power; and this till all and sindrie quhom it effeiris or may effeir in tyme to cum we mak it knawn be thir presents lettres; and for the mair vereficatioun and strenth of the samyn we haif to thir present lettres hungin the commoun seill of cause of the said burgh of Edinburgh, the fyft day of the moneth of September the yeir of God j^m v^e and seventeen yeiris. (Subscribitur) Strathachin.

(And the seill of caus to hing quhilk hes bene brokkin and putt togidder with new walx thairon bayth sydes.

This lettre confermit be the Kings maiestie vnder the greitt seill. Daittet at Edinburgh the fourt day of May j^m v^e lxxxxvij yeirs.—*Tr.*)

8 October 1518.—The quhilk day, the president baillies and counsals statutes and ordanis, for the guid rewle to be had in thair College Kirk of Sanct Gele, that the seruandis of the gild and the haly bluid bedrall euer ilk day keip the qeir of the said kirk fra all vile personis the tyme of the maytynis, hie mes and evin sang, and at thai keip the haill kirk and thole na maner beggars to cum within the said kirk nother at maytenis, hie mes, or evin sang, vnder payne of deprivation of thame of thair offices for euir, and vtheris to be putt in thair steidis.

22 September 1520.—Till all and sindry quhais knowlege thir present letteres sall tocum the provest ballies and counsall of the burgh of Edinburgh greting in God euerlesting, wit ye ws till haif ratifit and apprevid and be the tenor of thir present letteres ratifis and apprevis ane contract gevin in and present befor ws in judgement be the dekin and kirkmaster of the Walkaris and Scheraris maid with avise and consent of the personis contenit in the samyn, of the quhilk contract the tenor efter followis:—At Edinburgh the penult day of the moneth of Maij the yeir of God ane thousand five hundreth and twenty yeris proportis and beris witnes that it is appoyncit concordit and fynalie endit betuich richt worschipfull men, that is to say, Williame Steill, kirkmaster, Johne Yoile, James Home and Williame Gibsoun, with all the laif of the maisteris and brethir of the Walkaris and Scheraris within the fredome of the burgh of Edinburgh beand present for the tyme on that ane part, Johne Lauson, Andro Gardum, Andro Auld, William Homyll, Thomas Dryburgh, Robert Talyfeir, Johne Wan, Johne Dalrumpill, the spous of Jonet Watson, William Rogeir, Thomas Henrisoun, Agnes Yorstoun, the spous of James Williamsoun for thameself and for the laif of the craft of Bonetmakaris vsand merket and fredome of the said burgh of Edinburgh apone the tother pairt, in maner, forme and effect as eftir followis, that is to say:—In the first, to the loving of God the glorius virgine Marye and the halie ewangelyst Sanct Mark, the fornemmyt personis bonetmakaris of thar awin fre willis for reparatioun of halikirk and devyne seruice to be done for tham at the altar of Sanct Mark,

and for the commoun weill of this gud burgh grantis and obliissis thame faithfully till content and pay oukly to the reparatioun of the said altar ilk ane of thame ane penny to be ingatherit by thame self in ane box, thai haiffand ane keye thairof and the kirkmaster or ane vther maister of the Walkaris and Scheraris till haif ane vthir keye siclike for lele and trew compt till be maid of all thingis ilkane till vtheris as efferis; and quhen it sall happin the chaplane that dois devyne seruice at the said altar till cum for his mete amangis the saidis Bonetmakaris ilkane of thame to perfurnis the said chaplane his met sicklyk as the saidis Walkaris and Scheraris dois, and quhair it falyeis in his meit to be gevin till him aucht penneis that day to his wage. And gif sua beis that ane of thame may nocht gudlie perfurnis the said chaplane, in that cais it salbe lefull to tua of thame till fulfill and do the samyn als aft as it sall happin him to cum about to thame. And als the said Bonetmakaris till pay thar vpsettis and prentischip siluer to the said craft of Walkaris and Scheraris and to thar said altar, and that to be modifiit and considerit be ane pairt of the best of baith the saidis craftis; and to be gevin to the reparatioun and vphaldin of the said altar. And inlykwis the said kirkmaster and brethir of the said craft of Walkaris and Scheraris within the fredome of this burgh sall walk and caus thar seruandis to walk thar bonettis quhilk thai wyrk and bringis to thame or to thar said seruandis als weill and bettir than thai war done in tymes bygane and of the samyn price. And attour the said kirkmasteris and brethir of the said craft of Walkaris and Scheraris bindis and obliissis thame that nothir thai na thar seruandis sall nocht walk ony maner bonettis to na bonetmakar bot gif the man or woman, quhat thai be, haif lerit the said craft of bonetmaking. Alsua, the saidis Bonetmakaris promittis faithfully till serch and seik ilk merket dayis gif thar be ony bonettis maid to sell of quhite or vthir colouris of wob yarne or wrangius gottin yarne or woll, and gif thar be ony apprehendit to be escheitit to the uphaldin of the said altar. And als the said Bonetmakaris send with thar saidis bonettis ane seruand for to se that the samyn be weill done. And ilk persoun of thame sall mark thar bonettis be thame self as efferis. Attour the saidis kirkmaster and masteris of the said craft of Scheraris and Walkaris faithfull bindis and obliissis thame till fortefy and manteine the saidis Bonetmakaris in the optenyng and getting of the act of the gude toune vnder thar seill of caus apone thar awin expens. Alsua, the saidis personis bonetmakaris promittis to the said kirkmaster and masteris of the Walkaris and Scheraris that thai sall do thar sex myllis, bot the man or wif be of the said craft, nor at na vther myll at thai may stop or lat. And ilk bonetmaker wyrkand at thar awin hand as ane maister sall pay for thar vpset thretty shillingis to thair awin box and to the vtilite and profit of the said altar; and for ilk prentys vjs. viij*d*. And gif ony truble or debait happinis amangis ony of the saidis craftis, thai till meyne the samyn amangis tham self in cheritable maner saffand the priuilegis pertenant to the toun. Item, gif ony of thir ij craftis and pairtis aboue wryttin brekis till vtheris in ony poynt of the premissis, the craft brekand till pay ten pundis als aft as thai sall fail, to the reparatioun of thar said altir of Sanct Mark. To the fulfilling of the premissis and euery poynt tharof ather of the saidis partiis and craftis abon wryttin ar bundin and oblist till vtheris be the faith and treuth in thar bodiis, the halye Ewangellis tuichit but fraude or gyle. In witnes of the quhilk thing to thir present letteres we haif hungin to our commoun seill of caus of the said burgh, at Edinburgh the xxij day of September the yeir of God j^m v^o and twenty yeris.

27 February 1520-1.—And now becaus the communitie of the wobstaris walkis wardis extentis and beris all vther commoun chargis within this tovne, and the outland wobstaris duelland vtouth the fredome of this toune takis werk of the nichtbouris and wynnynng tharof and beris na chargis within this tovne; tharfor that ilk out-wobstar to landwart command within this toune and takand the stuf tharof till weif sall pay ilk oulk ane penny, quhilk is bot small valour, to vphald the diuine seruice at the said altar situat within the said College Kirk of Sanct Geill, to

be ingatherit be the dekin and kirkmasteris of the said craft for the tyme to the vphaldin of diuine seruice at the said altar.

5 June 1521.—The quhilk day, the provest baillies and counsall renuncis and dischairgis the gift that thai had gevin till Sir Michael Dysert of Sanct Duthas altare of before situat within the Colledge Kirke of Sanct Geill, and all that followit thairvpoun, and the samyn till be of nane avall force nor effect in tyme cumming.

2 May 1522.—The quhilk day, the provest baillies and counsall ordanis the officeris of the toun till pass poynd and distrenye George Henrisoun and Andro Vddart, ilk ane of thame for xls., for the selling of thair wyne for xijd. the pynt; failyeand that the saidis officeris poynd nocht for the samyn, thai to pay the saidis soumes of thair awin pursis, to be applyit efter the forme of the actis maid thairvpoun of befoir, viz. the ane half to Sanct Gelis wark and the vther half to Sanct Anthonis altar.

20 March 1522-3.—To all and sundrie quhaise knowledge thir present letteris sall to cum, the provest baillies and councill of the brugh of Edinburgh, greeting in God everlasting. Witt your universities that ther comperit before us counsally gatherit within the Towbuith of the said brugh our lovite neighbours and towne burgesses, viz. George Foulis, Walter Scott, George Gibson, David Gillaspie, William Wilkieson, Robert Rodger, Johne Mairder, Henry Scot, Alexander Heriot, Andrew Simson, Michael Gibson, James Baird, James Scot, John Fallsyde, Johne Black, Archibald Bartillmo, Johne Bartillmo, James Gillaspie, Edward Thomson, Andrew Boyss, Arther Mowbray, and Michael Lochmyll, kirkmaisteris, and the laif of the maisteris of the baxter craft within the brugh, and present thair supplicatioune till us, makand mentione that the facultie and power they had of before upon the guid guyding and reule of thair said craft was destroyit, and our seal of cause tane thairfra be negligent in time of troubill, and thairfore desyrit the samyne newlinges againe to be granted for the honour and lovage of Godis service at thair altar of Sant Cubart, situat within our Colledge Kirk of Sant Geille within our said brugh, and for the common profeit of the neighbours thairof containd this effect. In the first, that na persounes presume them to be maisteris of the said craft to baik thair awin stufte to sell without they be first prenteis, syne burges, and thairafter examynit be the maisteris of the said craft, fundin able, and admitit thairto, and syne thairefter till pay thair dewties as uthir craftis dois within this brugh; and also that the said kirkmaisteris and brether of the said craft choise them ane sufficient chaplane at thair pleasure to make devyne service at thair said altar of Sant Cubart, upon ane competent pryce as they can agrie with the said chaplane, sicklyke as uthir craftis dois within the said burgh; and that ilk brother of the said craft furnish the said chaplane orderly as he sall happin to cum about to theme; and quhen any persounes of the said craft happens to be chargit to forgather with the kirkmaisters and principal maisters of the said craft to tret upon the common weill and profyte thairof, and absent thame but rationall cause, that persone to pay ane pund of wax to Saint Cubarts light at thair said altar; and also quhatever he be maister of the said craft that beis apprehendit bakand fals and rotten stuff, or insufficient to sell again to our Soverane Lordis liegis, sall pay ane pund of wax to thair said altar the first tyme, and for the second falt two pund of wax, and gif he beis overtane in the third falt he and his bread sall be brocht before the provest and baillies, and they to punish him thairfore as sall be thocht expedient with the advise of the kirkmaister and worthiest of the said craft as effeirs: Item, that quhatsumever persounes of the said craft happens till disobey the kirkmaister and the worthiest uthir persounes forgatherit with him of the said craft for the honour and common weill thairof sall pay fourty shillings to Saint Geilles wark, and twa pund of wax to Saint Cubarts altar as said is; Item, that na maister of the said craft sall take any childer in service thairat ane or mae fra this tyme furth but gif they be prentices and pay thair dewties as effeirs, and that na baxter take nor resset ane uthir manis servand of the said craft under the payne of fourtie shillings to Saint Geilles wark, and twa pund of wax to Saint Cubarts licht, or else to be expellit frae the occupatioune thairof. Item, anent the flour baiks and fadges that comes fra landwart into this toun to sell, that they may be examit upone the guidnes of the stufte and weicht for the toun weill sycklyke as thair stuf is, sua that gif they be nocht fundin conformand in guidness and weicht, with the advise of the officiaris and maisteris of the said craft that they be destroyit, and nocht to repair with sycklyke stuf in tyme thairefter sen this caiss standis baith for the common weill and common profeit of our mylles, and also

that they might have facultie and privilege yit as of before to make statuts and reules for the guyding of thair said craft in honestie, and for the common weil of the said towne, accordand till equite and reasoun. With the quhilks desyres we beand diligentlie avisit has considerit the samyn and fyndes them conformand to the honour and lovage of Gode and this gude towne and common profetit of our Souerane Lordis liegis repairand thairto, we ratiffie and confirme the samyn in all effect above written. In witnessing of the quhilik thing to thir our present letteres we have gart append our commone seal of cause of the said burgh at the samyn the twentie day of the moneth of March the year of God ane thousand fyve hundreth twentie and twa yearis.

3 June 1523.—The quhilik day, in presens of the baillies sittand in judgement Mr James Haliburtoun, procuratour for Mr Archibald Tod, resignit and left the benefice of sacristanrye and parroche clerkship in the handis of the baillies counsall and communitie, as patrones thairto, in faouris of Sir Robert Hopper be way of permutatioun and nane vtherwayis.

22 February 1527-8.—The quhilik day, the baillies and counsall ordanis the dene of gild or thesaurer till caus the waist land of the townis that thai gat fra Hew Dowglas and his spous, lyand at the west kirk dur, to be fillit vp with red, and to calsay the samyn honestly as efferis.

31 March 1530.—Till all and syndry quhais knowlege thir present letteris sall tocum, the provest ballies and counsall of the burgh of Edinburgh greting in God eurplesting. Witt your vniuersites that the day of the daif of thir present letteris, comperit before ws sittand in judgement the haill brethir and communitie of the Bonetmakaris within this burgh, and presentit befor ws thar bill and supplicatioun desyring that we wald grant to thame the rewlis statutis and preuilegis contenit in thar said bill and supplicatioun, of the quhilik the tenor and effect efter followis:—To yow my lordis provest ballies and worthy counsall of this gude towne, humlie menis and schawis your dalie seruitouris the haill brethir of Bonetmakaris within this burgh, that is to say, Johne Lausoun, Andro Gardnar, Andro Auld, William Honyll, Thom Dryburgh, Robert Tailyefeir, Johne Wan, Johne Dalrumpill, Jonet Watsoun, William Roger, Thom Henrison, James Williamsoun, and vthir diuers brethir and sisteris of the said craft, that quhair we traist your lordschippis knawis and vnderstandis perfytilie how that we ar vnyt and incorporat togiddir with the brethir of Walkaris and Scheraris within this said burgh, and ar oblist to thame till pay our dewiteis to the reparatioun and wphalding of Godis seruice at thar altar of Sanct Mark, situat within your College Kirk of Sanct Geill, baith in oukly penneis, preistis meit, and all vthir dewiteis, syklyke as ony of thame dois to the samyn, and has openit your wisdomys wryttingis and letteris vndir your commoun seill of caus of this burgh ratifyand and approvand the samyn in all thingis contenit tharintill, and without your wisdomyis grant till ws thir preuilegis and reulis efter followand thar will na gude reule nor gyding be kept amangis ws, quhilik reulis and preuilegis ar richt profitabill for the commoun weil of this towne and of all our Souerane Lordis liegis of this realme, that is to say:—In the first that we nicht haue yeirliche an honest man of the said craft chosin till ws quhilik salbe callit ouerman and ouersear of all the laif that thar werk be gude and sufficient stuf, and at that ouerman be chosin yeirliche be the auise of the provest ballies and counsall of the said burgh, and all the men and women of the said Bonetmakaris till obey him at all tymes quhen he serchis the samyn for the commoun weil of the said craft; and at na man nor woman of Bonetmakaris vse nor wyrk the said craft of bonatmakyn without at he or scho be first prenteis and ane craftisman or woman of the samyn and that nane of the said craft mann nor woman ressett ane vtheris prenteis, vndir the payne of twenty schillingis to be tane and applyit to the reparatioun of the said altar, and als that na man nor woman of the said craft of Bonetmakaris be fund with vnsufficient stuf, viz. with wob yarne or vther hew of burges stuf, bot at the samyn be thare awin propir gudis wrocht and spvn within thare awin houssis, vndir the payne of eschaeting tharof to be applyit at the will of the gude towne and at oukly serching be maid heirintill be the said ouirman and vtheris of the said craft, and ilk persoun man or woman that wirkis at thar awin hand sall pay at thar entre to the reparatioun of the said altar thretty schillingis, and for ilk prenteis thai ressaif sex schillingis aucht penneis, and quhat tyme that euir it sall happin the chaplanry of the said altar of Sanct Mark to vaik ony maner of way that we the brethir of the Bonetmakaris sall haif our votis in the chesing of ane vther chaplane tharto syklyke as the saidis Walkaris and Scheraris, and als that thar be na merket day had amangis ws for the selling of our bonettis bot allanerly apone the Monunday and Wednesday, sua

that the samyn may be serchit and sene gude and sufficient stuf and quhat persoun beis fundin ony vther day with bonettis selland oppinly in the merket the samyn till be eschaetit with ane officiar of the tovne and to be distribut to the vtilite of the said altar, and that ilk person man or woman of the said Bonetmakaris sett thar markis upon all necessar thingis that sall happin to be brocht amangis thame and the saidis Walkaris and Scheraris to the vtilite and proffitt of the said altar, syk as buke, challice, vestiment, and vther stuf quhatsumeuir syklyke as the saidis Walkaris and Scheraris dois, and als the said Bonetmakaris till haue ane key of the said Walkaris and Scheraris box sykelyke as thai haue ane of thare box, the quhilkis reulis preuilegis and statutis aboue wryttin we pray your lordschippis till grant till ws vndir your commoun seill of cause, and will God we sall do sua in the tovnis seruice that ye and your successouris salbe hartlie content of ws in tyme cummyn with your deliuerans heirintill humlie we beseik. The quhilk supplicatioun and bill beand red befor ws in judgement, and we tharwith beand ryplie auisit, thoct the samyn consonant to resoun and for the commoun weil of this burgh and all our Souerane Lordis liegis, and tharfor safer as we may for ws and our successouris grantis the saidis preuilegis reulis and statutis to be obseruit and kept amangis the saidis Bonetmakaris, and ratifiis and appreis the samyn in all poyntis in tymes tocum be thir presentis. In witness of the quhilk thing to thir present letteris we haif gart append our commoun seill of cause at Edinburgh the last day of the moneth of Marche, the yeir of God ane thousand five hundreth and thretty yeris.

Thir ar the names of this craft of Bonetmakaris quhilkis are nocht specifiit in this wrytting aboue, that is to say William Lauson, James Craufurd, James Stevinson, William Joffray, Alexander Myll, Jonet Poilton, Johne Rogeir, Thom Spanze, Johne Inglis, Dauid Murray, Johne Layng, Johne Williamson, Katran Grame, William Hammyll.

In presens of the ballies in jugment, Margaret Smyth of hir avne fre will oblist hir that fra this tyme furth scho shall nocht [use] na iniurious wordis, blasfeme, nor schame Dene Alexander Creichtane vicar of Sanct Cuthbartis Kirk, nothir in word nor deid, vnder the pament of *xli*. tilbe gevin till Sanct Gelis werk.

16 July 1530.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies and counsals hes gevin and grantit to Mr Robert Creychtoun, prouest of thair College Kirk, the littill pece of waist land of thair kirk yaird equally discandand fra the chalmer new biggett for the curate downe throw as the said chalmer strekis to the nether end of the said prouests yaird, for policy to be bigget be the said prouest thairintill, becaus it wes before ane midding and commoun sege till all persouns.—(On ane lowse leiff.—*Tr.*)

The quhilk day, forsamikle as it was perfytlie vnderstand and kend that Dauid Duly tailyour has haldin his wif seyke in the contagius seiknes of pestilens ij dayis in his house, and wald nocht revele the samyn to the officiaris of the toune quhill scho wes deid in the said seiknes, and in the meyn time the said Dauid past to Sanct Gelis kirk, quhilk was Sunday, and thair said mes amangis the cleyne pepill, his wif beand *in extremis* in the said seiknes, doand at was in him till haif infekkit all the toune, for the quhilk caus he was adiugit to be hangit on ane gebat befor his awin dur, and that was gevin for dome.

Item, it is statut and ordanit that na maner of persone man nor woman that has bene put furth to the mure in this contagius seiknes, and clengit, that nane of thame cum within Sanct Gelis Kirk amangis the vther cleyne folk quhill thai optene licens of the prouest and ballies of the toune, vnder the payne of banasing of the toune.

20 October 1531.—Tyll all and syndry, quhais knowlege thir present letters sal cum, the prouest, ballies, and counsall of Edinburgh, greting in God euerlesting: Wyt your vniuersite, that the day and the dait of the making of thir present letters, comperit befor ws counsally gaderyt, Thomas Stanhous, kyrk-maister, Thomas Arthour, Andro Edgar, William Pacok, Alexander Frostar, Andro Persoun, Alexander Robesoun, Robert Spittal, Johne Cowpar, Johne Kraik, Johne Bayne, and Thomas Thomesoun, and the laif of the maisters of the tailyeor craft within this Burgh, and present till ws thair supplicatioun, contenand certane statutis, articulis and reulis, dyuysyt be tham to be affirmyt be ws, for the loving of God Almyghty, the honour of the realme, the worshype and proffyt of thys gud tovne, and the proffyt of all oure soverane lordys liegis, and vtheris reperant thairto, and in exampell of vtheris, and for the agmentatioun of dyuynne seruice at the alter of Sanct An, situat within our College Kyrk of Santt Gele of

the said Burgh, and thairfor desyryt that thai mycht haue thir statutis articulis and reulis followand grantyt and gevin to the saidis brether and thair successouris be ws and our autorite, quhairthrow gud reule and gyding may be had amangis thame of the said craft, bayth maistrys and seruandys, and thair successouris thairof in tyme to cum, considering it is said be commonis autorite, that multitud but reule makys confusioun and for till eschew the vice thairof, and to be eschewyt in tyme to cum, the quhilk desyr we thocht consonant to resoun, and thairfor has grantyt and gevin to the saidys brethir, and thair successouris, thir statutis, articulis and reulis followand : Item, in the first, that sen all entresment of verteu, practik and knowlege, standys in gud begynnyng and fundiment, and fra thynfurth to continew in vse and perseuire till fynale end, that fra thyn furtht all maner of prentis [that] sall be tayne at the said craft sall stand in pryntischype for the space of sevyn yeris, and na less, without dispensatioun of the principall maistrys of the said craft, and specialye in fauours of the sonys of the said craft, and ilk prentis till pay at his entry to the reparatiounis and wphald of dyuynne seruice at thair said altar, or ony prentis be sett apoun the tailyeor burd, ten shillingis. Item, that na maister resaiif ane seruand that hes nocht bene prentis within this Burgh with ane free maister of the said craft, without he pay ten shillingis to the said altar, and that he [be] bund prentis to the maister that resaiifis hym for ane certane of yeris, as the sayd maister and he can aggre. Item, that nane of thir saidys prentissis be ressauiit, without the dekyn, the four kyrk maistrys and the chaplane that says prayers, till be for the tyme, be present for till put the saidys prentissis in thair prentis buk, and mak the indenturis of thair conditionis amangys thame, under the payne of twenty schillingys, till be payt till Sanct Gelys werk, and twenty to the reparatioun of the said altar of Sanct An vnforgevyn als oft as thai brek ony punct of the said act. Item, that nowthir thir prentissis, nor nane vther persoun of the said craft, be sufferyt till sett wp buyth within this said Burgh, nor wyrk of the said craft, bot with ane fre maister of the samyne, without he be sworn maister, and fund sufficient, habyll and worthy thairto in practik and vtherywayis, and admyttyt thairto first be the sworn maistrys of the said craft principall, and maid fre man and burgess of the said Burgh, and than for his wpset till pay fyf pundys to the reparatiounis and wphald of dyuynne seruice at thair said altar with an honest dennar to the sworne maistrys thairof. Item, that na fre maister of the said tailyeor craft fie ane vther craftis man of ane vther craft to wyrk in his buyth, under pain of ten schillingys till be payit to Santt Gelys werk, and ten schillingys to Santt Annys altar, als oft as ony maister wses the samyne. Item, that na vnfremen of the said craft cum within the fredome of this towne that has ane buyth without the fredome of the samyne, till tak ony werk or stuff furth of the samyne till wyrk it, owder schappin or wnschappin, it sall be lesum till the dekyn and maistrys of the said craft for the tyme till tak the samyne werk fra thame, and gyf it be made werk, the price thairof till cum to the reparatioun of thair said altar of Sanct An, and gyf it be not maid, na fre maister of the said craft till mak the samyne to the persouns that the said stof pertenyys to, and take his price thairof, because the saidis vnfremen nowthir scottis, lottis, walkis nor wardis within our said fredome. Item, that na burgess, na fre man within this burgh, lord na lard, resaiif ane vnfremen of the said craft in thair houses nor lugenys till wyrk quyetyly or oppnyly, in defraude of the said craft, without the pricyys thairof be payit to the said dekyn and maistrys, to the reparatiounis of thair said altar, and quhay doys in the contrar, that officiaris of this gud tovne pas with the saidis dekyn and maistrys, and mak thame oppyne durris, and deliver the stof that they fynd wrocht and vnwrought, being in the saidis vnfremens handys for the tyme, to the saidis dekyn and maistrys, and till remayne with thame quhill the pricyys thairof be payit to the reparatioun of thair said altar, and gyf ony burgesses, lordis, lardis, or vthir fremen, induellars, or vnfremen within this burgh, uses the resset of sic vnfremen of the said craft in tyme cummyn, thai sall pay vnforgevyn twenty schillingys to Santt Gelys Werk, for ilk tyme thai be fund in thair forsaidys houses and lugenys, fra the first charge be gevin be ane offycyar of this gud tovne, and to pay the officiaris for thair lawbouris, and ten schillingys to the said altar, for the costys and skayth it sustenyys thairupon. Item, that [na] maister of the tailyeour craft ressaif nor resset ane vther maistrys servand nor prentis of the said craft within this burgh, without he haue maid compt and raknyn with the maister he cumys fra, and that he be contentyt thairof, vnder the payne of ten schillingys to be payit to the said altar quha dois the contrar vnforgevyn. Item, gyf ony

fremaister of the said craft within this burgh brekis ony manys stuf vnordourly, or womanis, and spillis the samyne in his defalt of werkmanshype, the persoun that aw it sall cum to the dekyn and maisterys of the said craft for the tyme, and plenye thairupon, it beand seyn be ane certane of the said sworne maisterys, that the werkman thairof has falyeit in ony punct, the said dekyn and maisterys sall cause the said man till recompens the compleyear thairof, of the skayth he has sustenyt thairthrow, and that thair be certane maisterys of the said craft be sworn upon all sic caissis, or thai decerne in the samyne, that thai sall lelely and treuly, without feid, fawour, or prejudice of party, depone and deliuer in the samyne, and cause the compleyear till be payit of his skayth. Item, that na maister sall haue forman in his buyth till wyrk, bot ane allanerly within this fredome. Item, that na maister sall dissobey the dekyn and maisterys for the tyme, in the gatheryn in of the dewteis to thair said altar, vnder the payne of twa punddis of walx till be payt to the said altar als oft as thai dissobey vnforgevyn. Item, gyf thair be ony fremaster of the said craft that bydis away fra the quartar comptis, thai being lawfully warnyt be the seruand of the said craft, he sall pay ane pund of walx vnforgevyn, without he haue ane releuand excusatione, and that it be oppynly knawn. Item, gyf ony maister of the said craft dissobeys the dekyn and the maisterys in ony thing that is for the commone weill of the samyne, quhairthrow they will not obey, without an officiar of this gud tovne be brocht to thame till pund for the samyne, thai sall pay twa schillingys to the officiar for his feys, and ane pund of walx with the dewteis that are awyn. Item, that ilk maister haldand butht within this burgh of the said craft, sall pay his wkly penny to the reparationis of the enhornamentys of the said altar, and susteyne the prestis meit thairof, as it cummys about, and that the said kyrk-maister, and ane certane of the principall maisterys of the said craft that sall happyn till be for the tyme, sall haue fulfetur, leif and preuilige, with ane officiar of the tovne till pas with tham for till pund and distrenye, gyf neid be, for the takyn, rasing, and inbringyn of the forsaidis dewteis to the sustentatione and uphald of Godis seruice, as said is, but danger, stop, or impedymnt. And attour, gyf it sall happyn ony maister or freman of the said craft, efter that he be maid maister to the samyne, abstrak him and disuse his said craft, and thairefter returne agane to the occupying of the samyn craft, that he sall pay all maner of dewteis bypast, sa he be thollyt till wyrk at the said craft, or ellis till pay his new upsett agane. Quhilkys statutis, articulis and reulis, with preuilygys aboue writtyn, we the saidis prouest, baleis and counsall for ws and our successors, gyffys and grantis to the saidis dekyn and maisterys, and affirmys, ratifys, approvis and confirmys the samyne, in all punctis and articulis to the saidis dekyn and maisterys, to be brukyt and josyt be thame and thair successors of the said craft, in perpetual memoriall in tyme cummyn for euer mayr. And this till all quhom it efferys we mak knawyn be the tenor of thir oure letteris. In witnessing of the quhilk thing to thir our present letteris, oure commone seill of cause of our said burgh we haue gert append, at Edinburgh, the twenty day of the moneth of October the yeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth and thretty ane zeris.

12 September 1532.—The quhilk day, in the presens of the prouest baillies and counsalle, Gilbert Lauder, procuratour and in the name and behalf of Sir Gilbert Lauder, renuncit and purelie and simple resignit the alterage and seruice of Sanct Nicholace alter, scituat within the College Kirk of Sanct Geyll, in the handis of the prouest baillies and counsalle as patronis to the samyn, and incontinent the said prouest baillies and counsalle gaif the said alterage to Sir David Purdome, be the deliuering of ane bouet as vse is, efter the foundation.

25 September 1532.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies counsalle and communitie granttis till Gilbert Lauder the landis of Petravye in Fyfe in few, as thay that ar patronis to the samyn quhilk now Sir Gilbert Lauder chaiplane of Sanct Nycholace alter, in augmentatioun of the rentale of the said chaiplanrie, viz. for xxvj merkis, that is vj merkis mair nor it wes wont till gyf, to be brukit and josyt be the said Gilbert and his airis, induellaris within the toun of Edinburgh, and granttis till his charter thairof thair commoun seill in the best forme can be maid.

12 February 1532-3.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies and counsalle decernis and ordanis the brether of Candilmakaris till extent and beyr all portable charges with the breder of the Fleschouris that salhappin within this burgh in tyme to cum, ay and quhill the saidis Candilmakaris obtene sufficient discharge be sentence that thay sould nocht stent with thame,

and that without prejudice of onye rycht of the saidis Candylnakariss; and ordanis thame to pay to the Flescheouris for thir twa last extenttis xls.

22 August 1533.—Till all and sindry quhais knaledge thir present letteres saltocum, the provest baillies and counsale of the Burgh of Edinburgh greting: Witt youre vniuersiteis that the day of the daif of thir present letteres comperit before ws sittand in iugement the kirkmaisteris and the laif of the maisteris and brether of the Skynnar craft and Furrou craft of the said burgh, and present till ws counsaly gaderit thair bill of supplicatioun of the quhilk the tenour followis:—My lordis provest baillies and worthy counsale of this guid toun, vnto your richt honorabill discretionis humlie menis and schewis the kirkmaisteris and the laif of the maisteris of the Skynnar craft and the Furrou craft within this burgh viz., William Akinheid kirkmaister, Stevin Bell, Henry Cranstoun, Robert Huchesoun, Henry Lille, Johnne Gibsoun, William Loch, Thomas Bischof, Johnne Huchesoun, William Scott, Robert Haithwy, James Ramsay, Thomas Clerksoun, George Hammiltoun, Johnne Park, Andro Romannos, Johnne Watsoun, William Coldane, William Watsoun, William Wallange, Adam Wricht, Thomas Quhite, James M'Lellane, Thomas Hervy, James Andersoun, Johnne Auld, Johnne Fairlie, Thomas Wischart, James Forat, James Huchesoun, skynnaris; the names of the furrouis, Robert Bischof dekin, Daid Ferry, Johnne Craig, Archibald Loiche, Alexander Duncaue, William Duncane, Adam Makcalyeane, Thomas Singiltoun, William Carnys, Daid Younger, Walter Somervell, Thomas Andersoun, Matho Cant, and Richart Henrisoun, that quhare, first, for the loving of Almightie God, the honour of the realme, the worschip and proffit of this gude toun and all oure Souerane Lordis lieges and vtheris reparand thairto, and in exempill of vtheris and for the augmentatioun of divyne seruice at the altare of Sanct Cristofer our patrone of the samyn altare situate within youre Colledge Kirk of Sanct Geill of the said burgh, we desire that we nicht haue thir statutis, articulis, and rewlis eftir following grantit and gevin till vs be youre autorite quhairthrow gude rewle and giding may be had amangis ws of the saidis craftis, baith maisteris and seruandis, and oure successouris thairof in all tymes tocum, because it is said be commoun autorite that multitude but rewlis makes confusioun, and for till eschew the vice thairof, and to be eschewit in tyme tocum, we desir thir rewlis eftir followand: In the first, that sen all incresment of vertew practikis and knaulege standis in gude begynning and foundment, and fra thinfurth to continew in vertew and perseuerance to finale end, that fra thynfurth na maner of personis of the saidis craftis of skynnaris and furrouis be sufferit to set vp buth nor pull skynniss within this burgh without he be first freman and burges of the samyn, fundin sufficient and abill in werkmanship and vthirwayis, and admittit thairto be the provest baillies and counsale and sworne maisteris of the craftis, and than for his vpsett to pay, gif he be ane skynneris son burges within this burgh ten schillingis, and gif he be ane vthir mannis son to pay for thair vpsett the sowme of fyve pundis vsuall money of Scotland, to the reparatioun and vphalding of divyne seruice at oure said altare; and at na maner of maisteris of the saidis craftis tyst hous [or] herbery any vtheris maisteris prentice or servand; and gif ony dois in the contrar he sall pay ane pund candill of walx, and thaireftir als oft as the falt happennis at the discretioun of the provest baillies and counsale the persoun falctand to be pvnist; and at ilk maister haldin buth within this said burgh of the saidis craftis sall pay his oulklie penny to the reparatioun of the ornamentis of oure said altare and sustene the preistis meit thairof as it cumis about: Item, that na fals stuf be sauld till our Souerane Lordis liegis vnder the pane of half ane pund candill of walx to oure said altare als oft as it beis ourethane; and at the fals stuff be present to the provest baillies and counsale, and thai to remeid and reforme the samyn as thai sall think expedient for the tyme; and gif ony personis of the saidis craftis intronettis or withhaldis the gudis of the said altare or craftis, and sustenis pley thairintill, he to pay and deliuer the samyn with the expensis of his proper gudis gif he be fundin in the falt; and at the saidis kirkmaisteris and principall maisteris of the saidis craftis that sall happin to be for the tyme may haif full faculte leif and preuilege, with ane officar of the toвне to pas with thame for to poynd and distrenye git neid be for the taking rasing and inbringing of thir dewiteis forsaid to the sustentatioun and vphalding of Goddis seruice as said is, but danger stop or impediment, and that all the maisteris of the saidis craftis that takkis ony persoun in prenteis with thame sall pay to the reparatioun of the said altare the sowme of twenty schillingis: Quharfore we humlie beseik youre lordschip and wisdomes, sen we ar twa

craftis and vnite oure self in cherite togiddir to the vphalding of Goddis seruice and for the honour of this gude toun and profit of all oure Souerane Lordis liegis, and sen thir oure sempill desiris and petitionis ar resonable and conforme to equite and are consonant to the gude reule honour and polecty according to the vsis and consuetudis of grete townis of honour of vthir realmes and provinces, that ye wald grant to vs thame ratifyit approvit and confermit be yow vnder your commoun sele of caus, in perpetuall memoriall of gude reule to be had in tyme tocum, with youre ansuer heirapoun we humilie beseik : The quhilk supplicatioun and desiris before expremit beand red in iugement, and we thairwith beand ripelie avisit, we thoecht the samyn consonant to ressoun, and thairfore ratifyis approvis and confermes the samyn for ws and our successouris als lang as thai salbe sene expedient speidfull and profitabill for the commoun profit to the prouest baillies and counsale of this burgh that sall happin to be for the tyme ; and this till all and sundry quham it efferis we mak it knawn be thir oure letters. In witnes of the quhilk thing we have gart append to thir presentis our commoun seall of caus. At Edinburgh, the twenty-twa day of the moneth of August, the yeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth threty and thre yeris.

Hec est vera et indubitata copia principalis litere, statutorum communitati Pellipariorum et Foderatorum burgi de Edinburgh per prepositum balliuos et communitatem eiusdem euis concessis, et per eosdem roborate et confirmate sub eorum communi sigillo, fideliter copiate et collationate per me notarium publicum subscriptum nil addito vel remoto quod facti substanciam mutaret aut intellectum variaret, sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.

Ita est, Andreas Richartsoun notarius publicus manu propria premissa asseruit.

[This is a true and undoubted copy of the principal letter of statutes to the community of Skinners and Furriers of the burgh of Edinburgh, granted to them by the Provost, Bailies, and Community of the same, and by them ratified and confirmed under their common seal, faithfully copied and collated by me, notary-public subscribing, under my sign and subscription manual, nothing being added or taken away which could change the substance of the deed or vary its meaning. So it is. Andrew Richartsoun, notary public, certifies the premises with his own hands].

21 *March* 1533-4.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies counsale and communitie gevis and grantis [to] chaiplane, the chapellanrie of Sanct Eloyis alter within Sanct Gelys kirk, vacand now in thair handis as patronis to the samyn be the deces of vmquhile Sir Dauid Frissell, with all and sindry landis annuell renttis and profittis pertenant thairto.

26 *May* 1535.—Gevis till Sir William Cady the prebend of St Androis altare in Sanct Geillis kirk as vacand, becaus Mr Andro Jhonestoun last prebendar left the land for heresy.

The same tyme, disponit to Sir Jhone Wilsoun the prebend at St Eloys alter in St Geillis Kirk.—(In ane lowse leiff.—*Tr.*)

28 *July* 1535.—The quhilk day, in presence of the prouest baillies and counsale sittand in iugement, Sir James Barroun chaiplane of St Dyoneis altare situat within the College Kirk of St Geill resignit his said chaiplenry in the said prouest and baillies hands as patrones to the samyn, quhilk gaif the said chaiplenry with all profittis thairto to Sir Jhone Ker chaiplane, after the forme of thair fundatioun.

The sam tyme, the seruice and chaiplenry of our Lady altare gevin be thame to Sir James Barroun. This in St Pawls wark.—(In ane lowse leiff.—*Tr.*)

14 *July* 1540.—The quhilk day, in the presens of the prouest baillies counsale and communitie sittand in iugement, comperit James Prestoun and consentit and wes contentit to resauie the sowme of xvij^{xx} merkis for his hous and land at the eist entres of thair College Kirk of Sanct Geill, and to resing the samyn in the townis handis *ad remanentiam*, and warrand the samyn land to thame annuell fre at all handis, except for ane annuell rent awand thairto yeirlie of sex merkis to the kirk, and viij merkis annuell rent awand thairto yeirlie to Jhonne Malcome, as thay pleis devise best thairintill.

16 *July* 1540.—The prouest baillies and counsale, sittand in iugement, ordanis ane of the baillies and officiaris pas to the nychtbouris occupearis of the commoun buthis pextenyng to the gude toun, and warne and charge ilk ane of the nychtbouris allegeand thame to haue the

samyn in rentals to deliuer content and pay of fore male of thair buthis to the avale of fyve yeris to cum, to the effect that with the samyn James Prestonis land at the eist end of the kirk may be bocht, and mak ane entres to the kirk for the honour of God and policie of the gude toun; certefeing euery ane of the saidis personis that hes the saidis buthis and thay refuse till do the samyn, thair buithis salbe rowpit and set at Mertymes nixt to cum to thame that will gyf maist male be yeir thairfor; and alsua gyf thay refuse to warne thame to flyt at Mertymes nixt to cum, sua that the gude toun may dispone vpoun thair buthis to the maist avale of thair commoun gude.

April 1543.—(In the lowse leiff dattit at Aprile 1543 is contenit quhair the towne gaif the alterage and chaplenry of Sanct James altare in St Geillis kirk to Sir Jhone Wilsoun.—*Tr.*)

2 October 1543.—The prouest baillies and counsall hes gevin and grantit to Rychart Plumbar the sowm of fyve merk fie for the yeir to cum, to awaitt daylie in thair kirk and to ordour the pure folk, and for clengeing of the paythment and doand sic vther seruice for the honour of the towne as pleisis the prouest and dene of gild to devyse, and ordanis the dene of gild to ansuer him of the said fie. (In the convict buik end.—*Tr.*)

27 October 1543.—Thomas Watsoun, glasin wrycht, is feyit be the provest baillies and counsall, with avyse of the dene of gild, to vphald the hail glas and wyndoys of thair kirk of St Geill yeirlie, and to furneis glas leid and tyn during his lyfetye, and the said dene and his successouris to furneis irne and skalfatting and support of leiding and conveying of ledderis, for the quhilk the said dene and his successouris sall pay to the said Thomas vj merkis yeirlie for all the dayis of the said Thomas lyvetyme.

27 February 1545-6.—It is statute and ordanit be, etc., that na maner of persoun hald oppin tavern within this burgh in tyme cuming bot thai that ar burgessis and gild-brether and payis dewty to St Anthonis altare; and als that nane of thame haif fals mesures to sell thair wyne with, vnder the pane of *vii.* to be taikin of thame that beis apprehendit havand the said fals mesouris, and als of breking of the samyn.

21 November 1548.—That na maner of persoun hald oppin tavern bot thai that ar burgessis and gild brether and payis thair dewty to St Anthonis altare, and for obseruing heirof ordanis all the baillies, or ony twa thairof, to pas and dischaarge vtheris to vent wyne and to steik vp thair durris quhill thai be burges and gild brether.—(Counsale buik.)

23 November 1548.—The maltmen for breking warde adiugeit be avyse of the assessoris to pay ilk ane *iiij.*, to remayne in warde quhill mess, and thai to offer to the hie altare ilk ane ane walx candill of ane quarter wecht to St Geill, to ask the provest baillies and counsale forgifenes, to pay the vnlaw or thai cum furth with the *lvz.* vnlaw contenit in the statutes or fynd souerty actit.

30 August 1549.—The quhilk day, in presens of the provest, William Lausoun baillie, thesaurer, dene of gild, ane pairt of the counsale and deykinnis, sittand in jugement, comperit Maister Archibald Barrie, chaplane of the chaplanrie and seruice fundit at the hie alter situat within the College Kirk of Feild, and thair declairit that thair wes ane land callit Cliddisdailandis lyand in the Kirk of Feild Wynd on the eist side of the trans thairof, pertening to the said chaplanrie, quhilk gaif yeirlie to him the sowme of ten merkis of male allanerlie but ony vther gratitude, quhilk land wes now sua ruinous that it wes able to decay and fall doun without remeid wer fund thairintill, and that he thocht maist expedient to sett the saidis landis in few for the said yeirlie maill of ten merkes with augmentation, and with consent and assent of the said proveist baillies counsale and communitie, patrones to the said chaplanrie and seruice, and thairfoir menit him afoir to thame thairanent, quha causit the hand bell to pass through the toun and warne all and sundre the nighbouris and inhabitaris of this burgh that sic ane land wes to be sett in few, and thay that wald bid maist thairfoir wald gett the samin at ane certane day bypast with certificatioun as efterit; at the quhilk day thair comperit na persone exceptand Merioun Craig the reliett of vmquhile Jhon Foulartoun, quha desyret the saidis landis in few and offerit the said ten merkes of few maill yeirlie thairfoir, togidder with *xiijs. iiijd.* yeirlie in augmentation, as at mair lenth is contenit in the said Mr Archibaldis supplicatioun gevin in thairupoun; and thairefter the said provest baillie thesaurer dene of gild counsale and ane pairt of the deykinnis declairit that thai had sene the said land, vesiit the samyn, and fand that it wes ruinous, and als causit reid in jugement the said

Meriouns chartour maid be the said Mr Archibald with consent of thame vpoun the saidis landis and ryplie awysit thairwith, consentit all in ane voce as patrones to the said chaplanrie, that the saidis landis wer sett in few to the said Merioun for the said yeirle few mail and augmentatioun foirsaid, and ordanit and grantit thair commoun seale to be hungin to the said chartour in takin of thair consent foirsaid; and thairupoun the said Maister Archibald and Merioun askit actis of court and instrumentis, and ordanis ane baille, the said thesaurer or dene of gild, to pas to the ground of the said land the tyme of the resignatioun thairfo to be maid be the said Maister Archibald in faouris of the said Merioun for hir heretable seasing thairfo, and thair consent in thair names to the said resignatioun and seasing to be gevin to the said Merioun of the saidis landis, efter the tenour of the said chartour.—(In the lowse leiffis.—*Tr.*)

27 *May* 1552.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies and counsale ordanis the eistar stan dik of the kirk yard to be tane downe and the proppis tane away vpoun the expens of the choppis malis at the kirk yard fute.

9 *December* 1552.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies and counsale obliassis tham and thair successouris to releif James Carmichaell dene of gild anent the sowme contenit in the indentour maid betuix him and Andro Mansioun anent the bigging of the south syde of the queir, conform to the indentour maid betuix them the v day of Nouember last bypast.

26 *January* 1552-3.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies counsale and dekyannis sittand in judgement, anent the supplicatioun gevin in be James Lawder prebender of thair queir, grantis licence to the said James to pas furth of the realme to the pairtis of England, [and] France, thair to remane for the space of ane yeir nixt efter the dait heirof, to the effect that he may haue and get better eruditioun in mvsik and playing nor he hes; providing alwys that the said James caus ane chaiplane to keip his fundatioun of Sanct Kathyranis alter be ane preist quhill the said yeir be done; and in cais the said James return nocht within ane yeir his said prebendarie to waik, and the saidis prouest baillies counsale and commvnite to haue power to dispoine thairupoun, quhairfo the said James consentit.

9 *June* 1553.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies counsale and dekyannis ordanis the thesaurer Alexander Park to content and pay to Alexander Stewinsoun the sowme of *vi*. for his Witsunday fe bygane of his seruice maid in the queir, quhilk beand payit, etc.; and dischargis him in tyme cumyng.

11 *October* 1553.—The quhilk day, the prouest baillies and counsale hes statute and ordanit for stancheing of the grete wrangis and hurtis done and to be done be the nychtbouris of the burgh and vtheris biggand or reperelland landis within the samyn that gif it salhappin ony persone to big or reparelland his landis in tymes cummyng and thairby hurtis ony of his nychtbouris landis in the doing thairfo and wrangis his nychtbour thairby, cognitioun being tane thairupon on the land be the dene of gild and the counsale, and decreit gevin, that the pairty being fund to haif done the wrang to reform the samyn and als to pay *xxs.* to Sanct Gelis werk by the vther dewiteis aucht, and that the officeris of the burgh incontinent efter the decreit geving poynd thairfo.

27 *April* 1554.—The baillies and counsale sittand in judgement ordanis the dene of gild to repair and vpbig the Sang Scule in the kirk yard as it wes of befoir sua that the barnis may enter thairto and inhabit the samyn.

20 *July* 1554.—The prouest baillies and counsale findis be the fundatioun and als be consent of Sir Henry Loch sacristane of Sanct Gelis queir that the said Sir aucht to find and serue the said kirk at all tymes neidfull lycht of fyre and watter to serue all the chaplanis of the kirk and als to find stringis to all the bellis inwith the stepill, and sielik to watter and sowp the queir euery *vlk* anis; and als anent the ringing of the bellis decernis, with consent of the said Sir Henry, that in all tymes cummyng the grete bellis be nocht rounng fra ten *hōuris* at evin quhill *v* *houris* in the mornyng; and that he haif alanerlie for the *xxiiij* *houris* ringing *vjs. viijd.* without ony vther dewite and that the dewite of the thre bellis and deid bell be vsit of the auld *vs.*

The quhilk day, in presens of the prouest baillies and counsale, Johne Young askit instrumentis that Sir Henry Loch consentit and wes content to tyne his benefice of sacristane in Sanct Gelis Kirk in cais ony dosane of chaplanis of Sanct Gelis Kirk wald preif the kirk wantit fyre and watter in his defalt.

The prouest baillies and counsale and dekyannis of craftis, vnderstandand that Andro Mansioun quha wes wrycht to the bigging of the stallis of the queir hes done his vtr devore and deligence thairin and hes completit the samyn honestlie and substantiouslie and thair wes ane honest reward promist to him for his bontath and reward thairof; thairfor the saidis prouest baillies counsale and dekyannis hes gevin and grantit and be the tenour heirof gevis and grantis to the said Andro and his assignais ane or ma ane yeirlie pensiou of ten merkis vsuall money of this realm tobe payit to him and tham be the dene of gild of this burgh for the tyme as vs is for the space of ten yeris nixt heirefter begynnand the nixt termes payment at Mertymes nixt tocum, or ay and quhill the saidis prouest baillies counsale and dekyannis within the saidis ten yeris gif freilie to aine of the said Androis sonis or ony vther quhome to he sall pleis the samyn be gevin to ane benefice of ane lawit patronage of the yeirlie rent of ten pundis at the leist, or gif it salhappin sic ane benefice to vaik within the saidis x yeiris and thairefter tobe offerit to the said Androis sone or to himself tobe gevin to ane vther of his chesing and refus the samyn he and his assignais foirsaidis to tyne his said pensiou and the samyn to expyre in the self; and gif it salhappin the said Andro and his assignais tobe ansuerit of the said pensiou for the said space of x yeiris he and thair than to renunce the samyn and frathin-furth nocht tobe ansuerit thairof nor yit na benefice to be gevin to his sone nor ony vtheris as said is, and als the said Andro acceptand the premissis for his reward and bontath as said is oblist him to serue the towne of Edinburgh in all thair commoun effaris and commoun werkis bayth in the towne kirk and vther placis on the townis expens, and gif ony small falt happynnis tobe in the werk of the said queir he to mend the samyn on his expens.

14 June 1555.—The prouest baillies and counsale hes conducit and hyrit Alexander Stevinsoun to signe in thair queir euery sestrae day for ane yeir heirefter and at the messis of our Lady and the Haly Blud as thair salhappin to be, and hes ordanit thair thesaurar to pay to him thairfor xx merkis, quarterlie v merkis, and incais he mak nocht seruice as said is he nocht to vplift his said pensiou.

12 August 1555.—In presens of the prouest baillies and counsale, James Carmichael dene of gild declarit that he had diurs and syndry tymes aduertist tham that the eist gavill windok of Sanct Gelis kirk wes abill to fall downe and destroy Sanct Diones alter and that litill expens intyme wald remeid the samyn and that he had desyrit tham to avis gif he suld reperrell and mend the samyn and in quhat maner, that thairfor quhat skayth or danger cum to the said kirk and alter throw the occasioun foirsaid that the samyn be nocht input to him, and thairupoun askit instrumentis.

6 September 1555.—The baillies and counsale ordanis the thesaurar Maister Johne Prestoun to content and pay to James Dromond and his marrowis quha playit befor Sanct Geill on Sanct Geillis day on the schammes the sowme of xls.

8 November 1555.—The prouest baillies and counsale ordanis Sir Eduard Henrisoun ane of the prebendaris of the queir callit *minister core*, and maister of the sang skule to keip his fundatioun and to furneis walx to the hie altar and lamp as he aucht to do and nocht to procur with the Lady bred in the kirk be him self at na tyme vnto the tyme that he ressonne and caus the counsale consider quhairfor he aucht nocht to do the samin.

31 January 1555-6.—The prouest baillies and ane pairt of the counsale grantis and gevis to Alexander Scott ane pensiou of ten pundis furth of thair commoun gude for the yeir to cum alanerlie, and ordanis the thesaurar to pay him thairof, and that for his avating and singing in thair queir during the said tyme all the haly and festiual dayis and playing on the organis quhen he salbe requirit be the towne thairto.

10 April 1556.—The quhilk day, Alexander Home, Richard Carmichael, baillies, and the maist pairt of the counsale, findis that Hector Blacader hes falit in the refusing and disobeying to pas with the pece to the procuratioun to Sanct Gelis werk on Palm Sunday last bypast, he beand chairgit thairto as he confessit be the gild seriandis, nochtwithstanding his excuse maid in the contrar, and thairfor ordanis him to pay alsmekil as Johne Wicht quha procurit that day gat viz., xxiijs., and to be poyndit thairfor.

30 May 1556.—The prouest baillies and the maist pairt of the counsale, ordanis the thesaurar, Maister Archibald Grahame to pay to James Barroun and Robert Flemyng the sowme of xxxs. for x half pund wecht candill furnist be tham to the pane on the hie altar, and that to be allowit of the first of Sir Eduard Henrisoun's scule fee.

22 September 1556.—In presens of the prouest baillies and ane [pair] of the counsale, comperit Maister Thomas Makcalzeane and presentit ane wryting of my Lord Archbischof of Sanctandros, and eftir the reding thairof the said prouest baillies and counsale thoct expedient and als ordanit for tryell of the caus specifit thairin, viz., for the getting knowlege of the personis that tuke downe the images of the Trinite, Our Lady and Sanct Francis, laillie, that every baillie with twa honest men of his quarter and ane seruand of my Lord of Sanctandros gif thai plesit tocum, and ane chaplane of the kirk, viz., the curat, his substitute, Sir Henry Loch and Sir Andro Bartraham, ane to ilk baillie, pas throw thair hail quarteris and take cognitioun anent the said dountaking of the images as salbe put to tham in ane article to be gevin in be the said Maister Thomas Makcalzeane thairupoun.

23 September 1556.—In presens of the prouest baillies and counsale, Maister Alexander Forrest prouest of the Kirk of Feild, in name of my Archbischof of Sanctandros, presentit ane wryting of the Quenis Grace subscriuit with hir Gracis hand and vnder hir Gracis signet, and desyrit the samyn to be registrat and the effect thairof to be obeyit, of the quhilk the tenour followis: Prouest baillies and counsale of Edinburgh, we greit you weil: Forsamekle as we ar informit that thair is certane odious ballettis and rymes laillie sett furth be sum ewil inclinit personis of youre town, quha hes alsua tane doun diueris imagis and contempnandlie brokin the samyn, quhilk is ane thing werray sclanderous to the peple and contrarious to the ordinancis and statutis of haly kirk, and it is gewin ws to vnderstand that the makaris of the said misorder ar all indwellaris and inhabitaris of your said town: quhairfoir we chaarge you that incontinent efter the seicht hereof ye deligentlie inquire serche and seek for thair names an delyuer thame in writ to our cousing Archbischof of Sanctandros, to be visit conforme to the statutis of the kirk, assuring you gif ye do nocht your extreme devoir thairin to bring the samyn to lycht that ye salbe na vtherwayis estemit be ws nor as fauoraris and manteinaris of sic personis, and sall vnderly the samyn ponisment that thai aucht to sustene in cais we get knowlege hereof by you. Subscriuit with our hand and vnder our signet, at Aberdene the xxi day of September 1556.

30 October 1556.—The prouest baillies and counsale ordanis the dene of gild to ressaif fra Sir Henry Loch the key of the litill dowket aboue Sanct Thomas ile, and deliuer the samyn to David Rowane indurand the townis will.

30 December 1556.—The prouest baillies and counsale ordanis that all merchandis craftismen and vtheris inducellaris within this burgh in tyme cummyng send thair seruandis with torcheis to the conveying of the prouest all the festuall dayis of Yule New-yeir-mes and Vphellymes fra the evinsang to his awne lugeing, vnder the pane of xls. to be tane of ilk persone that failyeis heirin.

22 January 1556-7.—The prouest baillies and counsale as of befoir thinkis expedient that the dene of gild reperrell our Lady alter and mak ane ile thairof, and gif it pleis any maner of personis to gif pillaris or ony vther ornamentis thairto that he promitt and thoill thair armes to be put thairon.

5 November 1557.—[The council disponed the benifice of St Andrew's altar in St Giles' Kirk to Robert Craig, son to Robert Craig, goldsmith, "quha promist him to be ane prist within twa yeirs," or else to renounce his prebendary.]

27 May 1558.—The presidenttis baillies counsale and dekynnis, beand convenit in the tolbuith of this burgh, is content granttis consenttis and als commandis James Carmycheall dene of gyld, James Adamsoun thesaurar of this burgh and James Barroun burges, that gif it salhappin our ald inemyis of England to cum fordwart for persute of this town, to convoy and transport the hail evidenttis and wryttingis now beand in the thesaurar hous of this burgh to the castell and to put the samyn in the thesaurar hous of the said castell thair to remane in sure keping; and siclike ordanis the said dene of gyld to haif the reliquis syluer chandlaris with the rest of the syluer wark capis and ornamentis of the kirk of Sanct Geill to the said thesaurar hous of the castell thair to be kept in lyke maner, quhairupoun the said James Carmycheall dene of gild askit instrumentis.

7 January 1558-9.—The prouest baillies and counsall ordanis Jhone Charteris, eldar, dene of gild, to ressaue the jowallis vnderwrittin fra Schir Henrye Bonche sacristane of thair kirk of Sanct Geill now hafar of the same, and to keip thame be himself and his deputis that he will

ansuer for, that the samyn salbe furthcumand to the toun quhen thai think expedient, and to serue the nychtbouris thair of as vse is, and that the said dene of gild tak souertie of his said depute of honest responsibill nychtbouris of this burgh for his lawte and suir keping of the saidis jowallis, and that thai wey and keip the pais vnder specifyit, becaus vpon the sextene day of December last bypast thay war weyt in presens of the counsall in the tolbuith of this burgh be James Mosman, goldsmyth, of the wecht particularle as eftir followis, and at the ische of his office the said counsall ordanis the said dene of gild to deliuer the same of the wecht efter following to the counsall, that thai may be deliuerit and weyt in lyk maner to his successouris, dene of gild for the tyme, to the effect forsaid, viz, the relic and arme of Sanct Geill with the bane and paper, with ane ring set with ane dyamant on the litill fingar of the said arme, and fourte perle and seventeine stanis, all weyand fyve pund thre vnce and ane half; the syluer croce by the fute, weyand sex pund foure vnce and ane half; item, the fute of this croce fillit with pik and other mettall within the same to cause it stand, weyand ten pund nyne vnce; tua crowattis, weyand tuentye tua vnce; ane challece with the patene of syluer, weyand threttie tua vnce and ane half, quhair of the spvne weyis half ane vnce; tua chandlaris of syluer, weyand sevin pund four vnce; tua grettar chandlaris of syluer, baith weyand aucht pund thretteine vnce; tua sensairis, weyand togidder thre pund fyvetene vnce; ane ship for insence, sex vnce.

8 *March* 1558-9.—Item, vpon the 8 day of Merche 1558 yeris, in the ravestre of the kirk, in presens of the counsall afoir specifyit, the eucharist wes weyt contenand of wecht all syluer ourgilt, with four bellis of gold hingand thairat, half ane stane and tua vnce wecht; haif hingand abone ane hart set with perle, ane litill blew bell of gold, ane litill jasmin, ane sapheir, ane agat, tua perlis, tua stanis and othir tua fyne stanis, and hingand laych ane lytill hart of gold, ane mekill croce with thre perle, image of our Lady, ane litill croce with thre perle; quhilkis all is contenit within the said eucharist; ane round eucharist of syluer, weyand tuentye thre vnce; item, the cresum stok, weyand xxxix vnce and ane quarter.

12 *April* 1559.—[Of this date the bailies council and deacons of crafts granted to James Marioribanks, scribe, the service and chaplainry founded at the high altar by umquhile Robert Vans; and to John Scott, chaplain, at the request of Andrew Mansion, wright, the service and chaplainry founded at St Ninians' altar in St Giles kirk by umquhile Andrew Mowbray, both vacant by decease of Sir Alexander Cunningham. Marioribanks renounced the half of his yearly pension of ten pounds granted to him on 30th March 1542, and Mansion renounced the yearly pension of ten merks he had of the good town.]

14 *May* 1559.—In presens of Alexander Barroun baillie, the maist pairt of the counsall and ane greit pairt of the communitie, my lord provest presentit the Quenis grace writing direct to the provest and ballies of this burgh of the tenour following:—Provest and ballies of Edinburgh we greit yow weill: We traist it be nocht vnkawin to yow the greit mysreull laitlie maid within the burgh of Perth, be certane seditious and evill gevin persouna, quha hes spulyeit and distroyit the religious places of the samyn, and fering that sum rasche and insolent people sall attempt to do the semblable in vtheris townis gif remeid be nocht haistelic providit, hes thoct expedient to mak yow warnyng herof in tyme: quhairfoir we charge yow that ye fra thyne furthe gif gude heid and attendence that na sic vproir nor seditioun rys within your toun, bot that the religious places be surelie kepit, and gude ordour observit as accordis, certefeyng yow gif ony mysreull happinnis herefter in sic behalfis that we sall nocht fail to lay the deid and wyt thair of to your charge. At Striueling the xiiij day of Maii 1559. *Sic subscribitur*, la bien vra, MARIA, R. Quhilk writing being red in presens of the baillie counsall and communitie foirsaid, my lord provest desyrit thair ansuer thair of, quha ansuerit that thai wald do thair diligence and power to keip gude ordour in the toun, and to sauif the samyn fra all sic seditioun and trubill efter thair possibillite, conforme to the will and mynd of the said writing, and the communitie anent the provisioun of the maner of defens of the religious places referrit thame to the counsall, and thairvpon my lord provest askit instrumentis, and ordanit the counsall to convene efter none to tak ordour thairintill.

14 *June* 1559.—The baillies and counsals being convenit, Jhone Charteris dene of gild being present, thay all in ane voce requirit the said Jhone Charteris to rase and tak in suir keping the jowallis ornamentis and siluer werk of the hie alter to be suirlic kepit be him now in this

trubulous tyme, to the quhilk ansuerit the said Jhone Charteris that he was agit, seykleie, haveand na bodye with him in his hows bot his wyf and seruing weming, and in cace the samin wer inuadit the saidis gudis being thairtill he wer nocht habill to resist, and forther he wer nocht responsabill for the awaill of thame, quhairfor he dissasentit expresse to thair desyre or ony ordinance maid to that effect of before, and refusit alluterlie to have ony forther intromis-sioun charge or keping of the saidis jowallis ornamentis and siluer work otherwyis nor the dene of gildis his predicessouris had of before, that is to say to remane in lokfast lumes within the rawestre, and to be redde to serue at tymes convenient, and heirvpone askyt instrumentis.

16 June 1559.—The baillies and counsall foresaid ordanis maister James Lindesay thesawrar to rasau fra Dauid Somer burges of this burgh the commissioun impetrat at the instance of the gude towne in the court of Rome aganis Jhone archiebischope of Sanctandris for non vputting of Sanct Geill, and to delyuer to the said Dauid the sowme of x crounis of the sone in compleit payment of the expenssis maid vpone the impetratting of the said commissioun.

21 June 1559.—The provest baillies and counsalle ordanis Jhonn Charteris dene of gyld to content and pay to Patrik Govane belman, Johne Symssoun and Thomas Home keparis and walkaris of Sanct Geillis kirk sen Witsounday ewin last bipast, nychtlie twa s. ; and siclik ilk nycht alsmekill in tymes cuming salang as it salbe thocht neidfull that thai sall walk and keip the samin.

27 June 1559.—The baillies and counsall vnderwrittin consentit and grantit all in ane voce that the personis vnder specifyit ressaui in custode the jowallis and vestiamentis vnder writtin, to be furthcumand and deliuerit be thame quhen thai suld be requirit thairto be the counsall, quhilkis personis rassauit the same and promist to do thair vter deligence for keping thairof. The names of the counsall and baillies : Alexander Barroun, James Curll and Mr John Spens baillies, Mr Thomas M'Calzeane assessour, Jhone Charterhous dene of gild, Mr James Lyndesay thesaurar, James Broun, Thomas Thomsoun, Williame Patersoun, William Lawsoun, James Young, Andro Sclater of the dekyannis, Alexander Sawche tailyeour, Thomas Jaksoun masoun, James Cranstoun dekyn of the hammermen, Richart Hendersoun dekyn of the flesheouris, Mychael Gilbert dekyn of the goldsmythis, Robert Huntroddis dekyn of the cordinaris, Peter Turnet dekyn of the skynneris, Hew Canne dekyn of the furrouris, with the rest of the dekyannis.

The names of the honest men quha ressaui this yeir in keping :—*In primis*, to James Barroun merchand, the ewcharist ; item, maister Thomas M'Calycane, the arme of Sanct Geill ; James Young, the tua maist chandlaris of syluer ; Michaell Gilbert, tua lytill chandlar of sylwer ; Jhone Charterhous dene of gild, the mekill croce with the fute ; Alexander Guthrie, ane challice with the patene and spvne ; Thomas Thomsoun, tua crowattis with the cresum stoke ; James Carmychaell, tua censuris and the schipp ; Alexander Barroun baillie, the round ewcharist ; quhilk haill jowallis ar of the wecht specifyit in the act maid the sevint day of Januar, the yeir of God 1558 yeris, and insert in the same buke.

The names of thame that ressaui the vestiamentis of the kirk :—*In primis*, to maister James Lyndesay the sacrament clayth with Saint Gelis cloke of welwote droppit with gold, with the pendicle of reid crammesye welwote, alias callit the wail ; item, to maister Jhone Spens baillie, ane pail of reid saten with ane kaip of clayth of gold ; item, to James Curll, vestiament dekyn subdekyn preistheid and kaip, with the ornamentis compleittand the haill stand all of clayth of gold ; item, ressaui be Williame Lawsoun merchand, ane westiament dekyn and subdekyn of grene dalmes with the pertinentis begareit with strypis of gold ; item, to Alexander Sawche dekyn of the tailyeouris, tua frontellis ane of blak welwot and ane other of reid welwote ; item, ressaui be James Cranstoun, preist dekyn and subdekyn of quhite dalmes ; item, be Thomas Jaksoun dekyn of the masounis, ane chesobell of reid welwote myxt with clayth of gold with the pertinentis ; item, deliuerit to Rychart Hendersoun dekyn of the flesheouris, the mort stand contenand thre capis dekyn and subdekyn and preistheid, with the orpheis of blak welwote and graith pertenant thairto ; item, ressaui be Robert Huntroddis dekyn of the cordinaris, a haill stand of blew welwote contenand thre capis dekyn subdekyn and preist with the pertinents ; item, to Hew Canne dekyn of the furrouris, tua twneclis of quhite dalmes, ane blew chesobell of welwote with the pertinentis, ane chesobell of tanny welwote ; item, to Andro Sclater, vestment dekyn and subdekyn of clayth of gold alias callit Daimie Lauderis stande ; item,

ressauit be Peter Turnet dekynd of the skynneris, vestment dekynd and subdekynd of clayth of syluer and blew welwote with the frontell; to John Charterhous eldar, dene of gild, the [*blank*] candilstykyis of tyn of the hie altar, with the arres wark of the same altar; to Patrik Govane belman, the vale afoir the hie altar of linyng clayth with the pulpet clayth.

29 June 1559.—The quhilk day, maister Thomas Makcalzeane assessour [baillies, dean of guild, councillors and deacons], being conuenit in the tolbuyth, and efter lang ressoning vpon the cuming of the congregatioun to this burgh, fyndis gude that certane honest men be send to meit thame at Linlithgow, to quhome commissioun salbe gevin to trait and commoun with thame for vphald of the ruiftis of the religious placeis and kyrkis within this burgh and for sawying of the stallis bakis of aulteris and othisis tymmer werk within the saidis kyrkis, and siclyke to desyre of thame to obserue and keip gude ordour within the said burgh at their cuming to the samyn, and forder to labour at thair handis be all menis ressonable for the commoun weill of the samyn, and vnto this effect constitutis and nominatis James Barroun, Alexander Guthrie, Andro Sklatter, Thomas Thomsoun, James Young, Michael Gilbert and Archibald Dowar, and ordanis speciall commissioun to be maid and geifin to thame vnder the seill of caus of this burgh to the effect foresaid, for approving of thair weillis consenttis and speciall directioun of the saidis personis in the premissis, subscriwit be the commoun clerk.

The baillies assessouris counsall and dekynnis foresaid fyndis gude and necessar for keiping of Sanct Gelys kirk and vphald of the stawis of the queyr thair be feyit and hyrit thre score men of weyr, and ordanis maister James Lindsay thesaurer to fee thame, and to gyf to euery ane xxxd. on the day sa lang as he thinkis neidfull thay sall serue and walk for keiping of the said kirk and stallis, and the samyn salbe allowit to him in his compttis.

In presens of maister Jhone Spens and David Forrester baillies, and in presens of the maist pairt of the counsall and haill dekynds, comperit George Small saidlar, and protestit for him self and in name and behalf of the rest of the brethir of the hambermen, that James Cranstoun pewderar, presentlie dekynd of the said hambermen, that he suld nocht be haldin to be thair deikyn ony langer, in respect that he refusit to serue his God and obedience to his pryncie.

12 July 1559.—[The baillies and council] fyndis necessar that the stawis of the queyr be tane and put in the nether tolbut for the mair sure keiping of thame, and ordanis the samyn to be careit thair with diligence, and Jhone Charterhouse dene of gild to pay the warkmen for thair laubouris in dountaking and careing of the samyn.

2 August 1559.—The baillies and counsall ordanis maister James Lyndsay thesaurer to content and pay to Alane Purves the sowme of xxxs., for his lawbouris takin in awating vpon the kirk the tyme that the congregatioun was in this toun, and doun taking of the stallis; and syklyk ordanis him to content and pay to Robert Drummond and Alexander Cuke ilk ane of thame xxs. for thair lawbouris takin thairin.

29 October 1559.—The prouest ballies and counsall ordanis maister Richart Strang to pas to maister Thomas Makcalzeane assessour quhair he can conuene him, and desyre the said maister Thomas to send doun his pairt of the extent of ij^m merkis grantit be the toun to the lordis of the congregatioun for rasing of men of weir, extending to the sowme of xli., and to desyre the said maister Thomas to delyver to the said maister Richart Sanct Gelys [arm] quhilk he hes now in keiping, to be laid in plege of money to be auanced of the said extent, or ellis to len samekle vpon the said arme and hald the samyn in pledge thair of, and gif he delyueris the said arme to ressave the said maister Richartis acquittance thair of, and the prouest ballies and counsall oblissis thame and thair successouris to releif and keip him skaythles thair of as efforis.

13 November 1559.—The prouest ballies and counsall, fyndand that the siluer werk of the kirk vestementis and vtheris ornamentis delyuerit in keiping to syndrie personis burgessis of this burgh for feir of the lordis of the congregatioun vpon the [xxviiij] day of Junii last bypast, as the act maid thairvpon of the dait foirsaid proportis, may now be saiffie delyuerit and putt in places quhair thair hawe vsit to be kept of befoir, thairfoir ordanis the officiaris to pas and charge all and syndrie the saidis personis that thair ilkane of thame for thair awin pairtis present the syluer werk jowellis vestementis and ornamentis, delyuerit in keiping to thame efter the tenour of the said act, to the prouest ballies and counsall within thre dayis nixt efter thair be chargit thairto, as thair ilkane of thame will ansuer to thame thairvpon.

12 December 1559.—James Curll, at command of the ballies and counsaill, delyuerit to thame the preist, dekin, subdekin, caip, abbas, and the rest, compleitand the hail stand of clayth of gold delyuerit to him in keiping the [xxvij] day of Junii last bipast; and syklyk Robert Huntrodis cordenar delyuerit the vestement, dekin, subdekin, [blank] caipis of blew veluott scarmit with gold laid in keiping to him the said day; and the ballies and counsaill foirsaid ordanit the saidis vestementis to be imputt in the chartour hous to be kept thair quhill thai awys farther.

16 February 1559-60.—The ballies and counsaill ordanis Alexander Park thesaurer to content and pay to Sir Walter Haliburton, Sir George Manderstoun and Sir William Johnestoun, prebendaris of the queir, the sowme of vij merkis for the Mertynmes payment last bipast of the annualrentis awing to thame be the toun, and siklyk to Sir James Crawford chaplane of the Rude loft the sowme of xs. for the said termes payment of his annuallrent and vther xs. for the Lady mes syluer; and dischargis the thesaurer of ony mair payment to ony of the rest of the prebendaris becaus thai hawe nocht awatit vpone thair devyne service.

8 May 1560.—The provest ballies and counsaill ordanis Alexander Park thesaurer to delyuer to Johne Carnis the sowme of xlii. for furnesching of thair minister Johne Knox in his household, and becaus the said Johne Knox hes bene furnesit vpone Daud Forresteris expensis sen his cuming to this toun be the space of xv dayis lastbipast, ordanis the said Johne Carnis to ressave the said Daud comptis and mak him payment of the sowmes debursit be him on the first end of the sowme of xlii. to be delyuerit to him.

The provest ballies and counsaill inhibit and dischargit Alexander Park thesaurer, personallie present, of payment of ony pentionis dewiteis awand furthe of the commoun gude to ony kirkis kirkmen or vtheris that seruit in sic service of befoir, certefeing the said thesaurer gif he do the samyn he sall gett na allowance thairof.

The provest ballies and counsaill, vnderstanding that the kirk mycht be servit be thre bellis, ane rung to the prayeris, ane vther for serving of the knok, and the thrid to be the common bell, ordanis James Barroun dene of gild to tak doun the ferd bell callit the Marie bell and to kepe the samyn quhill he ressave further directioun fra the counsaill.

10 May 1560.—[The provost bailies and council] haveand consideratioun that thair man be money delyuerit in haist to the lordis of secreit counsaill, and that the extent grantit for obteyning of the samyn can nocht be sa haistelie inbrocht, thairfoir hes borrowit and ressauit fra Michell Gilbert goldsmyth the sowme of foure scoir poundis; . . . and the syluer chandeleris lyand in keiping to the said Michell in the monethe of Junii last bipast to remane with him as plege.

15 May 1560.—[The treasurer ordained to pay “xxs. for making of the keys of the Cowgait port, and for ane lok to Johne Knox ludgeing.”]

26 May 1560.—[The provost, bailies, council and deacons of crafts] ordanis and consenttis that the bell callit the Marie bell, and the brasyn pillaris of the kirk of Sanct Geill, sall be intromettit with be James Barroun dene of gild, and that all intromettouris thairwith deliuer to him the samyn to be maid in artalyere for the townis vse as he sall think maist expedient to quhome thai refer quhat pecis it salbe maid into, and gif it may nocht gudlie be maid in artalyere in this cuntre thai licence him to send the samyn to Flanderis to be maid or coft thair, and the gud toun sal beir the aventure thairof.

19 June 1560.—The prowest, bailies, dene of gyld, thesaurare, [council and deacons of crafts], haifand consideratioun of the gret inquietatioun that thai haif had in tymes past within the tolbuith of this burgh for laik of rowme to minister justice and to do thair other effaris at all sic tymes quhen the sessioun did sit, or quhen other courttis and convocationis war in the samyn, and allsua considering the skant of prisoun houssis and incommoditie of thair clerkis chalmer, and for inhalding of the yeirle maill of the samyn and other gret sowmes of money debursit be thame for thair scole, haiffing mair commodius place and sic rowmes within thair kirk as may be ane fair tolbuith for serving of the toun in thair effairis, and of all other necessar rowmes vpoun the west pairt of thair said kirk, and siclyke vpoun the est pairt of the samyn ane other convenient rowme for ane scole to thair barinis, besyde sufficient rowme for the preiching and ministratioun of the sacramentis; thairfoir, and for diuers otheris reasonable causis moving thame, all in ane voce concludis decernis and ordanis James Barroun dene of

gilde with all deligence to repair and big wp ane stane wall, viz., ane parpall wall of [*blank*] fute thyk, beginand [at] the southe kirk dur callit the kirk yarde dur and streicht northe to the northe kirk dur at the Stynkand Styll for the said towbuyth; and vpon the eist end of the said kirk ane vther parpall wall of the sam thiknes, beginand at the eist cheik of the kirk dur at our Lady steppis, and swa in langis the breid of the said kirk be just lyne to the southe sydwall of the samyn for thair schule; and that the said James furnesche big and sett vp all thingis necessar for the said schole, towbuyth, prisoun hous, clerkis chalmer and all vtheris necessaris within the samyn.

26 June 1560.—[The treasurer ordaned to “pay Johne Carnis the sowme of thre scoir pundis for furnesing of the ministeris.”]

1 August 1560.—[The provost bailies council and deacons of crafts] decernis and concludis that the silver wark pertenyng to the gude toun vsit in Sanct Gelis Kirk in tymes past, bayth gilt and vngilt, be with all deligence sauld or cunyet, and the money thairof to be waryt vpoun the commoun warkis, and in speciall vpoun the reparatioun and decoring of the kirk conforme to the ordinance maid the xix day of [Junii] last, and siclike ordanis the hale vestimenttis kaipis and vther kirk grayth in lik maner to be sauld and bestowit vpoun the said kirk wark, quhilk beand compleit the superplus to be deliuerit to Alexander Park, or the vther thesaurer for the tyme, to be waryt vpoun the wallis, commoun warkis of the toun, or for redemyng of the townys landis being in wedsett, as the counsale sall think maist expedient. And for mair haistye expeditioun and completing of the said kirk wark ordanis the personis quhilkis hes the said siluer wark and kirk grayth in keiping to be warnyt upoun [*blank*] nyxt to produce the samyn before the counsale, and to be deliuerit to James Barroun dene of gild and Alexander Park thesaurer, to be sauld or cunyet be thair avise, and the money thairof to be intrumettit with be the said dene of gild and aplyit as said is, and he to rander compt of the samyn.

The samyn day, as concernyng the complaynt gevin in and productit before the prouest baillies counsale and dekyannis foresaid be James Norvell dekyn of the tailyeoris, bering in effect that the traves close rowme or sait biggit and maid be command of James Barroun, dene of gild, at Sanct Annys alter, sumtyme callit the tailyeouris alter, aucht and sould be removit and the dekyn and brether of the tailyeour craft permyttit to big thair saittis thair, to be vsit be thame and thair said craft at all sermonis and vther tymes convenient and nane vtheris, conforme to thair auld possessioun; to the quhilk it wes ansuerit, and for plane ordinance be the prouest baillies counsale and dekyannis before writin declarit, that in respect of the godlie ordour now taikin in religioun all title and clame to altaris and sic vther superstitious pretenssis ar and sould be abolischit, and na forther word nor clame thairof to be in tymes cuming, bot as it is commandit be Goddis mast haly word that brotherlie amyte be amangis ws joynit in his congregatioun, the nobelite prouest baillies counsale eldares and dekyannis being first placit, the honest merchanttis and honest craftismen to place and set thameselfis togidder as loving brether and freindis in that and all vther places of the kirk vacand at all tymes neidfull, prouiding alwayis that nowther the prentissis or seruandis of merchanttis or craftismen or vther commoun peple tak vpoun thame the places or rowmes of the saidis merchanttis and fre craftismen; and this present act and ordinance to tak effect without alteratioun in tymes cuming.

30 August 1560.—In presens of [the provost bailies and deacons of crafts], Alexander Guthre, commoun clerk of this burgh, delyuerit to James Barroun, dene of gild, the chalice patene and spvne weyand xxxij vnce and ane half; and the relic callit the arme of Sanct Geill, in presens foirsaid, wes delyuerit to the said dene of gild be maister Thomas Makcalyeane; and siklyk Thomas Thomsoun, apothecair, delyuerit to the said dene of gild the chresom stok and twa crowattis of syluer; and siklyk the said James Barroun presentit the greit eucharist with the goldin werk and stanis, and of the wecht contenit in the act maid the sevint day of Januar the yeire of God j^m v^o and fyftie aucht yeris,¹ and the foure goldein bellis with twa croces, ane greit and ane vther small, with ane lytill hart, weyt in presens foirsaid, extendit to foure vnce ane half and ane vnicorne weicht of gold, and siklike the pece of gold that held the breid within the ewcharist, ane litill blew bell of gold, ane litill hart with twa perles, and four

¹ See act, dated 8th March 1558-9, *antea*, p. 356.

sindrie stanis sett with gold, with the litill ring and dyamont thairvponne that wes vponne the said arme, weyit in the hail to ane vnce foure vnicorne wecht; and siklyk maister James Lyndsay delyuerit to the said dene of gild the sacrament clayth of gold with Sanct Gelis coatt and the litill pendekle of reid veluott that hang at his feit; quhilkis jowallis and ornamentis wer laid in keping to the personis respectiue foirsaidis the [xxvij] day of Junii the yere of God j^m v^e and fyftie nyne yeiris, and were delyuerit to the said dene of gild be ane act maid thairvponne the first day of August instant, and thairfor the provost ballies counsaill and dekyannis foirsaidis, for thame selfis and thair successouris, dischargit the saidis personis and ilk ane of thame of the saidis jowellis respectiue for now and euer.

[The bailies and council] ordanis Alexander Park, thesaurer, to delyuer to Johne Willok xxⁱⁱ crownis of the sone, for recompanis of the greit travell sustenit be him this hail yere bigane in preching and ministering of the sacramentis within this burgh; and ordanis ane number of the counsaill to thank him of his greit beneuolence for the greit trawail foirsaid.

4 September 1560.—The ballies and counsaill, haueing consideratioun that, for the eis of Johne Knox minister, Johne Durie talyeour removit him furth of the ludgeing occupyit be the abbot of Drumfermeling to the effect the said minister mycht enter thairto, ordanis Alexander Park thesaurer to content and pay to the said John Durie the sowme of viij merkis, and the samyn sall be allowit, etc.; and als the saidis ballies and counsaill faithfullie promittis that how sone thai may provide the said minister ane vther ludgeing, to enter the said Johne to the possessioun thairof.

5 September 1560.—Persons having “ony of the siluer werk ornamentis or jowellis of the kirk” ordered to deliver them on Monday next.

6th September 1560.—James Carmychell, by special command of the provost, bailies, council, and deacons, delivered to James Barroun, dean of guild, “the tua siluer sensouris with the schip of siluer quhilkis he had in keping of the gude toun, of the samyn wecht and fassoun as he resauit thaim.”

The last dean of guild delivered to the dean for the present year, “the greit siluer croce with the fute quhilk he had in keping, of the samyn wecht and fassioun as he resauit it.”

“The cressound stok being brokin, in presens of the prouest baillies counsaill and dekyannis foirsaid, thair wes within the samyn ane lowmpe of tre holkit for the oyle, weyand sextene vnce, quhilk James Barroun desyrit to be deducit of the first wecht of siluer, quhilk wes thocht ressonable.”

Mychael Gilbert, goldsmith, delivered to James Barroun, dean of guild, “the tua litill chandlaris of siluer pertenyng to the gude toun quhilk he had in keping, weyand sevin pund thre vnce and ane half vnce wecht.”

The prouest baillies counsaill and dekyannis foirsaid ordanis to warne the maisteris of the Haly Blude, and siclik the maister of Sanct Anthonis, vpoun Wednesday nixt to ansuer to sic thingis as thay haue ado with thame.

30 October 1560.—Item, it is statut and ordanit that the dewitie of wyne, viz., ane quart of euery tvn, vsit of befor to be gadderit to the behuff [of] the fraternitie of St Anthonie be in tyme cuming collectit and gadderit for administratioun to be maid thairof to the pure, and that the samyn with the rest of the commoun gude be yerlie roupit vponne Mertymes evin.

The prouest ballies and counsaill, in consideratioun that Robert Drummond, gild seriand, is subject to await continewallie vponne the counsaill for warnyng of thame to the alfaris of the town at all tymes neidfull, and siklyk to await vponne the minister eldaris and dekyannis at all thair assembleis and conventionis for the caussis of the kirk, and that the said Robert hes of the commoun gyde bot onlie fyftie s., and he wes sustenit in tyme of the papistical kirk be vther wages he had thairof, thairfor the prouest ballies and counsaill ordanis the said Robert to haue yerlie for his fie the sowme of xij merkis; . . . providing that the said Robert await continewallie vponne the sermounis for keping of the kirk quyett, and to fulfill and observe the remanent poyntis abone writtin.

6 December 1560.—The prouest baillies [and council] ordanis the capis vestmentis and ornamentis of the kirk now being in the thesaurer hous or ellis quhair within this burgh, vndisponit, be deliuerit to Maister James Watsoun dene of gild, to be sauld and disponit be him, and the money thairof to be applyt to the warkis of the kirk.

[The dean of guild of the past, ordained to deliver to the dean of the present, year, "the money restand in his handis pertenying to the toun vplifit be him the last yeir of his office for repering of the kirk instantlie."]

26 *December* 1560.—The baillies and counsale foirsaid, vnderstanding that be the resort of pepill and barnys to the kirk, the bynkis and saittis ar fylit be the saidis bairmyis and vtheris vngodlie pepill, and for eschewing thairof and sic vther ingodlynes as hes bene vsit in the said kirk be wikit pepill as said is, ordanis that the durris of the said kirk be lokit and keipit close all the day through, the appoyntit tymes of preiching and prayeris allanerlie except.

17 *January* 1560.—[Johne Dowgall, elder, merchant, being charged to give up the jewels and ornaments in his keeping pertaining to the "Halie Blude autler," delivered to the bailies and council "ane syluer challice with ane syluer croce that stude vpon the autler, all weyit to thre scoire fyftene vnces syluer."]

4 *February* 1560.—The provest baillies and counsale ordanis Dauid Corsbe to produce before thame vpoun Friday nixt the siluer chelleis and vtheris ornamentis of the Halie Blude altare quhilke he hes in keping, vnder the pane of warding.

7 *February* 1560.—The prouest baillies and counsale foresaid ordanis maister James Watsoun, dene of gild, with all deligence to begyn and compleit the stane gavill ordanit of before at the west end of Sanct Gelis Kirk within the west gavill of the samyn, conforme to the said ordinance; and siclike to proceid in the vther necessar warkis within the said kirk.

12 *February* 1560.—[The dean of guild ordained to pay to "Johne Knox, minister, the sowme of fyftie pundis for supporting of his chargeis;" and the treasurer to pay "Robert Mowbray, heretour of the hous occupyit be Johne Knox," ten merks, as the duty thereof to the preceding Martinmas, "and fra thinefurth to pay him termelie according to fyftie merkis in the yeir sa lang as the samyne sall be occupyit be him."]

21 *February* 1560.—In presens of the baillies and hale counsale, Dauid Corsby burges of Edinburgh, presentit and deliuerit to maister James Watsoun, dene of gild, at thair command, conforme to thair ordinance of before, ane siluer challice, our gilt, weyand twenty vnces and half ane vnce wecht, quhilke pertenit to the Hally Blude alter, gevin to him in keping be the maisteris and brether thairof.

The baillies and counsale foresaid ordanis the dene of gild to call Alexander Sauchy, tailycour, for the thre bras pillaris quhilkis he hes confessit him to haue of Sant Anthonis lle, and ordanis the said dene of gyld to be chargit with the samyn in his compttis, and siclike with the hale vther pillaris and bellis resaut be him.

5 *March* 1560.—Maister James Watsoun dene of gild, being demandit quhat money he had resaut fra Adam Foullertoun, baillie, for the bellis and brasin pillaris of the kirk, confessit him to haue resaut fra the said baillie the sowme of tuelf score of pundis, and the said baillie askit instrumentis.

2 *April* 1561.—James Barroun deliuerit, in presens of the counsall, the pece of clayth of gold with Sanct Gelis coit ressanit be him in keping; Andro Sclatter deliuerit the vestment dekyne and subdekyne of clayth of gold quhilke he had in keping; Thomas Jaksoun, massoun, deliuerit the chesobell of red weluott myxt with gold, with the pertinentis thairof.

5 *April* 1561.—The ballies and counsall ordanis the vestmentis and kirk geir to be gadderit in and sauld with diligence, and of the reddiest money thairof the fyfty pund debursit and deliuerit be maister James Watsoun to Jhone Knox to be refundit and payit to him agane.

23 *April* 1561.—The articulis following proponit to the prouest baillies counsale and dekyynnys for the commoun and commoun policie of this burgh, quhilke thay ordane to be registrat :—

Item, in the first, it is thocht gude that the renttis annuellis and vtheris emolimentis quhilkis of before war payit furth of landis and tenementis within this burgh to papistis, preistis, feris, monkis, nonis, and vtheris of that wikit sort, for manteinyng of idolatrie and vane superstitioun, seing it hes plesit the Almychti to oppin the eis of all pepill and to gyf thame the knaulege of sic vane abussis, thairfor that the saidis renttis and emolimentis be applyit to mair profitable and godlie vsis, sic as for sustenyng of the trew ministerris of

Goddis word, founding and biging of hospitalis for the pure and collegis for leirnyng and vprising of the youth, and sic vther godlie warkia.

Item, because it apertenis to the maiestratis as commandit of God to defend and procure the caussis of the wedow and peple, heirfor, that ane ordinance be maid for the ayd and support of pupillis and infanttis quha ar destitute be inlaik of thair parenttis, that the just inventure being takin be ane of the juges, with the clerk, of the hale guddis quhilkis pertenis to the deid, thairefter the samyn to be registrat in the townis bukeis to be furthcummand to the vtelite of the bairnys, and sufficient caution to be taikin of the tutour curatour or intromettouris thairwith for the samyn and avale thairof to the bairnys weill as said is, and iij*d.* to be granttit of euerye pound of the dedis pairt of the support and vphald of the misterfull and pur.

Item, quhair of before, in the tyme of ignorance and blindnes, thair wes ane choppin of wyne granttit and gevin for the mantenyng the wiktines and idolatrie of Sanct Anthonis Ile, of the tvn of wyne, that now of euery tvn of wyne thair be vplifit be the dene of gild present and to cum xij*d.* allanerlie, to be put in ane box and disponit for sustenyng of the pure and fallit brethering merchanttis and craftsmen of this burgh.

Item, the samyn day, the prouest baillies and counsalle foresaid, vpoun consideratioun of the maist godlie articule proponit for collecting of xij*d.* of euerye tvn of wyne for sustenyng of the misterfull and faillit brethering, all in ane voce consenttis and approvis the samyn, and ordanis proclamatioun to be maid dischargeing the auld dewite granttit for mantenyng the wiktines of Sanct Anthonis Ile and all confrareis bandis and premissis thairof, vnder all hieast panys and charge.

23 *May* 1561.—The baillies and counsalle granttis and gevis licence to Jhonn alias Sir Jhonne Wilsoun, sumtyme chaplane of Sanct Katherinis alter within Sanct Gelis Kirk within this burgh, to dispone and set in few, with thair consenttis, to quhatsumeuir persoun he pleissis, all and sundrye landis within this burgh pertenyng to the said alterege, and ordanis onye ane of the baillies, in name and behalf of the prouest baillies and counsalle, as lauchfull patronis to the said alterege, to pas with the said Jhonn Wilsoun and gif the said sesing, without preiudice of the viij merkis yeirlie ground annuell quhilk thay haue annixt to thair coumoun gude of the tenement of land liand in the Cowgate. . . .

27 *May* 1561.—The baillies and counsalle ordanis the kaipis, vestimentis, ornamentis and alter grayth, quhilk pertenis to Sanct Gelys alter presentlie in handis, or sa fer as may be gottin in, to be deliuerit to David Somer, baillie, and to James Barroun, and thay to dispone the samyn to the maist avantage.

26 *September* 1561.—The prouest baillies and counsalle, vpoun consideratioun of the necessar and godlie seruice dalie done be Jhonne Carnys, actour of the mornyng prayeris, ordanis the collectouris of the taxt to deliuer to the said Jhonne Carnys the sowme of thre score of pundis, in recompence and compleit payment of his seruice of all tymes bigane vnto the feist of Mychaelmes nixt; and ordanis the collectouris of the annuellis appoyntit for the ministeris of the kirk to refund the said thre score of pundis agane to the saidis collectouris of the taxt, and forther in tyme cuming appoynttis yeirlie to the said Jhonne Carnys the sowme of ane hundreth merkis in the yeir of the radeast of the saidis annuellis, to be payit to him termelie as vse is, begynnand at the said feist of Mychaelmes and to indure induring thair willis.

5 *November* 1561.—[The dean of guild ordained “with all deligence to mak ane warme studey of daillis to the minister, Jhonne Knox, within his lugeing abone the hall of the samyn, with lychtis and wyndokis thairto and all vther necessaris.”]

8 *November* 1561.—The prouest baillies and counsalle, vnderstanding the nychtlie wages quhilk wes gevin for walking of the kirk to be sumpteous, quhairfor thay will this ordour be taikin anent the keeping of the said kirk, that is that Jok Symsoun sall nychtlie walk the said kirk with his doggis as he did of before, and ansuer for the wyndokis and all vther graith of the kirk, sowpe and hald the samyn elene, ring the x houris bell, and do all vther seruice quhilk he did of before, and sall haue thairfor yeirlie induring the counsallis will the sowme of tuelf merkis allanerlie.

The provest baillies and counsalle ordanis Patrik Barroun to content and pay to Jhonne Carnis, redar of the common prayeris, the soume of fourty pundis of the reddiest money he hes in his hand pertenyng to the toun; . . . and that vnto ane compt to be maid betuix the said Jhonne and the gude toun anent his fie appointit to him.

31 December 1561.—The prouest baillies and counsale, vnderstanding that the minister, Jhonne Knox, is requyrit be the hale kirk to pas in the parttis of Angus and Mernys for electing of ane superintendent thair, to the quhilk thay thame selffis hes granttit, thairfor ordanis Alexander Guthre, dene of gild, to pas in cumpanye with him for furnessing of the said ministerris charges, and to deburse and pay the samyn of the radeast of the townis guddis in his handis, quhilk salbe allowit in his compttis, and forther to haist the said minister hame that the kirk heir be nocht desolait.

8 April 1562.—The counsale, vnderstanding the tedious and havië lauboris sustenit be thair minister, Johnne Knox, in preiching thris in the oulk and twis on the Sunday, ordanis with ane consent to solist and persuade maister Johnne Craig, presentlie minister of the Canongait, to accept vpoun him the half chargeis of the preiching in the said kirk of Edinburgh, for sic gude deid as thai can aggre on.

11 April 1562.—The prouest baillies and counsale foresaid ordanis proclamatioun to be maid with sound of bell throuch all the parttis of the toun neidfull, certefeing thame that vpoun the suspicioun and evil brute rasit vpoun the wobsteris of thair vnjust deling with all sic as hes ado with thair craft, it is appoynttit that betuix and Monunday nixt the saidis wobsteris set vp their lymes in ane wolt preparit for thame in the rufe of Sanct Gelis Kirk, and thair to wyrk for tryell of thair said wark quhair certane honest sworne men, merchanttis and craftismen, sall be deput to await vpoun thame, and thairfor that the saidis nychtbouris bring thair wark to the said wolt and na vther place quhill the said tryell be tane, ilk persoun that sall do in the contrair to be poyndit for the vnlaw of xvijjs. vnforgevin.

19 June 1562.—The prouest baillies counsale [and deacons of crafts,] efter lang reassyng vpoun the necessite of ministeris, fyndis that thair salbe ane vther minister electit be the prouest baillies and counsale dekynnis and eldaris of this burgh, and adionit to Jhonn Knox minister, and for sustenyng of thame bayth, togidder with Jhonn Cairns reder, ordanis the baillies, eueryane within his awin quarter, to convene the merchanttis and requyre of eueryane of thame quhat thay will quarterlie gyf for the caus foresaid; and siclike the saidis dekynnis to convene thair craftis, and report thair ansuerris vpoun Wednesday nixt.

24 June 1562.—The prouest baillies and counsale ordanis the idole Sanct Geyll to be cuttit furth of the townys standert and the thrissill put in place thairof, and that the thesaurer furnis taffate to the samyn.

30 April 1563.—The prouest, baillies, counsale and dekynnis, vnderstanding that thir monye yeris past thay haue bene subiect to pay furth of thair commoun gude yeirlye the sowme of xx merkis or thairby for the maill of thair clerkis chalmer, quhilk may be haldin in in all tymes cuming gyf the auld reuestrye of Sanct Gelis Kirk war put in ordour and maid able thairfor, quhilk at this present is desolat waist and seruis for litill or na thing, heirfor vpoun respect to thair commoun weil, and for halding in of sic sowmes in all tymes cuming, as alsua that thay may haue ane certane hous of thair awin for suir keiping of thair evidentis bukis and vther commoun eidentis continuallie in the handis of thair clerkis, fra the quhilk hous thay nor thair clerk sall nocht be removable at the plesour of particuler personis as thay haue bene in tymes past, all in ane voce concludis decernis deliueris and ordanis that Alexander Guthrie, dene of gild, with all deligence possebill caus prepar the said reuestrye, bayth laych and heich, in maist honest and sure maner, with all thingis necessar, and that the dur be maid in the eist gavill of the said reuestrie, and the expens debursit thairpoun be him salbe allowit in his compttis; and ordanis Thomas Reidpeth and James Young of the counsale to be vesitouris of the wark of the said chalmer and to tak cure and charge in the ordoring thairof.

11 June 1563.—The baillies, counsale and hale dekynnis, vnderstanding that this half yeir past thair hes bene na maner of provision maid nor support gevin to Jhonn Craige minister and Jhonne Carnys redar, nowther tuiching thair sustentatioun nor vtherwise; quhairfor thay ordane the personis following to pas amangis the faythfull quhilkis hes communicat and requyre of thame thair support to the said minister and reder for ane quarter of yeir quhill it sall pleis God that better ordour may be obtenit, and quhat euerye man granttis to wryte with his name, and ordanis the commoun clerk to gyf vnto thame in roll the names of the saidis communicantis, and the saidis collectouris to present the saidis rollis to the counsale with the sowmes granttit as said is.

18 June 1563.—In presens of the baillies and counsale, comperit Jhonne Gray scribe to the kirk, and presentit the supplicatioun following, in name of the hale kirk, bering that it wes laillie cumin to thair knaulege, be the report of faythfull brethering, that within thir few dayis Ewfame Dundas, in the presens of ane multitude, had spokin diuers injurious and sclandarous wordis bayth of the doctrine and ministeris, and in speciall of Jhonne Knox, minister, sayand that within few dayis past the said Jhonne Knox wes apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogye with ane commoun hure, and that he had bene ane commoun harlot all his dayis; quhairfor it was maist humlie desyrit that the said Euphame mycht be callit and examinat vpoun the said supplicatioun, and gyf the wordis abone writtin spokin be hir mycht be knawin or tryit to be of veritie, that the said Jhonne Knox mycht be pvnist with all rigour without faour; vtherwise to tak sic ordour with hir as mycht stand with the glory of God, and that sclander mycht be taikin frome His kirk, as at mair lenth is contenit in the said supplicatioun; quhilk beand red to the said Eufame, personalie present in jugement, scho denyit the samyn, and Friday the xxv day of Junii instant assignit to hir to heir and se witnes producit for proving of the allegiance abone expremyt, and scho is warnyt *apud acta*.

25 June 1563.—In the actioun and caus of sklander and iniurie persewit before the prouest baillies and counsale be maister Johnne Chalmer, procurator for Johnne Knox, minister of Edinburgh, aganis Effame Dundas, relict of vmquhile Alexander Adamesoun, comperit the said maister Johnne, procuratour foirsaid, as at the terme assignit to him to preifaganis the said Effame *pro prima*, and producit Andro Sklater, Alexander Achesoun, Mawsie Galbraith, the spous of James Merchell, ane woman of gude fame and honestie; and the said Effame wes content that maister Johnne Prestoun, Robert Watsoun and Margarete Nicholl, spous [of] the said maister Jhonne, ane woman inlikmaner of gude fame, war ressauit witnes in the said caus thair being suorne thairto and purgeit of partiale counsale, and the saidis witnessis produceit war admittit suorne ressauit and purgit of partiale counsale in the said Effamis presence opponand na thing aganis thame. The said maister Jhonne, procuratour foirsaid, renunceit forder probatioun, and the iugeis ordanis the saidis parteis to be warnit *literatorie* to heir sentence gevin in the said actioun.

10 November 1563.—[The provost bailies and council] ordanis Alexander Guthrie, dene of gild, with all diligence possibill, to tak down the saittis within the traveis befor the pulpat, and in the place thairof he caus big and set vp ane sait and dask in honest maner for the prouest baillies and counsale.

The prouest baillies and counsale foirsaid ordanis that fra this furth all men that salbe apprehendit in adulterie or fornicatioun to be impresanet in the presoun hous abone the northwest kirk dur callit the preistis presoun, and thair to be fed apoun breid and watter induring thair willis, but preiudice of ferther pvnishment, and to wemen apprehendit be like wice efter the samyn ordoure to be impresonit in the woltis abone the kirk beside the stepill induring thair willis as said is.

18 August 1564.—The prouest [baillies and council,] vnderstanding that be the command of the kirk, Jhonn Knox and Jhonne Craig, ministeris, ar instantlie to depairt, the tane to the north and the vther to the south pairttis for preiching of the evangell in tha pairttis, and that it is appoynttit that Christopher Gudeman, minister of Sanct Androis, sall abid and remane in thir pairttis to thair returnyng, and in thair places to minister and preche; quhairfor thay ordane maister Jhonn Spens [and four others] to pas to the said maister Gudman, offer him in thair names all honorable intertenement, and caus the stewert of Jhonne Knox hous to keep table to him vpoun the townis expensis, and ordanis the said Alexander Park to pay the samyn ouklie.

25 November 1564.—[The provost bailies and council ordained the dean of guild] to caus big vp and mend the sloppis of the over kirk yaird dike; siclike to close and big vp the south kirk dur entering throuch the said kirk yaird be the Halye Blude Ile quhilk seruis of na thing at this present bot for ane commoun closit, continewallie fylit be the wikit; and to mak the entre at the litill dur in Sanct Anthonis Ile; and siclike to big ane sufficient stane wall fra the cist part of the said south kirk dur direct south to the vther stane wall besyde the sang scule, for stopping of the peple till do thair besynes in sicht of the lordis of sessioun and vther inconvenientis knawin to the baillies and counsale foresaid.

30 *April* 1565.—It being vnderstand be the prouest baillies and counsale that the Quenis Maiestie wes hielie movit aganis certane principale nyctbouris of this toun vpoun the vnist report maid to hir hienes of the striking and casting of eggis at Sir James Tarbot, preist, apprehendit saying mes in the Cowgait, etc. ; for remeid heirof ordanis my lord prouest with tua of the baillies and vtheris nyctbouris, to the nowmer of xl personis, ryde to Striueling to the Quenis grace for mitigating of hir Maiestie. And for paying of his and thair charges David Kinloch, fyrmorar of the commoun mylnis, now in absence of the thesaurer, to deliuer to Thomas Cok the soume of fiftye pundis quhilk salbe allowit in his compttis.

23 *August* 1565.—The samin day, efternone, the baillies counsall and dekyannis foirsaid, being conuenit in the counsallhous, efter lang ressoning vpoun the discharginge of Johne Knox, minister, of forder preiching, induring the King and Quenis Maiesteis being in this toun, all in ane woce concludis and deliueris that thai will na maner of way consent or grant that his mouth be closit or he dischargeit in preiching the trew word, and thairfoir willit him at his plesour, as God sould move his hart, to proceed fordward in trew doctrine as he hes bene of befoir, quhilk doctrine thai wald approve and abide at to thair lifis end.

15 *November* 1565.—The provest, baillies and counsale ordanis the sowme of fowre hundreth [*blank*] to be gevin to Jhonn Knox, minister, of the radeast of the annuellis prebendareis, chaiplanreis, tenementis, properteis, dewteis, emolimentis, etc., quhilk pertenis to preistis, monkis, freris, etc., for his yeirly stipend all the dayis of his lyfe.

8 *May* 1566.—The prouest, baillies, counsall and dekyannis gave and grantit, and be the tenour heirof gevis and grantis, to Edwerd Hendersoun the chaiplenry callit Sanct Mungois chaiplenry foundit at the altar of the samyn situat in the parochie kirk of this burgh now vacand in thair handis be deceis of vnquhile Sir James Terbet, last chaiplane thairof, for all the dayis of the said Edwerdis lyfe, with all profetis, oblationis, emolimentis quhatsumeuir.

4 *April* 1567.—The prowest baillies and counsall ordanis maister Jhone Prestoun, dene of gyld, to caus clenge the filthe about the kirk, and to caus steik the gret yet on the est syde of the kirk yaird sua that the laddis get na interes to mak the samyn ane symmar feild and to brek the glas windokkis.

10 *October* 1567.—The baillies and counsall ordanis maister Robert Glen and Alexander Guthre to vese the kirk and faltis thairof and to report to the counsall, that the samyn may be remedit.

18 *February* 1567-8.—The baillies counsale and dekyannis disponis the dewteis and renttis of the alterege of Sanct Anthone, now vacand and being in thair handis be deces of vmquhile Sir James Young, last chaplane thairof, to maister Mychaell Chisholme, collectour of the hospitale, and ordanis the dewteis of the wynis pertenying to the said alterege, viz., ane choppin of ilk puntion to be rowpit and lattin to thame that biddis maist thairfor, and to be applyit to the said hospitale.

3 *March* 1567-8.—[The provost, bailies, and council, at the desire of the chaplain of St James' altar in St Giles' Kirk, consented, as patrons of that altar, that a tenement situated at the head of the Over Bow should be set in feu, the purchaser paying to the chaplain during his lifetime, "and efter his deceis, to the hospitall foundit be the gude towne in the Trinitie College, the soume of twelf merkis yeirly feu maill."]

19 *March* 1567-8.—[The bailies and council,] efter inspectioun of the peyr bulwark and havin of Leyth, and seing the samyn rewinous, dekeyit, and sall nocht fale haistelic to fall down gyf mair haistye help be nocht prouidit, and siclik the hale calsayis betuix and Leyth to be brokin, the greit wyndois of Sanct Gelis Kirk to be blawin down, the maist pairt of the rufe tyrvit be the last greit wynd, sua that the pepill sall nocht convene thairintill at preching and prayer, and the hale kirk dekey gyf in like maner the samyn with all deligence be nocht reparit and helpit, and knowing thame selffis to haue na common gude before the hand, and to be greitlie superexpendit and thair commoun renttis thirlit, sua that it sall nocht be able to thame to help repair and big the saidis warkis according to thair honour and commoun weill, except the merchanttis and craftismen may be persuadit to spair the profit of the commoun mylnis, for this present yeir allanerlie quhilk is appoyntit in pairt of payment of thair sowmes debursit vpoun the superioritie of Leyth sa fer as the samyn will extend, and to this effect ordanis officeris to warn the haill dekyannis to compeir before thame the nixt counsall day for registering of thair consent to the premissis.

27 *March* 1568.—The baillies and counsall ordanis Adame Fowlertoun to accept the charge vpoun him of the bigging of the kirk windokis, and all vther workis necessar within the kirk, and assignis to him the dewite of the burgeschipis and gildschippis of all sic as he may find that occupeis the fredome of this burgh to the payment of the charge of the said wark, and quhat he beis forther superexpendit ordanis Alexander Guthrie to mak him payment thair of of the readiest of the dewite of the mylnis.

20 *January* 1569-70.—The baillies and counsalle ordanis to caus warne the hale dekynniss aganis Wednesday nixt, that ordour may be taikin with thair avise tuiching the dewitie callit the clerk male, quhilk in tyme of papistrie wes gevin to the parroch clerk, to the effect the samyn may be vplifit for sustenyng of Jhonn Carnys reder.

24 *August* 1570.—[The baillies, council, and deacons of crafts,] efter lang ressoning vpoun the ministeris stipend and how and quhairvpoun thair sall be sustenit, it is thoct guid be the baillies and counsall foirsaid that the auld dewtye quhilk wes payit be the inhabitantis of this burgh to the prouest vicare and clerk of the parochie kirk be collectit of new and appoyntit vpoun the said ministrie, and the saidis dekynniss desyrit till awys with this quhill the morne, quhilk wes grantit.

18 *October* 1570.—The counsel ordanis the baillies and dene of gild to discharge the cramis of the calsay and place quhair thay presentlie stand befor the northeast dur of the parosche kirk, and to appoint thame the kirk yaird vpoun the south syde of the said kirk alanerlie and na vther place.

6 *January* 1573-4.—In presens of [the council] the euidenttis of the kirk being in the keeping of Andro Stevinsoun, deliuerit to him be freir Jhonnstoun, presentit before the counsalle, and deliuerit to Robert Cvninghame, collectour, to be keipit amangis the vther euidenttis of the kirk, and put in register with the rest.

It being knaun to the baillies, counsalle, dene of gild, and thesaurer foresaid that the personis appoyntit to the gadding of the almous for the pure at the kirk duris commonlie fallis in questioun for the eist kirk dur, because it is thoct mair almous to be gotten thair nor at the vther dur, for remeid quhair of, and for the stancheing of sic troublis as hes done apperis, thay ordane the dene of gild in all tymes cuming gyf his directioun to his gylt officer vnto the personis that sall be namyt to gadder the said almous, that sic ane of thame as he sall name collect the almous vpoun the Sounday at the said eist kirk dur, and the vther at the samyn dvr the vther tua dayis of thair oulk, and he that gadderit the Sounday befor to be at the west dur the said tua oulk dayis.

4 *June* 1574.—The baillies and counsall ordanis the dene of gild to cause flure the Haly Blude yle with burdes, and the expenssis debursit be him thairvpoun salbe allowit in his comptis.

21 *July* 1574.—[The provost, bailies, dean of guild, council, and deacons of crafts] being convenit in the counsalhous thair of, and efter lang resonyng vpoun the commoun effaires, fynding thame selues superexpendit, and thair commoun gude debtbound in greit sovmes be resoun of the laitt trublis, and forther subject to pay yeirlie rent for the maillis of the housis occupeit be thair ministaris, extending yeirlie to the sovme of ane hundreth merkis or thairby, quhilk sene and considerit be the personis vnderwrittin, thay, as lufing memberis of the commoun weil foirsaid, quhais names heirefter followis, hes avancitt and debursit, in name and behalf of this gude tovne, and at the ernist requeist and desyr of ws the provest, baillies, and counsall, and dekynniss foirsaidis, the particular sovmes efter specefet, extending to the sovme of (*blank*), to be bestowit and wairit vpoun the bigging and reparing of the place in the kirk yaird of the said burgh sumtyme pertenng to the provest of St Gelis kirk, with the curatis place adiacent thairto, with the yaird of the samyn and thair landis, quhilk now, be vertu of the act of parliament and designatioun made according to the samyn, pertenis to the ministeris and ministry of the said burgh, quhas gude willis and liberall benefittis, bestowit for sa gude and godlie ane cause, aucht to be rememberit, and thair sovmes debursit to be refundit and thankfullie agane payit to thame: Thairfoir we, the provest, baillies, dene of gild, thesaurer, counsall, and dekynniss foirsaidis [grant us] to be bound and obleist, and be the tennour heirof lelely and trewlie byndis and obleissis ws and our successouris to content and thankfully pay to the saidis debursaris, or ony of thame that thay sall appoynt to resave the samyn, the sovme of ane

hundreth merkis yeirlie . . . quhilk hundreth merkis yeirlie, during the said [*blank*] yeiris, being compleit, will extend together to the sovme of [*blank*] debursit as said is, and that specially becaus we, the saidis provest, baillies, counsall, and dekynis peyis instantlie the sovme of ane hundreth merkis yeirlie for the maillis of the houssis of our mynisteris and rederis foirsaidis, quhilk, be bigging, and reparing of the mansis, houssis, and yaird abouewritten, sall releve ws and oure commoun gude of the said sovme, and mak thame to be weil esit and placit in mair commodious place nor thay ar at this present.

8 October 1874.—The baillies and counsall, vnderstanding maister Walter Mackanquhell, minister, to be desyrt of vther tovnes to be with thame, and lairge stepend promeist, and knowing the penuritie of ministeris within this burgh, the daylie incres of the pepill zelous of Godis glorie, they ordane Henry Neisbitt, maister Michell Chesholme, Alexander Vddart, and David Kynloche, to travell with the said maister Walter to remane within this tovne for the releif and help of vther ministeris, and to feill his mynde concernyng his stepend, and to repoirt his ansuer the next counsall day.

7 September 1575.—The baillies and counsall ordanis James Ros, thesaurer, to cause reparrell and furneis the necessaris to maister James Lowsounis hous, sic as portellis, syllering of his over chalmer for his study, duris and lokis thatt wantis; and siclike to put on the greitt yet of the fleschehous.

2 July 1578.—The baillies and counsall ordanis the kirk durris to be kept clois all tymes of the day except the tyme of preching and prayer, for stopping of the conventiounis in the said kirk during the tyme of thir trublis.

12 September 1578.—The prowest, baillies, counsall, and dekynis efter reasonyng with the suldartis of the steppill, thai synd restand awand to thame the fourtene day of September instant exclusiue, allowand to every ane of thame in the day fourtie penneis and to Johne Anstruther, thair principall, daylie the same space, quhilk is tuentie dayis, fyve s., togidder with tua s. daylie and nychtlie for coill and candill, extending in the hail to threttie sewin pund, quhilk thai ordane James Ros, thesaurer, to pay with diligence.

17 October 1578.—The prouest, baillies, and counsell ordanis Williame Little, maister Johne Prestoun, James Ros, Alexander Vddart, Patrick Kinloche and James Inglis to apponit and aggre with the masonis for bigging of the new wall at the eist end of the kirk, and eftir as thai agre ordanis Lucas Wilsoun, dene of gild, to furneis thame all necessaris and pay thair chairgeis.

27th March 1579.—[The provost, baillies, council, and deacons of crafts] commandis and charges Alexander Guthrie, thair common clerk, to gif sesing to maister James Lowsoun and Johne Durie, for thameselfis and in name of the ministeris, of the mans, duelling houssis, and yairdis within Sanct Gelis Kirk yaird, conforme to the designation past of befor; and thai sall warrand him thair of.

24th April 1579.—The provest, baillies, and counsall ordanis maister Jhonne Preston, Alexander Vddert, Robert Kar, younger, William Littill, and Henry Chairteris, of the counsall, together with maister Clement Littill, maister Alexander Sym, aduocatis, to convene thame selues in the ministeris lugin the morn be four houris efter none, for tairking of ordour anentis the founding of ane universitie, and to repoirt the next day.

15th July 1579.—The prowest, baillies, and counsall ordanis Luik Wilsoun, deane of gild, to deliuer and pay to Robert Gardiner, the soume of fiftie fyve schillingis for dressing, laubouring, saiving, and setting of heirbs, seidis, and flouris in maister James Lowsounis yaird, having with him twa seruandis the space of thre dayis, and siclike to pay five schillingis for mending of lokkis, keyis, and bandis to the clerkis chalmer.

14 September 1579.—The baillies and counsall foirsaidis ordanis the dene of gild to mak ane loft in the eist end of the kirk.

20 November 1579.—[The baillies and council] disponis the chaplanry of the altar callit Matre Jesu, vacand in their handis, in defalt of the paitron nocht presentand in dew tyme efter the deceis of Sir Androw Bauchan, with all the dewties belonging thairto, to maister Walter Bakanquhall, minister, during his lyftyme, for termes bygane and to cum, etc.

7 October 1580.—Ordanis Jhonn Harwod, dene of gild, to bye thre greitt lampis for seryng the kirk the wynter seasoun with lychtis, and als to bye ane trumpett to the townes vse.

2 *February* 1581-2.—Ordanis Jhone Robertsoun, thesaurer, to caus mak ane portell dur of aik with all necessaris thairto in the hous in the kirkyaird occupeit be maister Walter Balcanquell, minister, and siclyke to caus mak to maister James Lowsoun, minister, in the hous occupeit be him ane press with ane lang saidill thairin, and the foirface to be of estland buird, and to pairt furneis all necessaris thairto, als to mak and putt vp ane glas window in his laich kitcheing.

24 *August* 1582.—[The provost, bailies, and council] in respect of the apperand trubill and commotioun in the cuntrie and amangis the nobilitie, ordanis the dene of gild to fie four habill men and place them in the steppill for gairding and keping thairof, tua of thame to serue for the day, and twa for the nycht, and to agre for thair wadges.

13 *December* 1583.—At the desyre of the kirk, appointis and designis the loft in the eist end of the Hie Kirk for the place to the students of the College and thair maisters to heir the preicheins into, and ordanis the key thairof to be delyuerit to thame, and this induring the townis will quhill forther order be tayne allanerlie.

30 *September* 1584.—In respect of the absence of Jhonn Cairnis, minister, be ordinance of the secreitt counsall, thairfore ordanis Cudbert Sandersoun, maister of a schole, to reid the commoun prayers morning and evening quhill the hamecoming of the said Jhonn or quhill forther ordour be tayne heiranent.

9 *October* 1584.—Ordanit Jhonn Broun, collectour of the kirk rent, to pay to Jhonn Sandersoun, reidare, the sowme of ten pund to by to him ane gown.

14 *October* 1584.—For proponing of all maters in counsall and putting thame to a poynt, collecting of the woits, putting of the directiouns and ordinances to executioun and keping ane guid ordour that confusioun may be avoydet, it is thoct expedient and ordanet be the said bailyeis and counsall that ane of the said bailyeis sall be moderatour his tyme about, quhillk tyme sall endure for ane moneth togidder, and to begyn at Henrie Nesbet as the oldest bailyie to be moderatour presentlie and to continew the said space.

For establishing ane guid ordour and pollicie within the kirk and executioun of the disciplyne thairof, hes agreitt and condiscendet to the heids sett down be the persouns nominat to that effect in maner following, to witt, the haill towne to be deuydet in foure parochins according to thair quarters as thair presentlie stand, and euerie parochein to haif thair parochie kirk, according to thair quantitie, the grittest parochein to the grittest kirk, viz., St Geillis Kirk for the sowthwest quarter; the Magdalein Chaipell for the sowth eist within the ports, the New Kirk for the north west, and the Trinitie College for the north eist, and the Cannogaitt heid without the port, and to this effect the said college to be incloset within the town and ane yett to be strikkin furth in the town wall at the fute of Halkers-touns Wynd to serue for a passage to the said kirk. Attour, euerie ane of thir parochie kirkis to haif thair awin particulare reidare, and euery parochiner to cum to the prayers, communioun, repentance, baptisme, and mariage in his awin parochie kirk. And, last, the provest, bailyeis, counsall and deykins, with avyse of the ministers, to elect furth of euerie parochein thre elders and four deaconis, quha sall convene all togidder ilk Thurisday, with twa bailyeis and four of the counsall of the town, to tak ordour with the effairis belonging to thair charge, to witt, the correctioun of the maners and support of the pair. And the names of the said eldars and deaconis to be gevin to the ministers and intimat be thame to the pepill, that gif any personis haif to say aganes the saidis persouns may compeir, and his complaynt beand fund of trewth and resonabill ane vther to be electit in place of that eldare or deacon. And ordanis the haill deykins of crafts to be warnet agane Fryday nixt to gif thair consent to the present ordour.

Ordanis ane missiue lettre to be sent to maister Michaell Cranstoun, in Selkirk, desyrand him to cum to this burgh to se gif the toun and him can agrie to be ane reidare or minister within the sam.

3 *March* 1584-5.—Appoyntis Henrie Nesbet, bailyie, [and nine others], to pas and visy the ruf of the kirk and pairts falseis thairinto, and to convene with thame James Nesbet, Thomas Baldranie, Robert Tailieffer, Jhonn Thomesoun, Gawin Terrie, Allane Roger, masouns, and tak thair awyse vpoun the reparatioun thairof in maist substantious maner, be sclaiting or thak stayne, and to report the sam this day aucht dayes.

26 *March* 1585.—For obedience of the Kings Maesties lettre direct to the guid toun, grantis and permitts that vmquhill [*blank*] Creychtoun, Bischop of Dunkeld, be bureit within the Hie Kirk of this burgh. Lykewayes, at the desyre of my lord provest and be his lordships lettre, and for the caussis specifeit thairin, grantes and permitts that vmquhill Helene Aichesoun, relict of vmquhill Archibald Stewart, sumtyme provest of this burgh, be bureit within the said kirk besyde her vmquhill spous; and Thomas Aichesoun, maister cvngyeour, promist to mak hir legacie to the pair ane hundreth merk.

25 *August* 1585.—Appoyntis William Littill to pas and speik with maister Jhonn Craig, minister, to sie gif he will tak vpoun him to teach twyse in the owlk in respect the toun is presentlie destitute of ministers.

9 *November* 1586.—Ordanis maister Michael Chisholme, dene of gild, to caus inlaige and eik the scholers loft in the Hie Kirk and to help and repair the stoks of the greitt bellis.

26 *July* 1587.—Considerand the thrang of the peopill in the Eist Kirk ilk Sondag in tyme of sermoun, quhairby the minister hes greitt hinder to cum to the pulpett, thairfore ordanis maister Michael Chisholme, dene of gild, to caus strik furth ane dur in the said kirk at the pulpett syde on the north pairt thairof to be ane entres to the minister.

19 *July* 1588.—At the desyr of the kin and freyns of the vmquhill Countes of Argyle, laitylly deceisset within this burgh, and for the luif and favour thai buir to hir vmquhill first husband the Erle of Murray, Regent for the tyme, grantes and consentis that scho be bureit in the Hie Kirk of this burgh, in the tomb and sepulchre of hir said vmquhill husband.

21 *March* 1588-9.—Vnderstanding that dyuers contentious and wicket pepill hes in tymes past maid thair trublances within the Hie Kirk of this burgh, be iniureing thair nichtbouris, drawing of swords and schoting of pistolets, and thairby abvsing that place appoyntet cheiffie for Gods seruice. For remeid thairof, ordanis proclamatioun to be maid, commanding that na maner of personis tak vpoun hand to mak ony sort of trublance be word or deid, bragging or provocation, within the said kirk, or yitt abuse that place as it hes bene heirbefore; with certificatioun to thame gif thai do the samyn that thai sall vnderly the dowbill paynes and pvnishments content in the townis statuts maid anent the trublances done in the hie streitts, and forther sall be wairdet for xv dayes gif thai draw ony blwid, and for all vther trublances for the spacie of aucht dayes swa oft as thai failleye.

21 *June* 1589.—Jhonn Arnott, provest, the baillies, dene of gild and counsall, for the maist pairt, togidder with certane of the ministers, eldares, and deaconis of this burgh, being convenit, and vnderstanding be thair commissioners in the present generall assembly that after lang resoning had in the said assembly, vpoun the desyre of the said commissioners in name of the toun that maister Robert Bruce, minister, nicht, be authority of the said assembly, be movet to accept the charge of ane ordinaire pastor within the said burgh, he wes content thairwith quhill the nixt generall assembly, the said provest, baillies and counsall, with the said ministers, eldares, and deaconis wes content, and acceptet the samyn for the present, reposing thame selfis vpoun the said maistir Robertis guid will toward thame, requyring maist humbly the said assembly to be intercessouris for thame at his hand that thai mycht be vnitet togidder as the pastor and the flok according to the desyre of thair supplicatioun.

F.

NOTES ON THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS, CARRIED ON THE SHIELDS,
IN THE CHOIR OF ST GILES' CATHEDRAL.

Amongst the varied historical associations which cluster round this old Cathedral, once the parish church of Edinburgh, perhaps not the least interesting are perpetuated by the memorials which have been placed upon its walls, to keep in remembrance eminent sons and daughters of the Church, kind benefactors, men whose loyalty and patriotism were distinguishing features in turbulent times, who were wise in the councils of the nation, brave in the defence of their sovereign and their country, eminent in learning and in piety, and faithful servants of the crown and of the municipality. The choir is particularly rich in such memorials; but from the height at which they have been placed, and their miniature size, a difficulty is experienced in examining them closely; and this frequently leads to their either being passed by or overlooked. They are, however, well worthy of careful examination, as some of them bear reference to important events in the history of Scotland, and all of them witness the close connection which existed in ancient times between St Giles on the one hand, and the crown and the city on the other. And they cannot but be interesting alike to those who have recently seen the noble pile restored to something like its former grandeur, and to those who now in more peaceful times worship within its walls—albeit they do so according to a reformed religion and without the pomp and ritual which marked the time when

On scutcheon rich
And tablet carved and fretted niche
The arms and feats were blazed.

In the east end of the choir a striking feature, which at once attracts attention, is the two handsome pillars and the two demi or half pillars supporting the arches which carry the roof. They are of a highly ornate character, having bases of foliated sculpture, fluted shafts, and capitals elaborately decorated with heads of angels, monks, and veiled nuns, and carry shields with coats of arms. The north pillar, which has long been known as the "King's Pillar," has four shields on its capital, bearing (1) the arms of James II.; (2) the arms of his wife, Mary of Gueldres; (3) the arms of their eldest son, the heir to the throne, afterwards James III.; and (4) the fleurs-de-lis of France. The demi-pillar on the north side of the great window carries a shield (5) with the arms of the Cranstons. The south pillar, like the King's Pillar, has four shields on its capital, with the arms of (6) Preston of Gorton, (7) Lord Kennedy, (8) the Otterburns, and (9) the city of Edinburgh. The south demi-pillar has a shield with the arms of (10) Napier of Merchiston.

The following is a sketch of the various shields, beginning with :

(1) THE KING'S SHIELD.

The armorial ensigns of the kings of Scotland are blazoned thus: *or*, a lion rampant *gules*, armed and langued *azure*, within a double tressure counter-flowered with fleur-de-lis. The flowered tressure (an inner border round the edge of the shield) is said to have been originally received from the French, and to have been conferred by them as a mark of the amity and goodwill which existed between the two nations, and of which some traces may still be found.

The double tressure might you see,
First by Achaius borne.

The tressure on this shield is imperfect. Instead of being carried right round, it is left incomplete at the top, and this defect is supposed to have some heraldic significance. Assuming that the shield was placed on the pillar after the death of James II., James of the fiery face, it may be that it records the fact of his sudden demise at the siege of Roxburgh Castle in 1460, in his thirtieth year. He was laid in the royal vault at Holyrood "with the tears of his people and his haill army," and in after-years his memory was sought to be preserved in the church, by the magistrates of Edinburgh binding themselves to be at the expense of celebrating requiem masses for the peace of his soul on the anniversary of his death, 3d August, and on the following day.

(2) THE QUEEN'S SHIELD.

Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres, was married to James II. in June 1449, before he had completed his nineteenth year. The arms on the shield are the arms of the queen—namely, the arms of Gueldres, impaled or united with the royal arms of Scotland; but it is significant that the double tressure encircling her husband's arms is also incomplete at the top of this shield. This incompleteness emphasises the meaning already assigned to it, and seems in addition to point to the queen's widowhood.

It may be an element in fixing the date (or a near approximation to it) when the last addition was made to the east end of the choir, and the shields put up on the pillars, to advert to the extensive building operations of the queen after the death of her husband. She seems to have commenced these operations without delay, and to have carried them on with remarkable vigour. The accounts of her income, embracing the rents drawn from the crown lands held in security of her dowry, and her expenditure during the first year of her widowhood have not been recovered, but enough remains to show that a large portion of the income was absorbed in the cost of building. She built the Church, College, and Hospital of the Trinity in Edinburgh, as well as the castle of Ravenscraig, the "Ravensheuch" of "Harold, bard of brave St Clair," the ruins of which may still be seen, on the north shore of the Firth of Forth, a little to the east of the harbour of Kirkcaldy. What it was she had in view, or what actuated her in building this stronghold in Fife, has not been ascertained. It may have been that she was carrying out some projected work of her husband's, in honour of his memory, or that she built the castle as a secure resting-place, to be used on journeys to and from Falkland, or that she intended to occupy it as an occasional residence; but be that as it may, she left no doubt as to the loving motive which caused her to carry out the pious work of building and founding the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, for in a letter, dated 25th March 1462, she expresses it, amongst other things, to have been "for the salvation of the soul of the late illustrious Prince James, King of Scots, our late husband of pious memory." Mary did not long survive her husband. She died on 16th November 1463, and was laid in a tomb in what was latterly the vestry of the Trinity College Church, then built on a site now occupied by the eastern portion of the Waverley Station. When the church was taken down in 1845, the queen's remains were placed in a crimson velvet coffin and deposited beside those of her consort in the royal vault at Holyrood.

(3) THE PRINCE'S SHIELD.

The arms on this shield are the arms of the kings of Scotland—a lion rampant within the double tressure—with a label of three points for a difference. This difference denotes the eldest son or prince, and is said to signify "that he is but the third person—his father being one, his mother another, and himself the third." The arms are those which were carried by the unfortunate James III. during his father's lifetime. He erected St Giles into a collegiate church at the desire of the magistrates of Edinburgh on 28th October 1466 by charter under the Great Seal.

(4) THE FRENCH SHIELD.

The heraldic device on this shield is three fleurs-de-lis, so long identified with the history of France. The fleur-de-lis was first used by Louis VII. as an armorial ensign, and afterwards it came to be adopted as the national coat of arms. The shield carrying this emblem is supposed

to have been placed on the pillar to commemorate the intimate relations which then existed between the kingdoms of Scotland and France, and between their respective rulers. The French were then kindly designed as the ancient allies of the Scots; while the English, on the other hand, rejoiced in the sobriquet of "our auld enemies."

(5) THE CRANSTON SHIELD.

This shield carries three cranes gorged, which are said by the late Dr Laing to have been the arms of Thomas Cranston, a burghess and chief-magistrate of Edinburgh; but Dr Laing's statement has been questioned on the ground that the Cranston arms, as blazoned by Sir David Lindsay, the Lion King, do not show the cranes to be collared or gorged. Not unlikely the worthy burghess may have been a cadet of the Cranstons of that ilk, a powerful Border family, whose somewhat uncharitable motto was "Thous vant or I vant;" and in carrying the arms of his house, had the cranes collared for a difference, to show his descent from the main line.

Cranston and his son William were severally and at different times Customar of Edinburgh, Receiver of the king's rents south of the Forth, Warden of the Mint, and Constable of Edinburgh Castle. The father was Provost of Edinburgh in years between 1438 and 1451, and he had a seat in parliament. In 1456 he was Bailie of Ettrick Forest, after James II. had broken the power of the Black Douglas, and seized the wide domains of that powerful chief; and he held the Bailiership again in 1460, at the time his royal master was killed.

(6) THE PRESTON SHIELD.

The arms of the Prestons of old were "*argent*, three unicorns' heads, coped *sable*," and the arms blazoned on this shield are those of William Preston of Gourtown, whose memory is still preserved in the history of the church as the generous benefactor who, after diligent labour and at great expense, succeeded in obtaining, and afterwards bequeathed "to oure mothir kirk of Sant Gele of Edynburgh withoutyn ony condicion," the inestimable relique of the arm bone of St Giles. He died on 11th July 1454, and was buried in the Lady Aisle, now the south aisle of the choir. To mark their deep impression of his generosity, in thus handing down "ye quhilke bane" for the good of the Church, the Magistrates and community of Edinburgh bound themselves to erect an aisle "furth fra our Lady Isle quhair the said William lvis," and name it the Preston Aisle. It is still known by that name, and bears evidence that one of the voluntary obligations which the magistrates undertook—namely, to cut Preston's arms in hewn stone in three parts of the aisle, was faithfully performed.

(7) THE KENNEDY SHIELD.

The arms charged on this shield are the arms of Gilbert, eldest son of the marriage of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure with Lady Mary, Countess of Angus, second daughter of King Robert III., and are blazoned by Sir George Mackenzie as "*argent*, a chevron *gules*, betwixt three crosses crosslets fitched *sable*, with a double *tressure* counter-flowered of the second." Gilbert Kennedy was created Lord Kennedy previous to 1457, and as the son of a daughter of the king, he was entitled to carry the "tressure" on his shield as an indication of his descent from the royal family. He was a statesman of high position in the reigns of James II. and James III., and during the minority of the latter monarch he was one of the regents of the kingdom. He was Auditor in Exchequer, Bailie and Chamberlain of Carrick, Keeper of Stirling Castle; and he also held the Lordship of Dunfermline, besides other offices at Court connected with the royal household. His grandson was created Earl of Cassilis, a peerage now merged in that of the Marquisate of Ailsa. The arms on the shield are identical with the arms blazoned by Sir David Lindsay under the title "Kennedy, Erle of Cassilis."

The writer of the introduction to the first series of the St Giles' Lectures, expresses the opinion that this shield was placed on the pillar in honour of Lord James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, but the opinion is not well founded. The bishop was the immediate younger brother of Lord Kennedy, and was born in 1405 or 1406. He was created Bishop of Dunkeld

when he was only thirty-one years of age, by his cousin James I., shortly before that monarch was murdered in the Dominican monastery at Perth. He was Commendator of Scoon before his translation to the see of St Andrews, where in 1450 he founded St Salvator's College. He was for a short time Chancellor of Scotland, and while along with his brother and others he was one of the Lords of the Regency subsequent to the death of James II., his duty was principally confined to superintending the education and upbringing of the young king, James III. Various writers concur in stating that he died on 10th May 1466, but there is an instrument in the Arbroath Chartulary, under date 18th July 1465, in which the words occur in the body of the writ—namely, “*dudum Jacobi Episcopi sanctiandrie*,” which seem to fix the date of the bishop's decease almost a year prior to that generally given. Lord Kennedy was in St Andrews in June 1465, and it may have been that the object of his visit was to see his brother during the latter's last illness.

The services which this excellent bishop rendered to his king and his country in times when “*might*” was well-nigh “*right*,” entitled him to be commemorated within the walls of the ancient parish church of St Giles, where no doubt he had frequently officiated; but this shield does not record that it was put up in his honour. As a younger brother he could only carry the arms of his family with a brisure or difference, and as a dignitary of the church it was his privilege, which he would no doubt prize, to have the arms of his house impaled with the arms of his office, and in that way record the fact that a cadet of the family held the dignity in the church indicated by the blazon. The arms on the shield have no brisure; but the Kennedy arms with a difference, and ensigned with the mitre and crosier, are said to have been sculptured on the bishop's marble tomb in St Salvator's College, now the College Kirk of St Andrews.

The arms on the shield are therefore beyond question the arms of Gilbert, the first Lord Kennedy. As the head of his family, to which he was appointed by royal charter, dated 13th February 1450, constituting him the head of the tribe or “*Kenkynol*,” he alone was entitled to carry the coat armorial of his house pure and simple. There can be little doubt that both the bishop and his brother, distinguished statesmen and courtiers, would be interested in, and would probably take part in the addition which appears to have been made to the east end of the chancel at and subsequent to the death of their master, James III., and they may have placed this shield with the Kennedy arms on the pillar to commemorate their connection with that work, with the royal house of Scotland, and to perpetuate the name of their family.

(8) THE OTTERBURN SHIELD.

The arms on this shield—three otters' heads—are the arms of the Otterburns, and Nisbet indicates that all of the name, contrary to usual practice, are entitled to carry the otters' heads without a brisure or difference, as being unappropriated.

The arms are probably those of Nicholas Otterburn, or of his nephew John de Otterburn. Nicholas was on the embassy to Flanders as to James II.'s marriage with Mary of Gueldres in 1448, and he was then a Canon of Glasgow, and Keeper of the Rolls. He was one of twelve persons from the three estates of parliament, selected in 1449 to examine the acts of parliament and of General Council passed in the king's reign. At a rent audit at Holyrood on 4th January 1451, he is designed as the king's secretary, in which post he was succeeded by the Bishop of Brechin. As Vicar of Edinburgh, to which he was appointed in 1455, he must have had the closest connection with St Giles. He sat in parliament in 1458. He died in January 1461, and his nephew, a man of great learning and integrity, founded commemorative services—namely, prayers for the peace of his soul in the church in 1478. John de Otterburn was a Canon of Glasgow, like his uncle, and he held the important post of Official of St Andrews within the Archdeaconry of the Lothians. He sat in parliament in 1467-69. As illustrating the varied purposes to which the building has been put during its long existence, it may be mentioned that on 9th March 1477 the Official held a court in St Giles, and pronounced a decree dissolving the marriage between the Duke of Albany, younger brother of James III., and Kate Sinclair, daughter of the Earl of Caithness. This decree was confirmed in parliament in 1516.

(9) THE EDINBURGH SHIELD.

The heraldic device on this shield is a castle, showing three towers, with the gates open, the arms of the city of Edinburgh from the earliest times. It was usual for cities and towns to select for their arms a representation of what was most prized, and in the case of Edinburgh, in selecting the triple-towered castle, the inhabitants, besides indicating in heraldic form what they highly valued, were no doubt influenced by the fact that it was around and under the protection of the strong fortress that the city had gradually grown up and prospered.

(10) THE NAPIER SHIELD.

The arms on this shield, a saltier engrailed cantoned between four roses, have been ascribed to Napier of Merchiston, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1457, and to Isabella, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, a daughter of Duncan, Earl of Lennox, and the wife of Murdoch, Duke of Albany. In the introduction to the Charters of St Giles, Dr Laing, referring to this shield, describes it as the Lennox shield with the arms of Napier upon it, and he adds that these arms were assumed by the Napier family before the middle of the fifteenth century. There is some confusion in the structure of the language adopted by Dr Laing, arising no doubt from the learned antiquary having omitted to compare carefully the arms of Napier with those of Lennox, and to keep in recollection the original use to which shields were put; that unlike coats of arms they had no distinguishing feature, and being common to all, were incapable of being appropriated by particular persons. A shield, as is well known, was originally part of a warrior's defensive armour, and leaders in battle were in use to inscribe upon their shields a cognisance or device, the original of the coat armorial, to distinguish them from other chiefs. In this way the form of the shield came to be adopted by heralds as a convenient field upon which to blazon the arms of their patrons—the bare surface or face of the shield being designed in heraldic language as the field. There is nothing in the form of this shield to distinguish it from the shields on the other pillars, and nothing to indicate that it specially belonged to the family of the Lennox.

The error into which some writers have fallen in regard to the arms on the shield may have had its origin in the statement by Sir George Mackenzie, that a Napier of Merchiston assumed the arms of Lennox on his marriage with a lady of that family. At anyrate Nisbet, in his valuable work on Heraldry, repeats the statement, and, as already mentioned, Laing follows suit. Wilson, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, goes further, and says distinctly that the arms on the shield are those of Isabella, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox.

The Countess' claim to the arms can be set at rest at once, for there is a seal attached to a charter granted by her in 1445 which shows her coat armorial to have been the arms of Lennox impaled with those of her husband the Duke of Albany. The coat has been described thus, "Per pale, dexter a saltier cantoned with four roses" (the Lennox arms), "Sinister per fess, in chief a fess cheque with a label of three points for Stewart, in base a lion rampant for Albany." This description does not apply to the arms depicted on this shield, and it comprehends something more than the arms of Lennox as blazoned by Sir David Lindsay. The Countess' claim to the shield and its bearings may therefore be safely rejected.

The Lennox coat armorial, as shown by Sir David, is a plain St Andrew's cross or saltier, with a rose between each arm, and is described as "Argent, a saltier gules cantoned between four roses." The Napier coat, also blazoned by Sir David, undoubtedly appears on a cursory examination to be very similar to the Lennox arms; but a careful comparison shows a marked distinction. The lines composing the cross or saltier on the Napier shield, instead of being plain as on the Lennox shield, are engrailed, that is, the lines are composed of semicircles, the teeth or points of which enter the field. This apparently slight alteration is sufficient to distinguish the Napier arms as being altogether different from those of Lennox. The arms of Napier of Merchiston are a saltier *engrailed*, cantoned between four roses, and they correspond in every particular with the arms on the shield.

There is nothing to show that the Lennox family were in any way connected with St Giles, and as regards the Countess Isabella, who was the head of her family at the time, it may be noted that she founded the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton, situated in her own district of Lennox, where she was more likely to place a memorial of her ancestors than in St Giles. The assertion made by Mackenzie and other writers that one of the Napiers assumed the arms of Lennox about the middle of the fifteenth century, on his marriage with a daughter of that house, may have had its origin in the fact that John Napier, younger of Merchiston, married Elizabeth Monteith, an heir-portioner of the Lennox, in 1455; but before that date the Napiers carried the saltier engrailed as their own proper coat of arms, and this is proved by a seal attached to a charter granted by John Napier's grandfather in 1453. There seems no doubt, therefore, that the shield and the coat of arms upon it represent the family of Napier of Merchiston and not the family of Lennox.

The Napiers were influential citizens of Edinburgh during the greater portion of the fifteenth century, when St Giles was the parish church of the city, and long afterwards. Alexander Napier was Provost of Edinburgh in 1403, and his son Alexander, the first of Merchiston, was several times Provost between the years 1437 and 1455. The latter seems to have been a creditor of James I., and to have held in security the lands of *Nether* Merchiston, which then formed part of the crown domains. The accounts of the Receiver of the king's rents, audited 18th July 1438, set forth that in consequence of the rents of Merchiston having been impignorated to Alexander Napier, no revenue had been received from them. On 20th July 1438, Alexander Barkare, Custumar of Edinburgh, paid £20 to Napier in part "exoneracionis" of the lands, but they never appear to have been fully redeemed by the king. Along with what was known as *Upper* Merchiston, held in feu from the chaplain at the altar of St Katherine's Chapel in St Giles, they were ultimately combined in one crown charter, which became the foundation of the Napiers' title to Merchiston.

Alexander Napier, the third of the name and the son of the first proprietor of Merchiston, held many important offices under the crown, and like his father and grandfather, was on several occasions Provost of Edinburgh between the years 1457 and 1471. He appears to have been very early attached to the household of Joanna, widow of James I., and to have been severely wounded in her defence when she was seized, along with the young king, James II., in Stirling Castle, in 1439, by Sir Alexander Livingstone and his sons. In 1449 Napier held the high office of King's Comptroller, and two years later he was sent as an ambassador, along with others, to England to establish peace. He was a king's merchant or banker of the day, and was several times appointed both by Parliament and the Privy-council to visit the moneys—i.e. to prevent the exportation of bullion. When the young King James III. was crowned in Kelso Abbey in August 1460, Napier received the honour of knighthood, at the same time retaining his office of Comptroller. In subsequent years he was Vice-admiral of Scotland and ambassador to England, to Denmark, and to the court of Charles the Bold. He died shortly before February 1473, after his return from his mission to the court of Burgundy.

The Napiers had even a closer connection with St Giles than what might seem to be indicated by this shield. They appear to have had a burial vault under the arched recess on the north wall of the choir, below the second window from the east, and it is said that Sir Alexander Napier was buried there. The recess has been in the wall since the middle of the fifteenth century, and was at one time fringed with finely carved crockets representing oak leaves. Following the example of the Romans, who rewarded the saving of life by the presentation of a crown of oak leaves, it is permissible to believe that the tomb of the gallant defender of Queen Joanna was adorned with a similar chaplet carved in stone. On the outside of the wall there is a tablet with an inscription setting forth that it marks the family sepulchre of the Napiers, and the tablet was there in 1753 when Maitland published his *History of Edinburgh*, and probably long before that time. The coat of arms on the shield above the tablet is composed of the arms of the Napiers of Merchiston and the Napiers of "Wrychtishousis," two separate and distinct families, and probably records in this heraldic form the marriage which took place, about 1513, between a daughter of the latter house and a son of the former.

It may fairly be assumed that the shield was placed on the pillar by Sir Alexander Napier. His life covers the period when the addition is supposed to have been made to the choir, and as

he was probably Provost of Edinburgh at the time, besides being a trusted servant of the crown, he would undoubtedly have a large share in the important work then going on in St Giles.

Is it possible from these coats armorial to fix approximately the date when the choir was extended eastwards? It was anciently the practice to acknowledge contributions made towards founding or erecting religious houses, by placing the arms of the contributor on some conspicuous part of the building, and shields of arms which were put up for this reason may still be seen in other cathedrals and churches. The custom, however, in later times fell under the ban of the General Assembly of the Church, for in 1643 an Act was passed preventing *Honours or Arms* or any such like monuments being affixed to the walls of any kirk in honour or remembrance of any person deceased. The act is now in desuetude.

James II. died in 1460; his widow in 1463. The King's Pillar appears to record his death and Mary's widowhood. She was engaged in extensive building operations during the three years she survived her husband. Cranston and his son held important offices under the crown at and after 1460. Preston had made an important gift to the church in 1454. Lord Kennedy and his brother the bishop were in high position during the reign of James II., and were Lords of the Regency during the minority of James III. Otterburn was Vicar of Edinburgh from 1455 to 1461, and as such was the principal clergyman in St Giles; and Sir Alexander Napier was a distinguished citizen of Edinburgh and servant of the crown between 1457 and 1473. In 1462 the Town Council of Edinburgh imposed certain fines, and directed them to be applied to the "kirk wark of Sanct Gile." In 1466 St Giles was erected into a collegiate church, by which time the addition to the choir would no doubt be completed. The great altar does not appear to have been removed, the addition being made to the east or behind it. In 1470 Walter Bertrame, burgess of Edinburgh, founded a chaplainry at the altar of St Francis, which altar, we are informed, was situated behind the great altar. All this seems to point to the work having been commenced, probably as a memorial of the king's reign and of his tragic death, by his widow and by the men whose arms adorn the pillars, and to have been finished before the church was erected into a collegiate church in 1466. The period covered by the operations may have extended from 1460 to 1466.

This great addition to the choir should not be confounded with the work already referred to, commenced and carried out under an antecedent obligation by the magistrates of Edinburgh to build an aisle "furth frae the Lady Isle" in memory of Preston. The aisle was built by the magistrates, at the expense of the town, and besides the arms of Preston, which they had undertaken to place in the aisle, only the arms of the city appear on its walls, thus indicating that the extension was exclusively the work of the city.

RODERICK FORBES.

References: Exch. Rolls; Mackenzie's *Heraldry*; Nisbet's *Heraldry*; Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*; Napier's Review of Fraser's *Lennox*; Crawford's *Crown Officers*; *Edinburgh Burgh Records*, &c.

G.

EXTRACTS FROM SESSION AND BURGH RECORDS RELATIVE TO THE
DISPENSATION OF THE COMMUNION.¹

1560.

To H. Meffen, for vi ^{xx} breid to the Communion.....	40s.
8½ gallons wyne.....	3l. 8s.
Sunday, 2 of March, ye communion ministrat be John Knox in ye hie kirk of Edinburgh— Monunday, Twysday, Wednesday, Thursday, Fryday, Setterday.	
8 June. Second Communion, iij ^x bred.....	30s.
8 gall. wine.....	4l. 16s.
8 Sep. Third Communion, 24 breid.....	28s.
6½ gall. wyne.....	3l. 10s.

1561 to 1562.

The first Tabill of ye communion in ye compter's first year.	
To carry daillis to be ane travess for holding furth of ye non-communicants :—	
4 workmen at ye helpen owpe of ye sd travess, setting of ye tables, &c.....	6s.
Twa dusson of breid, price of ye pece 14d.....	28s.
6 gallons twa pints wyne.....	57s. 6d.
The 2d Communion : 3 dozen of breid.....	42s.
Twa barells wyne, contenand 10 gallons.....	5l. 14s. 4d.
The 3d Communion : 3 dozen of breid.....	42s.
10 gallons 3 pints wine.....	6l. 4s. 6d.

1562 to 1563.

Sunday 20 Dec. & Sunday 27 Dec. 12½ gallons wyne to ye Communion.....	10l. 4s.
3 dozen four bread.....	15s.
2 dozen torches.....	3 lib.
The 2d Communion, 15 Apr., 4 doz. 3 bread, 12½ gallons wyne.....	10l.
Candle baith the days.....	18d.
Last Communion : 12½ gallons wyne, baith days, 20d. pint.....	8l. 10s.
4 doz. 4 mair breid.....	3l. 18s.

1563 to 1564.

1st Communion 12 & 19 Dec. (the nobility being in town), 14 gallons 2 q ^{ts} wine.....	9l. 13s. 4d.
4½ dozen breid (18s. the dozen)	
2d Communion Ap. 1564 : 13½ gallons wine.....	9l.
4 dozen breid.....	3l. 12s.
3d Communion, Aug. 25 : 12½ gals. wine.....	6l. 10s.
3½ dozen bread.....	56s.

1573 to 1574.

Expensis debursit upon ye first Tabill ministerit in Oct. 1573.	
½ stane of candill to ye 4 days.....	32s.
7 dozen of breid.....	6l. 6s.
Ane puncheon of wyne.....	18l.
Sax quartis mair.....	32s.
Half ane dozen of torches & 1 roll of walx, to Jhon Cairns.	

¹ From Lee's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. I., Appendix, p. 387.

Expensis upon ye 2d Communion, 9 May 1574.

Ane puncheon of wyne.....	30 lib.
5 dozen and 3 breid.....	4l. 14s. 6d.
3 lb. saip for washing of ye buird claihs.....	6s.

(Dean of Guild's Accounts.)

1573 (4).—"The publication of the Lord's table w^t ye examination. The said day forsakle as the ministeris, elders, and deaco[ns, seeing] yt the table of the Lord Jhesus hes not yis lang tyme bipast bene ministratt, and being cairfull yrof hes tho^t gud y^t ye [same sal]be w^t diligence done, God willing, and for yis purpos hes ordanit ye *examinationes* of ye q^rteris sal begyne upoun t[ue]sday nixtocum at ij ho^m efternowne, ye names of ye ex[aminators], w^t ye places of examination, as followis: ffor the northwest q[uar]ter, Mr James Lowsone, minister, and w^t him adjoinit Johnne . . . wod, Johnne Freir, eldaris, Andro Symsonne and Richart Thomsoun, deacones; ye place of examinatioun to be ye Nethar Coounsall hous. ffor ye nor^t east quarter, Johnne Carnis, minister, with him adjoynit, W^m Naper, Henry Charterhous, eldaris; Johnn Morisone and W^m Mentetht, deacones, ye place of examination ye nether tolbourth. ffor ye southest quarter, William Hailaw, minister, with him adjoinit Mychaell Chesholme, eldar, Thomas Paterson, and Thomas . . . deacons, ye place of examination to be ye over tolbourth. . . South-west q^rter, Johnne Dusye, minister, and w^t him adjoynit . . . Foster, and Patr. Rig, eldairs, James Maisbilon, and James, [dea]cons—ye place of examination to be ye Magdalene requisit of ye Magistrates to cause ye of^a according to ye accus

1574. Dec. 7.—The s^dday the kirk ordained ye ministers to signifie ye morne to ye brethering ye maner of ye holie Communion, and ye ordor yrof. It is tho^t guid first to begyne at the hail south syde of ye town, ye bell to begin to ryne upon Sunday at fo^r ho^m in ye morning, ye sermond to begyne at five ho^m, and ye ministratioun to begyne at sex and sua to continew. Item, the bell of new agane to begin to ring at aucht ho^m, ye sermond to begyn at nyne, and sua to continew. Item, the hail communicants to cum in proper person upon Friday next to cum at twa ho^m afternone, and ressave thair tickets in ye places of examination.

(The same minute of Dec. 7, 1794, contains the institution of "ane general fast wⁱn ye bur^t of Edinbu^t":—)

Item, ye Kirk hes thoct guid, foirseand ye greit appeirand plage and scourge of pest, &c., w^t ye celebration of ye holy table [to ordain] ane publict and humiliation for the space of aucht dayes, togidder with ane ernist invocation and prayer for the assistance of God's Holy Spreit, y^t, or sinnes may be pardonit, quairby ye sd appearand scurge may bo removit, and God's wray^t pasifiit; ye sd publict fast to begynne upon Saturday nixt to cum, at aucht ho^m at ewin, and sua to continew qll [until] Sunday at six ho^m at ewin, yr foud only to be breid and drink, w^t all kind of sobrietie; ye sermond to begyne on Saturday at thrie ho^m efternone, and sua to continew. The Kirk ernistlie requiest ye brethering and hail commonicantis y yis ordor be keptit, &c.—*Records of Kirk-Sessions of Edin.*

1574-75.

Expensis debursit upon ye first Tabill in Dec. 1574.

Tho ^a Henderson's wyfe for 10½ gallons of wyne.....	18l. 18s.
4 quarts of aill.....	6s. 8d.
6 dozen of bread.....	6l.
Aucht torches.....	2s. 8d.
21 lb. of candles.....	31s. 1d.
Mair gotton the 2d day of ye Commu. 8 gals. 4 pts., and ane chopine.....	15l. 6s.
Second tabill: Ane puncheon of wyne.....	27l. 10s.
Mair bocht fra Gilbert Thornetounis wyfe, 11 quarts and ane pynt.....	5l. 15s.
4 quarts ale.....	5s. 4d.
W ^m . Fydis for 6½ doz. of bread.....	7l. 16s.
Washing of ye buird clais.....	6s.
Summa of both Communions.....	87l. 7s. 10d.

1578.

1st Communion :

26 gallons of wyne.....	41 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i>
For bread.....	14 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>
For candell.....	3 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>
Item for twelf stand of cairts to be tikkits 10 <i>s.</i> It. to Jhon Mosman, goldsmyth, for stamping of thame.....	25 <i>s.</i>

2d Communion, Dec. 28, 1578 :

It. for xii stand of cairts, 10*s.* It. for stamping of thame, 24*s.*3d Com. May 3, 1579.—12 stand of cairts to be tickets. It. for stamping of tham to John Mosman, 24*s.*

1586-7.—To 4 buikes to ye four ministeris to taik up ye names of ye quarters (the same entry occurs in subsequent years).

1590.—1st Communion : Ane puncheon of claret wine, 36*l.* 10*s.*, 9 gallons mair 16*l.* 16*s.* 2d Communion : 1 puncheon of claret wine cost 35*l.* ; 6½ gallons more, 14*l.* 6*s.* Communion in the Colledge, 2 gallons wine, 4*l.* 8*s.*—*Dean of Guild's Accounts.*1629. Jan. 30.—Ordainis intimation to be made ye next Sabbath, that the halie Communion is to be celebrate w'in yis bur^t ye twa next Sabbaths, in all ye four kirks of yis bur^t, and y'fore to desyre all ye inhabitants of ye same to repair ilk man to his awin parochin conforme to ye accustomit manner.Feb. 13.—Forsamekle as Don. Campbell burges of yis bur^t, has been of yis lang tyme remarkit not to frequent ye kirk, nor participat of ye halie communion, and y'fore suspect of papistrie. After long dealing be ye ordinar pastors of ye bur^t, ye said Donald has renuncit ye Roman religion, ordanis him to communicat ye next Sabbath, with certification if he fail they will proceed to censure him y'fore, conforme to the laws and order of ye Church in such cases.—*Register of the Kirk-Session of the South-East parish of Edin.*1643. March 8.—The six sessions ordaines Mr And. Ramsay, &c., to pass to the Council of Edin^r on Fryday next, and there to deal earnestlie with them for providing help to the ministers in so needful a tyme, not only for moe preachers, but also for catechists to instruct the ignorant and catechise the people, *that the Communion may be more frequentlie celebrat.*1643. July 5.—The six sessions ordaines Mr Geo. Gillespie, min^r (with two elders) to remonstrat to the Councell that it is thought expedient to appoint collections for the poor upon the Saturdays immediately preceding the celebration of the Communion, while the people is convening to the sermon of preparation, and that according to the common custom universally practised through the whole kingdom, lyk as the six sessions has approven and consented to the same.

April 3, 1652. The (south-east) session ordains a motion to be made to the six sessions, concerning the celebration of the Communion, which is most earnestly desyred.

6 April 1652 (6 sessions). As concerning the motion made by the south-east session anent the celebration of the Communion, it cannot convenientlie be celebrate, as is now thought, till there be a lawfull judicaterie of the kirk to determine anent the present course of defection carried on amongst us against the covenant, and what censure it deserves.

April 12, 1655. The qlk day the six sessions being met, the ministers did make report that they had not as yet received the answer of their letter written to St Andrews anent the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It is appointed that Mr Mungo Law, minister, and Walter Borthwick, elder, and his deacon, shall repair to St Andrews expresslie to the effect that they, receiving an answer from them, may report the same at the next meeting of the six sessions.

7 May. Mr Mungo Law reported that he and Walter Borthwick, his deacon, had been at St Andrews, and the answer anent the celebration of the Communion was, that though it was fitting that the celebration thereof be hastened, they had received certain overtures, for which cause the ministers are to-morrow to confer anent them, and they intend to confer with the ministers of St Andrews every Sabbath, and they hope to celebrate the Sacrament shortly.

12th June. The quhilk day it is resolved by the ministers and 6 sessions concerning the celebration of the Lord's (Supper), that the tyme (God willing) sal be upon the last Lord's-day of July, and the first Lord's-day.—*Book of the General Session of Edinburgh.*

H.

CONTRACT FOR THE ERECTION OF A TOMB OVER THE REGENT
MORAY,

IN ST ANTHONY'S AISLE OF THE CHURCH OF ST GILES, 20TH FEBRUARY 1569.¹

At Edinburgh the twentye day of Februare the yeir of God j^m v^o lx nyne yeiris. It is appunctit betuix Maister Jhone Wod in name and behalf of Dame Annas Keyth, Countes of Murray, one that ane pairt, Murdoch Walker and Jhone Ryotell masounis, one that vther pairt, in manere as eftir followis, that is to say, the saidis masounis sall God willing, beig, reparell, and set vp ane tvnbe of stane, abone the buriall place of my Lord Regentis grace within the Kirk of Edinburgh, in the Ile sumtyme callit Sanct Anthonis Ile. Quhilk tvmb sall haue ane volt in vnder the eird till put his corps intill, and the rest of the tumbe to ryis conforme to the patroun and draucht quhilk he hes. And the saidis Murdoch and Jhone sall furneis to the samyn vpon thair awin expensses sand, lyme, stane and wirkmanschip. And the said Maister Jhone sall get sa monye buirdis as salbe ane trans to clois the said Ile, quhairbe thair may wirk peciabilie at thair laubouris: ffor the quhilkis, the said Maister Jhone in name and behalf of the said Dame Annas, sall gif to the saidis Murdoch and Jhone the soume of tua hundreth merkis money of this realme, that is to say, foure scoir of merkis in hand, thre scoir of merkis quhen the wirk is half compleit, and the rest, quhilk is vther thre scoir, at the completing of the said werk, and gif the saidis masonis wirkis the said wirk bettir and mair curioslie nor is the patroun, the said Maister Jhone sall gif to thame ane honest bounteth conforme to thair laubouris, and according to his discretioun. And this to be done with all diligence and as the saidis masounis gettis thair money. And gif thair happyn to ly idill for non furnissing of the said money as is abone rehersit, the wyte thair of sall nocht be in the saidis masounis, bot in the inlaik of money allanerlie. In witnes of the quhilk, bayth the saidis parteis hes subscriit this present contract with thair handis as followis, day, yeir, and place forsaid, Befoir thir witnesses Maister Robert Flescheoure, Williame Stevinsone, George Monroy of Dauchortye. And als the saidis Murdoch and Jhone obllissis thame be thir presentis to compleit and end the said werk in maner abone rehersit, betuix the day and date heirof, and the twentye day of Maii nixtocum.

Murdoch Walker and Jhone Ryotell, with our handis at the pen led be the notare vndirwrittin, &c.

Ita est Robertus Ewyn, notarius publicus, manu propria, &c.

(Dorso.) We Murdoch Walker and Jhone Ryotoll, measounis within vreitlin, grantis ws to haif ressaui frome the handis of Maister Jhone Wood the sowme of fourtie fyve pundis in pairt payment of the sowme wythin vreitlin. At Edinburgh the xxj day of Februare 1569. In vitnes quhair of we haif subscriit this present, with our hand at the pen led be the notar vnder-vreitlin.

Murdoch Walkar and Jhone Ryotell, with our handis at the pen, led be the notare vndir writtin, &c.

Robertus Ewyn, notarius publicus, manua propria.

(A similar receipt follows for 9*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in full of the first term's payment of 80 marks, also dated 21st February 1569).

¹ From Historical MSS. Commission's Report, vol. vi. p. 646.

THE COMPT OF GEIR FURNISIT TO MY L. BURIALL.

The following entries are excerpts from the document, which has been printed in full in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. vi. p. 52.)

Item upoun the 26 day of Januar 1569 deliuerit to Maister John Wod for to transport the geir that was in my Lordis luidgen in Edinburcht 23 *li*.

Item gaif the same tym to my Lordis buriall for four ellis of yallow tauffateis, to be banaris at 23s. the aell, summa 3*li*. 16s.

Item gaif to Villiane Harlay Saidlair, to be fwyt-mantillis to Grange hors and the Lard of Cleischis, for the dwell, 5 ellis blak stemmyng, at 56s. the aell, summa 14*li*.

Item for 6 quarteris of craipe to Grangis dwell 27s.

Item for 3½ ellis blak stemmyng to be ane buriall cleyth upoun my Lordis beir, pryce of the aell 3*li*., summa 10*li*. 10s.

Item the same tyme to Peir Antuevne and the Mvir [Moor] at their departing to France for the hattis, pryce 5*li*. 2s.

Item gaif to Jhone Ryotail and Mwrdoche Valkar measounis for the making of my Lordis sepulteur according to the indentour maid betuix umquhill Maister Jhone Wod and thame i^e 33*li*. 6s. 8*d*.

Item to James Gray goldsmyth for engraving of ane platt of bras upoun my Lordis sepulteur 20*li*.

Item to David Rewane for the same platt of bras 7*li*.

I.

DESCRIPTION OF TUMULT IN ST GILES.¹

A BREEFE AND TRUE RELATIONE OF THE BROYLE *which fell out on the Lords day, the 23d of July, 1637, through the occasion of a black, popische, and superstitious Service Booke which was then illegalie introduced and impudentlie vented within the Churches of Edinburgh.*

Although it were more expedient to weepe in secret then to vent any thing in publict, yet, when Gods Ark is in danger, no pen should lye idle. Who has not heard of the abominable Service Booke which hath lately been brought in amongst us, and which, if it get settling, will shoulder fourth Divine truth? Who is ignorant of the malicious invectives which have been made in pulpets against all zealous opposers to such unwarrantable devotions? It is a true saying, that some, in matters of question, care not to forgoe the feast of a good conscience *modo victores abscedant*, soe they may gaine their supposed victorie. I wish this may not prove true in some state Divines and temporizing Pastors now-a-dayes. Judge ye, then, if it be time for us to be silent, when Romes favorites are soe foreward for the principles of Poperie.

In the last Synod, which was holden in the Colledge Church, the Bishop of Edinburgh and his associats concluded and ratified be ane Act, that nothing should be done anent the said Booke till September next to come. This protracting of time seemed to be granted as a benefite to the sincearer sort of the Ministrie, that they might the more rypelie be advised in giving their full and final answers thereto. Nevertheles, contrare to their owne determinatione, wee may see how they have anticipat the time. And no mervell: For they who ar false to God can never be true to men. But behold how it hes beene received, and what fruite it hes produced!

In the Greyfriars Church, when it was first presented, there was such a confused exclamation, such extraordinary gazing (for that was the greatest reverence which was there given to that Babylonishe service), such wringing of hands, and such effusione of eye-streames, that Mr James Fairlie, one of the ordinarie pastors (now Bischope of Argyle) was forced to put an end to that patched worke before he had scarcelie begunne the same. To make the birth and death day of each corrupt Novatione of alike proximitie and nearnesse will prove, I hope, a most singular antidot against all such unrighteous proceedings.

In the Old Church there was great malecontentment and a wonderfull sturre: many mouthes were there opened to the Bishops disgrace. "False antichristian," "wolfe," "beistlie bellie-god," and "craftie fox," were the best epithets and titles of dignitie which were given him. The Dean, Mr James Hanna, was mightilie upbraided. Some cried, "Hee is a sonne of a witches breeding and the divels gett. No healthsome water can come forth from such a polluted fountaine." Others cryed, "Ill-hanged theefe! if at that time when thou wentest to court thou hadest beene well hanged, thou hadest not beene here to be a pest to Gods church this day." One did cast a stoole at him, intending to have given him a ticket of remembrance; but jouking became his safegaird at that time. The Church was immediatelie emptied of the most parte of the congregatione, and the dores thereof barred at commandement of the secular power. A good Christian woman, much desirous to remove, perceaving she could get no passage patent, betooke herselfe to her Bible in a remote corner of the church. As she was there stopping her eares at the voice of popische charmers, whome she remarked to be verie headstrong in the publict practice of their antichristiane rudiments, a young man sitting behind

¹ Rothes' *Narration*, Appendix.

her beganne to sound fourth "Amen!" At the hearing therof, she quicklie turned her about, and after she had warmed both his cheekes with the weight of her hands, she thus schott against him the thunderbolt of her zeal: "False theefe! (said she) is there no other parte of the Kirke to sing Masse in, but thou must sing it at my lugge?" The young man, being dashed with such ane hote unexpected rencounter, gave place to silence in signe of his recantatione. I cannot here omit a worthie reproofe given at the same time be a truely religious matron; for when shee perceived one of Ishmaels mocking daughters to deride her for her fervent expressions in behalfe of her heavinlie Master, shee thus sharpelie rebuked her with an elevated voice, saying, "Woe be to these that laugh when Zion mournes."

When that forenoonnes convocations and meeting was dissolving, *Togatus Homuncio*, a little man with a gounne, one who of his owne accord had adjoynd himselfe as a special actor in the former superstitious exercise (God's service or worship it deserves not to be called), got his back bones and bellie full of no small buffeting distributions. His gounne was rent, his Service booke taken from him, and his bodie so pitifullie beatten and bruised, that he cryed often for mercie, and vowed never afterwards to give his concurrence to such clogged devotion. The Bischope, in the meane tyme, thought to have removed himself peaceable to his lodging, but no sooner was he seene upone the streets, when the confused multitude rushed violentlie upone him, and furiously pursued after him with railing and clodding; and if their hands could have bene als active as their minds were willing, they had doubtlesse demolished the great butt which they aimed at. The Bischope perceaving himself to be the cheefe object of the peoples furie, was forced suddenlie to have recourse to a citizens house by the way. A female servant of that familie, taking notice of his coming, made the doores cheeks and his mouth to be bothe in ane categorie, wherupone his greatnesse was strained with such danger, that he had never more neede to have put the Popes keyes to triall. A certane woman cryed, "Fy, if I could get the thropole out of him!" And when one replyed, that "Though shee obtained her desire, yet there might perchance come one much worse in his rounge." Shee answered, "After Cardinall Betoun was sticked, wee had never another Cardinall sensyne. And if that false Judas (meaning the Bischope) were now stobbed and cutt off, his place would be thought so prodigious and ominous, that scarce any man durst hazard or undertake to be his successour."

These speeches, I persuade myselve, proceeded not from any particular revenge or inveterate malice which could be conceived against the Bischopes persone, but onlie from a zeal to Gods glorie wherwith the woman's heart was burnt up: for had she not discerned the image of the Beast in the Bischopes bowels of conformitie, shee had never sett against him with such a scharpe tongued assault. Mr Alexander Thomson, commoun pastour of the Old Church, and David Mitchell, merchant, were very officious to the Bischope, and backed him the cheefe time of the broyle. Good reason the Bischope make them scharers of his best dainties and delicats, seing they were content to be sharers of his ignominie and shame.

The Bischope was afternoone accompanied to the Old Church againe with a great gaurd, and the doores were closed, and no women permitted to enter. Mr Alexander Thomson did read several collects of the Service Booke a litle before his afternoones sermon, and if the church doores had not bene well fenced with the Magistrats and utheris, hee had questionles bene pulled out of the pulpit with violence. But if hee continue to read such babling rapsodies, hee may have just cause to feare that a constrained delay can be no good securitie, and that hee shall get a ragged reward for his ragged service.

About the evening, the Earle of Roxburgh received the Bischope with himself in coach, and tooke the protectione of him till he come to the Abbey; but he got many a stone by the way, *propter vicinum malum*, for an ill neighbour. And if the coach had bene also sensibill as the Bischope was made fearfull, I am sure it would have cryed out with many a bitter lamentation. A Nobleman beholding the numerous multitude which ranne after the coach, tooke occasion thus mirrilie to break his silence: "I will writt up to the King (said hee), and tell him that the Court is here changed: for my Lord Traquare, Treasurer, used ever before to get the greatest backing, but now the Earle of Roxburgh and the Bischope of Edinburgh have the greatest number of followers." The Coachman received plenty of hard lapidarie coyne for his drink silver. And the Bischope was redacted, if all be trew quihlk was reported, to such a point of backside necessitie, that (as may be supposed) hee never in his lifytyme got such a

laxative purgation; for requytal of the paines of his open-handed apothecaries, hee franklie bestowed upone them all the gold of his Low countries; yea his Lordships charitie did soe farre abound, that he gave out both his grit and privie scales without gaine. Howsoever it was constantlie affirmed, that when he come out of the coach, he apprehended such danger (notwithstanding of the guards that was about him), that no man could endure the flewre nor stinking smell of his fatt carcage. The commoun proverbe sayeth "That dirt boddeth luck;" but truelie it would appeare that the Bischope, be his cariage, did almost improve the same, for in his late feditie hee was soe assaulted with feare, that he tooke dirt rather as a precedent of some imminent, yea of some incumbent fatalitie. The Bischops footman and his mantled horse receaved for their Lordlie Masters sake many stonie rewardes upone the hie way that evening: there needed no collectors to gather up the peoples liberalitie at that season; for since the first Reformation of religion, our Prelats and church Canonists got never readier payment.

Frome Stonefield, at the signe of the Flaming Fire which might have burnt up the Bischop of Argylls houss, the day of his solemn festivall consecratioun, being the eight of August 1637.

K.

CROWN CHARTER ERECTING EDINBURGH INTO A BISHOPRIC AND
THE TOWN INTO A CITY.

CAROLUS, &C., SALUTEM.

SCIATIS,

CUM nobis, pro regia quæ nobis incumbit cura zeloque, et effectu regali ad promovendum Dei gloriam, et ecclesiæ, infra hoc nostrum antiquum et nativum Scotiæ regnum, emolumentum, decretum sit omnes amplecti occasiones, quæ commodo, paci, tranquillitati, et bono regimini dictæ ecclesiæ prodesse, et incrementum asferre possunt: cumque per libellum supplicem, nobis per reverendissimum in Christo partem, JOANNEM (SPOTISWOOD) Sancti Andreae Archiepiscopum, Primatem et Metropolitanum dicti regni nostri Scotiæ, non ita pridem oblatum, ad nostram notitiam pervenerit, dicti Archiepiscopi diocesin, non solum vastam amplam, et limitibus inter se procul remotis adeo diffusam esse, ut dictus Archiepiscopus, ejusque successores, onus omnium ecclesiarum dictæ dioceseos subire, curam gerere, et administrationi earundem vacare non possunt; verum etiam, interjectione æstuarii Forthæ ita divisam et distinctam, ut dictus Archiepiscopus ejusque successores, quorum sedes et residentia fere semper civitati Sancti Andreae, ubi cathedralis et metropolitana ecclesia dicti Archiepiscopatus sita et affixa sit, visitationi, procurationi, et administrationi negotiorum, ad bonum ecclesiarum ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ jacentum, tendere interesse non possunt, eum sæpius eveniat, ut procellis, tempestatibus et contrariis ventis, dictum æstuarium adeo jactetur, ut eis transitus denegetur, et synodis, aliisque publicis conventibus, pro bono earundem ecclesiarum antedict. adesse impediatur: hisque de causis, nos humiliter et suppliciter dictus Archiepiscopus rogavit, ut ipse ejusque successores cura et onere dictarum ecclesiarum, ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ jacentium, liberentur, earumque administrationem, ut regiæ nostræ majestati et in regali nostra prudentia visum fuerit, aliis committamus: Nosque, justitia, æquitate, et necessitate supplicationis prepensis, in memoriam revocantes, burgum nostrum de Edinburgh, eminentissimum, et caput esse omnium burgorum dicti regni nostri Scotiæ, idemque in dicta diocesi Sancti Andreae, ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ, situm esse; cujus quidem urbis pro regia nostra cura et tenero affectu, tam erga regnum, quam ecclesiam, specialis nos tenet respectus. IGITUR nos, in gloriam Dei, et incrementum divini cultus, nec non pro meliore regimine omnium ecclesiarum prius ad diocesin Sancti Andreae spectan. jacen. ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ, præsertim vero ecclesiarum dicti burgi nostri de Edinburgh, DECREVIMUS SEPARARE et disunire omnes prædictas ecclesias, jacen. ex australi latere æstuarii Forthæ, à dicto Archiepiscopatu Sancti Andreae, diocesi, et jurisdictione ejusdem; et exigere novum Episcopatum, diocesin, et jurisdictionem infra eandem, modo subsequen. Et ad hunc effectum, NOS, cum avisamento et consensu prædilecti nostri consanguinei et consiliiarii, Willielmi comitis de Mortoun, domini Dalkith et Aberdour, principalis nostri thesaurarii, computorum nostrorum rotulatoris, et collectoris generalis novarum nostrarum augmentationum infra regnum nostrum Scotiæ; et prædilecti nostri consanguinei et consiliiarii Joannis comitis de Traquair, domini Lintoun et Caverstoun, nostri deputati in eisdem officiis: nec non cum avisamento et consensu reliquorum dominorum nostri secreti concilii et scaccarii prædicti regni nostri Scotiæ, DISSOLVIMUS ET SEPARAVIMUS, tenoreque præsentis chartæ, cum avisamento et consensu prædicto, DISSOLVIMUS, SEPARAMUS ET DISUNIMUS, à prædicto Sancti Andreae archiepiscopatu diocesi, et jurisdictione ejusdem, OMNES ET SINGULAS, terras, bondas, ecclesias et parochias jacen. ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ, et quæ per prius ad prædictam diocesin Sancti Andreae spectabant, inibi comprehendend. integras ecclesias et parochias infra vice-comitatum nostrum de Edinburgh principale, et constabulariam de Haddington, et vice-comitatum nostrum de Linlithgow, et Stirling,

et vice-comitatum nostrum de Berwick, et ballivatum nostrum de Lauderdale, quæ per prius ad prædictam Sancti Andreae diocesan, ut dictum est, pertinuerunt. (EXCEPTES omnimodo, et reservatis dicto Archiepiscopo, ejusque successoribus, OMNIBUS terris, baroniis, molendinis, sylvis, piscationibus, jurisdictione regalitatis, ecclesiis, et decimis rectoriæ et vicariæ, ac jure patronatus earundem, infra bondas prædictas, quæ pertinent, vel pertinuerunt, ad patrimonium dicti Archiepiscopatus, et ad quas dictus Archiepiscopus sui que successores jus habent, tanquam proprias et patrimoniales terras, baronias, ecclesias, et decimas dicti Archiepiscopatus.) PRÆTEREA NOS, cum avisamento et consensu prædicto, EREXIMUS, tenoreque præsentis chartæ nostræ ERIGIMUS prædictas integras terras, bondas, ecclesias, et parochias, quæ per prius ad dictam diocesan et jurisdictionem prædicti Sancti Andreae Archiepiscopatus pertinuerunt, ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ, et speciatim infra vice-comitatum nostrum de Edinburgh principale, et constabulariam de Haddington, vice-comitatus nostros de Linlithgow et Stirling, vice-comitatum nostrum de Berwick, et ballivatum de Lauderdale, IN UNUM INTEGRUM, LIBERUM, ET DISTINCTUM EPISCOPATUM, DIOCESIN ET JURISDICTIONEM ECCLESIASTICAM, cum omnibus, libertatibus, privilegiis, honoribus, dignitatibus, immunitatibus, aliisque beneficiis et commoditatibus et emolumentis quibuscunque, AD LIBERUM et distinctum Episcopatum, diocesan, et ecclesiasticam jurisdictionem, per leges, et hujus regni nostri consuetudinem, spectan. et cum plenaria, libera, et tam ampla et larga potestate, auctoritate, et jurisdictione ecclesiastica, infra omnes et singulas bondas, ecclesias, et parochias prædictas, quam ulli Episcopo infra dictum nostrum regnum competit: ET SPECIALITER, absque derogatione generalitatis antedictæ, cum libertate, privilegiis et jurisdictione commissariatus infra omnes prædict. vice-comitatus, constabulariam, et ballivatum antedict. jacen. ex dicto australi latere prædicti æstuarii Forthæ; et cum admissione et deprivatione commissariorum, procuratorum-fiscalium, aliorumque membrorum dictæ curiæ, levatione, *lie Quots*, testamentorum ac aliarum casualitatum per prius dicto Archiepiscopo Sancti Andreae debit. eodem modo et forma et sicut per leges dicti hujus regni nostri debita fuerunt et spectabant dicto Archiepiscopo: RESERVANDO omnimodo, et SUSPENDENDO usum prædict. commissariatus, et jurisdictionis ejusdem, administrationis dictorum commissariorum, ac aliorum officiariorum commissariatus et jurisdictionis ejusdem, admissionis dictorum commissariorum ac aliorum officiariorum curiæ, eorumque deprivationis, et levationis *lie Quots*, testamentorum infra prædictas bondas, et eadem in persona præsentis Archiepiscopi Sancti Andreae ejusque successorum, continuando, usque donec nobis et successoribus nostris visum fuerit DARE, CONCEDERE et FUNDARE præfato Archiepiscopo, suisque successoribus, æqualis valoris redditum in terris vel decimis equivalen. et corresponden. proventui, redditui et emolumento eis ex dicto commissariatu provenien. infra prædictas bondas, ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ. NEC NON absque præjudicio, ac reservatis præsentibus commissariis de Edinburgh, eorum officiis et feodis, durante toto tempore eorum vitæ, secundum donationes et decreta in eorum favorem concess. AC ETIAM RESERVATIS dicto Archiepiscopo Sancti Andreae ejusque successoribus prædictis eorum patrimonialibus terris, baroniis ecclesiis, decimis, aliisque præscript, ut supra dictum est. AC NOS animo nostri revolventes, prædictum burgum nostrum de Edinburgh esse principale burgum regni nostri Scotiæ, idemque maxime idoneum ut sit capitalis civitas dicti noviter erecti Episcopatus. IGITUR NOS ex auctoritate nostra regali, cum avisamento, et consensu prædicto, EREXIMUS, tenoreque præsentis chartæ nostræ ERIGIMUS, dictum nostrum burgum de Edinburgh in civitatem, AC ORDINAMUS eandem fore principalem et capitalem civitatem dicti regni nostri, ac prædicti noviter erecti Episcopatus, AC DAMUS ET CONCEDIMUS eidem omnes libertates et privilegia civitati debit. QUÆ QUIDEM NOS DECLARAMUS ESSE, et fore absque præjudicio prædicto nostro burgo de Edinburgh, PRÆPOSITIS, balivis consulibus et communitati ejusdem eorumque successoribus, libertatum, immunitatum, jurium, et privilegiorum eis, tanquam libero burgo, spectan. quæ cum eis, eorumque successoribus, illæsa, minime derogata vel præjudicata quovis modo, neque aucta, nec diminuta, in perpetuum remanebunt, sed in eodem casu et conditione, quo eadem tempore datæ præsentis hujus chartæ nostræ sunt, absque mutatione vel alteratione, præterquam in designatione principalis et capitalis civitatis prædicti regni nostri, ac noviter erecti Episcopatus. ET AD HUNC EFFECTUM EREXIMUS, tenoreque præsentis chartæ nostræ ERIGIMUS ecclesiam Sancti Egidii (*lie Saint Giles's Kirk*) IN ECCLESIAM CATHEDRALEM; AC ORDINAMUS, eandem fore cathedralem ecclesiam dicti noviter erecti Episcopatus,

AC DAMUS ET CONCEDIMUS EIDEM omnes libertates, privilegia et prærogativas cathedrali ecclesiæ incumben. prout nos ORDINAMUS, STATUIMUS, ET DESIGNAMUS prædictum noviter erectum Episcopatum nuncupandum, nominandum et designandum, omni tempore futuro, EPISCOPATUM de Edinburgh; ac diocesan nuncupandum diocesan de Edinburgh, in se comprehenden. omnes terras bondas, ecclesias, et parochias generaliter et specialiter suprascriptas, quæ ad prædictum Archiepiscopatum Sancti Andreae, ex australi latere dicti æstuarii Forthæ perprius pertinnerunt. AC ORDINAMUS personas providendas ad prædictum noviter erectum Episcopatum intra bondas prædictas nuncupari, designari et indigitari Episcopos de Edinburgh, gaudere et frui omnibus honoribus et dignitatibus, privilegiis, autoritate, jurisdictione, aliisque libertatibus quibuscunque diocesiano Episcopo, per leges et consuetudinem hujus regni nostri Scotiae prædict. debet. AC ORDINAMUS personam providendam, ejusque successores, ad dictum noviter erectum Episcopatum, fore suffraganeum præsentis Archiepiscopo Sancti Andreae ejusque successoribus; et respectu multorum et gravium negotiorum, quibus necesse est continuo assistant dicto Archiepiscopo Sancti Andreae, ejusque successoribus, et reipsa, quasi supplendo locum eorum cancellarii, præcedentiam ordinis habere, suffragium dicere in Parlamento, publicis comitiis, aliisque publicis conventibus quibuscunque, immediate proxime post Archiepiscopos Sancti Andreae et Glasguen. et ante quoscunque alios Episcopos infra prædictum regum nostrum. ET SIMILITER, considerantes Episcopum Candidæ Casæ (*lie Bishop of Galloway*) ejusque successores subituros idem munus, assistend. dict. Archiepiscopo Glasguen. ejusque successoribus, ORDINAMUS præsentem Episcopum Candidæ Casæ, ejusque successores, locum et suffragium habere in Parlamento publicis conciliis, et omnibus aliis conventionibus quibuscunque, proxime post dictum Episcopum de Edinburgh ejusque successores, et ante omnes reliquos Episcopos dicti regni nostri, non obstant. quibuscunque acto, ordine, seu consuetudine in contrarium; cum quibus nos, tenore præsentis chartæ nostræ, DISPENSAMUS. AC VOLUMUS et ORDINAMUS dictum Episcopum de Edinburgh habere constans capitulum pro rebus gubernandis dicto Episcopatu spectan. eodem modo et forma, sicuti aliis capitulis aliorum Episcopatum, per nostri Parlamenti acta, et regni nostri consuetudinem competit; QUOD constabit ex uno Decano et duodecim prebendariis, absque quorum consensu, vel eorum maximæ partis, non licebit dicto Episcopo, ejusque successoribus, ad dictum Episcopatum providendis, ulla tractare negotia ad prædictum Episcopatum spectan. ET VOLUMUS et ORDINAMUS principalem ministrum Divi Ægidii in Edinburgo Decanum fore, ejusque successores decanos dicti Episcopatus, et principales ministros ecclesiarum fratrum prædicatorum (*lie Gray Friars*) et collegiatæ ecclesiæ ac principalem ministrum parochiæ australis versus orientem (*lie south-east*) dictæ civitatis de Edinburgh, et ministros ecclesiarum de Halyroodhouse, Libertoun, Tranent, Stirling, Falkirk, Linlithgow, Dalkeith, Haddington, et Dunbar, eorumque successores, fore prebendarios et capitulum dicti Episcopatus omni tempore affuturo complere. Ac etiam ORDINAMUS et CONCEDIMUS dicto Episcopo de Edinburgh, ejusque successoribus, libertatem sigillum habendi, ut pro suorum propriis factis et scriptis solummodo sigillandis, quæ per ipsos peragi possunt absque consensu capituli, proque talibus aliis occasionibus, sicut alii Episcopi dicti regni nostri simile habent. NEC NON DAMUS et CONCEDIMUS dicto Episcopo et capitulo libertatem sigillum habendi, nuncupand. sigillum capituli dicti Episcopatus de Edinburgh, distinctum ab illo altero, in omnibus scriptis et aliis casibus, usitand. in quibus capituli consensus requiritur. PRÆTERÆ, quia nos statuimus stabilire et fundare completum patrimonium et redditum personæ ad dictum Episcopatum de Edinburgh providend. ejusque successoribus; unde onus honorifice illius muneris facilius sustinere et subire poterint, et publicis negotiis ecclesiæ et regni nostri adesse et incumbere in Parliamentis, Conventibus, aliisque occasionibus necessariis; quod nos, modo et respectu eorum muneris et oneri corresponden. facere decrevimus ac redimere, vindicare et liberare dicto Episcopo, ejusque successoribus, jus ac privilegium dicti Commissariatus, cum *lie Quots* testamentorum (EXCEPTIS et reservatis Sancti Andreae Archiepiscopis, modo quo supra specificati). Quæ quidem præstita existen. reddent statum et redditum dicti Episcopatus, cum terris, ecclesiis, decimis, aliisque infra specificatis, pro præsentem eidem dedicatis, æqualem redditui et statui optimi Episcopatus regni nostri, si non meliorem; et interea temporis, dum nos hoc opus ad plenariam perfectionem deduxerimus, considerantes, quod per speciale actum novissimi nostri Parlamenti, in mensæ Junii ultimo elapsi, convent. terræ baroniæ, superioritates, ecclesiæ, decimæ aliaque infra specificata,

nobis excipiuntur et reservantur ad arbitrium nostrum disponen. Et ad hunc effectum cum consensu omnium nostrorum statuum dicti nostri Parlamenti, a corona nostra, et ab omnibus beneficiis, quibus eadem perprius unita fuerunt, dissoluta sunt; prout in eodem Parlamenti acto latius continetur; prout etiam nos, post datam predicti acti nostri Parlamenti, ex nostro proprio ærario satisfacimus personis, jus, titulum, interesse, et clameum prætendentibus ad dictas terras, ecclesias, decimas, aliaque per dictum actum nobis reservat. IGITUR NOS, cum avisamento et consensu prædicto, DEDIMUS, CONCESSIMUS, FUNDAVIMUS, MORTIFICAVIMUS et DISPOSUIMUS, tenoreque præsentium DAMUS, CONCEDIMUS, FUNDAMUS, MORTIFICAMUS, et DISPONIMUS personæ ad dictum Episcopatum de Edinburgh per nos providendæ, ejusque successoribus, pro eorum redditu et patrimonio, in sustentatione illius dicti tam honorifici oneris et muneris, *TOTAS et INTEGRAS ÆDES, PRÆCINCTUM et HORTOS de Halyrudhouse, cum domibus, tenementis, et hortis ejusdem contigue adjacen. quæ ad ABBACIAM de HALYRUDHOUSE* perprius pertinuerunt, una cum jure superioritatis, feodifirmæ, firmis censibus, aliisque devoriis terrarum et baroniarum infra specificat, quæ olim ad dictam Abbaciam de Halyrudhouse pertinebant, viz. terras et baroniam de Dunrod, comprehenden. particulares terras aliasque subsequen. viz. terras de Drummoirsyde, Milntoun, Balnia, Balfix, et croftas nuncupat. *lie Stalim croft, et lie Chapel croft,* cum molendino de Dunrod et astrictis multuris omnium et singularum dict. terrarum et baronias de Dunrod. AC ETIAM terras nuncupat. *lie Meikle Kirkland et Little Kirkland,* cum omnibus eorum turribus, fortaliciis, maneriorum locis, domibus, hortis, pomariis, molendinis, sylvis, piscationibus, partibus, pendiculis, annexis, connexis, dependentiis, tenentibus, tenendriis, libere tenentium særvitiis, et omnibus earundem pertinen. jacen. infra Senescallatum nostrum de Kirkcudbright, et vice-comitatus nostrum de Dumfreis. AC ETIAM omnes et singulas feodifirmæ firmas, augmentationes, annuos redditus, capones et *lie Kain-Silver,* et minutas custumas ab antiquo conventui et fratribus conventualibus monasterii et abbaciæ de Halyrudhouse solvi usitat. et consuet. ET SIMILITER, omnes et singulas terras et baroniam de Auld-hamer, alias *Whitekirk,* comprehenden. terras, baronias, aliaque infra mentionat. viz. villam et terras de Whitekirk, et terras dominicales, *lie Mains,* earundem, terras et villam de Mirriellawis et Brewacres de Whitekirk, terras et baroniam de Fuir, villam et terras de Gillieswall, villam et terras de Stannelawis, cum molendino de Lintoun, villam et terras de Pilmuir, cum terris de Whytick, cum turre, fortalicio, manerii loco, domibus, hortis, pomariis molendinis, terris molendinariis, multuris, sylvis, piscationibus, lacubus, partibus, pendiculis, annexis, connexis, dependentibus, tenentibus, tenendriis, libere tenentium servitiis et omnibus et singulis earundem pertinen. UNA cum jure et privilegio regalitatis infra prædictas terras et baroniam de Whitekirk; cum omnibus et singulis privilegiis proficuis, commoditatibus, immunitatibus, et casualitatibus eidem spectan. et pertinen. jacen. infra prædictam constabularium de Haddingtoun; AC ETIAM totas et integras parochias ecclesiasticas de Whitekirk, St Cuthbert's, Libertoun, Tranent, Crawford-Lindsay et Halyrudhouse; AC ETIAM ecclesias de Baro, St Catherine's et lie Houpes, Mountlathian, Dunrod, Saltoun, Urry, Kirkcudbright, Kirkcormo, Balmaghiell, St Martine's, alias Melginshe, Boltoun, Corstorphin, Kinneill, Carridden, Dalgarnock et Leith ex boreali latere pontis ejusdem, cum mansionibus, glebis et terris ecclesiasticis earundem, fructibus, redditibus, proficuis, emolumentis, et devoriis quibuscunquo esidem pertinen. cum integris decimis dictarum ecclesiarum, rectoriis et vicariis earundem, et omnium aliarum ecclesiarum et decimarum, quæ dictam abbaciam de Halyrudhouse perprius pertinuerunt, et express. in donatione et provisione fact. per nostrum charissimum quondam partem æternæ memoriæ, domino Joanni Spotswood de Darsy, militi, de dicta abbacia de Halyrudhouse; UNA cum omni jure et titulo quæ nos habemus, seu clamare poterimus, virtute legum et actorum Parlamenti prædicti regni nostri, vel per nostram novissimam generalem revocationem, in et ad prædictam abbaciam de Halyrudhouse, vel ad quascunque terras, baronias, ecclesias, decimas, piscationes, annuos redditus, patronatus, et quæcunque alia quæ, ad dictam abbaciam de Halyrudhouse, aliquo tempore perprius pertinuerunt: AC ETIAM jus patronatus dictarum ecclesiarum, quæ ad dictam abbaciam de Halyrudhouse pertinuerunt, UNA cum advocacione, donatione, et jure patronatus vicariarum dictarum ecclesiarum, sive eadem ad dictam abbaciam antea pertinuerunt, sive separata et distincta beneficia ad nostram præsentationem extiterunt. EXCEPTIS et RESERVATIS omnimodo ex hac præsentī charta

nostra, terris et baronia de Broughtoun, comprehendens villas, terras, burgum baroniæ, molendina, aliaque mentionata in infofamentis fact. et concess. per nos, sub nostro magno sigillo, prædilecto nostro consanguineo et consiliario Roberto comiti de Roxburgh, de data die mensis Anno Domini 1630, cum dicto comite, suisque heredibus et successoribus remansur. secundum modum, formam et tenorem infofamentorum sibi suisque auctoribus desuper concess. et si redempta fuerint per nos et nostros successores, ad nostrum arbitrium disponend. ET SIMILITER, totam et integram abbaciam de NEW-ABBAY, cum integris terris, baroniis, ecclesiis, decimis, patronatibus, aliisque quibuscunque, tam temporalitatibus quam spiritualitatibus. ET SPECIATIM, absque præjudicio generalitatis prædict. OMNES et SINGULAS domus, ædificia, hortos, pomaria, molendina multuras et quæcunque alia, olim ad dictum monasterium et abbaciam pertinen. jacen. infra præinctum ejusdem; AC ETIAM totas et integras terram et baronias de Lochindeloche, alias New-Abbey, cum molendino, earundem, terris molendinariis, multuris, et sequelis earundem; NECNON totas et integras terras et baronias de Kirkpatrick-Durham, cum molendino earundem, terris molendinariis, multuris et sequelis earundem. AC ETIAM totas et integras decem mercatas terrarum de Lethie, cum omnibus et singulis maneriorum locis, turribus, fortaliciis, domibus, ædificiis, hortis, pomariis, molendinis, sylvis, piscationibus, tenentibus, tenendriis, libere tenentium servitiis, *lie Outsets*, annexis, connexis, dependentiis, partibus, pendiculis, et pertinen. quibuscunque, omnium et singularum prædictarum terrarum, baroniarum, aliarumque immediate suprascriptarum, infra vice-comitatum nostrum de Wigtoun, cum omnibus et singulis ecclesiis, decimis garbalibus, aliisque decimis magnis et minutis rectoriæ et vicariæ omnium et singularum ecclesiarum de New-Abbey, alias Lochindeloche, Kirkpatrick-Durham, Buthill, et Crossmichael, cum mansionibus, glebis, et terris ecclesiasticis earundem, fructibus, redditibus, proficuis, emolumentis, et devoriis quibuscunque eisdem spectan. et pertinen. seu juste spectare valen. in futurum: AC cum omnibus et singulis aliis terris, baroniis, molendinis, sylvis, piscationibus salmonum, aliisque piscationibus, tam in aquis salsis quam recentibus, ecclesiis, decimis, tenentibus, tenendriis, libereque tenentium servitiis, redditibus, firmis, feodifirmis *lie Kain-silver*, canis customis, casualitatibus, proficuis, annuis redditibus, tenementis, emolumentis, et divoriis quibuscunque, tam spiritualitatibus quam temporalitatibus, ad prædictum integrum beneficium de New-Abbey, alias *Sweetheart*, spectan. et pertinen. seu quovis modo spectare valen. ubicunque eadem jacent infra regnum nostrum Scotiæ; UNA cum advocacione, donatione, jure patronatus prædictarum ecclesiarum et decimarum rectoriæ et vicariæ earundem: AC ETIAM omnes alias ecclesias, præposituras, prebendias, capellarias, ac quæcunque alia quæ ad dictam abbaciam de New-Abbey perprius pertinuerunt, vel quæ ad Dominum Robertum Spotswood, virtute suorum jurium ad easdem, perprius pertinuerunt. ET SIMILITER jus et proprietatem totius et integræ viginti solidat. terrarum de Overcarse, jacen. infra dictam baroniam de Lochindeloche, cum maneriorum locis, domibus, piscationibus, et aliis eisdem spectan. et pertinen. olim ad dictum dominum Robertum Spotswood etiam pertinen. AC ETIAM omnes et singulas terras, piscationes, molendina, aliaque infra specificata, cum pertinen. olim ad dominum Joannem Hay de Lands, militem, nostrum clericum registri pertinen. viz. totas et integras quadraginta solidatas terrarum antiqui extentus, nuncupat. *lie Lands*, viginti solidatas terrarum de Barbeth, viginti solidatas terrarum de Glen, viginti solidatas terrarum de Collingath, extenden. in integro ad quinque libratas terrarum antiqui extentus, cum manerii loco, turre, fortalicio et domibus super prædictis terris ædificatis, nuncupat. *lie Lands*, omnes jacen. infra prædict. baroniam de Lochindeloche: AC ETIAM totas et integras octo mercatas terrarum de Drum, et quatuor mercatas terrarum de Corbellie, mercatam terræ nuncupat. *lie Under the Wall*, cum portione terræ nuncupat. Howlesie Close, cum molendino fullonum de New-Abbey, cum aquæ-ductibus, et ejusdem molendini fullonum cataractis, jacen. infra prædictas terras de Barbeth, et bondat. cum horto nuncupat. *lie Friar's-yard* ex occiden. NECNON totas et integras de Glenon cum toftis, croftis, partibus pendiculis et suis pertinen. AC ETIAM totum et integrum molendinum, granarium de New-Abbey, et *lie Multure-house* ejusdem, cum astrictis multuris et sequelis ejusdem, cum aqua et aquæ cataractis *lie Damms* ejusdem, cum annexis, connexis, proficuis, et suis pertinen. ET SIMILITER totas et integras quadraginta solidatas terrarum de Clochloy et Kihelvie omnes jacen. infra baroniam suprascript. AC totas et integras piscationes, tam salmonum quam

aliorum piscium, ad finem aquæ de Nith, infra bondas infra scriptas, viz. terras de Littlebar et Inglistoun ex occidentali terras de Inglisside ex orientali, terras de Carlaverock et Ardis ex boreali, et terras de Carsethorn ex australi partibus. NEC NON totum et integrum illud domicilium seu tenementum ædificat. supra terras, nuncupat. *lie Abbey-Green*, cum suis pertinens. inter domum olim ad Jacobum Brown, ab una, et materiem circumducentum dictam abbaciam ab alia parte; quod quidem domicilium fuit olim per Jacobum Keith occupat. et possess. UNA cum advocacione donatione, et jure patronatus integrarum ecclesiarum generaliter et specialiter supra express. quæ ad dictam abbaciam de New-Abbey per prius pertinuerunt, una cum omni jure et titulo quæ nos habemus, aut habere vel prætere potuerimus, ad patronatus dictarum ecclesiarum, rectoriæ et vicariæ earund. vel tanquam partes patrimonii dictæ, abbaciæ existen. vel tanquam separata beneficia et vicariæ tituli ad nostram, aut prædecessorum nostrorum, præsentationem. ET UNIVIMUS ET ANNEXAVIMUS prædictas integras terras, baronias, superioritates, feodifirmas, feodi census, annuos redditus, molendina, piscationes, ecclesias, decimas, patronatus, aliaque generaliter et specialiter suprascript. prædicto Episcopatu de Edinburgh, cum eodem, tanquam, propria pars et pertinet. atrimonii ejusd. omni tempore affuturo remansur. AC FACIMUS, CREAMUS, ERIGIMUS, et INCORPORAMUS prædictas integras terras, baronias, molendina, sylvas, piscationes, aliaque de dicti Episcopatus temporalitatibus nunc eidem dedicata, vel quæ, quocunque tempore affuturo, eidem fundari et dedicari contigerint. IN UNAM LIBERAM BARONIAM, cum libertate, jurisdictione et privilegio liberæ baroniæ, infra integras bondas earundem per dictum Episcopum ejusque successores utend. et fruend. adeo libere et ample, sicuti quæcunque alia baronia infra regnum nostrum. AC DAMUS et DISPONIMUS dicto Episcopo, ejusque successoribus, potestatem et privilegium baroniæ curiarum, cum integris exitibus, escheatis bluidwittis, amerciamenti aliisque commoditatibus dict. curiarum. Ac etiam VOLUMUS, CONCEDIMUS et ORDINAMUS dictos Episcopos, suosque successores, immediatos fore superiores quibuscunque vassalis prædict. terrarum, baroniarum, aliorumque temporalium terrarum antedict. in nostro nostrorumque successorum loco, qui superiores eis devenimus virtute generalis acti annexationis; et in locum abbatum et commendatariorum abbaciarum de Halyrood-house et New-Abbey respectivè, quibus illi, ante prædictum actum annexationis, vassali exiterunt. AC DECLARAMUS dictum Episcopum, suosque successores, HABERE SOLUM et INDUBITATUM jus superioritatis dictorum vassallorum et eorund. vassallorum introitus tanquam hæredum, suisque prædecessoribus, vel per retornatos, vel per præcepta de CLARE CONSTAT, et integrarum casualitatum dict. superioritatum, et omnis beneficii et commoditatis, quæ, vel per clausulas irritantes content. in infeofamentis dictis vassallis concess. vel per nullitatem vel reductionem dict. infeofamentorum, super quacunque causa, fundo, et ratione de jure compet. exoriri poterint. MANDANDO, tenore præsentis chartæ nostræ, nostro advocato præsentem, et futuro pro tempore existen. ut dicto Episcopo, suisque successoribus, ad hunc effectum assistat, et operam fidelem navet. PROVISIO OMNIMODO, prout præsentem charta nostra DECLARAMUS, quod hæc præsentem charta nostra, nec ulla clausula ejusdem, quovis modo præjudicabit alicui dict. vassallorum, qui vel quorum prædecessores habuerunt et habent bona et legitima jura DE NOBIS, vel de QUONDAM NOSTRO PATRE, virtute acti annexationis vel de abbatibus ante prædictum actum annexationis prædict. terrarum, baroniarum, aliarumque supra specificat. SED QUOD illi eisdem fruenter, secundum ipsorum jura et infeofamenta, absque mutatione, vel eorum innovatione, EXCEPT. in dicto superiore, qui dictus Episcopus ejusque successores erunt omni tempore affuturo. Ac per præsentem chartæ tenorem specialiter declaratur, sicut NOS PRO NOBIS SUCCESSORIBUS NOSTRIS VOLUMUS, ORDINAMUS ET DECLARAMUS, quod nullatenus licebit dicto Episcopo suisque successoribus ALIENARE, in assedationem longam vel brevem locare, PENSIONEM dare, a bollis in monetam convertere, aut alio quocunque modo, super feodifirmas, feodicensus et alium constantem redditum dictarum baroniarum, superioritatum, et aliarum terrarum temporalium supraspecificat. disponere, NEC super rentalatis vel valuatis decimis dict. ecclesiarum et parochiarum supra express. nec factum ullum perpetrare, directe vel indirecte, quæ prejudicent, vel deteriorent, vel in pejorem statum redigant dictas terras, baronias, ecclesias, decimas patronatus, aliaque supradict. nunc dicto Episcopatu dedicata et fundata, vel quæ quocunque tempore affuturo dedicari et fundari contigerint, aliter quam præsentibus legibus et consuetudini dicti regni nostri congruit. ET si in contrarium fecerint, quod dicta facta de jure nullius valoris erunt, prout nos pro nobis et successoribus nostris eadem

fore nulla declaramus, modo exceptionis, vel replicationis, absque quovis ulteriori declaratorio: TENENDAS et HABENDAS omnes et singulas prædictas terras, baronias, superioritates, ecclesias, decimas, patronatus, aliaque generaliter et specialiter supraspecificat. PRÆDICTO EPISCOPO de EDINBURGH, suisque successoribus, DE NOBIS nostrisque SUCCESSORIBUS, in LIBERO BENEFICIO et EPISCOPATU; cum omnibus et singulis privilegiis, honoribus, dignitatibus et libertatibus eidem pertinen. prout jacent. in longitudine et latitudine, in domibus ædificiis, boscis, planis, moris, maresiis, viis, semitis, aquis, stagnis, rivulis, pratis, pascuis et pasturis, molendinis, multuris et eorum sequelis, aucupationibus, venationibus, piscationibus, petraïis, turbariis, carbonibus, carbonariis, cuniculis, cuniculariis, columbis, columbariis, fabrilibus, brasinis, breweriis et genistis, sylvis, nemoribus et virgultis, lignis, tignis, lapidiciis, lapide et calce; cum curiis et earum exitibus, haereseldis, bluidwitis, et mulireum marchetis; cum forca, fossa, sok.sak, thole, thaine, vert, wraik, ware, weth et venison, infangthief, outfangtheif, pit et gallows; cum communi pastura liberoque introitu et exitu, AC cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus, commoditatibus, proficuis, aisiamentis, ac justis suis pertinen. quibuscunque, tam non nominatis quam nominatis, tam subtus terra quam supra terram, procul et prope, ad prædictas terras, baronias, aliaque præscripta cum pertinen. spectan. seu justè spectare valen. quomodolibet in futurum, libere, quiete, plenarie, integre, honorifice, bene et in pace absque revocatione, contradictione, impedimento aut obstaculo aliquali; REDDENDO nobis et successoribus nostris fidelitatem et homagium pro temporalitate dicti Episcopatus, ad introitum cujuslibet Episcopi, simili modo et forma sicut alii Episcopi dicti nostri regni, et secundum acta nostri Parlamenti, desuper reddiderunt: Ac etiam sustentando ministros inservientes curæ ecclesiarum patronatum suprascript. ad dictas abbacias de Halyroodhouse et New-Abbay peranprius pertinen. NUNC vero dicto Episcopatu. fundat et nexat. NEC NON SOLVENDO prædictis principalibus ministris ecclesiæ fratrum prædicatorum (*lie Grayfriars*) et ecclesiæ collegiatæ, et parochiæ australi versus orientem (*lie south-east parochin*) dictæ civitatis de Edinburgh et ministris de Halyroodhouse, Libertoun et Tranent, unicuique earundem personarum summam centum et viginti librarum usualis monetæ hujus regni nostri Scotiæ, præter stipendia quibus dicti ministri de Halyroodhouse, Libertoun, et Tranent, hactenus de prædicta abbacia de Halyroodhouse providentur, et quorum ipsi in præsentì possessione existunt: ET dictis ministris de Stirling, Falkirk, Linlithgow, Dalkeith, Haddingtoun, et Dunbar, unicuique eorum summam OCTOGINTA LIBRARUM monetæ prædict. annuatim ad duos anni terminos, festa, viz. Pentecostes et Sancti Martini in hyeme, per æquales portiones, de primis et promptioribus redditibus dicti Episcopatus, per nos, ut dictum est, eidem dedicatis, INCIPIENDO SOLUTIONEM primi termini eorundem ad festum Pentecostes proximum, et sic annuatim et terminatim postea omni tempore affuturo. ET ETIAM FACIENDO et PRÆSTANDO fidelis Episcopi officia IN VIGILANDO, et diligenter et fideliter ATTENDENDO ECCLESIIS dict. diocesis eorum curæ commissis, prout illi DEO, et NOBIS, et nostris successoribus desuper respondebunt. ET NOS, in verbo Principis, præsentem hanc erectionem et foundationem, in nostro proximo Parlamento fideliter ratificare promittimus. IN CUJUS REI TESTIMONIUM, huic præsentì chartæ nostræ magnum sigillum, nostrum apponi præcepimus TESTIBUS, &c., Apud Whytehall 29^o die Septembris, Anno Domini 1633, et anno regni nostro 9^o.

L.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FUNERAL OF THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.¹

A Relation of the true Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of Montrose, his Majesty's Lord High Commissioner, and Captain-General of his Forces in Scotland; with that of the renowned Knight, Sir William Hay of Delgity. Printed in the year 1661. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages.

God Almighty's justice, and revenge of murder, is so frequently recorded by many famous historians, that nothing shall be said here on that theme in general, lest I should grate on some, who, though subtle, have been surprised in their subtlety, while they divested themselves of Christian maxims, to raise themselves, through human policy, by the ruin of the most eminent; and yet that their promised stability hath been overturned, and their cut-out ways damped and overclouded with abysses and darkness. The bribals and returns of Providence of this nature, discovered in our late unnatural Civil War, are testimonies sufficient to convince and confound the most peremptory atheist of the Eternal and Immortal Deity, that will suffer no wickedness, under what specious pretences soever of reformation, or good cause, to pass unpunished. I shall not mention those ambitious spirits, who grounded their proper advancement by overthrowing religion and law; how, I say, some of those vagabonds are exposed to shame and deserved obloquy. But the Divine Providence teacheth us to make this difference, that, when virtue and loyalty have groaned and suffered under tyranny and oppression, in the end they have been crowned with fame and admiration, as our dread sovereign and noble parliament would have it witnessed in the celebration of the great Marquis of Montrose's funerals, in the highest and most magnificent grandeur, to counterbalance the height of malicious invention exercised on him to the full. The particulars of the honourable ceremonies will, in true and exquisite heraldry, display the several dignities he had, either as a peer of the land, or charged with his Majesty's service; so, in a proportionable manner, we shall shew the honour done to the memory of that renowned colonel, Sir William Hay of Delgity, who, suffering martyrdom with him in the same cause, ambitioned his funeral under the same infamous gibbet; prophetically, certainly, that he might participate with him the same honour at his first bodily resurrection. This his request was easily assented to by these monstrous leeches, whose greatest glory was to be drunk and riot in the blood of the most faithful subjects; nay, even some of those, whose profession should have preached mercy, belched out, That the good work went bonnily on, when the scaffold, or rather shambles, at the Cross of Edinburgh, for the space of six weeks, was daily smocking with the blood of the most valiant and loyal subjects. But we proceed to the funeral pomp, hoping that these glorious martyrs are praising and glorifying God, while we are amusing ourselves in this scantling transitory following description: From the Abbey-Church of Holy-Rood House, to that of St Giles in the High Town, the funeral pomp was as followeth:

Two conductors in mourning, with black staves.

Twenty-five poor in gowns and hoods; the first of which went alone next to the conductors, carrying a gumpheon; the other twenty-four following two and two, carrying the arms of the house on long staves.

An open trumpet, cloathed in a rich livery of the Marquis's colours, carrying his arms on his banner.

¹ Harleian Manuscripts, vol. vii. p. 283.

Sir Harry Grahame, in compleat armour on horseback, carrying on the point of a lance the colours of the house; this noble gentleman accompanied his Excellency in all his good and bad fortunes, both at home and abroad.

Servants of friends in mourning, two and two.

The great pincel, with his arms, carried by John Grahame of Douchrie, a renowned Highland Hector, and one who stuck peremptorily to the present Marquis of Montrose, in the last expedition under his Grace the Lord Commissioner; he is best known by the title of Tetrarch of Aberfoyl.

The great standard in colours, with his arms, carried by Thomas Grahame of Potento, a hopeful cadet, of the ancient family of Clarrisse.

An horse of war, with a great saddle and pistols, led by two lacquies in livery

The defunct's servants, two and two, in mourning.

An horse in state, with a rich foot-mantle, two lacquies in rich livery, and his parliament badges.

Four close trumpets in mourning, carrying the defunct's arms on their banners.

The great gumpheon of black taffety, carried on the point of a lance, by William Grahame the younger, of Duntrum, another sprightly cadet of the house of Clarrisse.

The great pincel of mourning, carried by George Grahame the younger, of Cairnie, who, from his first entry to manhood, accompanied his chief in the wars.

The defunct's friends, two and two, in mourning.

The great mourning banner, carried by George Grahame, of Inchbraky, the younger, whose youth-head only excused him from running the risques of his father.

The spurs, carried on the point of a lance, by Walter Grahame the elder, of Duntrum, a most honest royalist, and highly commended for his hospitality.

The gauntlets, carried by George Grahame, of Drums, on the point of a lance; a worthy person, well becoming his name.

The headpiece, by Mungo Grahame of Gorthy, on the point of a lance; whose father had some time the honour to carry his Majesty's standard under his Excellency. His great sufferings and forfeiture are enough to speak his actions and honesty.

The corslet, by George Grahame of Monzy, on the point of a lance; a brave young gentleman, whose father fell in his Majesty's service under the defunct.

A banner all in mourning, by John Grahame of Balgown, who likewise hazarded both life and fortune with his chief.

The Lord Provost, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of Edinburgh, two and two, all in deep mourning.

The burgesses, members of parliament, in mourning, two and two.

The barons, members of parliament, two and two, in mourning.

The nobles in mourning, two and two.

Next followed the eight branches first of the mother's side.

Halyburton, Lord Dirleton, carried by William Halyburton of Bittergask.

Douglas, Earl of Angus, by Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun, a most worthy person, and great sufferer for his constant adherence to his Majesty's interest.

Stuart, Lord Methuen, by Stuart, Sheriff of Bute. It is to no purpose to commend their loyalty, for there can be no doubt of it, when the relation of their predecessors to his Majesty's progenitors is considered.

Ruthven of Gowrie, by William Ruthven, Baron of Gairnes, a gentleman of clear repute and honesty, suitable to his noble and valiant cousin the Earl of Forth and Brandford.

Next, on the father's side.

Keith, Earl of Marshal, by Colonel George Keith, brother to the said earl, a noble gentleman, whose behaviour in his Majesty's service discovered him a worthy inheritor of his illustrious progenitors.

Fleming, Earl of Wigtoun, by Sir Robert Fleming, son to the said earl, a gallant soul, carved out for his king and country's service, as are all his family; witness his noble uncle, Sir William Fleming.

Drummond, Earl of Perth, by Sir James Drummond of Machinery, one whose fidelity to his king and country was never brought in question.

Grahame, Marquis of Montrose, by James Grahame, Baron of Orchel, whose life and fortune never caused him to scruple to advance the royal interest.

The arms of the defunct in mourning, by James Grahame of Bucklevy, son to the Baron of Fentry, a gentleman which nothing could ever startle from his Majesty's service; and that he was a favourite of the deceased, and accompanied his son in the late Highland War, is sufficient to speak his praises.

An horse in close mourning, led by two lacquies in mourning.

Four close trumpets in mourning, with the defunct's arms on their banners.

Six pursuivants in mourning, with their coats displayed, two and two.

Six heralds with their coats, as followeth:

The first carrying an antick shield with the defunct's arms on it.

The second carrying his crest.

The third his sword.

The fourth the target.

The fifth the scroll and motto.

The sixth his helmet.

Two secretaries, Mr William Ord and Mr Thomas Saintserf.

Then Dr Middleton and his chaplain.

His parliament robes, carried by James Grahame of Killern, a gentleman whose merit, as well as his birth, procured this noble employment.

The general's batton, by Robert Grahame, elder of Cairnie, a brave and bold gentleman, who, from the beginning of his chief's enterprises, never abandoned him, and one whose fortune endured all the mischiefs of fire and devastation.

The Order of the Garter by Patrick Grahame, Baron of Inchbraiky, elder, a person most eminent for his services upon all occasions, and the only companion of the defunct when he went first to Athole, and published his Majesty's commission.

The marquis's crown carried by Sir Robert Grahame of Morphy, younger, a noble person, no less renowned for his affection to royalty than for his kindness and hospitality amongst his neighbour gentry.

The purse, carried by David Grahame, Baron of Fentry. This noble gentleman's predecessor was the son of the Lord Grahame, then head of the house of Montrose, who, upon a second marriage of King James the First's sister, begot the first baron of Fentry, which in a male line hath continued to this baron; and, as their births were high, so their qualifications have, in every respect, been great, for, in all ages, since their rise, nothing unbecoming loyal subjects or persons of honour could be laid to their charge, and he who possesseth it now can claim as large a share as any of his ancestors.

Next before the corpse went Sir Alexander Durham, Lion King of Arms, with his Majesty's coat displayed, carrying in his hand the defunct's coat of honour.

The corpse was carried by fourteen earls—viz.:

The Earls of Mar, Morton, Eglington, Caithnes, Winton, Linlithgow, Hume, Tullibardine, Roxburgh, Seaforth, Kallender, Annandale, Dundee, and Aboyne.

The pale above the corpse was likewise sustained by twelve noblemen—viz. : The Viscount of Stormont, Arburthnot, Kingstone, the Lords Stranaver, Kilmaurs, Montgomery, Coldinghame, Fleming, Gask, Drumlanerick, Sinclair, and Macdonald.

Gentlemen appointed for relieving of those who carried the coffin under the pale.

Earls sons, Sir John Keith, knight marshal, Robert Gordon, Alexander Livingston, Sir David Ogilvie, the Barons of Pitcur, Powrie, Fotheringhame, Cromlis, Abercairny Ludwharne, Denholm, Mackintosh, Balmedie, Glorat, Cahoun, Braco, Craigie, Morphy, Bandoch elder and younger, and the ingenious Baron of Minorgan, and John Grahame of Creeky, who likewise accompanied the Lord Marquis in his travels in France and Italy.

Next to the corpse went the Marquis of Montrose and his brother, as chief mourners, in hoods and long robes, carried up by two pages, with a gentleman bareheaded on every side.

Next to him followed nine of the nearest in blood, three and three, in hoods and long robes, carried up by pages—viz :

The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Marshal, Wigtoun, Southask, Lords of Drummond, Matherti, Naper, Rollo, and Baron of Luz, nephew to the defunct.

Next to the deep mourners went my Lord Commissioner, his Grace, in an open coach and six horses, all in deep mourning; six gentlemen of quality on every side of the coach, in deep mourning, bareheaded.

As the good town of Edinburgh was never wanting to the celebration of loyal solemnities, so they appeared highly magnificent in this; for their trained bands, in gallant order, ranged both sides of the streets betwixt the two churches; and, as the corpse of the great Montrose was laying in the grave of his grandfather, who was Viceroy, they did nothing but fire excellent volleys of shot, which were answered with thundering of cannon from the castle; the same was done to the Baron of Delgity, as he was interring by his general's side. There were two things remarkable; the one, that, before the beginning of the solemnity, there was nothing but stormy rains; but the corpse no sooner came out, but fair weather, with the countenance of the sun, appeared, and continued till all was finished, and then the clouds returned to their frowns, and the storm begun afresh. The other, it was observed, that the friends of both the deceased had wedding countenances, and their enemies were howling in dark corners, like owls. Some say, that there was then a kind of collective body, or sort of spiritual judicatory in town, that would not be present at the funeral, lest the bones of both should bleed.

Never funeral pomp was celebrated with so great jollity, neither was it any wonder, since we now enjoy a king, laws, liberty, and religion, which was the only cause that the deceased did so bravely fight for; and who would not be good subjects, since there is so great honour paid to their memories, when we see traitors, for their villany, have their carcasses raised and hung upon gibbets, as was the late Cromwel and others? All that belonged to the body of this great hero was carefully recollected, only his heart, which two days after the murder, in spite of the traitors, was, by the conveyance of some adventurous spirits appointed by that noble and honourable lady the Lady Napier, taken out and embalmed in the most costly manner, by that skilful surgeon and apothecary Mr James Callender; then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the now Lord Marquis, who was then in Flanders.

The solemnities being ended, the Lord Commissioner, with the nobility and barons, had a most sumptuous supper and banquet at the Marquis of Montrose's house, with concerts of all sorts of musick.

M.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE DEAN OF GUILD OF
EDINBURGH REFERRING TO ST GILES.

- 1552-53. Item, ressaut fra Alexr. Heriot for the sele of his feu of Ravilstonxl*s*.
Item, I am to be chargit with Sanct Geles Arme on relik Sondag and Sanct Geles
day¹.....iijs. vijd.
- 1553-54. Item, gottin on Sanct Geles day and relict Sondag for Sanct Geles day, in fre
moneyvijs.

In this year there are payments for *Glassin-work* and *Paynting-work* in Our Lady Ile (aisle), St Gabriel's Aisle, St Thomas's Aisle ("callit Preston's Ile"²), St Katharen's Aisle, St Stephen's Aisle, St Ninian's Aisle. The following are also mentioned: St Salvator's Aisle, St John's Aisle, the Consistory Aisle, the Holy Blood Aisle, St Anthony's Aisle, Walter Chepman's Aisle. Much painting and gilding appears to have been done in the church about this time:

- Item, to Walter Binnyng for paynting of the four great arms, with the twa small
arms of the queir, with oly colouris and gold.....vi*i*.
- Item, for ane mess buke to the hie altar.....xxxiijs. iiij*d*.
- Item, to Johne Rynd for ane tye stoip for the watter to the mess.....xxijs.
- Item, for scouring of the brassin wark on Sanct Geillis day, and wattering and
soupping of the kirkiijs.
- 1554-55. Item, for paynting of Sanct Geill to Walter Binnyngvjs.
- 1555-56. Item, in primis, on the xij day of October to ane workman for hadder to burne
Ingliche buiks on the mercat crocexviij*d*.
- 1556-57. I am to be chargit with money allowit and ressaut for certane of the brassin
pillaris.
Item, resaut fra Andro Murray of Blakharrony for onputting of his armis upoun
the pillar.....iiij*i*b.
- Item, for my awin pillar ye quhilk I put on my arnes³.....iiij*i*b.
- Item, in Walter Chepman's aisle,⁴ Till ane heid pannell contenand vj new glass,
the fut xviiij*d*., summaix*s*.
- Item, for ane pair of bands to the Quenis stalliijs.

After the Reformation in 1559-60, the first entries in the Dean of Guild's accounts (from May to Michaelmas 1560) consist of details of the prices received for the jewels, and gold and silver work of the church. Amongst other entries is the following:

1560. Item, the compter chairgis him with ane dyamint stone quhilk was in the
ring on the finger of the foresaid arme of St Geill, sauld to Michael Gilbert
forix*l*. vjs. viij*d*.

¹ St Giles' day, the 1st of September.

² This in reference to the donor of the arm-bone.

³ The Dean of Guild was James Carmichael.

⁴ This has reference to Walter Chepman, the first printer in Scotland, about 1500-28.

In the discharge are minute details respecting the repairing and *cleansing* of the kirk under the general head of :

THE MONEY DEBURSIT UPON THE WARK AND WARKMEN OF THE KIRK.

The first item is :

Item, in primis, to ten warkmen qha wroucht be the space of nyne days for takin doun of the hail altars of the kirk, the rude loft, for bering of the red and stanes thereof awayxl*lib.* xv*s.*

Masons, wrights, and *spairgearis* (or whitewashers) were paid weekly wages, and all the necessary furnishings for their work were provided :

Chalk for whitewashing, upwards of 600 stones, a mast from Leith with cradle and pulleys, besoms, and pikes for handles.

The kirk was apparently thoroughly gutted and whitewashed. The work continued down to June 1561.

1560-61. In neither of the accounts (1560 and 1560-61) is there any special mention of the building of division walls within the church. Indeed, for a considerable number of years after the Reformation the church is mentioned as *one*. There are frequent notices of *the Lofts*.

The names of many of the aisles continue after the Reformation—such as St Anthony's Aisle, Wat Chepman's Aisle, Holy Blood Aisle, St Thomas's Aisle, and St John's Aisle. There was also the Guild Brither Aisle; but this may have been a new name for one of the old Aisles.

1562-63. In this year the Queir (choir) is tirmed and reslated. This was the principal part of the church, afterwards called the *New Church*, and in 1867 the High Church.

1563-64. Sanct Thomas's Ile new theiket.

1564-65. The Expenssis of the tiling of the pillar of the Loft quhair the Lordis sittis. The Expenssis maid upon the Kingis Grace¹ Saitt making, anno 1565.

The details of these expenses occupy three pages of the accounts, and extend over the period from July to September.

In the same year the Council's *Stall* in the church is mentioned.

1565-66. Again, this year, as follows in :

Item, the last day of October 1565, given to David Duncane, smyth, for four keyis quhilke he maid to the lok of the dur of the stall quhair the provest, baillies, counsell, sits at prechingv*js.* vii*jd.*

In January following (1565-66) David Duncan is paid 17*s.* 6*d.* for a fine lock and sax keys to the west door of the Council's Stall.

1567-68. Item, the samyn day (14th December 1567) given to George Johnstoun, for an greit wax candill to set befor my Lord the Erle of Bedfurde, Ambassador of Ingland, beaud heir sone in the mornynge at the sermondii*js.*

1577-79. Item, for ane new key to the Lord's Lofti*js.*

In the accounts of these years there are details as to mason and wright works, and other expenses on *The Kirk*, extending over fifteen pages, and amounting to almost £700 Scots. Stones appear to have been quarried both in the Greyfriars' Yard and in the Burgh Muir. The works were chiefly in the *New Kirk*—the church in the choir, which has always been the chief church. Some of the entries follow :

Item, payit to John Gordoun, wricht, for his first wark in the first Loft, for himself and his servandis as his compt beirsx*li.*

Mar. 1578-79. Item, boucht xij eistland burdis to baith the Loftis and Durris, ilk pece xxij*s.* isxii*j* *li.* iii*js.*

¹ Mary was married to Darnley, 29th July 1565, on whom she conferred the title of king.

- Aug. 1579. Item, payed to Mungo and Robert Tailfeirs for bigging of the twa Ilis (aisles) and breking of the wall, at the command of William Littill, Andro Sclatter, and Alexr. Uddartxiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.
 Item, for spargeing of the new wark at the eist end of the kirk, to the Spargenerisvj*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*.
- Sept. 1579. Item, for spargeing of the west end of the kirk and Ilis, to the spargeneris payedls.
 Item, for dichting, wesching, and swopping of the hail kirkxxxs.
 Item, to thre warkmen for delving, ridding, and of making of the kirk fluir, thair wagis the space of acht dayis.....x*ls*.
 Item, to James Yuill, gardner, for raiiking and making of the kirk flure¹.....xvjs.
 Item, to John Gordoun and his twa servandis, for the east loft making at the kirk dur as his compt beris.....xxiiij*li*. viijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, to Thomas Smith for naillis to the Lofts and Durris.....xliijs. vj*d*.
 Item, for rasches and bent to the New Kirk at the Assemblie².....x*js*.
- 1580-81. The Comptaris discharge of the expenssis maid in repairing of the New Kirk with Theik, and poynting of the hail kirk.
 Item, mair coft fra the said David iij geistis of xxij futtis long ilk ane of thame, with uther thre geistis of xxiiij futtis ilk ane of thame, to be follis and lyntallis to the galleries at xxxs. the pece or head, summa is.....ix*li*b.
 Item, apoyntit with Thomas Wood, wrycht, at Counsalleis command, to mak ane lang gallere diverss the kirk with the North Gallere, and the saittis to the samyn, with the saittis under the twa gallereis for the sowme of...iijxx. vj*li*b. xiijs. iiij*d*.
 Item, mair apoyntit with the said Thomas Wood for the making of the lytill Loft quhair the provest sait is, with the staiges about and under the gallereis, and the saittis about the twa pilleris for the bairnis that anseris to the Catecheiss, and making of the pulpitt with the lettoun and saitts about the same, prycexxiiij*li*b. vjs. viij*d*.
 Item, gevin be apoyntment to the masounis for thre ruid of the payment in the New Kirk, twentie poundis money, quhilk wes sex ruidis seven ellis half ell; summa is.....j*e*. xxxiiij*li*b. vijs.
- 1589-90. Item, to Johne Warkman, paynter, for paynting the King's Majesty's Loft, and sindrie extraordinar thinges be him in the Kirk, be precept the last day of September 1590.....xiiij*li*.

The Compter discharges himself with the expenssis maid in the Easter Kirk, in making the Skelfe athort the hail Lofts thairof, heich and laich, in rasing the poupet of the samin, making off sindrie saitts in the Wesher Kirk, and for certane uther turnes done [in] bayth the saidis kirkis, as followis :

These expenses occupy seven pages of the accounts.

The Compter discharges himself with the expenssis maid in graithing the hie Kirk, in wesching, paynting, spargenyng, and in tymber and warkmanschip to the scaffolding thairof, with the expenssis maid thairin, att the entreis of the Queenes Majestie,³ and in reparing sindrie pairtis off the Kirk ruiff as followis; done be ordnance off Council the xxvij^o of Merche, Anno 1590.

¹ These expenses appear to have been preparatory to the holding of the parliament in Edinburgh (October 1579), whither the young King James was brought. He then made his public entry into the capital.

² There does not appear to have been pavement in the church at this time.

³ Anne of Denmark, James's consort.

These expenses extend over fifteen or sixteen pages of the accounts, and over several weeks, each week's expenses being separately detailed. The entries contain the most minute and interesting matter. Some of the entries are here transcribed :

Item, upone the xxj° Apryle payit for ane disjune to James M' Ay the Kingis Majestis Maister Wrycht, and Richart Tod and our awin wrychtis efter thair opinioune tane anent the skaffolding.xxij^s.
 Item, upone the xvij° Maij, for flouris and strewing to cast athort the lofts, saitts, and stalls, and kirk fluir aspecting Her Majesties entres.....xxx^s.
 7 Oulk.—Item, upone Monunday the xvijj° May, being the day befor her Majesties entres, and thairfoir enterit wrychts and warkmen to the making of the saitt prepared for her Majestie in the Scollers' Loft, and to that effect thair wrocht Monunday all day, Monunday all nyt, and Tysday, quhilk is thre dayes, payit to thame as followis :—To Nicol Gilmuir, wricht.....xx^s.

(And then follow names of other workmen.)

Item, upon Tysday the xix day off May, and the samin day off her Majesties entres, for xxj faldum of tows to hyng the pail above the Queen's Majesties heid in the Scollers' Loft.....xx^s.
 Item, the foirsaid day of his Majesties entres, payit for the Kingis Master of Wark dispune, and the tapestriers in the Yle (aisle) of the kirk at the hynging of the Tapestrie.....xx^s.
 Item, for the men's disjunes that hang the tapestrie.....xs.
 Item, for twa quarts of wyne and four mainshotts¹ that wer brocht into the yle of the kirk for the strangeris giff it had bene requyrit for thame to drink; and thairefter druken with the maister of wark, the tapestriers, and utheris of the kingis servands.....xxvj^s.
 Item, for ane galloun of aill and breid tane up to the stepill to the ministers and wrytters.....vj^s. viij^d.
 Item, to Thomas Bynning, paynter, for paynting and graything the king and quenes armes to hyng in the Scollers' Loft.....xs.
 Item, ij^{ub} of rosset to burne in the kirk.....ijs. viij^d.
 Item, for xij burdene of gerss to cast athort the kirk.....xxx^s.
 Item, for flouris and strowing to the samyn.....xs.

1594-95. Item, for ane burding of flouris to the Kingis Loft at that tyme quhan the quene come up to the kirk quhen the Laird of Blakbarronies dochter wes mareit²vs.

1614-15. In this year a very large sum (about £8800 Scots) was spent on the repair of the roof of St Giles' Church. The details fill sixty pages of the accounts.

1616-17. The compters expenssis debursit in making ane seatt to my Lady Clark Register, with ane loft to my Lord Bischoppis.

Details occupy three pages.

The comptis of the expenssis debursit in reforming of the Kingis Majesties Loft, the pulpit, doune taking the bischoppis Loft, the Lords of Session entre, and the trap, and reforming the haill entrie of the ald kirk for his Majesties coming to his Loft.

Details extend over six pages. Follow some of the entries :

Item, the — day of May 1617, to Edward Kyncaid debursit be him to thame, rang the bellis the xij day of Maij,³ and in chairges leirning them before the day.....xijj^{ib}.

¹ Manchetts = fine kind of bread.

² It will be noted that the Laird of Blackbarronie had his coat of arms put up in the kirk before the Reformation.

³ King James's entry in 1617.

1617. Item, to Jonet Cur for aucht scheitts of flouris to the kirk the day of his majesties entrie.....iij*li.* v*js.* viij*d.*
 Item, to hir for flouris furnisht to the kirk fra Sunday the xxiiij day of Maij till Sunday the — day of —.....iij*li.* x*s.*
 Item, to Edward Kyncaid for ringing the bells the nyntene day of Junij 1617¹.....iij*li.* xv*js.*

From the accounts of this year (1616–17) it appears that the globe and cock on the top of the steeple were renewed, dressed, and regilt; and that throughout the roof—on the various turrets—no less than thirty thames (vanes) were put up.

1639–40. From special accounts of the costs of building and repairing churches, the following notes are taken :

John Admestone his accomptis of building the mid-wall of St Geill's kirk and repairing the seatts in the same, anno 1639 and 1640.

Chairge 1639.

The comptur, John Admestone, appoynted be the provest, baillies, and counsell of Edinburgh, for the building of the mid-wall betwixt the mid kirk and the eist end of St Jeills, repairing the windows, building the assemblie seatts, with uther necessars belanging thairto.

The expenditure in this account is £2327, 12*s.* 4*d.* Scots.

In 1640 John Admestone expends £5008, 15*s.* 5*d.* Scots in building “dasks and seatts of the east end of St Jeills with all necessars belanging thairto.”

The *Throne* is mentioned in the account (1639) in connection with the alterations, and John Salvoy, painter, gets £132, 13*s.* 4*d.* “for painting the King's Loft and assemblie seatts.”

1745–46. The earliest rental extant of the seats in the High Church is for the year 1745–46.

In the galleries there were free seats set apart for the following :

The Lord High Admiral, 1 pew, = 24 sittings.	Magistrates and Council, 4 pews.
Lord High Constable, 2 pews, = 24 sittings.	Macers of Session, 1 pew.
City Drums, 1 pew, = 4 sittings.	City Guard, 4 pews.
Barons of Exchequer, 1 pew, = 24 sittings.	Lords of Session and servants, 4 pews.
The King's Seat.	

EXCERPT FROM ACCOUNT paid to Patrick Jameson, Mason, on 6th December 1759.

1758. August. To taking down all the building within the outer arch of the south door of the Tolbooth Church, carting away the rubbish, and furnishing and laying all the steps without the door and two flats within, and building a stone wall at ye west end of the stair, v estimate given in..... £5 10 0

EXCERPT FROM ACCOUNT paid to James Craig, Architect, on 3d August 1781.

1780. Nov. 20. To making a design of the king's seat for the New Church in the Goth. stile, 4 Goth. columns supporting a circular dome, upon the top 3 angels, emblematical of Eng., Scot., and Ireland support^r the imperial crown, holding in their hands the scepter, &c. Above the front columns figures of Britannia and Neptune, w^t a design for the ceiling, the sun in the center, round the inside freeze the 12 signs of the year, 4 figures in the corners representing spring, &c., kings arms, &c.....£21 0 0

¹ This was the anniversary of the king's birthday. James was born 19th June 1566.

COPY OF ACCOUNT paid to Robert Burns, for Mason-work at Haddo's Hole Church, as in Copy Book of Accounts for the year 1796-97, page 212.¹

ROBERT BURNS.—MASON-WORK, HADDO'S HOLE.

		£	s.	d.
1796.				
Dec. 27.	408 days of a mason in summer at 2/6.....	51	0	0
	220 do. do. in winter at 2/.....	22	0	0
	66 days of a labourer in summer at 1/8.....	5	10	0
	18½ do. do. in winter at 1/6.....	1	7	9
	6 days of a cart taking away rubish at 3/9.....	1	2	6
	482 feet Gothick moulded rybets at 1/.....	24	2	0
	136 feet ashler in new door, fitting up old doors, and under-building pillars in front of kirk at 9d.....	5	2	0
	204 feet droved soles and sides of great windows at 8d.....	6	16	0
	1 rood 2 yards rubble in building up old doors.....	6	17	3
	85 feet 3 moulded cope, west stair, at 1/.....	4	5	3
	18 feet scribed work in arch, front door at 4d., over 2d.....	0	6	2
	121 bags prepared lime for do. at 2/1.....	12	12	1
1797.				
March 16.	610 yards reping out joints, cleaning and pointing with tarrus the front and west gable, at 8d.....	20	6	8
	610 yards of whitening over the whole, with lime and strong sand at 2d.....	5	1	8
	12 feet, 6 polished jambs and lintles in Session House at 1/.....	0	12	6
	24 feet, 6 droved moulded Gothick window at 1/.....	1	4	6
	4 yards rubble under joists, Session House, at 3/6.....	0	14	0
	4 yards 2 feet brick in bed, old porch, at 1/9.....	0	7	0
	15 feet, 1 droved step for Glover's shop, at 10d.....	0	12	6½
	92 feet droved pavement in old porch, at 8d.....	3	1	4
		£173	1	2½
	Overcalculated.....	0	0	2
		£173	1	0½
	Deduct, for moulded cope, west stair, which fell to Messrs Hamilton to execute.....	£4	5	3
	Do. as not properly vouched the foll ^r articles:			
	610 yards repping out joints, cleaning and pointing the front W. gable.....	20	6	8
	610 yards whitening over the whole.....	5	1	8
		29	13	7
		£143	7	5½

Audited 12th September 1797.

1828-34. NOTE AS TO EXPENDITURE ON ST GILES' CHURCH in the years 1828 to 1834 for exterior and interior Improvements.²

The whole expenditure amounted to	£20,939	0	6
Towards which Government gave.....	£12,600	0	0
Drawback of duties on timber and glass was obtained to the extent of	797	12	1
And there was realised by the sale of old lustres.....	34	12	0
Deduct.....	13,432	4	1
Leaving.....	£7,506	16	5

the net charge on city's funds.

¹ At this time the Norman doorway was probably destroyed.

² This refers to the "restoration" by Mr Burn, architect.

N.

AGREEMENT APPOINTING MANAGING BOARD OF ST GILES'
CATHEDRAL, 10TH, 11TH, AND 14TH DECEMBER 1880.

We, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the minister and Kirk-Session of the High Kirk, Edinburgh, considering that by the Act twenty-three and twenty-four Victoria, chapter 50, and subsequent Acts amending or altering the same, we, the Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, were vested with the custody and administration of the city churches: And farther, considering that by the Act forty-two and forty-three Victoria, chapter two hundred and twenty-one, it was enacted, with a view to a proposal for the complete restoration of the ancient church of St Giles, that on the sum of Ten thousand five hundred pounds being paid to us, the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners (with Ten thousand pounds of which sum a new church is to be erected in terms of the provisions of said Act), the church commonly known as West St Giles should be vacated by the congregation presently worshipping therein, and should thereafter be incorporated with and form part of the High Kirk, all as stated in the said Act: And farther, considering that we, the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, have been asked to give our consent that when the foresaid restoration is effected, the portion of the building presently occupied by the congregation of West St Giles, along with the parts already restored, should be placed under the charge of a Committee of management with the powers after mentioned, but difficulties have arisen in regard to our power to delegate our statutory duties by giving such consent; And farther, considering that in view of the said difficulties, it has been arranged among the whole parties hereto, and also with Dr Chambers, at whose expense the proposed restoration is to be effected, that the consent asked should be given only in so far as the said Commissioners have power to give it, and without prejudice to the provisions of the different statutes above referred to: Therefore we, the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in so far as we have power to do so, and without prejudice to the provisions of the said statutes, hereby consent and agree, along with the other parties hereto, to the appointment, so soon as the said restoration is effected, of the following Committee for the management of the foresaid portion of the said building, *videlicet*, the Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh for the time being, the Lord Justice-General for the time being, the minister of the High Kirk for the time being, Dr William Chambers of Glenormiston, and failing him, his nephew, Mr Robert Chambers, publisher, Edinburgh, Robert Herdman, Esquire, Royal Scottish Academician, and failing him, a member to be appointed by the Royal Scottish Academy, and a member to be appointed by the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and that this Committee shall have powers—(*First*) To make regulations as to the admission of visitors to the said building on week days, except on occasions when service is to be performed in the church; (*Second*) To control and regulate the erection of monuments therein, and to fix the conditions on which said monuments are to be allowed, also to regulate and control the introduction of coloured glass windows; (*Third*) To appoint the requisite officials for and to regulate the cleaning, lighting, and heating of the portions of the said building other than those at present used for service by the High Kirk congregation; (*Fourth*) To apply any moneys derived from permission to erect monuments or windows or the admission of the public, towards improvements on the interior of the building, and cleaning, lighting, and heating the portions of the same other than those at present used for service as aforesaid, improving or providing of new a peal of bells in the belfry of the High Kirk, and all other expenses of every kind connected with said portions

of the building other than the portion at present used for service as aforesaid, of all which expenses the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners are to be expressly relieved by the said Committee, with the exception of the expense of maintaining the fabric thereof, especially laid upon them by the said Statute forty-two and forty-three Victoria, chapter two hundred and twenty-one, and in respect of which maintenance they are to receive under said Statute a sum of £500; (*Fifth*) That the right to ring the bells in the belfry, whether as they now are, or when renewed, at such times as may be necessary for public worship, shall be expressly reserved from the control of the said Committee, and that nothing herein contained shall in anywise affect or prejudice the rights of property of the said Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council in the said church of St Giles, or the rights of custody and administration of the said High Kirk, or the transepts thereof, or the entrances thereof, all as presently vested in the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the rights of the minister and Kirk-Session to have services in the church at such times as they may deem expedient: In witness whereof these presents, written on this and the preceding page of stamped paper by Henry Francis M'Bean, clerk to Lindsay Mackersy, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, are subscribed (in triplicate) at Edinburgh as follows, *videlicet*, by the Reverend James Cameron Lees, Doctor of Divinity, for himself and as Moderator of the Kirk-Session of the High Kirk, and the said Lindsay Mackersy, Clerk to the said Session, and both as duly authorised and empowered by minute of Session, of date twenty-eighth November 1880, to sign these presents on behalf of the Session, the tenth day of December 1880, before these witnesses, Thomas Daniel Stewart, apprentice to the said Lindsay Mackersy, and the said Henry Francis M'Bean; by the Right Honourable Thomas Jamieson Boyd, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and William Skinner, Writer to the Signet, Town Clerk of Edinburgh, in name and by authority of the Magistrates and remanent members of Council, as follows: by the said Thomas Jamieson Boyd, the 11th Day of December and year last mentioned, before these witnesses, William Smith, clerk to Messrs Oliver and Boyd, Publishers, Edinburgh, and David William Walker, clerk to the said William Skinner; and by the said William Skinner, the said 11th day of December and year last mentioned, before the witnesses, John Wotherspoon, clerk to the said William Skinner, and the said David William Walker; and by the Reverend James Grant, Doctor of Divinity, as Chairman, and by John Gillespie, Writer to the Signet, as Secretary to the said Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and duly authorised and empowered by Minute of said Commissioners, of date the twenty-sixth day of November 1880, to sign those presents on their behalf, the fourteenth day of December and year last mentioned, before these witnesses, John Richardson and Robertson Barclay Gordon, both Clerks to Messieurs Gillespie and Paterson, Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh.

Willm. Smith, *witness*.
D. W. Walker, *witness*.

Jn. Wotherspoon, *witness*.
D. W. Walker, *witness*.

John Richardson, *witness*.
R. Barclay Gordon, *witness*.

Thos. D. Stewart, *witness*.
H. F. M'Bean, *witness*.

THOMAS J. BOYD, *Lord Provost*.

WM. SKINNER, *Town Clerk*.

JAMES GRANT, *Chairman, Eccl. Comr.*
JOHN GILLESPIE, *Secy. Eccl. Comr.*

J. CAMERON LEES, D.D.
LINDSAY MACKERSY.

O.

SERVICE IN ST GILES' CATHEDRAL
UPON THE REOPENING OF THE CHURCH AFTER ITS RESTORATION BY
WILLIAM CHAMBERS, LL.D., OF GLENORMISTON.

Wednesday, 23d May 1883.

PRESENT—HIS GRACE THE LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER
to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,
by Her Majesty's Special Command.

The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh.
The Lord Justice-General and the Senators of the College of Justice.
The University of Edinburgh.
The Moderator of the General Assembly and the Clergy.
The Dean and Faculty of Advocates.
The Sheriff of the Lothians and his Substitutes.
The Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
The Principal Clerks of Session and Justiciary.
The Deputy Keeper and Society of Writers to the Signet.
The Preses and Society of Solicitors before the Supreme Courts.
The Royal College of Surgeons.
The Royal College of Physicians.
The General in Command and the North British Staff.
The Master and Office-Bearers of the Merchant Company.
The Royal Scottish Academy.
The Society of Antiquaries.
The Convener and Deacons of the Trades.
The Moderator and Office-Bearers of the High Constables of Edinburgh.
The Office-Bearers of the Chamber of Commerce.
&c. &c. &c.

VOLUNTARY { *Pastoral in F.* KULLAK.
 { *Andante* HAYDN.

PSALM C.

Old Hundredth.

ALL people that on earth do dwell
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice.
Him serve with mirth, His praise forth tell,
Come ye before Him and rejoice.

Know that the Lord is God indeed;
Without our aid He did us make;
We are His flock, He doth us feed,
And for His sheep He doth us take.

O enter then His gates with praise,
Approach with joy His courts unto;
Praise, laud, and bless His name always,
For it is seemly so to do.

For why? the Lord our God is good,
His mercy is for ever sure;
His truth at all times firmly stood,
And shall from age to age endure.

PRAYER.

PSALM XXIV.*St George's, Edinburgh.*

YE gates, lift up your heads on high ;
 Ye doors that last for aye,
 Be lifted up, that so the King
 Of glory enter may.

But who of glory is the King?
 The mighty Lord is this ;
 Ev'n that same Lord, that great in might,
 And strong in battle is.

Ye gates, lift up your heads ; ye doors,
 Doors that do last for aye,
 Be lifted up, that so the King
 Of glory enter may.

But who is he that is the King
 Of glory ? who is this ?
 The Lord of hosts, and none but He,
 The King of glory is. HALLELUJAH.

AMEN.

SCRIPTURE.

2 Chronicles VI., 12th to 42d verses.

TE DEUM.*Jackson.*

WE praise Thee, O God ; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.
 All the earth doth worship Thee ; the Father everlasting.
 To Thee all angels cry aloud ; the heavens and all the Powers therein.
 To Thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry,
 Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.
 Heav'n and earth are full of the Majesty of Thy glory.
 The glorious company of the Apostles praise Thee.
 The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise Thee.
 The noble army of Martyrs praise Thee.
 The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge Thee.
 The Father of an infinite Majesty ;
 Thine honourable, true, and only Son ;
 Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.
 Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ.
 Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.
 When Thou took'st upon Thee to deliver man,
 Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
 When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the Kingdom of
 Heaven to all believers.
 Thou sittest at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father.
 We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge.
 We therefore pray Thee, help Thy servants whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious
 blood.
 Make them to be numbered with Thy saints in glory everlasting.
 O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine heritage.
 Govern them, and lift them up for ever.
 Day by day we magnify Thee ;
 And we worship Thy name ever world without end.
 Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
 O Lord, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us.
 O Lord, let Thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust is in Thee.
 O Lord, in Thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded.

SCRIPTURE.

St Luke's Gospel XIX., 37th to 48th verses.

PRAYER.

HYMN.

"Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner stone, elect, precious."

Oriel.

CHRIST is made the sure foundation,
Christ the head and corner stone,
Chosen of the Lord, and precious,
Binding all the church in one,
Holy Zion's help for ever,
And her confidence alone.

All that dedicated city,
Dearly loved of God on high,
In exultant jubilation
Pours perpetual melody,
God, the one in three, adoring
In glad hymns eternally.

To this temple when we call Thee,
Come, O Lord of Hosts, to-day ;
With Thy wonted loving-kindness
Hear Thy servants as they pray,
And Thy fullest benediction
Shed within its walls away.

Here vouchsafe to all Thy servants
What they ask of Thee to gain,
What they gain from Thee for ever
With the blessed to retain,
And hereafter in Thy glory
Evermore with Thee to reign.

Praise and honour to the Father,
Praise and honour to the Son,
Praise and honour to the Spirit,
Ever three and ever one—
One in might, and one in glory,
While eternal ages run. AMEN.

PRAYER.

ALMIGHTY GOD, our Heavenly Father, who hast promised that in all places where Thou dost record Thy name Thou wilt meet with Thy people to bless them, grant, we beseech Thee, that Thy rich blessing may rest upon this church now opened for the worship of Thy holy name. Accept the work of Thy servants' hands. May this house be the House of God. Here may Thy true Word be preached, and Thy holy Sacraments faithfully administered. Here may men be fed with the Bread of Life, and the weary and heavy laden find rest. And when we have served Thee humbly in our day and generation, may others enter into our labours, seeking to extend the blessed kingdom of Thy Son in this world—working and waiting until He come again. Grant this, O Lord, for His sake.

OUR Father which art in heaven. Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever. AMEN.

SERMON BY THE REV. JAMES CAMERON LEES, D.D.,

Minister of St Giles, and one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland.

"What mean these stones?"—JOSHUA, IV. 21.

THIS is a question which Hebrew children were sure to ask of their fathers, as they saw twelve isolated stones standing by themselves, on the upper terrace of the Jordan Valley, and their fathers were charged to have the reply ready—"Then shall ye let your children know, saying, 'Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. For the Lord your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, that ye might fear the Lord your God for ever.'" They were to cherish carefully as a sacred tradition the occasion on which those stones were placed. They were the monument of a great episode in their nation's history, a memorial of God's mercy to their forefathers in an hour of bitter need. They kept alive in all who looked at their weather-beaten forms the sentiment of patriotism and religion. They were to be to the children of Israel to latest generations, what the lone cairn on some Highland moorland was

meant to be to clans that have passed away; what the Pilgrim rock is to the great American people, who regard it with deep affection; what these massive pillars and overhanging arches ought to be to us—a strong and sacred link binding them to the past.

As we look around us, my brethren, with admiration to-day upon the work which has been accomplished here, as we listen to the sweet sounds that sweep and swell through the long-drawn aisles, let us listen also to the voices—the spiritual voices of this great historical building—voices that echo on every side for those that have ears to hear them—voices that should stir to their inmost depths every Scottish, certainly every Christian, heart.

“WHAT MEAN THESE STONES?” They mean the story of our National Life, of our progress from barbarism and ignorance to the light and civilisation of to-day. Probably the place where this church stands was the site of a heathen temple; still more probably it was the site of a Celtic church. Such in Scotland generally preceded the Roman foundation. But from the day when, by the Norman Bishop of St Andrews,¹ it was dedicated to St Giles, and rose proudly amid the thatched huts that crowned the ridge on which the Scottish capital is built, it became like the self-registering pillar by the waters of the Nile—every rising and receding wave of history left on it its traces. English invaders burnt it to the ground, and the marks of their fire are still traceable. The beginning of the mercantile prosperity which has never left Scotland showed itself in the erection of chapels and altars. The shields of successive Stuart kings and their ministers adorn the walls within which they were constant worshippers. After Flodden, when “the flowers o’ the forest were a’ wede awa,” these aisles were crowded with women and aged men, whose friends lay dead upon the battlefield, “praying for the national weal.” The rise of Scottish literature is closely linked also with St Giles. Gawin Douglas was provost of the church when “he gave to Scotland Virgil’s page.” Chepman, the first Scottish printer, was closely connected with it in life, and the aisle where he was buried still remains, and is called after his name.

Here we naturally recall the chief figures of Scotland’s most eventful and tragic years. This church shares with the palace of Holyrood in their memories—Knox thundering from the pulpit; Darnley fuming in the pew; Kirkcaldy of Grange garrisoning the place as a fort with his followers; the French soldiers interrupting the service; the good Regent borne to his rest amid a sorrowing throng. Here King James took farewell of his subjects when going to ascend the English throne. Here came often his son in all his pomp, and here, by his folly, he provoked that famous tumult, which not only suppressed the English Liturgy until the nineteenth century, but gave an impulse to the Civil War of England, which ended in the overthrow alike of church and monarchy. Then come Cromwell’s Ironsides, and break down the royal pew and hang the crown upon the gallows. Again monarchy is restored. The scattered limbs of the gallant Montrose are gathered reverently together, and placed in this church amid military pomp. The head of Argyll grins ghastly upon its gable. The Revolution Settlement, by which were inaugurated the peaceful times in which we are living, was in great measure the work of the ecclesiastical statesman Carstairs, who was minister of St Giles.

Even this necessarily rapid sketch shows how closely this place is associated with our national history. To some—I trust to none here—such associations may be of little value. It was the foolish spirit of the first French Revolution to break with the past. The result we know. The past could not be broken with, and as it has been well said, “Those who applauded Robespierre lived to be ecstatic about Chateaubriand.” The past is so mighty an element in a nation’s greatness, that all wise men seek to preserve it. They teach history to their children; they observe anniversaries; they preserve carefully ancient monuments. And when our kinsmen from America visit us—if they envy us in anything—it is the inspiring and solemnising influence of such great historic buildings as this. There may be those also to whom memories of Scotland, as an independent kingdom, count for nothing, who are content to forget their nationality, and consider themselves rather as English than Scottish. Such are equally foolish, for as a man is shorn of his manhood when he loses his individuality, so a people lose some of their best features and most powerful functions when they are forgetful of their nationality, when they lose sight of their great traditions.

¹ David De Bernham, 6th October 1243.

Well then is it, that in the heart of Scotland's capital there stands this church; the *genius loci* of which is the spirit of the past, telling us of our National Life, telling us that we have a history to remember, that we have institutions to guard which are specially our own.

"WHAT MEAN THESE STONES?" They mean the story of our country's faith. It is as the place where men have worshipped that this church derives its chief interest. That is what gives interest alike to the standing stones, the roofless, floorless house of God among the rocks; to the rude chapel of an island in the Hebrides, and to a magnificent cathedral. Strange rites may have been ministered there; strange superstitions have had their dwelling there; but there earth and heaven have come together, and man has met with God, and the place is "holy ground." Every form of faith and worship that Scotland has seen has probably been here. The religion, perhaps, of heathendom, in which, though God was grossly conceived, He was as real to the worshipper as the altar before which he bowed, or the stars that watched the rite. Perhaps here the Celtic missionary from Lindisfarne led his service, for there was a connection between Edinburgh and Lindisfarne. Here, certainly, throughout centuries, the Church of Rome celebrated her ritual, first in the less ornate worship of a parish church, afterwards in the more elaborate pomp of a collegiate foundation. Then came the changes which we all know. First, the Prayer-book of King Edward VI.; then the *Book of Common Order*; then, for a brief moment, the foreign enforced "Service-book;" then the worship of the Westminster Directory; then English Independents take possession, and soldiers preach with pistols by their side; then come the forms which are being gradually modified; and so we come to the service of the present hour—Roman Prelate, Priest, Presbyter, Anglican Bishop, Covenanter, Independent, Sectary, Minister—they have all been here. These arches have echoed to their changing voices—

Age to age succeeds,
Blowing a noise of tongues and deeds,
A dust of systems and of creeds.

The long-drawn sounds of the music that fade gradually away, amidst the distant aisles and chapels and corners of the building, are but emblems of other and deeper sounds, uttered here by the passing ages, dying out one after another as generations come and go.

Is there not something solemnising in these religious associations; something—and we need it sadly at the present hour—to lead our thoughts above the strife of party, to that peace which is beyond these voices; to make this place for Scotsmen what Westminster Abbey, for similar reasons, has been called—the temple of silence and of reconciliation? And is there not something to teach us as well? If there has been change, accompanied by great upheavals, there has been continuity. Apart from continuity in any corporate form, to which men will attach varying importance, there has been an element of life, which has not perished even in the most violent changes, a natural piety like that which Wordsworth desired should bind his days together—his ripened manhood with his youth—a living, enduring personality beneath varied forms. As governments are born, grow old and die, but government remains, so religions are born, grow old and die, but religion remains: to borrow the simile of the English historian,¹ the tree has been often cut down, but it has grown again, though when the buds burst, the colour of the foliage is changed. The Church is heir of her past; and of that heritage, with its stirring memories, its warnings, its encouragements, its inspirations, this place is calculated to remind us.

"WHAT MEAN THESE STONES?" They mean the relation of beauty to religion and to worship. There are three aspects of the ideal of infinite perfection—the good, the true, and the beautiful, and these three cannot be disjoined one from the other. What is true must be good. What is good must be true. What is good and true should be beautiful. Attempts have been made in the history of religion to cut off beauty from her sisters. Superstition has done so, in seeking to have all the grace of sensuous worship apart from the habits of truth, apart from worthiness of life. The attempt has been made also from an opposite quarter, when goodness and truth have been presented in their shabbiest garments and their roughest aspects, and the few outward forms religion needs made as plain and unlovely as possible. Of the two extremes

¹ Froude.

the latter is certainly the preferable—it puts the vital elements of truth and goodness first—rather than the former, which puts them last; but both extremes, like all other extremes, are to be avoided by sensible men. Of both extremes this place speaks to us. There has been beauty here when corruption and iniquity were rampant in the land. There has been earnestness and zeal for God here, when dirt and desolation reigned supreme. There is a feeling now manifesting itself in Scotland, of which we have in some measure the expression here also, that neither of these extremes is necessary; that we can have beauty without sacrifice of truth or goodness; that it is possible for a Presbyterian Church, as it has been well said by one who would have rejoiced to see this day—the late Dean of Westminster—“to appropriate all that is ancient and beautiful in the past, without ministering to those modern fancies and superstitions to which other churches afford a more ready access”—that we can retain our evangelical character even though the music of our praise be sweeter. Our religious life, we are often told, is rough and rugged as our mountains. We are not ashamed that it is so. But our rugged hills are not less beautiful, because God causes the shadows of morn and even to play over them, clothes their rocky sides in the greenery of spring and the tints of autumn, casts over them the unsullied mantle of snow. There was a gate to the temple of old which was called “the beautiful.” There is a gate to the Christian Church which bears the same name. So long as these stones stand in their grace and loveliness will that gate be open here for the worshipper to enter by.

“WHAT MEAN THESE STONES?” To-day they mean—henceforth they will mean—something more than before. They will be associated, not in our day, but in days to come, with noble munificence. They will be the monument of a great and generous Scottish man. A feeling of sadness has mingled with the ceremonial of to-day, a pathos which has given a solemnity to our service greater than any outward accessories could ever give it. There has been a presence to-day within these walls mightier than any earthly presence, the shadow that awes even the lightest hearted into silence. We are celebrating the completion of a great work. The generous heart that prompted it, the thoughtful mind that carried it out, is for ever at rest. Another day will pass, and he will be borne here on the way to his burial, and his obsequies will be celebrated amid the beauty he created, but which he was never to see. There is something inexpressibly touching in life thus closing on the threshold of achievement. It is ever so. The great leader dying with the light of the promised land in his eyes; the funeral of the Persian poet passing out of one gate of the city, while camels bearing the gold that was to reward him were coming in at the other; the last words of the laborious writer, Buckle, “My poor book!” “When the keys,” Dr Chambers wrote, “are put into my hands, not an hour will be lost in accomplishing this important undertaking, and God grant me life and health to carry through the work to a successful issue.” His reverent prayer has been answered. How successful the issue has been you can all see. I know that lay very close to the heart of my dear old friend. Weak and feeble though he was, and long confined to his room, he knew every detail of what was being done. “If God,” he once said to me feelingly, as he clasped my hand one day in parting with him, “enables me to finish this work, I will sing my *Nunc Dimittis*.” Often he told me of the motives that weighed with him in undertaking this work. He believed that this restored building might teach great historic lessons, that it might inspire men with the feeling of reverence, that it might be a source of good and sweetening influence in this city. All this is in keeping with the rest of his life. It is a life, like that of his distinguished brother, of which Scotsmen may be proud. In its record of perseverance, endurance, foresight, perfect integrity, it displays the best features of the national character. The poor lad by honest industry rising to eminence, becoming the chief citizen of Edinburgh, inaugurating sanitary measures which lowered the terrible death-rate of the inhabitants of its formerly over-crowded tenements; above all, becoming a founder of that popular literature which is so marked a feature of our time. These are things which will not be soon forgotten. There are few who did not rejoice when our gracious Sovereign intimated that she was to confer on him well-merited honour. There are none who did not feel a pang of sorrow at hearing how he passed away before that honour reached him. It is a touching story from first to last—a touching, yet, in many ways, an elevating and instructive one. So long, my brethren, as these stones remain one upon another will men remember the deed that William Chambers hath done, and tell of it to their children.

Such are some of the voices of this great Cathedral—some of the answers we may proudly give to the question, when asked of us by stranger or traveller unacquainted with our history—“What mean these stones?” These are voices of the past, but they are suggestive of the future also. To those to whom the care of this fabric has been intrusted they bear the solemn charge to watch over it with fond and jealous care—the charge to transmit it unimpaired to children’s children. To those who worship—to those especially who, in the providence of God, shall minister here—they bear the still more solemn charge to make this place the home of all that is sweet, and good, and true—a place where those of many churches and of many lands who shall come here as they have come in days gone by, drawn to it by memories that are dear to them, may find comfort in those blessed truths that are the heritage, the hope, the stay of all who bear the name of Christ and love Him as their Saviour. So day by day, and year by year, may there be built up here that great spiritual temple of the living God, of which it shall not be said, “see what manner of stones are here;” but, see what manner of living men and women, fashioned after the perfect pattern of Christ.

PRAY YE, AS YE HAVE ALREADY PRAYED, THAT SO IT MAY BE.
AMEN.

PARAPHRASE.

Salzburg.

O GOD of Bethel ! by whose hand
Thy people still are fed,
Who through this weary pilgrimage
Hast all our fathers led :

Our vows, our prayers, we now present
Before thy throne of grace :
God of our fathers ! be the God
Of their succeeding race.

Through each perplexing path of life
Our wand'ring footsteps guide ;
Give us each day our daily bread,
And raiment fit provide.

O spread thy cov'ring wings around,
Till all our wand'rings cease,
And at our Father's loved abode
Our souls arrive in peace.

Such blessings from Thy gracious hand
Our humble prayers implore ;
And Thou shalt be our chosen God,
And portion evermore.

PRAYER.

VOLUNTARY *Allegretto* MENDELSSOHN.

ANTHEM.

Hallelujah.

HANDEL.

HALLELUJAH. For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever : King of kings, and Lord of lords. HALLELUJAH.

THE BENEDICTION.

THE Peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always.

CHOIR.

AMEN. AMEN. AMEN.

P.

TRUE MEASUREMENTS—WITHIN THE WALLS—OF
ST GILES' CATHEDRAL.

Total length through centre of nave and choir.....	194 feet.
" " " " aisles.....	196 "
" " transepts, north to south.....	124 "
Width of nave and choir.....	23 "
" north transept.....	23 "
" south ".....	22 "
" north aisle.....	17 "
" south ".....	21 "
" Preston and Moray aisle.....	23 "
Height of nave arches.....	30 "
" east arches in choir.....	29 "
" other arches in choir.....	26 "
" tower arches.....	35 "
Inside size of tower.....	21 feet × 21 "
Outside " ".....	30 " × 30 "
Floor to top of stone lantern.....	142 " 6 inches.
Height of stone vaulting inside—	
Choir roof.....	51 "
Aisles.....	36 " 6 inches.
Preston aisle.....	38 "
Moray aisle.....	36 "
Plaster groining in nave.....	54 "

GEO. HENDERSON, *Architect.*

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