

SCOTLAND



PICTURESQUE:
HISTORICAL: DESCRIPTIVE.





FLESHMARKET CLOSE.
EDINBURGH.

From an Original Drawing by G. Callermole
JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

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

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

THE CROSS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis prope Edinburgum, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1841, pp. lxvi. lxvii. lxi. lxxiii.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE HIGH STREET.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Scots Magazine for 1806, p. 885. In the Gentleman's Magazine the sum is 4280*l.*

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

⁴ Birrel's Diary, p. 13.

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

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

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

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

TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH, TRINITY HOSPITAL, AND VICINITY.

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

Birrel's Diary, pp. 29, 34.

² Ibid. p. 64.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24th August, 1844.

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

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

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

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

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

² *History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 212.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE COWGATE AND GRASSMARKET.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GREYFRIARS' CEMETERY.—SIGNING OF THE COVENANT.

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

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

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

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

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



THE FETTERED CONSCIENCE: SUGGESTING ONE TRUE CONVICTION.

From an Original Drawing by G. Eastman.

J. H. & MURDOCH LONDON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GEORGE HERIOT'S HOSPITAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF EDINBURGH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CANONGATE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Ante, p. 44.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



MURRAY HOUSE, CANNON GATE.

From an Engraving Drawn by J. Ash.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



EDINBURGH, FROM CRAIGLEITH QUARRY.

From an Original Drawing by W. L. Litch.

JOHN L. MURRAY, LONDON.

The New City.



THE ground on which the New Town, as it is locally designated, is built, was partly a furzy tract, sloping from the summit now occupied by St. Andrew Square, George Street, and Charlotte Square, to the banks of the Water of Leith on the north. With the exception of a solitary rude farmstead, no houses were nearer than the hamlet of Multrie's Hill, which stood on the site of the Register House. The old village of the barony of Broughton was then literally a rural place, and farther north was the hamlet of the Canonmills, the ancient property of the Canons of Holyrood. Latterly a colony of French weavers, whom religious persecution had driven from Picardy, located themselves between Multrie's Hill and Broughton, and originated the name of the fine continuation of York Place into Leith Walk called Picardy Place. The site of Princes Street along the then North Loch was known as the "Lang Row," or "Lang Gate."

A proposal to extend the city on the north side of the North Loch had been suggested in the reign of Charles II., and one of those who interested themselves in the project was no less a personage than the Duke of York, afterwards James II., then residing in Holyrood-house. It is stated, in a letter dated 1693, that a design was formed to erect a bridge over the North Loch, build streets on the other side, and inclose the ground with a wall. The removal of the Government and the abolition of the Scottish Parliament after the Union completely frustrated any desire then to attempt the design. John eleventh Earl of Mar, during his exile after the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715, is said to have employed his leisure time in plans for the extension of Edinburgh.

The fall of the east wall of a house six storeys high on the south side of the Cross, on the 6th of September, 1751, by which one person was killed and a number of the inmates narrowly escaped, caused an alarm for the safety of several tenements which were in a very decayed condition. On the 21st of October, 1763, the foundation-stone of the North Bridge was laid by George Drummond, Esq., Lord Provost of the city, which was the first decided movement to extend the city after the draining of the North Loch. The architect was a brother of Milne, who designed and built Blackfriars' Bridge at London, and he bound himself to uphold the fabric for ten years. The citizens, however, were by no means zealous in the work. Provost Drummond, who was one of the greatest benefactors to Edinburgh, became unpopular with many on account of his "new-fangled" notions about bridge-building and town-extension. Many persons, whose prejudices were inveterate, ridiculed the idea of a new city, and the North Bridge was a structure of popular dislike, though to please them it was pretended that it was merely to be a more convenient access to Leith than by Leith Wynd and the Canongate. The fall of the south end of the bridge in August 1769, when nearly completed, and by which five persons were killed, confirmed the opposition of many of the citizens. This accident was caused by the insecurity of the foundations, and an immense pressure of earth on the top of the vaults and arches to raise the structure to a proper level; but the denizens of the old alleys maintained that it was the fulfilment of a prophecy of the renowned Thomas the Rhymer, one of whose visions of the future was this same North Bridge of Edinburgh, and who predicted that it would fall three times. This absurdity was religiously believed, and probably assisted indirectly in the formation of the Earthen Mound. The bridge was speedily repaired, and was opened to the public in 1772, at the expense, before its completion a few years afterwards, of 18,000*l*.

The plan for the New Town, from St. Andrew Square to Charlotte Square, including Princes Street on the south and Queen Street on the north, was designed by Mr. James Craig, the nephew of Thomson, the Poet of the "Seasons;" and the edifice belonging to the Royal College of Physicians, taken down in 1844, and superseded by the present Commercial Bank, opposite St. Andrew's Church, was by him. The whole of Mr. Craig's plan was completed in 1815. Another extension northward of the ornamental gardens in front of Queen Street, and resembling the first, was commenced in 1801, and nearly completed in 1826. On the west side of the Water of Leith, at Stockbridge, is a more recent addition, consisting of crescents, terraces, and streets, on the lands of St. Bernard's, the property of the late eminent portrait-painter, Sir Henry Raeburn. Near this, on the east bank of the Water of Leith, in the deep romantic ravine traversed by that stream, is the ornamental building in the form of a Grecian temple, inclosing St. Bernard's Mineral Well, erected by Francis Garden, Esq., a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Gardenstone, who died in July 1793. This beautiful structure is a monument of one of the last acts of his lordship's public beneficence.

A most magnificent extension of the new city on the north-west was commenced in 1823, when the grounds of Drumsheugh, between Charlotte Square and the Water of Leith, the property of the Earl of Moray, were feued. In the immediate vicinity is the stupendous bridge over the ravine of the Water of Leith, called the Dean Bridge, from its connexion with the lands of Dean, consisting of four arches, completed in 1832, on the north-west end of which is Trinity Episcopal Chapel, a handsome Gothic edifice, with a tower over the west entrance. The view from the Dean Bridge is magnificent, and has been compared to an Italian scene. It includes the romantic ravine below, the town of Leith, the Frith of Forth with its rocky islets, and the hills and coast of Fife in the back-ground.

While the New City was in progress of erection, the inhabitants of the Old Town adhered with pertinacity to their ancient abodes in the High Street, the Canongate, and their diverging alleys. Those were chiefly shopkeepers, and ancient spinsters or widows of rank and family, who abominated all innovations, and who held the New Town, its projectors, and inhabitants, in utter contempt. Most of them lived and died in those antique tenements, which were subsequently either destroyed by casualties, removed on account of decay, or have been for years occupied by poor families. It required a succeeding generation to be reconciled to the New Town. The success of the extension was also doubted by some who had no such prejudices, of which the following is a remarkable instance. When it was determined, in 1771, to erect a commodious and elegant Episcopal chapel, it was proposed to obtain a site near the north end of the North Bridge, and, according to one statement, on the ground occupied by the Theatre Royal. After much grave deliberation this design was abandoned, and the reason assigned was, that the "New Town would never come to anything!" The promoters accordingly preferred a site which was purchased from the Royal College of Physicians on the north-east side of the Cowgate, an area low-lying and inconvenient, and on it they erected the large Episcopal chapel, which was opened in October 1774, and continued as such till 1818, when the congregation removed to the elegant Gothic edifice of St. Paul's Chapel in York Place, and sold their place of worship to a congregation of Presbyterian Dissenters. When the Assembly Room in George Street was erected, many persons ridiculed the absurdity, as they thought, of placing such a structure in the fields.

The New Town has of course few or no historical associations. The house forming the north-east corner of South St. David Street and St. Andrew Square was erected by David Hume, to which he removed from James's Court, and in it he died. The name of the street is also derived from him, and was written one morning on the wall of the house by the daughter of Robert Orde, Esq., Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, in ironical allusion to the historian's religious opinions. In the corresponding tenement on the opposite corner of the square was born Lord Brougham, and in it he resided during the course of his education. Sir Walter Scott's residence was a house on the east side of North Castle Street, and that of Francis Jeffrey, Esq., in 1834 a judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Jeffrey, in Moray Place. At page 142 a further description of the New Town will be found.

The New Town has, nevertheless, one tale of horror which rivals the story of Muschet and his cairn in the Duke's Walk at Holyrood. A narrow alley leading to a tenement on the west end of the General Register House is known as Gabriel's Road. This Gabriel, according to the narrative of the redoubtable Dr. Peter Morris, was a Presbyterian licentiate or preacher, who was employed by a gentleman of the city as tutor to two boys, the one ten and the other eight years of age. Gabriel cherished amorous propensities towards a female domestic of the family, and this was discovered by one of his pupils. The boy informed



NATIONAL MONUMENT, CALTON HILL.

From an Original Drawing by J. D. Harrison.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

his brother, and both mentioned it to their mother in the evening. Whether the lady reproved the girl or the preacher himself for this levity is not stated; but when he found that he was discovered, and that the informants were his pupils, he resolved to sacrifice them to his vengeance. One Sunday he led them out to walk in the fields on which the east part of the New Town is built, and, passing deliberately to a secluded spot, he stabbed the elder brother to the heart with a large elasp-knife, which he had secretly provided. The younger boy gazed for a moment, and then fled, screaming in terror, pursued by the murderer with the bloody knife in his hand, and he also fell a victim. This atrocity was distinctly seen by multitudes in the Old City, who heard the cries of the boys, but were unable to rescue them, by the deep valley and North Loch intervening. A rush was made to the scene of blood, and they found the murderer sitting on the spot in a stupor, from which he was only roused by the hands of those who seized him. It happened that the Magistrates had assembled, to walk officially to St. Giles's Church in the afternoon, when the crowd approached with their captive. Gabriel was brought into their presence, and having been taken "red-hand," or in the very act of guilt, he was, according to the old Scottish law, hanged within an hour after the deed was done, and the bloody knife was suspended from his neck.¹ Such is the story of Gabriel, to whom no date is assigned. It is evidently another version of the murder perpetrated by Robert Irving, a Presbyterian preacher, on Sunday the 28th of April, 1717, for which he was executed at the Gallow-Lee, between Edinburgh and Leith, on the 1st of May. This criminal was preceptor to John and Alexander Gordon, sons of James Gordon, Esq. of Ellon, and he was induced to murder them for disclosing to their parents some conduct with a female domestic which they had accidentally witnessed. When asked what prompted him to commit the crime, he at length confessed that predestinarian principles had swayed him, and that he had imbibed them from a book written by Flavel,² which he obtained from the College Library. At his apprehension he attempted to cut his throat with a penknife. His hands were struck off at the place of execution, and he was afterwards hanged, the wound in his throat breaking out, and bleeding copiously, after he was suspended. This is the true story of Gabriel's Road, though the locality is not mentioned in the printed account of the last confession of the murderer.³

The Calton Hill, which terminates the view looking east from Princes Street, though now within the city, and surrounded by streets, was purchased by the Town-Council of Edinburgh from one of the Lords Balmerino, and in 1725 a charter was obtained from George I., erecting the district, which had previously been designated Wester Restalrig, into a burgh of barony, under a bailie, for whom a court-room, to which was attached a prison, both of which have disappeared, was provided. Although the greater part of the street has been removed by the erection of the Regent Bridge, and more recently by the North British Railway Company, leaving only a few tenements nestling under the precipices, the burghal institution existed in 1847, and the Calton had its high constables and its Incorporated Trades, who possessed considerable property, and to whom belonged the cemetery or grave-yard on the very summit of the precipices, in which the sombre-looking round tower, containing the ashes of Hume the Historian, is conspicuous on the very margin of the rock. In this cemetery are also interred Professor Playfair and several other eminent individuals. There is also a burying-ground on the south-east slope of the Hill, which was obtained as a compensation for that part of the old cemetery now forming Waterloo Place. In this quarter the Calton Hill is perforated by the tunnel of the North British Railway.

In the deep hollow on the north side of the Hill, called Greenside, now covered with obscure streets and lanes, James IV. granted to the citizens, in 1496, sufficient ground to hold tilts and tournaments near the north-eastern side of the then Craigend gate. According to tradition, Queen Mary first saw the Earl of Bothwell at a tournament in Greenside, and he is said to have attracted her admiring notice by riding recklessly down the steep side of the Hill in this quarter, which was undoubtedly a most daring feat of horsemanship; but Sir Walter Scott alleges that Queen Mary's mother, the widowed consort of James V., was the spectator of this exploit, and that the hero of it was Bothwell's father, Patrick, third Earl, who with the Earl of Lennox, openly aspired to her hand. The tournament ground was, in 1520, by consent of

¹ Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, Edin. 1819, vol. ii. pp. 198-200.

² John Flavel, an eminent English nonconformist, who died in 1691. His particular work which induced Irving to commit this double murder is not stated.

³ This account is a broad-sheet in a curious and valuable folio volume of miscellaneous collections in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, marked C.C.C: 3: 2. The broad-sheet is numbered 137.

James V. and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, assigned to some Carmelite Friars for the erection of a convent, which was founded by the Town-Council in 1526, and dedicated to the Holy Cross. This edifice, whatever were its extent and pretensions, was in 1591, at the instance of John Robertson, merchant in Edinburgh, constituted an hospital for leprous persons of both sexes. The Town-Council placed it under the direction of the Trinity College Hospital, and authorised some severe rules to be observed by the inmates, one of which was, that on no pretence whatever were they ever to go out of the building, under the penalty of death; and to show that this was a serious threat, a gibbet was actually erected at the end of the Hospital.

On the Calton Hill are monuments erected to the memory of Lord Nelson and Professor Playfair, and cenotaphs to Dugald Stewart and Robert Burns; the admired columns of the National Monument, commenced in 1822, but never completed, and now going to decay; the Royal Observatory; the High School begun in 1825, and opened in 1829; and the three extensive buildings, one of which was formerly the Bridewell, all now designated the Prison of Edinburgh, inclosed by castellated walls, varied by towers of different heights and proportions, overlooking the Old City.

The most impressive view that a stranger can obtain of the City, is that from Calton Hill. Looking westward are the magnificent hotels, shops, banks, &c., all built of stone, which form the north side of Princes Street. On the south side are the gardens (with Sir W. Scott's monument) already alluded to; and in the hollow are the Edinburgh and Glasgow, and other railways, but almost hidden from view. On the south-west, in the distance, is the venerable castle, from whence descends, in an easterly direction, through the Old Town, the High Street, leading to Holyrood Palace. At the back of this rises Arthur's Seat, round which are the Royal Park, Salisbury Crags, &c., which, in winter, often present the singular spectacle of being covered with snow from the top to within about 200 feet from their base. If the eye be directed in a north-westerly direction, some of the chief buildings in the New Town will be noticed, such as the Registry Office, some of the new churches, the squares, &c. Prominent among the new buildings is the recently erected Post-Office, near the North Bridge. Beside are theatres, the great Music Hall, &c. Northwards, the Forth may be traced from its mouth at Kirkcaldy to Alloa, forming a bright water-line, across which it is proposed to erect one of the largest bridges in the world, to accommodate the constantly increasing railway traffic. The view by daylight is imposing; but when the houses are lit up, gas being in universal use, the whole City presents an appearance of being specially illuminated, the tall houses in the Old Town presenting a prominent feature. The beauty of the scene is still further enhanced if it be observed during the rising of the moon, as then the hills from Arthur's Seat to the Pentlands form a massive background, which throws the City into greater prominence.

Although Edinburgh is more celebrated as a seat of learning and fashion, it has several important manufactures, as of leather, indiarubber, iron, glass, breweries, &c. It has long been celebrated for its publishing and printing establishments. Stereotyping was first carried on in this City. Its population was estimated, in 1875, as amounting to about 220,000. The annual value of real property is about £1,500,000. As already stated, it is the seat of the Scottish Law business. The Court of Justiciary consists of one Outer Court, having five judges, and two Inner Courts of Session, each having four judges, who are practically the final Court of Appeal in Scotland, further proceedings having to be carried on before the English Supreme Court of Judicature. The government of the City rests in a Lord Provost, six baillies, and other officials, making in all forty-one. Its revenue is about £170,000 annually. The Library, for the use of Advocates and Writers to the Signet (the latter equivalent to the English solicitors and attorneys), contains about 200,000 volumes. The number of registered electors is about 25,000. Edinburgh returns two members for the Parliamentary borough, and, in connection with St. Andrews, an additional one for the two Universities.

Permanent residents in Edinburgh have an advantage which would be greatly prized by the denizens of London. It is that of ready access to the sea-side. In a few minutes, Portobello, Leith, Newhaven, and Trinity, all situated on the banks of the Frith of Forth, are reached. Equally may be mentioned as an advantage, the abundant supply of fish daily brought to these places. Take Edinburgh in all its positions, it may be considered as one of the most desirable places for residence in Great Britain. Its climate is comparatively mild. The average temperature of the year is 47.2° Fab.; of summer, 57.6°; and of winter, 37.9°.




EDINBURGH FROM THE CALTON HILL.

From an Engraving by D. Roberts, R.S.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

Leith and its Vicinity.

HE sea-port and town of Leith, anciently Inverleith,¹ at the debouch of the Water of Leith stream, which flows through the harbour into the Frith of Forth, is nearly a mile and a half from Edinburgh. The town is a curious motley group of narrow streets, in which are numbers of old tenements, the architecture and interiors of which indicate the affluence of the former possessors. Although a place of considerable antiquity, and mentioned as Inverleith in David I.'s charter of Holyrood, the commercial importance of Leith dates only from the fourteenth century, when the magistrates of Edinburgh obtained a grant of the harbour and mills from King Robert Bruce for the annual payment of fifty-two merks. This appears to have been one of the first of those transactions by which the citizens of Edinburgh acquired the complete mastery over Leith, and they are accused of exercising their power in a most tyrannical manner. So completely, indeed, were the Town-Council of Edinburgh resolved to enslave Leith, that the inhabitants were not allowed to have shops or warehouses, and even inns or hostelries could be arbitrarily prohibited. This power was obtained in a very peculiar manner. In 1398 and 1413, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, then superior of the town, disputed the right of the Edinburgh corporation to the use of the banks of the Water of Leith, and the property was purchased from him at a considerable sum. This avaricious baron afterwards caused an infinitude of trouble to the Town-Council on legal points, but they were resolved to be the absolute rulers of Leith at any cost; and they advanced from their treasury a large sum, for which Logan granted a bond, placing Leith completely at the disposal of the Edinburgh Corporation, and retaining all the before-mentioned restrictions. James I., by charter dated 1454, granted to Edinburgh the "haven-silver, customs, and duties of ships, vessels, and merchandise, coming to the road and harbour of Leith," and in 1482 James III. conferred similar privileges. In 1485 the civic despots enacted that no merchant of Edinburgh should enter into partnership with a resident of Leith, under a penalty of forty shillings, and deprivation of the freedom of the city for one year. Sundry other oppressive acts followed, and the feudal subjection of Leith was finally completed by the purchase, in 1565, of the superiority of the town from Queen Mary, to whose mother, the Queen Regent, it had been sold by Logan of Restalrig for 10,000 merks. Warehouses were prohibited to be built, all goods were ordered to be removed as speedily as possible from the harbour, and every contrivance was adopted to depress and annoy the inhabitants.² So determined

¹ Inverleith is still the name of a mansion and estate about two miles inland, on the banks of the stream between Stockbridge and Inverleith Row, on the road to Granton and Newhaven. The Water of Leith rises from three springs in the Pentland Hills, and has a romantic course of about fourteen miles. Much of the stream being abstracted for mills, it is insignificant in dry weather, but after heavy rain it often descends with fearful rapidity, assuming the grandeur of a mountain torrent.

² It is stated by the local historian of Leith, that after the Town-Council had completed the purchase of the superiority from Queen Mary in 1565, the town was entered as a "conquered" place by the burgesses of Edinburgh, who subsequently adopted every device to torment the inhabitants as much as possible. In 1589 the Edinburgh magistrates summoned one-half of their Leith vassals to hear themselves prohibited from exercising their trades as incorporations, or choosing their deacons or presiding members in all time coming. Two unfortunate knights of St. Crispin had been previously committed

to prison by those authorities, the one for "pretending" that he was the legally elected deacon of the incorporation of shoemakers, and the other for acting as his official; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the operatives, they were "proceeded against as a parcel of insolent and contumacious rascals."—History of Leith, by Alexander Campbell, 1827. It was not till 1737 that the Incorporated Trades of Leith were declared independent of those of Edinburgh by the Court of Session. For upwards of a century afterwards the ancient jealousies continued to increase, till the final separation of the port from the city by Act of Parliament in 1838. By that Act the judicial authority of Edinburgh over Leith was abolished; the city was prohibited from interfering with, or exercising any control over the affairs of the town; and the common good, customs, rates, imposts, and market dues, including the prison buildings, with the Admiralty jurisdiction, were vested in the provost and magistrates of Leith, with the only exception of the city's rights in the harbour and docks, and the revenues arising therefrom.

were the Edinburgh corporation to retain hold of Leith as an appendage to the city, that subsequent charters of Queen Mary, and that of James VI. in 1596, authorising a tax for the pier, were renewed by the latter in 1603, and by Charles I. in 1636.

The port, nevertheless, early possessed a considerable trade, which occasionally suffered from incursions by the English, who in 1313 and in 1410 burned the vessels in the harbour. Leith was occupied by the insurgent nobility who had taken arms against James III., after the murder of that monarch near Bannockburn in 1488; and the famous Admiral Sir Andrew Wood of Largo had soon afterwards an interview with his youthful successor, James IV., in the town. In 1544 the Earl of Hertford, who was at the head of 10,000 men, took possession of Leith, seized all the vessels in the harbour, garrisoned the place with 1500 men till he ravaged Edinburgh and the neighbourhood; and when he left with his booty he destroyed the pier, carried off the shipping, and burnt the town. Before his departure he had constructed a pier for his own accommodation, or renovated a previously existing one, but no vestige of it remains to indicate its exact site. Three years afterwards, in 1547, the same Earl of Hertford, who had become Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, and who had recently been the victor at the battle of Pinkie, again burnt Leith, though not so completely as at his former visitation, and carried off thirty-five vessels.

In 1548 the town was strongly fortified by the French General D'Esse, who had arrived with 6000 men to assist the Queen Regent against her opponents. The works consisted chiefly of ramparts of earth, and appear to have been of great strength, inclosing the town in an octangular form, with eight bastions, one at each angle; no traces of which remain, though the vestiges were distinctly visible in 1753.¹ From 1548 to 1559, Leith was the head-quarters of the Queen Regent's army and of her French auxiliaries, who are prominent in the civil strife between her and the Lords of the Congregation. At its port arrived the shipping and supplies for the Queen Regent's service, and from its gates rushed those sallying parties who fought many a hard skirmish with detachments of the besiegers on the plain between the town and Edinburgh.

The siege of Leith, in 1559 and 1560, is a curious episode in its history. During the former year, after the violent demolition of the churches and religious houses by lawless mobs, the Queen Regent came to an open rupture with the Lords of the Congregation, and both parties prepared to settle the contest by the sword. The death of Henry II. of France, and the accession of his son, who was the consort of Queen Mary, induced the Queen Regent to expect powerful reinforcements from her son-in-law and daughter; and on the 30th of July, 1559, she suddenly left Dunbar, whither she had been compelled to retreat after leaving Fife, and encamped on the common of Leith Links. The Lords of the Congregation marched to Leith with such a force as they could muster, commanded by the Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray; but before he appeared the Queen Regent moved her troops into Leith, and commenced a thorough repair of the ramparts, assisted by her French auxiliaries—operations which greatly alarmed the Congregation leaders, and elicited an angry remonstrance from them on the 29th of September.² The Queen Regent is accused of duping the inhabitants of Leith of 3000*l.*, which they never recovered, but the allegation rests on very questionable authority. It was probably a loan, as it is said that she had signified her intention to grant the town a charter, emancipating it from the domination of Edinburgh, which was prevented by her death. Among other causes of offence, the Queen Regent ordered the minister's pulpit to be turned out of the church of South Leith, and the Roman Catholic service to be restored.

¹ The fortifications of Leith are severely satirised by the valiant Captain Colepepper in "The Fortunes of Nigel":—"You speak of the siege of Leith, and I have seen the place—a pretty kind of hamlet it is, with a plain wall or rampart, and a pigeon-house or two of a tower at every angle. Uds! daggers and scabbards! if a leaguer of our days had been twenty-four hours, not to say months, before it, without carrying the place and all its cocklofts one after another by pure storm, they would have deserved no better grace than the provost-marshal gives when his noose is reeved!" It resisted, however, all the attempts of the Lords of the Congregation in 1559, and the capitulation to those Lords and the English under Lord Grey of Wilton in 1560, was rather because both parties were tired of the war than by force.

² The Queen Regent, in her reply, places herself in the situation of a bullfinch or linnet surrounded by ferocious hawks, and in answer

to the charge of occupying and fortifying Leith, her Majesty stated — "And like as a small bird, when pursued, will provide some nest, so her Majesty could do no less, in case of pursuit, than provide some sure retreat for herself and her company; and to that effect chose the town of Leith, a place convenient for that purpose, because it was her dearest daughter's property, and no other person could claim title or interest thereto, and also because in former times it had been fortified." Queen Mary's "title or interest" to Leith as her "property" is difficult of explanation, more especially when the transactions of the Town-Council of Edinburgh with Logan of Restalrig are considered; and as to the fortifications, this is probably an allusion to those raised by Monsieur D'Esse ten years previously, as apparently no military works were constructed in Leith before the arrival of that commander.



THE BACK OF OLD LEBETH PIER

from a Daguerre Photograph by C. Stansfeld, R.S.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

The Lords of the Congregation invested Leith in October 1559, resolving to expel the Queen Regent and her "throat-cutters," by which epithet they designated the French auxiliaries. Before proceeding to extremities they sent a messenger to the walls, with a summons in the name of Francis and Mary, commanding all Scots and French to leave the town within twelve hours. They had provided themselves with scaling-ladders, constructed in St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, which greatly irritated the preachers, who declared that such wickedness and irreverence would not pass unpunished. As no answer was returned to the summons, the besiegers commenced their operations, but they soon discovered that their scaling-ladders were too short. This circumstance, and the denunciations of the preachers on the sin of constructing ladders in a church, had due effect on the forces of the Congregation, who evinced no inclination to fight, and who were mutinous for want of pay. A series of misfortunes befell the besiegers. They had no money; an attempt to erect a mint was frustrated by the absconding of a person with the instruments of coining; Cockburn of Ormiston was waylaid and robbed, by the afterwards notorious Earl of Bothwell, of four thousand crowns, which he had received for their use from Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts at Berwick; a large supply of provisions was intercepted between Leith and Portobello by a sallying party of the French auxiliaries, and on another occasion the forces of the Congregation were pursued to the base of the Calton Hill. The victors of this latter exploit were joyfully welcomed on their return by the Queen Regent from the ramparts. Observing several of the French soldiers carrying plunder, she jocularly inquired "where they had bought their wares?" Many other remarks of the Queen Regent, who was particularly disliked by the leaders of the Congregation and the preachers, are recorded.

This defeat, and the want of money to pay their troops, induced the Lords of the Congregation to retire to Stirling, Glasgow, and some towns on the south coast of Fife. The Queen Regent obtained possession of Edinburgh, and removed to the Castle, in which she resided till her death on the 10th of June, 1560. Meanwhile fortune had declared against the French during several marauding expeditions into Fife, and the Lords of the Congregation ordered a general muster at Leith. On the 30th of March, 1560, Lord Grey of Wilton entered Scotland with a force variously stated at 6000 and 8000 men, protected by an English fleet, and on the 1st of April encamped at Restalrig, where he was joined by many influential persons and 2000 men.

The English selected the rising ground on the east end of Leith Links, extending to the locality of Hermitage Hill, and their position was well chosen; but it was found to be too distant to enable the artillery, such as it was in those times, to injure the fortifications, and they moved to the Links, where they constructed mounds of earth for their artillery, two of which remain. One is close to a spring on the south-east side of the Links called "Lady Fife's Well," and the second is about two hundred paces east from the Grammar School. As soon as the mounds were completed the English opened a fire upon the besieged, which they continued several days, and they dilapidated the tower and steeple of St. Anthony's Preceptory, which stood at the south-west corner of the alley known as St. Anthony's Wynd. Notwithstanding this exploit, which was harmless to the garrison, the siege continued nearly a month without any prospect of a termination, and the French auxiliaries were reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions. The patience of the English was at last exhausted, and they resolved to try a general assault, in which they were repulsed with considerable loss. When the Queen Regent, who was then labouring under a malady in Edinburgh Castle, which in a short time proved mortal, saw the French colours waving triumphantly on the walls of Leith, she is accused by Knox of expressing her joy by exclaiming—"Now will I go to mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen!" After protracted hostilities of upwards of two months, which proves that the English artillery was of little use, both parties became weary of a contest which promised no advantage, and a treaty was adjusted, by which it was agreed that the French were to embark unmolested to France, and the English were to commence their march homewards on the same day. This concluded the siege, which almost ruined the trade of the port. The fortifications were demolished, and the east rampart was alone preserved many years afterwards under the designation of the "Ladies' Walk," which intimates that it was a promenade.

On the 20th of August, 1561, Queen Mary landed at Leith from France, and proceeded direct to Holyrood. No vestige of the then existing pier remains, though it undoubtedly occupied the site of the present harbour. The town was the scene of various important transactions during the minority of James VI.; the High Court of Justiciary was held in it from November 1571 to August 1572, and again in 1596-7;

and a kind of General Assembly in 1572. In 1578, a reconciliation was effected between the Earl of Morton and certain of the nobility, and they dined together in one of the hostelrys of the place. In 1584, Leith was appointed the principal market for herrings and other fish in the Frith of Forth. On the 6th of May, 1590, James VI. landed at the pier with his Queen from his matrimonial expedition to Denmark, after a voyage during which he was sorely beset by the incantations of witches.

The subsequent historical notices of Leith are comparatively few. In July 1610, thirty English sailors were executed within flood-mark for piracies in the Hebrides; in December, eight others; and in 1612, two. In 1639, at the commencement of the rebellion against Charles I., it was proposed to re-fortify the town, and considerable progress was made in the work. The Solemn League and Covenant was zealously subscribed at Leith in 1643; and two years afterwards the place was almost depopulated by an epidemic, which caused the death of nearly two thousand five hundred persons, most of whom were interred in the south-west of the Links.

Charles II. lodged in the stately old mansion, then the property of the Lords Balmerino, in the Kirkgate, between Charlotte Street and Coatfield Lane, on the night of his arrival in 1650, when he was invited to Scotland by the Parliament. After the battle of Dunbar that year Cromwell possessed himself of Leith, and subjected the inhabitants to a monthly assessment of 22*l.*, with a proportion of 2400 pounds Scots levied upon Edinburgh and the vicinity. When he returned to England a strong fort was constructed by his orders in North Leith by General Monk, on the ground immediately behind the warehouses of the docks; and a tenement near an arch, the only remaining memorial of this fort, is said to have been for some time Monk's residence. This fort was of a pentagonal form, consisting of five bastions, and was erected at the expense of 10,000*l.* In 1691, the town was the scene of the murder of a military officer named Elias Porret, Sieur de la Roche, a French Protestant refugee, in a tavern in the Kirkgate much frequented by the gallants of the day. The parties implicated in this brawl were the Viscount Tarbet, afterwards second Earl of Cromarty, an officer named Mowat, and another individual. In 1705, Captain Green of the Worcester and three of his men were executed within flood-mark at Leith for piracy and murder committed on the crew of a Scottish vessel on the coast of Malabar in 1783, which was discovered by the unguarded statements and speeches of the crew in their cups or quarrels, while the Worcester was detained under embargo at Burntisland.

In 1715, Cromwell's fort or citadel was occupied by Brigadier M'Intosh of Borlam, and a party of the adventurers in the Enterprise of that year. The fear of an attack by the Duke of Argyll, then in Edinburgh, induced the Brigadier to vacate the fort during the night, after plundering the Custom-House, and liberating all the prisoners in the jail. In 1778, Leith was partly the scene of the revolt of the Seaforth regiment of Highlanders, and in 1779, of a detachment of fifty men recruited for the 42d and 71st regiments, who refused to embark in the transports provided for their destination. A sergeant commanding a party of the South Fencibles from Edinburgh Castle, with orders to apprehend the mutineers, was mortally wounded, and his enraged comrades discharged a volley upon the Highlanders, twelve of whom were killed, and twenty were severely injured. This occurred in front of the houses between the Old Ship Tavern and the tenement known as the Britannia Inn, on that part of the street at the harbour called the Shore. In the same year the appearance of Paul Jones in the Frith excited trepidation, and some old pieces of artillery were elevated on piles of timber and stones in the fort to protect the town. A storm, however, drove the redoubtable pirate commander out of the Frith; and this commotion of the elements was long believed to be raised by the prayers of an eccentric Dissenting minister in Kirkcaldy, named Sheriff. The great event in the recent annals of Leith was the landing of George IV. on the 15th of August, 1822, when a magnificent procession issued from the port, and preceded the King to Holyrood. On Saturday, the 3d of September, 1842, her Majesty Queen Victoria and Prince Albert traversed the south of Leith, after a progress in Edinburgh and a visit to Dalmeny Park, and proceeded by that route to Dalkeith.

Various tenements are assigned as the residence of the Queen Regent during the siege in 1559, but it is now admitted that the real one was a fabric of elegant exterior in Queen Street, formerly the "Paunch Market," which nearly a century afterwards was occupied by Cromwell. A fine old tenement, containing a profusion of sculptured crowns, sceptres, and other decorations, between the end of the Tolbooth Wynd and St. Andrew Street, in a small court dignified with the name of the "Parliament Square," entered from the north side of the latter street, is alleged to have been the residence of Regent Lennox. The "King's Work," a group of ancient buildings, occasionally the abode of royalty, stood betwixt Bernard Street and the Broad

Wynd; and in the vicinity of "Little London," which is between Bernard Street and Quality Street, is the Timber Bourse, corrupted into "Timber Bush," completely changed in appearance. Lord Balmerino's mansion is already mentioned. The house in which John Home, the author of the tragedy of "Douglas," was born in 1722, was at the corner of Quality Street, and has been succeeded by new buildings. Home is interred in the parish burying-ground of South Leith, where a stone on the south wall of the church is erected to his memory.

The Preceptory or "Mansion" of St. Anthony, said to have been founded by Robert Logan, of Restalrig, in 1435, and the only religious establishment of the kind in Scotland, was on the south-west corner of St. Anthony's Wynd, and the only vestiges are some vaults.¹ In 1612 or 1614, the revenues of the Preceptory, which had been confiscated at the Reformation, were assigned to the endowment of the Hospital of James VI., which stood in the south-west corner of the parish churchyard, close to the Kirkgate street. The former grammar-school, and the prison called "Kintore," were also near the parish church. That edifice was constituted parochial by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1609,² when it was stated that the original parish church at Restalrig had been ruinous for "fifty years past;" that the other building had been the resort of the inhabitants during that period, and was most convenient for the parishioners.³ This is the substantial Gothic edifice in the Kirkgate dedicated to the Virgin, and known as St. Mary's Church, the nave of which was destroyed by the Earl of Hertford in 1544, and the choir at the Reformation. Although the date is not ascertained, it was erected before 1490, and the various additions in its former cruciform and present oblong state are said to have been at the expense of the Incorporated Trades of Leith, who were the founders and patrons of the church.⁴ It is an edifice of no great architectural pretensions, surrounded by a cemetery. John Logan, the author of a tragedy entitled "Runnymede," now forgotten, a volume of eloquent sermons, and several poetical effusions of very great merit, was also one of the ministers of Leith from 1773 to 1786.

The denizens of Leith were formerly noted for their superstitious credulity and eccentricities. An amusing account is preserved of a youth known as the "Fairy Boy," who had the gift of second-sight and prophetic powers, and who acted as drummer to the elves, who were believed to hold a weekly nocturnal gathering on the Calton Hill. At twelve o'clock at night the inhabitants of the Tolbooth Wynd, an old street leading from the Kirkgate to the Harbour, regularly heard with horror the thundering noise of a coach driven by a tall gaunt person without a head, and drawn by decapitated horses. This was known as the "twelve-o'clock coach," and was supposed to be occupied by a mysterious female connected with the unseen world.

A celebrated amusement at Leith was the ancient game of golf, played on the extensive common of the Links. Charles I. and the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and many distinguished persons, practised this game on the Links. About the middle of the eighteenth century flourished a group of lively old gentlemen, who made golf on Leith Links almost the sole business of their lives; and Smollett declares that, though they were all upwards of fourscore, they never retired to sleep before they had each imbibed the greater part of a gallon of claret. Previous to the erection of a tenement for their accommodation on the south side of the Links near the Easter Road, the golfers frequented a tavern on the west side of the Kirkgate, near the foot of Leith Walk, and closed the day with copious libations of claret.

But the great annual carnival at Leith was the horse-racing on the sands east of the pier, introduced at the Restoration, and transferred to Musselburgh in 1816, though attempted to be revived since 1839. The races were continued daily during one week, and were under the special patronage of the Town-Council of Edinburgh. It was usual for one of the city officials to walk every forenoon from the Council Chambers to Leith, bearing a purse profusely decorated with ribbons suspended from the top of a pole, accompanied by the drummer and an escort of the Town-Guard in full costume. The grotesque procession gathered strength

¹ The seal of the Preceptory is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. It exhibits a figure of St. Anthony in a hermit's mantle, with a book in one hand, a staff in the other, a sow at his foot, and the strange contrast of a cross over his head, with the inscription—"S. COMMUNE PRECEPTORIE SANCTI ANTHONII PROPE LEICHT."

² Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iv. p. 442.

³ In 1536, this edifice was considered or had been constituted the parish church, and the incumbent had feued the glebe, church lands, and manse of Easter Restalrig, where he had ceased to reside. It

is already stated that the Calton Hill was in the barony of Wester Restalrig.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 777.

⁴ In a charter of James III., dated 1490, is a confirmation of a grant by Peter Falconer to a chaplain and his successors for celebrating divine service at the altar of St. Peter in "*nova ecclesia Beata Mariæ in Leith*."—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 777. The Incorporated Trades of Leith supported several altars in their church.

in the progress down Leith Walk, obtaining a constant accession of youths who were on the outlook for the appearance of this accredited civic body, and who preferred "going doon wi' the purse" to any other time. Such a dense mass finally preceded and followed the officials, that before they approached Leith, the only recognisable feature of their presence was the purse on the top of the pole. The "Town Rats" were also daily ordered down to the starting-post in full costume, and their march is ludicrously described by Fergusson. Saturday was the most joyous, drunken, and outrageous day of this extraordinary scene, which fortunately is now only a matter of local reminiscence.

The only access from South Leith to North Leith was by two drawbridges across the Harbour or Water of Leith. In that quarter are the Docks, the Custom-House, and the Artillery Fort, in the direction of the fishing village of Newhaven, the villas of Trinity, and the Duke of Buccleuch's Pier at Granton. The first dock was constructed in 1710, and is behind a tenement in the vicinity of Bridge Street, displaying the date 1622. On the site of the present Custom-House, which is an elegant modern building, was built the "Fury," the first line-of-battle ship constructed in Scotland after the Union. Immense sums have been expended in improving the Harbour, and hitherto without any commensurate benefit for the outlay, as the place has no natural advantages. In North Leith, a few houses near Cromwell's fort, the old parish church dedicated to St. Ninian, the diminutive spire of which is above the upper drawbridge, and a straggling street, comprised the whole of the suburb at the Union. North Leith is first mentioned in 1493, when Robert Bellenden, Abbot of Holyrood, who built a bridge over the river, founded a chapel for the accommodation of the inhabitants, the charter of which was confirmed by James IV. that same year. The district was constituted a separate parish by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1606. Before that year the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood was the parish church, and the whole district was included in the barony of Broughton. The inhabitants were then rated at one thousand communicants, who had erected the church on the north side of the "Brig of Leith" at their own charges, twenty years previously, and who declared that the church of Holyrood-house was most inconveniently situated, and "very far distant from their habitations." A chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, is said to have occupied the site of Cromwell's citadel, every vestige of which has disappeared.

Nearly a mile eastward of Leith, and the same distance from the Palace of Holyrood, is the little church of Restalrig, within a cemetery, close to the decayed hamlet of that name, behind the cavalry barracks of Piershill, and the North British Railway, which passes over the old spring of excellent water known as St. Margaret's Well, the Gothic architecture of which, the groined roof supported by a pillar in the centre, is fortunately preserved, though the access is incommoded by the buildings of the Railway opposite the villa of Parson's Green. James III. founded this church for a fraternity of secular clergy, including residences for the dean and prebendaries, who were eight in number at the Reformation. In his reign, by the papal authority, the church of Lasswade, six miles south of Edinburgh, was detached from the church of St. Salvador in St. Andrews, Fife, and annexed to the collegiate church of Restalrig. The establishment was, it is said, improved by James IV., and completed by James V., but the parsonage of Restalrig was a different and earlier foundation; for in 1291, Adam of St. Edmund's was the incumbent, and obtained a writ to the Sheriff of Edinburgh to deliver to him his lands and rights. In 1296, the same Adam of St. Edmund's swore fealty to Edward I. in the then church of Restalrig. The parsonage continued after the Reformation, and evidently conferred the name of Parson's Green on the adjoining property at the east base of Arthur's Seat. Restalrig was then a distinct parish in which South Leith was included. In 1345, the patronage of the church was confirmed to Thomas Logan by William Landale, Bishop of St. Andrews. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig and Bishop of Brechin, performed the ceremonial of the marriage of Queen Mary to Lord Darnley in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood in 1565. The church, which is a plain Gothic structure, was ordered to be demolished on the 21st of December, 1561, as a "monument of idolatry." The parishioners were at the same time enjoined to resort to St. Mary's, in South Leith, which has been since the parish church; and in 1609, the legal rights of the church and parish of Restalrig, with all the revenues and pertinents, were conferred on the said St. Mary's chapel, which was declared to be the legal parish of South Leith. The church of Restalrig stood roofless till 1837, when it was substantially restored.

Connected with the church on the south-west corner is a vault, erroneously said to be the cemetery of the Earls of Moray, though that family had no connexion with the property or barony of Restalrig

till after 1746. This vault was never opened without permission of the Earl of Moray. The interior is described as circular, supported by a central pillar, the whole richly ornamented with Gothic sculpture.¹ This intimates that the vault was originally used as a vestment-room by the dean and prebendaries, or it may have been the place of sepulture of the Logan family, as it certainly was of the Elphinstones, Lords Balmerino. John, second Lord, conspicuous in the Covenanting troubles in the reign of Charles I., was interred in the vault, which in 1650 was forcibly entered by Cromwell's soldiers, who violated his Lordship's grave, and appropriated the leaden coffin, and all others they could find, to manufacture bullets. John, third Lord, who died in 1704; his wife, Lady Margaret Campbell, only daughter of the stern Covenanting first Earl of Loudon, whom he married in Holyrood-house in 1649, and who died in 1666; their son John, fourth Lord, who died in 1734; and John, fifth Lord, were interred in this vault.

The surrounding cemetery has been long used as a place of burial, and was the only one for many years near Edinburgh, after the Revolution, in which the members of the deposed Episcopal Church of Scotland, and those of the Church of England, were allowed the last offices of religion as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. On this account Restalrig was held in peculiar veneration by the members of the depressed Communion. Dr. Alexander Rose, the last survivor of the Bishops, consecrated before the Revolution, was interred in the then roofless church in 1720, though no stone indicates the spot, and an inscription on a monument in the Canongate churchyard intimates that Arthur Ross, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was interred in his own family tomb at Restalrig in 1704. His daughter Anne became the second wife of the fourth Lord Balmerino, and was the mother of the unfortunate Arthur, sixth and last Lord, attainted and beheaded on Tower Hill in 1746 for his connexion with the Enterprise of 1745. A plain tombstone, with an inscription, near the door of the church, marks the grave of William Brougham, Esq., father of Lord Brougham. Several eminent, and not a few eccentric individuals, are interred at Restalrig.²

The village of Restalrig is now reduced to a few decayed houses. All vestiges of the residences of the dean and prebendaries have disappeared; but opposite the east end of the church, forming the lower walls of a plain modern tenement, is part of an edifice said to have been a castle of the Barons of Restalrig. Lady Balmerino,³ the widow of the last Lord, continued to reside in Restalrig, and died there in 1765.

At the death of William the Lion the property of Restalrig was possessed by a family of the same designation, and John de Restalrig was its baron at the death of Alexander III. In the reign of Robert Bruce the barony was acquired by the family of Logan by marriage. Robert Logan of Restalrig, who, it was discovered after his death, was implicated in the Gowrie Conspiracy in 1600, and who seems to have died a bankrupt, sold in 1604 his barony of Restalrig to James, first Lord Balmerino, and it continued in that family till the forfeiture in 1746. It was then purchased by James, seventh Earl of Moray, a descendant in the female line of the Lords Balmerino.

A short distance to the north of Restalrig is the Lake of Lochend, about half a mile in circumference, from which Leith was long supplied with water; and on a precipitous rock on the east side, close to the modern farm-house, are the ruins of a castellated edifice, said to have been the residence of the Logans.

Close to Restalrig is the Cavalry Barrack of Piershill, at the hamlet of Jock's Lodge, on the road to Haddington and Berwick-upon-Tweed, nearly two miles from Edinburgh. It is related that the name of Jock's Lodge was derived from a mendicant who early in the eighteenth century domiciled in a hovel

¹ Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland during the Years 1799 and 1800, by Sir John Stoddart, LL.B. 8vo. London, 1801, vol. i. p. 91.

² An urn of white marble on a black slab, with a short inscription, is inserted in the wall of the interior of Restalrig church, to the memory of Mr. Louis Cauvin, long an eminent teacher of the French language in Edinburgh, and founder of the educational Hospital near the neighbouring village of Duddingstone, designated by his name. In the cemetery was interred a person of the name of Henry Prentice, who deserves notice as the first who is said to have introduced the cultivation of potatoes into the Lothians, about 1746. He is described as an eccentric individual, who travelled as a pedlar. In his declining years he pensioned himself on the Canongate Workhouse, by giving a

certain sum to the managers, and engaging to leave his effects to that institution, on the condition that the managers would defray his funeral expenses, part of which he provided by keeping his coffin above his bed. He caused a tombstone to be erected in the Canon-gate churchyard, on the west wall, with a laconic inscription, long before he died at Restalrig, and the boys continually exasperated him by defacing his mortuary memorial. Prentice resided a long time within the precincts of the Sanctuary of Holyrood, and was unmarried. He is said to have suggested the culture of potatoes to Lord Somerville, who was the first to plant them in a field on his property of Drum, near Edinburgh. No one would at first purchase them, when Prentice drove them in carts to Edinburgh for sale.

³ Lady Balmerino was Margaret, daughter of Captain Chalmers.

on the spot, but this must be an error, as the locality was designated by its present name in Cromwell's time.¹ Piershill is said to be so called from Colonel Piers, who commanded a cavalry regiment stationed at Edinburgh in the reign of George II., and who occupied a villa on the rising ground on which the apartments for the officers are erected, overlooking Restalrig. The Barrack was built in 1793, and the stones were procured from a freestone quarry at Craigmillar. The edifices form three sides of a quadrangle, and are delightfully situated amid villas and beautiful scenery near the eastern base of Arthur's Seat, between the North British Railway and the public road.

Nearly a mile west of Leith is the fishing village of Newhaven, a place of some antiquity, and locally noted for the peculiar habits and customs of its piscatory denizens, who form a kind of isolated community, intermarrying among themselves, and evincing many of the characteristics of a foreign origin. In the fifteenth century the village is said to have contained a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the place was designated "Our Lady's Port of Grace." A small part of the wall of this chapel is in the burying-ground, in the centre of the village. James IV. was apparently the founder of Newhaven, and conferred on the inhabitants certain burghal privileges; but in 1510 he granted to the Town-Council of Edinburgh a right to his "new port of Newhaven," which conferred on the civic authorities the complete superiority, and enabled them to pursue the system of thralldom which they exercised over Leith.² In 1511, James IV. built at Newhaven the celebrated ship called the "Great Michael," which was larger than any vessel in the navy of England or of France, and he resorted almost daily to the village to witness the progress of the work. All the oak forests in Fife, with the exception of that at Falkland, were exhausted in the construction, and large supplies of timber were brought from Norway. This vessel is described as two hundred and forty feet in length by thirty-six feet in breadth, its sides ten feet thick, with thirty-five pieces of artillery, three hundred mariners, and one hundred and twenty gunners, with accommodation for one thousand warriors. The expense was 7000*l.* sterling, a large sum for the time, exclusive of the artillery, which would be of rude formation; and this money, as the event proved, was literally thrown away. The ship never was of any use, and England soon taught the Scottish people a lesson at Flodden, which they had long cause to remember.

Newhaven was formerly an active, bustling village, the old part inhabited by the fishermen and their families. The place was a favourite resort of the citizens of Edinburgh for sea-bathing, and especially to partake of "fish dinners." The fisherwomen, who, in conjunction with those of Fisherrow at Musselburgh, supply the neighbouring city with the produce of the industry of their husbands and fathers, are noted for the loads they carry in their willow baskets on their backs, their peculiar dress, and their whisky-drinking; and yet the latter habit seems to have no injurious effects on their health, which may be probably explained on the principle that the exertion they daily encounter, and their constant exposure to the weather, neutralise the effects of their libations. The sea has made rapid encroachments in this quarter, and in reality Newhaven must have been in former times situated on a bay, as it is well known that a tract of land on the shore, known as the Links, has disappeared.

The Chain Pier and villas of Trinity are a short distance west of Newhaven, in the immediate vicinity of the Railway to Edinburgh and Granton. The Chain Pier was constructed by Captain Sir Samuel Brown, R.N., in 1821, at the expense of 4000*l.* It was used for steam-boat traffic, as was also Newhaven Pier; both of which are now entirely superseded by Granton Pier. That of Newhaven, like Leith harbour, is tidal, or dry at low water, which caused many inconveniences to passengers.

A mile west from Newhaven and Trinity is the magnificent Granton Pier, erected at the sole expense of the Duke of Buccleuch, who is proprietor of the adjoining estate, now called Caroline Park. This great work, the finest landing-place in the Frith of Forth, and accessible to its jetties at any state of the tide,³ was begun in November 1835, and finished in 1845, though partially opened on the 28th of June, 1838, the day of the coronation of her Majesty Queen Victoria, by Lord John Scott, the brother of the Duke, in presence of an

¹ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. p. 21.

² By this grant of James IV. a right was given to the Town-Council of Edinburgh to the "new port, designated Newhaven, lately made by the said King on the sea-coast, with the lands thereunto belonging, lying between the Chapel of St. Nicholas and the lands of Wardie Brae." These lands are immediately east of Granton Pier. — Parliamentary Reports on Municipal Corporations in Scotland—Leith, folio, vol. ii. p. 205.

³ As a proof of the advance of the tide in some parts of the shore in the vicinity of Granton Pier, vestiges of a sea-wall were discovered within low-water mark, which must have extended along a margin of green turf forming the boundary of the beach. This sea-wall is supposed to have been constructed by the great John, Duke of Argyll, who, at the Enterprise of 1715, was the proprietor of Caroline Park. — New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 595.



EDINBURGH FROM THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND.

From an Original Drawing by C. Hanfield R.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

immense concourse of spectators. In commemoration of the day, one of the jetties on the west side of the Pier, extending to ninety feet, is named "Victoria Jetty." The length of the Pier is 1700 feet, the breadth varying from 80 to 100 feet. A massive wall, which has entrances to each side of the Pier, runs up the centre; and the whole structure is of beautiful masonry, the stones taken from an extensive quarry on the Duke of Buccleuch's property a mile westward. A slip 325 feet in length, on each side of the Pier, is constructed for shipping and landing cattle. In 1847 the Pier contained ten jetties, two low-water slips, eleven warehouses, all since increased. From sunset to sunrise a brilliant red light is exhibited at the northern extremity of this magnificent structure, which will remain a lasting memorial of the Duke of Buccleuch, to whom Scotland is under a debt of gratitude for this undertaking.¹ Granton Pier is the direct channel of intercourse with the opposite Pier at Burntisland, about five miles across, erected by the Duke of Buccleuch and Sir John Gladstone, Bart. The Pier is in connexion with the entire net of railways which extend to the extreme north of Scotland.

Granton is noted in Scottish history as the locality where the English disembarked under the Earl of Hertford, afterwards the Protector Duke of Somerset, in 1544. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert landed at Granton on the morning of Thursday, the 1st of September, 1842.² On the morning of the 15th of that month, Granton Pier was the scene of the royal embarkation for England.

EDINBURGH: THE FRITH OF FORTH.

THE Frith of Forth, the "Bodotria" of the Romans, and the "Scottish Sea" of the ancient Scottish writers, is one of the largest estuaries of the German Ocean, and peninsulates the country to a breadth, between Alloa and Dunbarton, of only thirty-two miles. The width of the estuary from St. Abb's Head on the south, to Fifeness on the north, is calculated at from thirty-five to forty miles. In this part of the German Ocean, as is the case generally, the depth is comparatively shallow, and the bottom encumbered by extensive banks, one of which extends not less than one hundred miles eastward at the entrance of the estuary. After passing the Island of May and the Bass Rock the breadth varies, and the Frith expands into a capacious basin between the counties of Edinburgh and Fife, from Musselburgh to Largo at least twenty miles wide, and from Gulane Point, on the opposite side of the bay, near North Berwick, to Buckhaven, about twelve miles. Above this the Frith contracts for ten miles in the direction of Queensferry, where it is not two miles broad. Westward the estuary is from three to four miles, and at Alloa it may be said to terminate, as the navigation above that port is strictly in the river Forth. The channel is on the south or Linlithgowshire side.

The tide flows to within a short distance of Stirling Bridge, which is nearly eighty miles distant from the German Ocean. Near Stirling the flow is interrupted by a rock crossing the Forth, on which is a rise of five feet at spring tides. Above Queensferry occur the singular tidal irregularities locally designated

¹ The Duke of Buccleuch is supposed to have expended on Granton Pier, including the erection of the splendid hotel, residences for the officers, and other accommodation, the sum of at least 160,000*l*. The gas, which extends to the end of the Pier, is brought from Leith; and the water for supplying the houses forming the nucleus of the town, and the vessels frequenting the Pier, is obtained from the Corstorphine Hills. — *New Statistical Account of Scotland — Edinburghshire*, p. 601, 602. By the Act 7 William IV. c. 15, the Duke of Buccleuch is entitled to levy certain dues on all persons entering within the gates of the Pier, and on cattle, horses, carriages, and all kinds of conveyances and goods. The passengers on the Edinburgh and Northern Railways were exempted from these dues, and also from payment of the ferry from Granton to Burntisland, both of which were included in the railway fares.

² On that memorable occasion "the royal yacht," says Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., "bearing the sacred person of the sovereign, approached the Granton Pier, towed majestically by the Black Eagle and Shearwater steamers. At about half-past eight o'clock the yacht reached the eastern side of the Pier. The moment the gangway,

covered with scarlet cloth, was placed so as to produce a bridge of connexion between the pier and the ship, Sir Robert Peel hastened on board, and advanced to that part of the quarter-deck where the Queen and the Prince were standing. When he had retired, the Duke of Buccleuch approached, as Lord-Lieutenant of the county. The royal carriages were quickly landed; and everything being in readiness, her Majesty was conducted to the gangway by Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, and at about five minutes before nine o'clock, whilst the royal standard flew up to the flagstaff at the end of the pier, Queen Victoria was handed on shore by Prince Albert." Two hundred men of the 53d Regiment, from the Castle, under the command of Major Hill, formed the guard of honour; and her Majesty and the Prince, escorted by cavalry, passed through the city from Granton by Inverleith, Brandon Street, Pitt Street, Dundas Street, Prince's Street, and the Calton Hill, to Dalkeith House, "followed by a miscellaneous crowd, where the handsome private equipages of distinguished individuals mingled with vehicles of a meaner description, all whipping and spurring after the Queen in glorious confusion." — *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland in 1842, 4to, 1843*, p. 80.

"leakies;" the explanation of which is, that before high water the tide begins to ebb, and before low water it begins to flow, then turns, and ebbs till low water. The contraction at Queensferry is supposed to be the cause of these phenomena.

The islands of the Frith of Forth have an important influence on the current, the depositions from the water, and the encroachments on the shore. The May and the Bass are the most conspicuous near the entrance, and higher up Inchkeith affects the tides, channels, bays, and banks, for several miles. Between Inchkeith and Queensferry are Cramond Island on the south coast, Inchcolm on the Fife side, Inchmickery and Inchgarvie between south and north Queensferry, and farther up is an islet known as Preston Island, dry at low water, in the bay off the village of Torryburn.

The depth of the Frith of Forth below the Island of May is said to be upwards of thirty fathoms, declining to fourteen or fifteen fathoms at the northern and southern shores. West from Elie Point the greatest depth is about twenty-eight fathoms, from which, in the middle of the Channel to Inchkeith, it varies from sixteen to seventeen fathoms. The middle bank extends from Inchkeith to Hound Point, and the north channel is on the north of the bank, varying in depth from sixteen to twenty-five fathoms. On the south side of Inchkeith, in the vicinity of Leith, are numerous projecting rocks, between which and the middle bank is the south channel, from three to sixteen fathoms deep. The greatest depth between South Queensferry and Inchgarvie island, and any part above the May, is thirty-seven fathoms. The basin gradually shallows upwards, though the depth is very considerable opposite Kincardine and Alloa, where the roadstead and anchorage are excellent.

The harbours are numerous in the Frith of Forth, of which only those of Burntisland and Alloa on the north, and Granton on the south side, are approachable at low water. All the others are merely tidal, and those on the Fife coast are of hazardous access in stormy weather. The only harbour of any importance in the mouth of the Frith is that of Dunbar, the improvement and extension of which were commenced in 1842. Along the coasts of the Frith are communities of hardy and industrious fishermen; and their avocations, especially that of the "deep-sea fishing," are the sources of considerable wealth, which could be much increased if they would relinquish their obstinate prejudices.

The fishes of the Frith of Forth are scientifically arranged into "osseous" and "cartilaginous," the former of which comprise four orders, and the latter three, all known by most outrageous and pedantic names. Divested of the technical phraseology of the learned in what is called "ichthyology," such fish as cod, skate, flounders, haddocks, mackerel, salmon, and herrings, are in abundance at particular seasons. Upwards of three hundred kinds are found,¹ and the estuary is occasionally visited by certain strangers, some of which are captured by the fishermen, and duly chronicled at the time as wonders of the deep. Sometimes a luckless "phoca," or seal, suffers for its curiosity in entering the Frith, and occasionally a whale appears, to become the gossip of the neighbouring citizens of Edinburgh, and of the denizens of the towns and villages on its shores.² The other important productions of the Frith for domestic use are oysters, mussels, lobsters, and other shell-fish. The oyster-beds are chiefly opposite Prestonpans, Portobello, Newhaven, and Granton on the south side, and Aberdour on the north. They are the property of the Marquis of Abercorn, the City of Edinburgh, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Morton, and the Earl of Moray. Those belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earls of Morton and Moray, and the City of Edinburgh, are rented by the fishermen of Newhaven.

The view of Edinburgh from the Frith of Forth is remarkably grand and impressive, and the estuary is considered by competent judges to be equal to the scenery of the Bay of Naples. The towns on the Fife side, from near Inverkeithing on the west, to Crail at the "East Neuk," or Fifeness, are seen reposing at the

¹ Dr. Patrick Neill of Edinburgh published, in 1805, a catalogue of the fishes of the coast of Scotland, in the first volume of the Wernerian Society's Memoirs, and enumerated seventy-six species. Dr. Richard Parnell contributed a list in the fourteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1839, which is not given as complete, but presents one hundred and twenty-three specimens, about forty of which were added by the learned writer from personal observation, three not previously described as fishes of Scotland, and two are new to the British Fauna.

² An account of an extraordinary capture of a shark appeared in the "Edinburgh Courant" of June 18, 1842. This shark was caught

in the turbot nets off the Island of May, and was five feet in length, with six rows of teeth. In its stomach were found a small tin canister, containing a seal with a beautifully engraved Roman head, thirty-four coins, consisting of British (Charles II. and George II.), French, Dutch, Roman, Brazilian, Hindostanee, and others, apparently Chinese or East Indian, but so corroded as to be undecipherable; an old map of Scotland by Jeffrey; a portion of the "Edinburgh Evening Courant," dated 9th September, 1811, in which two of the silver coins, one of them of 1671, were folded; and a piece of the "London Courier," dated 10th May, 1811, in which the seal was enveloped.

base of the high grounds which rise more or less precipitously from the shore. The Ochil Hills are in the back-ground on the north-west, with a view of the summit of Ben-Lomond and others of the Highland mountains. On the north are the volcanic elevations behind Burntisland, and inland the two Lomonds. Eastward is the conical mountain of Largo Law, commencing a ridge which slopes toward Fifeness, and is only varied by the elevation of Keltie Law. On the Edinburgh and Haddington side are the Scottish metropolis, Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, the Calton Hill, Corstorphine Hills, the Pentland and Moorfoot range, in the back-ground; the Lammermuir range, the towns of Leith, Portobello, Musselburgh, and Prestonpans, the seat of Gosford House belonging to the Earl of Wemyss, the conical hill of North Berwick Law, beyond which appears the "sea-rock immense, amazing Bass." Farther inland the Byre or Byrie Hill to the south, in the vicinity of the town of Haddington, is indicated by a pillar on its summit, to the memory of John fourth Earl of Hopetoun, one of the heroes of the Peninsular War, in which he is conspicuous as General Sir John Hope.¹

The basin of the Frith of Forth and of the river Forth includes the counties of Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgowshire, part of Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, and parts of the counties of Kinross and Fife. The parishes of Culross and Tulliallan, which are on the north shore, between Fifeshire and Clackmannanshire, and form an isolated portion of Perthshire, must be added.

¹ A pillar in Linlithgowshire, and another in Fifeshire, commemorative of this gallant soldier, are within view of the pillar on Byrie Hill. They were erected at the expense of the several counties, in all of which the Earls of Hopetoun possess extensive estates.

CHAPTER II.

THE LOTHIANS.

THE LOTHIANS, or Mid, West, and East Lothian, as the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Haddington, are frequently designated, formed part of a province or kingdom which included Berwickshire or the Merse, and the county of Roxburgh.¹ This province or kingdom, anciently known as Saxonia, because the districts were settled by the Saxons, and were never possessed by the Picts, extended from the Tweed on the south-east, and from the English Border to the river Avon on the north-west, bounded on the north and east by the Frith of Forth and the German Ocean, and on the west and south by the counties of Stirling, Lanark, Dumfries, and the Border counties in that part of Scotland.² The county of Edinburgh is mountainous to a considerable extent, presenting every variety of scenery, and is watered by streams which traverse romantic and pastoral vales in their course to the Frith of Forth. It is stated by an accurate observer, that "Mid-Lothian, when viewed on a fine summer day from any of its hills, displays a prospect of as many natural beauties, without deficiency in those embellishments which arise from industry and cultivation, as can perhaps be met with in any tract of the same extent in Great Britain. The expanse of the Frith of Forth, from six to ten miles in breadth, adds highly to the natural beauty of the scene; and the capital, situated on an eminence adjoining an extensive plain, rises proudly to the view, and imparts a dignity to the whole."³

The Romans entered Mid-Lothian about the end of the first century, and retained possession upwards of three hundred and sixty years, leaving roads, camps, naval stations, and altars, as memorials of their long residence on the shores of the Frith of Forth. After the Roman legions retired in the fifth century from their province of Valentia, of which Mid-Lothian was a part, the inhabitants soon amalgamated with the Saxons. Though the county was early peopled, the improvements in agriculture are of no more recent date than the middle of the eighteenth century. It is asserted by Froissart, that upwards of one hundred castles were, in his time, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh;⁴ but if such was the fact, all those buildings have disappeared. Few ancient castles are in the vicinity or in the district, and those which still exist, whether entire or in ruins, were built after Froissart's time. A few desolate towers in various localities, which cannot be dignified by the name of castles, were the dwellings of the lairds and their retainers.

¹ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 372.

² The country from the Tweed to the Avon was scarcely known by the name of Lothian till about the end of the tenth century.—*Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 559.

³ General View of the Agriculture of the County of Mid-Lothian, by George Robertson, Farmer at Granton, 8vo. 1795, p. 23.

⁴ The period of Froissart's "Chronicle" extends from 1326 to 1400. He was in Scotland in the reign of David II., to whose court his fame as a poet and historian procured for him ready access; and he was entertained fifteen days at the Castle of Dalkeith, by William first Earl of Douglas, who had seized that stronghold, then the property of the ancestors of the Earls of Morton.



EDINBURGH FROM NEAR CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE.

From an Original Drawing by J. G. Murdoch.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE—DUDDINGSTONE.

THE massive Castle of Craigmillar, three miles south of Edinburgh, in the parish of Liberton, occupies a prominent rocky elevation of considerable height, sloping on the north side towards Duddingstone and Arthur's Seat, and perpendicular on the south. Its Gaelic designation, it is said, is "Craig-moil-ard," which signifies a bare and high rock inclining into a plain. The Castle consists of a large tower or keep connected with additional buildings, with an embattled wall upwards of thirty feet high on the east and north, which has strong circular towers on the east, and encloses the inner court-yard, which is entered by the gateway on the north. A date above the gateway intimates that this wall was erected in 1427. The principal staircase of the Castle leads to a noble hall still entire, the walls of immense thickness, and the windows forming deep recesses. The roof is arched with stone, and above it were several apartments, of which the gables are the only memorials. The apartment shown as that occupied by Queen Mary is only seven feet long, and five feet broad, lighted by two windows, and contains a fire-place. The lower storeys of the Castle consist of rooms for the retainers or feudal domestics, and repulsive dungeons. On the west of the Castle and inner court-yard a large addition, in the manor-house style, was erected after 1661 by Sir John Gilmour, Lord President of the Court of Session, and was for some time the residence of his family. The outer court of Craigmillar is entered on the east, is large and spacious, and was inclosed by an exterior wall, portions of which still exist, some parts indicating a moat or ditch on the north and west. On the east, outside the Castle, is the chapel, of plain architecture, which has been long profaned as a stable. Its font, and several memorials of its former state, when Queen Mary performed her devotions within its walls, are in the interior. On the west side of this court was a Presbyterian meeting-house, erected by Sir John Gilmour under the protection of the "Indulgence" granted in the reign of Charles II. On the south side, in a deep hollow, are the remains of an orchard, comprising two acres, and containing a few old trees, one of which, a sycamore, is said to have been planted by Queen Mary.

Of the date of the erection of Craigmillar, and of its first proprietors, no account is now preserved. The son of one of them is mentioned as Henry de Craigmillar, in a charter dated 1212 in the reign of Alexander II.¹ John de Capella is subsequently recorded as in possession,² from whom it was purchased, in 1374, by Sir Simon de Preston, in whose family the Castle continued nearly three hundred years, and whose successors are variously designated of that Ilk, of Gorton near Roslin, and of Craigmillar.³ The arms of the Prestons are on the outer and inner gates of the Castle, on the gate leading down to the orchard, on the adjoining turret, and on the east front above a small door. Over one of the doors are carved in stone a press and a tun or barrel, in playful allusion to the name of Preston; and the arms of Cockburn of Ormiston, Congalton of that Ilk, Moubray of Barnbogle, Otterburn of Redford, and other families with whom the Prestons were connected, are on the battlemented walls which defend the inner court-yard. Above the armorial bearings of the Prestons, on the gate leading into the inner court, are the royal arms of Scotland. It is not apparent when Craigmillar was allowed to become ruinous, though after Sir John Gilmour's time the Castle was habitable.⁴

¹ Lord Haddington's Collections.

² Chart. in Rotulis Roberti II.

³ William Preston of Gorton is said to have procured the veritable arm-bone of St. Giles, at considerable expense and trouble, and he bestowed this relic of their patron saint on the Town Council of Edinburgh, which was received with enthusiastic gratitude.—See the account of St. Giles's Church in the present Work, p. 87. The Prestons of Craigmillar were subsequently much connected with Edinburgh. They were considered of such importance, that in the Scottish Parliaments they were often ranked as barons, though not ennobled. In the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 17th of February, 1471, Preston of Craigmillar was present, and in that held at Edinburgh on the 6th of April, 1476, he is recorded as "Dominus de Craigmillar." William Preston was a member of the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 1st of June, 1478, but it appears that he soon afterwards died, for in the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 1st of October, 1487, and on the 11th of January, 1487–8, Simeon Preston was "Dominus Craigmillar."

James Preston of Craigmillar was in the Parliaments held at Edinburgh, 16th November, 1524, and 6th July, 1525, when he was Provost of Edinburgh. In the Parliaments held on the 3d December, 1543, and 2d December, 1544, Simon Preston of Craigmillar is repeatedly mentioned as a commissioner.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. pp. 101, 115, 116, &c.

⁴ In June, 1708, "the house of Craigmillar, two (Scots) miles from Edinburgh," was advertised in the Edinburgh Courant "to be set, either altogether, or rooms in it;" but this evidently refers to the addition erected by Sir John Gilmour. If the latter supposition is correct, Craigmillar was habitable in 1746, which is intimated in the following notice in that year, which was evidently considered of local importance:—"Yesterday, arrived at his seat of Craigmillar, the Hon. Sir Charles Gilmour, Bart., Member of Parliament for Mid-Lothian." Sir John Gilmour of Craigmillar, Lord President of the Court of Session, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1668, but the title is extinct.

John, Earl of Mar, a younger brother of James III., was confined in Craigmillar in 1477,¹ and the Castle was the residence of James V. during his minority, when he was removed from the Castle of Edinburgh to escape a prevailing epidemic.² The widowed Queen, his mother, frequently visited the young King in Craigmillar, by favour of Lord Erskine, his guardian and attendant. The Castle was much demolished and partly burnt by the English in 1543, and again in 1547, after which it was soon thoroughly repaired.

Queen Mary often resided at Craigmillar after her return from France in 1561. At that time Sir Simon Preston was the proprietor, and he is subsequently conspicuous as Provost of Edinburgh.³ The Queen was an inmate of Craigmillar in the autumn of 1566, when a divorce between her and Darnley was projected. This was long known as the "Conference of Craigmillar." Those concerned in it were the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, and Moray, and Secretary Maitland of Lethington. It appears that they were all residing in the Castle together, and this was some months after the murder of Riccio, which the Queen still remembered with bitterness of feeling, increased by the outrageous and imbecile conduct of Darnley. Bothwell, who had completely secured the Queen's favour by affecting the utmost devotion to her interest, attended by the Earls, waited on Mary, and represented Darnley's enormities; but the Queen resolutely declared, that though she wished for a divorce, she would consent to no measure which might be eventually prejudicial to the future welfare of her infant son.⁴

When Darnley was removed from Glasgow it was intended to lodge him in Craigmillar, but the Kirk-of-Field house at Edinburgh was preferred.⁵ After Queen Mary's surrender to the confederated nobility on Carberry Hill, she was brought from Musselburgh to Edinburgh by the road on the north of Craigmillar, and immured for the night in the Black Turnpike, then the reputed town residence of Sir Simon Preston.⁶ In the numerous skirmishes which occurred during the regencies of the Earls of Mar and Morton, Craigmillar was garrisoned by their soldiers.⁷ In 1571, during the siege of Edinburgh Castle, which became the resort of Queen Mary's adherents in 1570, Captain Melville, one of the eight sons of Sir John Melville of Raith, by his wife Helen Napier, who were all devoted to Queen Mary, was killed on Craigmillar Hill by the igniting of a barrel of gunpowder, which he was in the act of dealing out to his soldiers.⁸ The occupation of Craigmillar was probably caused by the avowed sentiments of David Preston, the then proprietor, who, on the 12th of June, 1587, was denounced a rebel.⁹

The Prestons of Craigmillar are often noticed in the records of the Scottish Parliaments previous to 1661,¹⁰ when Sir John Gilmour, who had, while an advocate or barrister, purchased the lands from George Preston, with consent of his brother John Preston, and others interested in the property, obtained a "ratification" of the Castle and barony.¹¹ After this legal possession, Sir John erected the addition on the west side of the Castle and of the inner court, and subsequently his Presbyterian meeting-house already mentioned. His descendants or representatives, however, within a century afterwards, removed from Craigmillar to the fine old mansion called the Inch House, about a mile distant, which is now their family residence.¹²

¹ See the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work, p. 5.

² Ibid. p. 9.

³ Sir Simon Preston was Provost of Edinburgh at the time of Riccio's murder.—See the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood in the present Work, p. 59. Sir Simon had a commission to be Justice-General of the kingdom from the 22d of January, 1565, to the end of the ensuing February.—MS. Abridgements in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, cited in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. i. Part II. p. 447.

⁴ The narrative of the "Conference of Craigmillar," (when it cannot be doubted that the murder of Darnley was determined, though the mode of perpetrating the crime had not been arranged, nor the time fixed), is preserved in the Cotton Library, British Museum, Cal. c. i. fol. 282, and is inserted by Dr. Gilbert Stuart in the second volume of his "History of Scotland," 4to. pp. 3, 4, 5.

⁵ See the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood, in the present Work, p. 60.

⁶ See the High Street of Edinburgh, in the present Work, p. 105.

⁷ Pollock MS. (Diurnal of Occurrents) cited by Mark Napier, Esq., in his "Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston," 4to. 1834, p. 135.

⁸ It is said of Captain Melville—"All the nobility followed him to his grave, and Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, his nephew, pronounced a funeral oration to his soldiers. He is not mentioned in the Peerage (Leven and Melville), but these facts may be gathered from a comparison of the contemporary journals of Bannatyne, Sir James Melville, and the Pollock MSS."—Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. p. 133.

⁹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 525.

¹⁰ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 52; vol. vii. p. 16.

¹¹ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 361. Robert Preston of Craigmillar died without issue in 1639, and Robert Preston of Whitehill was served heir-male in 1640.

¹² At the south-west base of Craigmillar Hill is the hamlet of Little France, on one of the roads from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, which is said to have derived the name from Queen Mary's French domestics. Near Little France is the hamlet of Bridgend, where James V. erected a hunting station, which was long identified by his initials, the royal arms of Scotland, and between them the outline of a large edifice, all carved in stone. Adjoining was a chapel, every vestige of which has disappeared since 1799. Eastward from Craigmillar is Niddrie-Marischal, the seat of the ancient family of Wanchope of Niddrie,

The adjoining district, forming the parish of Duddingstone, extends from the eastern base of Arthur's Seat in the royal domain of Holyrood, to the shore at and two miles east of the town of Portobello. The greater part of this ground was long an unreclaimed waste, covered with furze, on which the canons of Holyrood turned loose their cattle, with a broad expanse of flat sandy shore. Although in the vicinity of Edinburgh, this now fertile tract was infested by robbers and smugglers, and many murders were committed, the perpetrators of which were never discovered. Yet the interior, towards Arthur's Seat, must have been long cultivated, as Duddingstone Mill, a very romantic locality about half a mile from the village or "kirk-town" of Wester Duddingstone, is mentioned as such in connexion with one of the tumults excited by the turbulent Earl of Bothwell in his contentions with James VI. The village of Wester Duddingstone, so called to distinguish it from that of Easter Duddingstone, upwards of two miles distant, and about half a mile from the shore, is pleasantly situated at the south-east base of Arthur's Seat. A fine and romantic footpath to it from Edinburgh is through the southern parks of Holyrood, passing under the basaltic rocks of Arthur's Seat, which overlook the almost extinguished springs locally known as the "Wells of Weary," and also by the road round the east and south of Arthur's Seat designated the "Queen's Drive." This little village, which chiefly consists of a few houses and some villas embosomed amid gardens, was once large and populous, though it now contains probably not a hundred resident inhabitants.¹ Close to it, in the hollow formed by the elevation of Arthur's Seat, is the lake called Duddingstone Loch, about a mile and a quarter in circumference when flooded, and enlivened by wild ducks and swans.² At the east end of the village is the humble tenement, of two storeys, in which Prince Charles Edward slept the night before he marched to meet Sir John Cope at Preston, the Adventurers having encamped after their arrival in Edinburgh on the adjoining grounds now inclosed as the park of Duddingstone House. The parish church, built on elevated ground overlooking the lake, is a very ancient plain edifice, with a small square tower, and is supposed, from the structure and the style of the arches in the interior, to be of Saxon workmanship. A very beautiful semicircular arch divides the choir from the chancel, and a door of elegant architecture now built up is on the south side. At the gate of the churchyard, attached by a chain to the wall, is a jointed iron collar, long a terror to petty offenders, known in Scotland as the "joughs," which was fastened round the necks of delinquents by a padlock, and still to be seen in various parts of Scotland some of them on parish churches and churchyard walls—memorials of a discipline long disused.

After 1751, the beautiful and valuable estate of Duddingstone House was subdivided, inclosed, and the improvements and plantations commenced by James, eighth Earl of Abercorn, who purchased the entire barony in 1745 from Archibald, third Duke of Argyll, who, it is said, sold the estate to enable him to proceed with the erection of Inverary Castle. The property was formerly in possession of the Thomsons of Duddingstone, now extinct, one of whom was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., in 1636.³ The estate passed to the second Earl and only Duke of Lauderdale in 1674, after whom it was acquired by marriage by the first Duke of Argyll. The Earl of Abercorn erected the elegant mansion of Duddingstone House, from a design by Sir William Chambers. It was finished in 1768, and, with the offices, gardens, and pleasure-

who have been in possession of the estate at least since the commencement of the fourteenth century. The oldest part of the mansion exhibits the date 1636, and a portion of its chapel, built in 1387 by Robert Wauchope of Niddrie-Marischal, is now the family cemetery. This chapel, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was dilapidated by a mob from Edinburgh, in November 1688, after ravaging the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. On Niddrie Edge, to the south of Niddrie, Alexander, sixth Lord and first Earl of Home, was defeated in a skirmish by the turbulent Earl of Bothwell, in April 1594. This affair was designated the "Raid of Greenside."

¹ Wester Duddingstone, previous to 1760, had thirty weavers' looms, and furnished thirty-six horses to convey coals in sacks, and creels, or willow-baskets, to Edinburgh. Some females employ themselves in washing for families in the neighbouring city, and the enormous burdens which these women carry on their backs is astonishing. The village was formerly long noted for a dish peculiarly Scottish, and still in great repute, though not much known or relished in England—broth or soup made of singed sheep-heads and vegetables boiled together. Its reputation for this dish is supposed to have arisen from a practice of slaughtering sheep pastured on Arthur's Seat on the spot,

and selling the heads to the keepers of the village hostleries, who prepared the repast for their customers.

² After the death of the Duke of Lauderdale, proprietor of the estate of Duddingstone, his Duchess pursued Sir James Dick before the Privy Council for seizing three of five swans put into the lake by the Duke. Sir James maintained that the swans belonged to him, as the lake was his property. The Privy Council decided against him, and he resented by expelling the remaining birds, but "Duke Hamilton, alleging that the loch bounded with the King's Park, and so belonged to him, he put them in again, and thus took possession in the King's name of the loch, which will cost Sir James a declarator of property to clear his right."—March 6, 1688.—*Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, by Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Bart., 4to. Edin. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 1847, vol. ii. p. 857.

³ Before the family of Thomson, the Murrays of Balvaird held the estate, or part of it, of Duddingstone. On the 24th of January, 1541–2, Sir David Murray of Balvaird (an ancestor of the Viscounts Stormont, now also Earls of Mansfield), was paid 400*l.* for his lands of Duddingstone, "tane in to the new park beside Halyrudehous."—*Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part I. p. 321.

grounds, and plantations,¹ cost 30,000*l*. The mansion was the Earl's principal residence till his death, in October 1789.²

The adjoining mansion and estate of Prestonfield, or Priestfield, on the south-west side of Duddingstone Loch, was formerly the property of some of the ancestors of the Earls of Haddington. Sir Thomas Hamilton, elder son of Thomas Hamilton of Orchardfield, who fell at the battle of Pinkie, is designated "of Priestfield," when he was served heir to his father, in 1549. He was subsequently forfeited, and in 1572, Andrew, eldest son of Murray of Balvaird and Arngask, received a grant of the lands of Priestfield, then in the King's hands, in which he is designated the "late Thomas Hamilton;" yet he, or one of his name, recovered the property by obtaining a charter, in 1597. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Heriot of Trabroun, and relative of George Heriot, the founder of the Hospital at Edinburgh. Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, his eldest son,³ who was very rich, and on whom James VI. conferred the sobriquet of "Tam of the Cowgate," was a most distinguished person in his time, and held some of the highest and most lucrative state and judicial appointments.⁴ He was created Lord Binning in 1613, and Earl of Melrose in 1616, a peerage which he relinquished for the Earldom of Haddington in 1627, at the death of Sir John Ramsay, the first and only Viscount Haddington, brother of George, first Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie.⁵ The second son of the first Earl of Haddington was Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield, who was an officer in the forces sent to the assistance of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in 1631. The property was subsequently acquired by Sir James Dick, merchant in Edinburgh. He was the grandson of Sir William Dick, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1646, and Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1637 to 1639, who was a merchant of great wealth in Edinburgh, almost ruined himself by lending large sums to the Covenanters, was fined by the Parliamentarians to the extent of 14,934*l*. as a "Malignant," and after suffering imprisonment by Cromwell in the Tower, when he went to London to demand payment of money he had advanced on the Covenanting government security, died at Westminster, in December 1655.⁶ Sir James Dick, the grandson, Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1679 and 1680, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1677, which was renewed to settle the entail of his estate in 1707. When he purchased the lands of Prestonfield, the property was little removed from waste, but he commenced those improvements which have made the fields to be considered the finest pasturage in the vicinity of Edinburgh. Prestonfield was burnt by the students of the University of Edinburgh in a riot, on the 11th of January, 1681, and the present house was erected by the Town-Council as a compensation.

Immediately south-east of Prestonfield, in the direction of Craigmillar Castle, is the house of Pepper Mill,

¹ Duddingstone Park was laid out by Mr. James Robertson, who was sent from England for that purpose in 1750. He subsequently made some important alterations in Dalkeith Park, the pleasure-grounds of Dalhousie Castle, Niddrie and Moredun, the two latter in the neighbourhood of Duddingstone, Hopetoun House, and other seats, at all of which he introduced the transplanting machine.

² The Earl of Abercorn, who was the uncle of his successor, John James, ninth Earl and first British Marquis of Abercorn, had no property in Scotland before he purchased the Barony of Duddingstone, and in 1764 he acquired, also by purchase, the Lordship of Paisley, the patrimony of his ancestors. Several anecdotes are preserved of the Earl's peculiarities. It is said that he made the tour of Europe sitting in an upright attitude, never allowing himself to recline on the back of his coach. He was singularly aristocratic in his habits, and was enraged at any intrusion without invitation. While the plantations of Duddingstone Park were in progress, Principal Robertson, the Historian, one day went to pay his respects to his Lordship, whom he found in his grounds superintending the workmen. The Earl received the Principal in the most haughty manner. The Principal, after the ordinary salutations, complimented the Earl on the thriving appearance of his trees, and observed that they were growing well. "Sir," said his Lordship, "they have nothing else to do than to grow," and turning from him, walked away, leaving the astonished Principal to meditate on this want of politeness.

³ Sir John Hamilton of Magdalens, in Linlithgowshire, the third son, was a Judge in the Court of Session, Lord Register of Scotland, and a Privy Councillor. He died in 1632, and was interred in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. Alexander Hamilton, the fourth son, general of artillery or ordnance, held a high command in the troops sent to the assistance of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, under

the first Duke of Hamilton in 1631. He died in November, 1649, and was interred in the aisle in Duddingstone Church. His daughter, Anna Hamilton, was served heiress to the barony of Priestfield after the death of his only son in 1657. The other brothers of "Tam of the Cowgate" were Sir Andrew Hamilton of Redhouse, in Haddingtonshire, a Judge in the Court of Session, and Patrick, Under-secretary to the said "Tam of the Cowgate."

⁴ His Lordship was successively a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Drumcairn, one of the eight Commissioners of the Treasury and Exchequer, called from their number "Octavians," King's Advocate, Lord Clerk Register, Secretary of State, Lord President of the Court of Session, and finally Keeper of the Privy Seal, which last office he held till his death in 1637, in his seventy-fourth year. The Earl was the compiler of "Haddington's Decisions of the Court of Session," from 1592 to the end of July, 1624, preserved, with other valuable MS. Collections by him, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.

⁵ Sir John Ramsay was rewarded with this Peerage, and a grant of the Barony of Eastbarns, in Haddingtonshire, for the assistance he rendered to James VI. at the Gowrie Conspiracy in Perth, when he killed the Earl of Gowrie with his own hand, and mortally wounded his brother, Alexander Ruthven.

⁶ Sir William Dick lent or advanced 8000*l*. sterling to King James in 1618, to defray that monarch's expenses when a Parliament was held in Scotland. In 1628 he farmed the customs on wine at 6222*l*. sterling, the crown rents in Orkney at 3000*l*. sterling per annum, and afterwards the Excise. The window of the house of Sir William Dick, in the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh, was long traditionally remembered for the barrels of dollars brought out at it in his money dealings with the Covenanting leaders.



ROSLIN CASTLE

From an Original Drawing by J. D. Harding

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

supposed to be the original of the mansion of the Laird of Dumbiedykes, and most graphically described in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," although the name of Dumbiedykes, as already mentioned, designates the old road from the North Back of the Canongate to the suburb of St. Leonards at Edinburgh, the residence of "douce" David Deans, after he removed from the assumed hamlet of Woodend, two miles from Dalkeith. It is stated that the residence of the Laird of Dumbiedykes "lay three or four miles—no matter for the exact topography—to the southward of St. Leonards." Although Sir Walter Scott's description of the Laird's domicile is probably imaginary, and may apply to many dwellings which remain as memorials of the seventeenth century, it nevertheless corresponds to the antique tenement of Peffer Mill, which was erected in 1636 by a gentleman named Edgar, whose armorial bearings are above the entrance.

ROSLIN—HAWTHORNDEN.

SEVEN miles south from Edinburgh, in the parish of Lasswade, on the North Esk, which traverse its romantic and pastoral vale in its course from the Pentland Hills, are the Castle and Chapel of Roslin, or Rosslyn, surrounded by the most delightful scenery. The village so called, in the immediate vicinity, consists of tenements of very homely aspect, forming four cross-road-side streets, and, though now an insignificant place some distance inland from any of the principal highways, embosomed among trees in rural silence, was at one time only inferior to Edinburgh and Haddington as a town, and was constituted a burgh of barony in 1456 by James II., with a right to a weekly market on Saturday, and an annual fair on the 28th of October, the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude.¹ The pedestal of the market-cross is in the centre of the village, and is the only external memorial of privileges for centuries in oblivion. This erection of Roslin into a burgh of barony was ten years after the foundation of the Chapel, before which it is stated that the village was at Bilsdon Burn, nearly a mile distant, and was removed to the present locality for the convenience of the workmen employed at the Chapel.²

The exquisite beauties of Roslin, especially the Chapel, have been more frequently described than almost any other place in Scotland.³ The family who resided for centuries in feudal splendour at Roslin Castle, and known as the "Princely St. Clairs," are duly recorded in the Collections of Father Hay,⁴ who states that the proprietors before the St. Clairs were first known in Scotland in the reign of William the Lion, which extended from December 1165 to December 1214. One of them is designated Roger de Roslyn, who is witness to three charters granted by William de Lyssuris of Gorton in the neighbourhood.⁵ Those ancient possessors were probably the constructors of the fortalice traditionally known as the "Maiden Castle," the first residence of the Barons of Roslin, which was situated within a bend of the North Esk, a short distance south of the locality called the "Hewan." Some vestiges of the foundations are still visible, and the "Maiden Castle" evidently indicated the first or original fortalice, which had no connexion with the present ruins of Roslin Castle, and probably none with the St. Clair family.

The St. Clairs or Sinclairs of Roslin, for the name is variously so written, were reputed to be

¹ The document of this erection is in the "Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn," by Father Richard Augustin Hay, Prior of Pierremont, edited by James Maidment, Esq., with Introductory Notice, 4to. Edin. 1835, pp. 76, 77.

² Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn, 4to. p. 27.

³ Mr. Maidment says—"No separate account of Rosslyn has ever been published, although the late Dr. Forbes, Bishop of Caithness [in the Scottish Episcopal Church from 1762, to his death in 1776], has extracted from Father Hay's MS. some particulars as to the Chapel. The following is the title of the volume:—'Account of the Chapel of Roslin, most respectfully inscribed to William St. Clair of Roslin, Esquire, representative of the Princely Founder and Endower, by Philo-Roskelensis, Edin. 1774; with a South View of the Chapel. J. Johnson, del.' These extracts had been inserted in the Edinburgh Magazine for January 1761, with a view of the interior of the Chapel. This was the ground-work of a narrative by David Webster, a bookseller in Edinburgh, and of 'An Historical and Descriptive Account of

Rosslyn Chapel and Castle, with Eight Engravings, Edin. 1825.'"—Introduction to Father Hay's Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn, pp. xv. xvi.

⁴ Father Hay's original MS. Collections are preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. He was the son of Captain George Hay, a younger son of Sir John Hay of Barra, Clerk Register in the reign of Charles I., by Jean, daughter of Sir Henry Spottiswoode, son of Dr. James Spottiswoode, Bishop of Clogher, and nephew of Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews. The mother of Father Hay married as her second husband James St. Clair of Roslin, by whom she had issue. This worthy ecclesiastic, who was an enthusiastic collector of Scottish family antiquities, is said to have died in the Cowgate of Edinburgh in poverty, in 1735 or 1736—"whether by choice of principle or otherwise," says Paton to Gough in 1779, "I cannot positively affirm."—Introductory Notice to Genealogie of the Hayes of Tweeddale, 4to. Edin. 1835, pp. vi.-ix.

⁵ Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn, pp. 37-41.

descended from William second son of Walderne de St. Clair, and Margaret daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. This William de St. Clair was also ancestor of the St. Clairs or Sinclairs of Hermandstone in Haddingtonshire, who were ennobled in 1489 in the person of Henry St. Clair, then created Lord Sinclair. William de St. Clair, whose elegant person procured for him the appellation of the "Seemly St. Clair," obtained extensive grants of land from Malcolm III., son of the "gracious Duncan," and consort of the canonized Queen Margaret. By the liberality of successive monarchs the St. Clairs obtained valuable additions, and some of their descendants were elevated by marriage to very high rank in the Kingdom. The eighth in descent from William de St. Clair, the alleged immediate progenitor, was Sir William St. Clair, whose father, also so named, accompanied Sir James Douglas on his expedition to the Holy Land to deposit the heart of King Robert Bruce, and was killed with him in Spain in 1330. This eighth descendant married Isabel, daughter and co-heiress of Malise Earl of Strathearn, who also possessed the Earldoms of Caithness and Orkney in right of his Countess, daughter of Magnus, the last of the Norwegian Earls of Orkney. Henry St. Clair, the eldest son, was recognized as Earl of Orkney by Haco VII. King of Norway, in 1379; but as Orkney was not then under the dominion of the Scottish crown, and his tenure was consequently burdened with conditions disagreeable in the event of a war, with the certainty that his estates under both monarchs would not be retained, his grandson William, third Earl, resigned the Earldom of Orkney in 1470, when James III. acquired Orkney and Shetland as the dowry or portion of his consort Margaret of Denmark.

This Earl, whose titles of nobility were so numerous that he was likely to forget the half of them, and Father Hay quaintly observes that the enumeration "would weary a Spaniard," resided at Roslin in a regal style, maintaining a most imposing establishment. Noblemen were in his household, filling the official situations of master of the same, of carver, and of cupbearer. He was of royal descent by his mother Egidia, daughter of Douglas, Lord of Liddesdale, and grand-daughter of Robert II. In right of his father Henry, second Earl, he was styled Prince of Orkney, in addition to the titles of Duke of Oldenburg, Earl of Caithness and Strathearn, and a legion of others. He married as his first Countess a daughter of Archibald fourth Earl of Douglas, whose name Father Hay alleges was Margaret, while other authorities style her Lady Elizabeth. The Earl married as his second Countess Lady Marjory Sutherland, grand-daughter of King Robert Bruce.¹ His Princess was attended by seventy-five ladies, most of whom were the daughters of noblemen, and two hundred gentlemen formed her escort in her journeys. Her arrivals in Edinburgh must have excited public sensation, if the tradition is authentic that eighty flaming torches were carried before her to the family town residence at the Cowgate end of Blackfriars' Wynd. Though Father Hay's minute details of the gold and silver vessels, and other valuables, which this Prince-Earl and his consorts possessed, are undoubtedly exaggerated, it is evident that much feudal splendour would be displayed by the founder of Roslin Chapel, who is described as "a very fair man, of great stature, broad-bodied, yellow-haired, straight, well proportioned, humble, courteous, and given to policy, as building of castles, palaces, and churches, the planting and haining of forests, as also the parking and hedging in of trees, which his works yet witness."²

The Prince-Earl was recompensed for his abdication of the Earldom of Orkney by a grant of Ravenscraig and the adjoining lands in Fife, between Kircaldy and Dysart, in 1471,³ after which he was styled Earl of Caithness and Lord St. Clair. He denuded himself of the Earldom of Caithness in favour of one of his sons by his second marriage, and the male representation of the "Princely St. Clairs" of Roslin is now vested in the present Earl of Caithness. The Prince-Earl died about 1484, and was succeeded by his son Sir Oliver St. Clair, who was a knight in his father's lifetime, and is so designated in various documents. According to Father Hay's narrative, which seems to be correct on this point, the second Earl of Caithness inherited from his father, who may be called the first Earl, the barren domains of that Earldom, while Roslin, Pentland, and other extensive properties, were assigned to his brother Sir Oliver, after whose succession the St. Clairs of Roslin appear to have lived as quiet

¹ Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*, pp. 25, 28, 29.

² *Ibid.* pp. 24, 25.

³ The legal "Discharge, by King James the Third, of Orkney,"

and the "Ratification of Ravenscraig for the Right of Orkney by King James the Third," are preserved by Father Hay (pp. 79-82). The "Ratification" is dated at Edinburgh, 12th May, and the "Discharge" on the 20th of September, 1471.

country gentlemen, who suffered severely in pecuniary matters for their loyalty, and their profession of the Roman Catholic faith; and it will be seen that a family who could boast of the proudest ancestry rapidly became impoverished and extinct.

Sir Oliver St. Clair, described as of Pitcairns, the third son of the above Sir Oliver, was the favourite of James V., and his nomination to the command of the Scottish army caused the voluntary rout or surrender of those forces on the Solway Moss in 1542, which accelerated the death of that monarch. He obtained a grant of the property of Sir David Hutchison, Provost of Roslin Chapel, who was implicated in a charge of heresy.

Oliver St. Clair, described as brother-german of the Laird of Roslin, was prosecuted on the 8th of July, 1572, for assaulting Queen Mary's adherents in the Castle of Edinburgh.¹ In 1592, Sir William St. Clair of Roslin is mentioned with others in a case before the Justiciary Court, and his lady's consultation with witches in 1590-1 is also recorded.² Towards the end of the sixteenth century the St. Clairs were at deadly feud with Lord Borthwick, which appears to have been aggravated by Lord Borthwick refusing to marry a daughter of this Sir William St. Clair, who obligingly had allowed him to select any one of the young ladies he pleased. The son of Sir William, also so called, once delivered a gipsy from execution on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh, and the wandering tribe gratefully assembled in the ditches of Roslin every year in May and June, acting plays in honour of their benefactor. This Sir William married, about 1610, Anne, daughter of Archbishop Spottiswoode, then of Glasgow, and he is described by Father Hay as a "lewd man," absconding with a miller's daughter to Ireland, though the worthy Father thinks that the Presbyterians compelled him to retreat for professing the Roman Catholic religion, which exposed him to much annoyance during the Covenanting domination. A younger son, John, surnamed "the Prince," held out Roslin Castle against General Monck; and another son, Charles, was "possessed by a spirit," which probably means that he was of weak intellect.

The Lady of Roslin at the period of the Revolution was Jean, daughter of Sir Henry Spottiswoode, previously mentioned as Father Hay's mother by her first marriage. Her second husband was James St. Clair of Roslin, her near relation, and she appears to have been a remarkably active dame. Father Hay states that his mother discovered, in February 1690, the best coal in Scotland. He describes his step-father as a "very civil and discreet man," who was "much taken up with building, and addicted to the priests," which "two inclinations spoiled his fortune." He erected the part of the Castle entering from the bridge on the left, on which are sculptured his arms and name, with those of his lady; he built the wall enclosing the Chapel, and laid out the garden under the Castle near the romantic linn where the river forces its channel amid huge rocks; and he introduced water in lead pipes into the inner court and vaults. He induced the Town Council of Edinburgh to employ Peter Brauss, a foreign engineer, to bring water into the city from Comiston, a few miles distant, at the base of the Pentlands, which is said to have been effected in 1681. Father Hay enumerates as his issue three sons and two daughters. Alexander, the second son, born in 1672, succeeded him in the property. His lady survived him; yet so reduced was this once princely and ancient family that she went to London, and petitioned James II. to grant her an annual pension for the education and maintenance of her young children, and to enable her to repair the Castle and Chapel. She dates the decline of the family as commencing at the death of James V., and alleges that the then proprietor of Roslin was brought to a "very low condition" for supporting the Queen Dowager, mother of Queen Mary, against those "who engaged themselves in a rebellion for carrying on a reformation, as they called it, of religion." Lady Roslin next details that Sir William St. Clair, the grandfather of her deceased husband, had been deprived of all his property for his loyalty to Queen Mary, and though Roslin was restored by James VI., so numerous were the debts he had contracted, that he was compelled to sell his estate of Herbertshire, in the county of Stirling, and the lands of Pentland, Morton, and Mortonhall, the Barony of Roslin alone remaining to himself, free of all debt, which was a very small part of the great estate formerly possessed by the family. She states that her

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 33.

² This Lady Roslin, as she was territorially designated, had fallen into bad health, and one of the accusations against Agnes Sampson, or Simpson, the "Wise Wife of Keith," in her trial for witchcraft, was,

that she was consulted in reference to Lady Roslin's malady, but that she knew by her "devilish prayer, that the said Lady was nocht abill to recover, and thairfor she wald nocht come till her."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 232.

husband, soon after the restoration of Charles II., purchased the Barony of Roslin from the creditors, and narrates the privations of the St. Clairs from the death of James V. to the siege of Roslin Castle by General Monck's soldiers, who "battered down one side thereof, and took it by force."¹ So desperate were her circumstances, that she also petitioned the Queen of James II. to use her influence with the King to procure a pension "to the support of so ancient, loyal, and honourable a family," and for the reparation of the Castle and the Chapel. But the Earl of Melford, then one of the Secretaries of State, had prejudiced James II. against Lady Roslin and her "numerous family," and the only favour she obtained was a cornetcy for her eldest son James from the Queen in her Majesty's Guards.² He was born in 1671, and was killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland. The second son, Alexander, inherited the wreck of the property, and married Jean, second daughter of Robert, seventh Lord Sempill, by whom he was the father of the last St. Clair of Roslin. This was William St. Clair, Esq., who married Cordelia, daughter of Sir George Wishart, of Cliftonhall, Bart., by whom he had three sons and five daughters, who, with the exception of one of the latter, died in their youth, and his demise occurred on the 4th of January, 1778, which occasioned a funeral solemnity to be held by all the Freemason Lodges in Scotland. He had, in 1736, surrendered the office of Grand Master-Mason of Scotland, which was alleged to have been hereditary in his family from the reign of James II. of Scotland—a statement now refuted on most authentic evidence.³ This last male representative of the St. Clairs of Roslin appears to have sold the remnant of his family estates to the Hon. General James St. Clair,⁴ second son of Henry eighth Lord Sinclair, the heir of line of William third Earl of Orkney by his first marriage. After the death of General St. Clair, in 1762, the lands of Roslin, with the Baronies of Ravenscraig, Dysart, and other properties in Fife, reverted to Colonel James Paterson, or St. Clair, the heir-male and only son of his sister, the Hon. Grizel St. Clair, wife of John Paterson of Prestonhall, son of Dr. John Paterson, the last Archbishop of Glasgow. Colonel Paterson, or St. Clair, who was never married, died at Dysart in 1789, and was succeeded in the entail by Sir James Erskine, Bart., subsequently second Earl of Rosslyn in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, whose descendant is now proprietor of Roslin Castle and Chapel. Thus was transferred to a remote connexion the remains of the once extensive property of the "lordly line of hicht St. Clair."

As to Lady Roslin, the mother of Father Hay, she was compelled to live in a retired manner on a very limited income. She was more successful with the Scottish Parliament after the Revolution than with James II. On the 30th of April, 1689, she obtained an Act, protecting her from outrages committed by the mob from Edinburgh, who had plundered Roslin Castle, burnt her family papers, and destroyed some of the plantations and adjoining corn-fields. According to her own account, the invaders scarcely left her even a bed, and "her numerous family of children were thereby ruined and rendered miserable."⁵ Lady Roslin subsequently was allowed various sums from the Parliament for the loss sustained in the woods and plantations.⁶

Father Hay has preserved some curious traditions of "Roslin's Barons bold." In the time of Sir William St. Clair, who fell in Spain with Sir James Douglas, the Pentland range is alleged to have been a royal hunting forest, and on one occasion, when King Robert Bruce was enjoying the pastime of

¹ Humble Petition of the Lady Roslin to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*, pp. 167-169.

² It is probable, however, that Lady Roslin's importunities were rather annoying, and she demanded some very extraordinary privileges. Father Hay, who is writing of his own mother, says—"She had begged of the King the gift of coining farthings in America, which was not allowed of. Thereafter she desired of him to advance an English esquire to the degree of a Lord of Parliament upon certain conditions, and that proposal was likewise rejected. At last she sued for Pollock Maxwell's fine, which was likewise denied, notwithstanding that King James had granted it in the beginning." Lady Roslin's claim to this fine, whatever it was, is not stated.

³ *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn—Introductory Notices*, pp. iii.-ix. The "hereditary" appointment of Grand Master-Mason of Scotland was conferred on the St. Clairs of Roslin by the Freemasons themselves whose first charter merely compliments them as patrons

and protectors "from age to age;" but no allusion occurs in that and a subsequent charter to any grant by the Crown of the office of hereditary patron.

⁴ General St. Clair greatly distinguished himself in the military profession from the date of his commission as Colonel in 1722 to his promotion as General in 1761. He was engaged in the war in Flanders and in the conquest of Canada, and held several important appointments. The death of his eldest brother, who was attainted for his connexion with the *Enterprise of 1715*, entitled him to succeed in 1750 as ninth Lord Sinclair; but he would not assume the title, preferring his seat in the House of Commons as member for Fife. By his lady, who was the youngest daughter of Sir David Dalrymple of Hales, Bart., he left no issue.

⁵ *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. ix. Appendix, p. 3.

⁶ In the *Edinburgh Courant* of 1708 and 1709, the "Wood of Roslin, belonging to William Sinclair of Roslin," is repeatedly advertised to be sold. This, of course, refers to thinning the plantations.

the chace among the Hills, he had often hunted a white deer, which continually eluded his hounds, and inquired at his attendants if they could overcome the animal. Sir William St. Clair possessed two red-coloured hounds, known by the familiar names of Help and Hold, and unwittingly supposing that no one was likely to challenge him, wagered his head that his hounds would kill the white fawn before it crossed a certain stream locally known as the "March-burn." King Robert insisted on accepting St. Clair's bold and reckless proffer, pledging himself to grant the Pentland Hills and Pentland Muir, with the Forest, as the reward of his success. On the day appointed, a few slow-hounds were loosed to track the deer, and Bruce stationed himself on the slope of one of the loftiest eminences of the Pentlands, since known as the King's Hill, overlooking the vale of the North Esk, to witness the contest. St. Clair, who was most uncomfortable in the position in which he was placed by his rash wager, no sooner slipped his hounds than he devoutly prayed to St. Catherine to assist him in killing the deer.¹ The fleet animal was soon started, and was followed by the Knight, who was mounted on a gallant steed. The hunter and the deer arrived at the "March-burn," and St. Clair, who was now most earnest in his ejaculations, threw himself in a state of desperation into the stream. At this crisis the two hounds killed the hind when in the act of crossing the rivulet. The King, who had beheld the run with peculiar interest, descended from his position, embraced Sir William St. Clair, and granted to him in free forestry all the lands he had promised. It is added that the Knight, too much terrified at the hazard he had escaped, immediately placed his foot on the neck of each hound, and killed them, declaring that he would never again be led into the like temptation. His tomb is shown in Roslin Chapel, on which is sculptured his mail-clad person, and a dog at his feet as a joint-claimant of the honour of the exploit. Faithful to his vow, he founded the Chapel of St. Catherine in the Hopes, in a lonely valley of the Pentlands, now filled by the Edinburgh Water Company's extensive Compensation Pond, which covers the ruins, sometimes visible in very dry seasons, of this once secluded edifice and its cemetery. Father Hay records a report that Sir William St. Clair, after founding this Chapel, sent a priest to the grave of the saint, to obtain some of the oil which was believed to issue from her sepulchre. The priest obtained the liquid, and on his return he was compelled to rest himself about a mile from Liberton church, where he fell asleep, and lost the oil. Sir William St. Clair sent workmen to explore where the oil was lost, but a fountain had immediately issued, with black petroleum floating on the surface, long known as the Balm Well of St. Catherine. As this was considered an undoubted indication that St. Catherine refused to sanction the transference of any of her oil to her Chapel in the valley of the Pentlands, the Baron of Roslin was compelled to acquiesce.

Roslin Castle² consists of massive fragments of ruins, with the exception of a plain addition still habitable, displaying the date 1622 above the door, and the initials of Sir William St. Clair.³ The time of the erection of the Castle is unknown, though it is assigned to William Earl of Orkney, the founder of the Chapel, in the fifteenth century. The ruins are in a romantic glen traversed by the North Esk, and are situated on a promontory, insulated by a deep ravine said to have been the ancient channel of the stream. This ravine is crossed to the Castle by a narrow bridge of considerable height, which was defended at the west end, and led to a building of several storeys forming one side of the court-yard. The remains of walls from eight to nine feet thick, and of a large round tower or keep, are the only memorials, the area of which is about two hundred feet in length, and the breadth nearly ninety feet. An ornamented well in the centre of the court-yard supplied the inmates with water. The addition or erection of 1622 is on three storeys of vaults beneath the level of the court-yard, and is said to have been built by Sir William St. Clair.⁴ A stair leads to these ground vaults, one of which is a kitchen having a door into the garden.

¹ According to the tradition, the Knight of Roslin became both pious and poetical in his emergency. He vowed, if St. Catherine would listen to his supplication, to found a chapel to her honour, and he exclaimed to his hounds—

"Help, Hold, an ye may,
Or Roslin will lose his head this day!"

² "Roslin Castle" is the designation of a sweet and plaintive melody, the author of which, and of other musical productions, was James Oswald, Esq., who is described as "Chamber-Composer" to

George III. His sister, Mrs. Weatherly, died in 1821, at Chester-le-Street, in the eightieth year of her age.—*Edinburgh Magazine* for 1821, p. 620.

³ The ceiling of the principal room of this comparatively modern addition, which is aptly said to "resemble an insignificant laird of the present day surrounded by the stalwart ghosts of his ancestors," is ornamented with panels and designs intermixed with the armorial bearings of the St. Clairs.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire*, p. 351.

⁴ Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*, p. 151.

This Castle, when in its best state, could never have been a place of strength, as it is completely commanded by the adjacent eminences. About 1447 the then fortalice was injured by fire, occasioned by the negligence of one of the gentlewomen of the household, and the charters and other documents were preserved by the activity of the chaplain.¹ Sir William Hamilton was committed a prisoner to the Castle in 1455, for his connexion with the rebellion of the Earl of Douglas against James II. In 1544 the fortalice was dilapidated by the English under the Earl of Hertford. A party of Cromwell's troops battered the walls in 1650, after his victory at Dunbar, and the edifice was assailed, as Lady Roslin duly sets forth, by a mob from Edinburgh, on the 11th of December, 1688. Subsequently Roslin Castle was allowed by the poverty of the St. Clairs to become a ruin, and seems to have been the resort of the peasantry for stones. Most of this once stately baronial fabric has in consequence disappeared, and the mouldering arches, buttresses, walls, and dismal vaults, present a striking contrast to the homely erection in the manor-house style of 1622.²

Roslin Chapel—so named, though in reality a part of a collegiate church—is a short distance from the Castle, on an eminence near the village called the College Hill. This edifice was founded in 1466 for a Provost, six Prebendaries, and two singing boys, by William, third Earl of Orkney, already mentioned, and was dedicated to St. Matthew.³ This beautiful specimen of the florid Gothic was intended to be cruciform, with a central tower, but the choir and east wall of a transept are the only portions ever erected. As the founder died in 1484, thirty-eight years after the edifice was commenced, this interval indicates that his pecuniary resources were exhausted, and the present building was finished by his son Sir Oliver St. Clair, father of the hero of the Solway Moss disaster. Tradition alleges that the design of Roslin Chapel was obtained from Rome. The edifice is described as “curious, elaborate, and singularly interesting,” which it is “impossible to designate by any given or familiar term, for the variety and eccentricity are not to be defined by any words of common acceptation.”⁴ Roslin Chapel is said to be a “combination of Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Saracenic styles,” in which the arch is found in all its possible forms and principles. The pillars, arches, windows, fretted roof, and the sculptures of the architraves, key-stones, capitals, and roof, are singularly beautiful.” The interior is sixty-nine feet in length, the breadth nearly thirty-five feet, and the height from the floor to the arched roof is nearly forty-one feet. This roof is supported by two rows of pillars, seven on each side, and two at the west end, and so exquisitely designed that upwards of thirteen different arches are displayed.

It has been already stated that Roslin Chapel was a collegiate church, and though the founder saw the edifice rising in profuse magnificence of sculpture and design under the most skilful workmen he could procure, he left it unfinished after vast efforts and great expense. The existing fabric is comparatively small, and the other portions of the original design, with the exception of a part of a transept, were never commenced. The founder and his successors endowed the church with various lands and revenues, particularly the lands of Pentland. In 1523, ground was allotted by the then Baron of Roslin in the vicinity of the village for residences and gardens of the Provost and Prebendaries. Their possessions, not apparently very extensive, passed from them after the Reformation, and on the 26th of February,

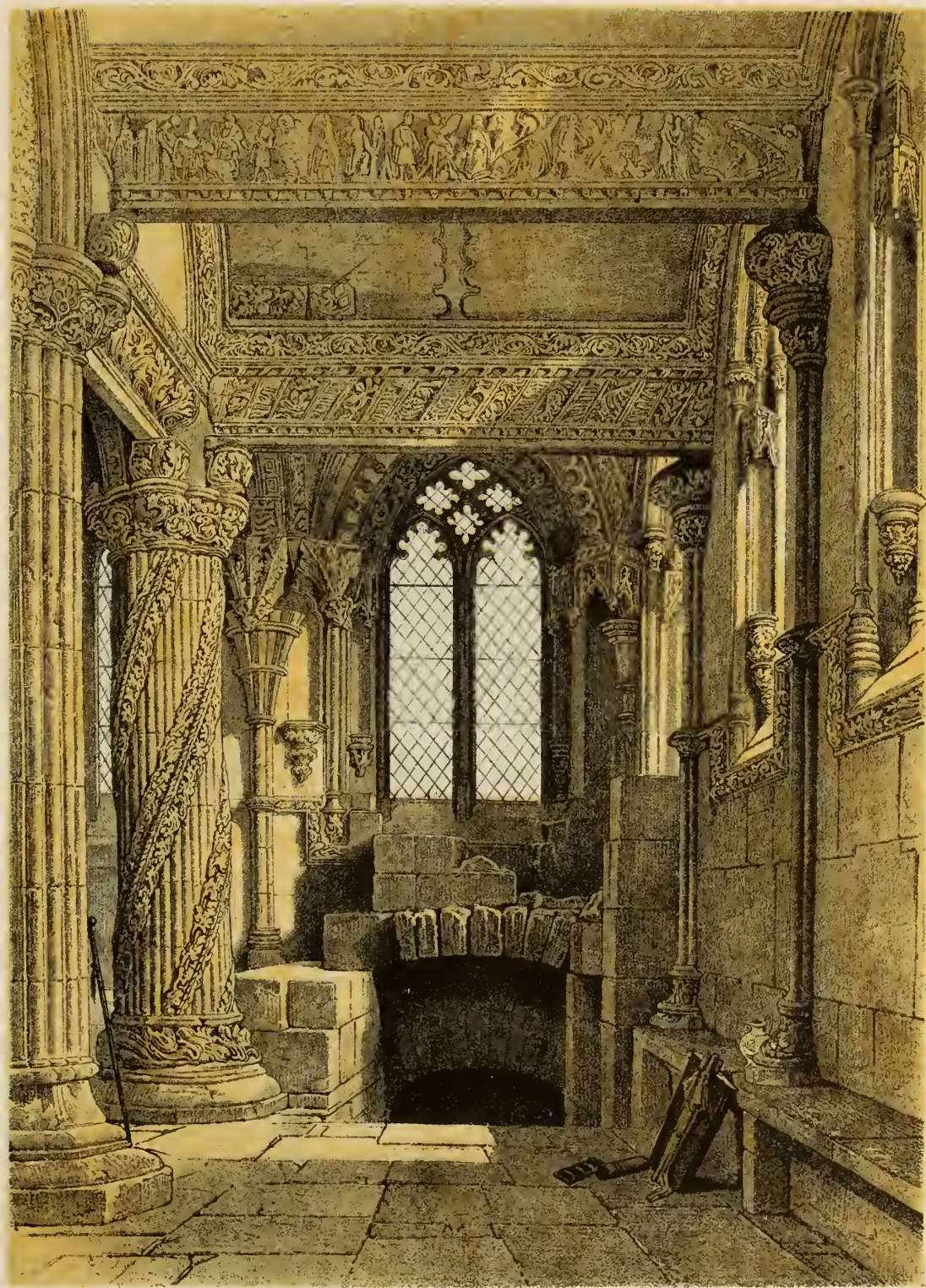
¹ In reference to this conflagration, which is chronicled by Father Hay, it is stated that Edward St. Clair of Dryden, while on his way to hunt with the Baron of Rosslyn, was surprised to witness an immense migration of rats from the locality of the Castle, and an old blind one led by a straw in its mouth. Four days afterwards the Castle, or a part of it, was set on fire by the carelessness of one of the gentlewomen of the Princess-Countess, who, fond of dogs, desired her attendant to produce one of her favourites, which had whelps, from under a bed. The attendant crept under the bed with a lighted torch, and incautiously inflamed the furnishings. The fire soon reached the ceiling of the great chamber, from which the Countess was compelled to escape. The Earl of Orkney beheld the fire from the Chapel, and was chiefly concerned for the fate of his charters; but he was consoled by the assurance that those documents were saved by his chaplain, who had thrown four large bales from an upper apartment of the keep or donjon, erroneously printed *dungeon* in the New Statistical Account—Edinburghshire, pp. 350, 351. The chaplain, who was liberally rewarded, saved himself by hazarding a descent to the garden in the

low vale immediately under the Castle by a bell-rope tied to a beam.—Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn, pp. 27, 28.

² Some legends are connected with the vaults of Roslin Castle. It was long believed that a Knight was detained by enchantment in a state of profound sleep in one of the dungeons, and that he would awake when any one had the courage to unsheath a certain sword and sound a bugle-horn. Sir John Stoddart mentions the curious visit of some soldiers to a lady of rank and her daughters, who for some time resided in the habitable portion of the Castle. This party requested permission, which was readily granted, to explore some of the vaults, to deliver the Knight from his extraordinary durance. They descended with torches, and “the adventure terminated as successfully as Don Quixote's visit to the cave of Montesinos.”—Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, vol. i. pp. 134, 135.

³ At a short distance are some vestiges of an older church, dedicated to St. Matthew, in an enclosure still used as a cemetery.

⁴ Britton's Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 4to London, 1812, vol. iii. pp. 48, 49.



THE "PRENTICE PILLAR," ROSLIN CHAPEL

From an Original Drawing by W. P. Litch

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

1571-2, the Provost and Prebendaries, who had been virtually denuded of their revenues for years, were compelled to relinquish their rights by a formal deed, in which they complain that their incomes were forcibly withheld from them.¹ The edifice was left to the solitude of its romantic locality, and was not even used for divine service. The mob from Edinburgh who assailed the Castle in December 1688, in which violence they were willingly assisted by the tenantry, desecrated the Chapel, and pillaged or destroyed some of its architectural ornaments. Subsequently the edifice was prevented from becoming altogether ruinous by General St. Clair, who repaired it at considerable expense, placed wooden casements with glass in the windows, renewed the floor and the roof with flag-stones, and enclosed the cemetery by a substantial wall. The first Earl of Rosslyn roofed the fabric with blue slate, and renovated the antique and distinctive features of the interior. The third Earl, who succeeded the second Earl in 1837, caused another repair, and the Chapel is now in excellent preservation.

It is impossible in this narrative to enter minutely into architectural details of Roslin Chapel, which must be personally seen to be understood and appreciated. The ground wall on each side contains five windows variously ornamented, and in the upper wall is a similar row of windows. This ground wall is supported by seven buttresses ornamented with canopied niches and pedestals, curiously sculptured for the reception of statues.² Richly ornamented conical and square pinnacles are embellished with crockets, the niches in which are admirably arranged. The pinnacles of five of the buttresses are connected with the same number of smaller ones by flying arches. One of them is double, richly adorned, and displaying a triple crown. The north door is under an arched porch, which has two crouching human figures in the buttresses on both sides for its abutments, the mouldings richly carved with foliage. The south side or front only differs from the north in its door, which has receding arches. Above is a small window in the form of an equilateral spherical triangle, displaying three elegant Gothic points, and decorated with a double row of foliage. At the east end are four windows of uniform size and varied design, in the five buttresses of which, surmounted by circular pinnacles, are alternately column and bracket pedestals. This part of the Chapel corresponds to the Lady Chapel, and is immediately behind the site of the high altar. The west end of the fabric is terminated by a blank wall or gable, closing the centre and the side-aisles of the choir from the projected transepts and nave, and displaying sculptured architraves, resting on richly carved capitals.

The interior is divided into five compartments of a lofty Gothic arch, and the beauty, profusion, and variety of the sixteen pillars supporting the roof are deservedly admired, the devices and sculptured representations on the arches and capitals displaying a singular mixture of sacred and ludicrous subjects, in which a skeleton figure representing Death is prominent. Others are from events recorded in the Scriptures, and all are evidently emblematical of the principal virtues and vices.³ The celebrated "Apprentice Pillar" is the most easterly in the south-east corner, and is of exquisite workmanship. Four wreaths of flowers differing from each other are carried round the shaft, and rise in a spiral form from the base to the capital. This pillar has its legend, which has been often told, though similar constructions are in other ecclesiastical edifices. The tradition is that the model was sent from Rome, and that the master-mason, distrusting his ability to finish it, proceeded thither to inspect the original. In his absence an apprentice undertook the work, and when he returned and found the pillar completed, he was so enraged and disappointed that he killed the unfortunate youth with a hammer.⁴

The east section is separated from the aisle by three pillars connected by arches with the walls, and

¹ Father Hay states that two seals were appended to this document. The one was the official seal of the Provost and Prebendaries, which represented St. Matthew in a church, red upon white wax; and the other was that of Sir William St. Clair, which was a rugged or engrailed cross, red upon white wax.

² In Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ," first published in 1693, a view of the south side or front of Roslin Castle is given, in which the niches on the buttresses and sides of the windows, seventeen in number, are filled with statues. The niches in the three buttresses of the unfinished transept are similarly decorated.

³ A most elaborate and minute description of the sculptures in the interior of Roslin Chapel is in the New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, pp. 343-348. Sir Walter Scott observes—"Among

the profuse carving on the pillars and buttresses, the rose is frequently introduced, in allusion to the name, with which, however, the flower has no connexion, the etymology being *Ross-linnhe*, the promontory of the linn or waterfall."—Note to Canto VI. of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel."

⁴ Three heads at the west end of the edifice are supposed to commemorate this legend. In the south-west corner of the Chapel, nearly half up the transept wall, is a head with a cut above the right eye, said to represent the apprentice; in a line with it, above the second pillar of the south aisle from the west, is a female in tears, which is assumed to be his mother; and in the north-west corner is the head of an old man frowning, alleged to indicate the enraged master-mason.

dividing the roof into four equal compartments. The groinings of the ceiling are remarkably elegant, and the ornaments most skilfully varied, the key-stones of the arches displaying beautiful pendants, each two feet long, the one at the south side above the high altar, and the second one, profusely ornamented with foliage.¹ The third pendant terminates in a star,² round which are carved eight figures illustrative of the Nativity, and emblems of mortality are prominently displayed. The fourth pendant is elaborately decorated with foliage. This east chapel, which is a little elevated from the floor of the edifice, and its arched roof only fifteen feet high, contained altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Matthew, St. Peter, and St. Andrew, still entire, with the exception of the top-stones.

On the west wall of the south aisle, in a corner, is the monument of George fourth Earl of Caithness, who died in 1582, containing a Latin inscription surmounted by his armorial bearings.³ Between the base of the third and fourth pillars and the north wall is a large stone, covering the entrance to a vault in which ten Barons of Roslin were interred previous to 1690. Those personages were buried in complete armour, without coffins, which was the family custom of the St. Clairs of Roslin.⁴ The vault is so dry that the bodies of some of them were found, nearly a century afterwards, in complete preservation. Between the fourth and fifth pillars from the west end in the north aisle is a flat stone, sculptured with a rude outline of a man in armour, with uplifted hands, a dog at his feet, and a lion rampant in a small shield on each side of the head—the alleged sepulchre of Sir William St. Clair, whose hunting adventure, witnessed by King Robert Bruce, is previously mentioned.⁵ The sacristy, or vestry, a kind of crypt, erected by the first Countess of the founder, is entered on the south-east corner of the edifice, near the site of the high altar, by a flight of twenty-four steps; and although this stair is subterraneous, the apartment is above-ground on the margin of the bank, thirty-six feet in length, fourteen feet in breadth, and fifteen feet in height, lighted by an arched window. The roof is divided into five compartments, the ribs of which are fine specimens of the engrailed or rugged cross. The sacristy, which could be entered by a door without passing through the Chapel, contains some sculptured armorial bearings, pedestals, and niches, and a font in the wall on the east side. It was long believed that on the night preceding the decease of the Barons of Roslin, or any member of their family, the Chapel appeared as if by supernatural agency enveloped in flames. Sir Walter Scott, in one of his finest ballads, notices this alleged miraculous illumination, and the custom of interring the St. Clairs in armour.⁶

Roslin is noted for three victories obtained over the English on Sunday, the 24th of February, 1302-3, a short distance north of the village. The Scottish forces, commanded by Sir John Comyn, Governor of the kingdom, and Sir Simon Fraser, are variously rated at from 8000 to 10,000 men, while the English are alleged to have consisted of 20,000 men, under John de Segrave, the governor of Scotland appointed by Edward I., who also sent Ralph de Manton, his Clerk of the Wardrobe, an ecclesiastic, who was to act as paymaster of the expedition, and who from his office was designated Ralph the "Cofferer."⁷ Segrave was accompanied by his brothers, and by Robert de Neville, a baron who had served Edward I. in his Welsh wars. Notwithstanding his superiority of numbers, Segrave seems to have been defeated by his ignorance of the locality. In the march towards Roslin he formed his army into three divisions, who, not

¹ On the floor under this pendant is a large flag-stone, covering the remains of James St. Clair Erskine, second Earl of Rosslyn, who died in 1837.

² Immediately beneath this pendant is interred Henrietta Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Hon. Edward Bouverie, the Countess of the second Earl, who died in 1810.

³ This Earl of Caithness was one of the jury on the pretended trial of the notorious Earl of Bothwell for the murder of Lord Darnley, and when the verdict of acquittal was returned, on the 12th of April, 1567, the Earl of Caithness protested that no blame was to be alleged against the jury, as no accuser had come forward, and no proof of the indictment was adduced. His eldest son, who predeceased him in 1577, married Lady Jane Hepburn, the sister of Bothwell, and was father of the fifth Earl of Caithness.

⁴ Father Hay states that his step-father, the "late Roslin," was the "first that was buried in a coffin, against the sentiments of James VII., who was then in Scotland (as Duke of York), and several other persons well versed in antiquity, to whom my mother would not hearken,

thinking it beggarly to be buried after that manner. The great expense she was at in burying her husband occasioned the Sumptuary Acts which were made in the following Parliaments."

⁵ This adventure, previously noticed, is duly recorded by Father Hay, in his *Genealogie of the Saintclairs of Rosslyn*, pp. 14, 15.

⁶ Sir Walter Scott's ballad is in the Sixth Canto of his "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*." Rosabelle was a family name in the House of St. Clair, and Henry, the second of the line, married a lady so called, daughter of the Earl of Strathearn. The reciter of the ballad is introduced as Harold, the "Bard of Brave St. Clair," who is represented as a native of the "storm-swept Orcades," and profound in Scandinavian legends. The mysterious illumination is briefly noticed by Slezer in his "*Theatrum Scotiæ*," and is probably of Norwegian derivation.

⁷ Boece calls Ralph de Manton, the "Cofferer" or paymaster of the troops of Edward I. in this expedition, "Ralph Confrere," and Tyrrel designates him "Robert le Coster, who was defeated by the Scots in another battle. This is altogether a fiction."—Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 273

meeting the enemy, encamped separately, neglecting to establish a mutual communication. Segrave led the first division in person, the second is supposed to have been under Manton the "Cofferer," and the third was under Neville. A boy informed the officers of Segrave's division early in the morning that the Scottish army was advancing against them. The English soldiers were in careless security in their tents, and the Scottish leaders surprised the invaders, whom they completely routed, securing as prisoners Segrave himself, who was wounded in the conflict, his brother and son, sixteen knights, and thirty esquires. The victors were collecting the plunder, and estimating the value of the ransom, when the second division of the English army appeared. A cruel order was issued to kill the prisoners, which is said to have been strictly obeyed,¹ and the English, after a brave defence, were defeated with great slaughter. The "Cofferer," many prisoners, and much valuable booty, fell into the hands of the victors, who, however, were soon astonished at the approach of the third division under Neville.² Fatigued by their night-march and by two conflicts, the Scottish leaders were inclined to an immediate retreat, but this was apparently rendered impossible by the proximity of Neville's forces, and they determined to renew the fight. The recent prisoners are again alleged to have been killed, and after an obstinate encounter this division was also routed, and Neville was killed. The unfortunate "Cofferer" was slain by Sir Simon Fraser after the flight of the English.³ This battle was long remembered in the district.⁴ The statement that Sir William Wallace was present is a mere fiction, and may have originated from the circumstance that Sir Simon Fraser succeeded him as leader of the Scottish forces.

The "classic Hawthornden," described by the learned Ruddiman as "sweet and solitary, and very fit and proper for the Muses," is upwards of a mile from the village of Roslin, on the opposite or east side of the North Esk, perched above its celebrated caves on the rocky bank of the river. The mansion, a plain edifice in the manor-house style, occupies the site of an old fortalice, and contains several curiosities, especially family and other portraits, one of which is an alleged original of Queen Mary. Beneath the house are the caves, which tradition assigns as often affording shelter to the adherents of King Robert Bruce, and the followers of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie. A narrow stair leads to a long subterranean passage, on both sides of which are small apartments. Another passage, lighted by an orifice in the rock, conducts to a lower suite of excavations. All the apartments of "caverned Hawthornden" are artificial, without any attempt at ornament or variety, and hollowed out of the solid rock with prodigious labour in remote times. Three of the caves are respectively designated the "King's Gallery," the "King's Bedchamber," and the "Guard-Room," and are fabled as the rude strongholds of Pictish monarchs who probably never existed. It is evident that these caves were formed for refuge and concealment, and they were in more recent times the resort of outlaws and smugglers. A well of great depth in the court-yard of Hawthornden has a communication with the caves. Similar caves are in the rocky banks of the North Esk in the vicinity, such as those at Gorton, the old patrimony of the Prestons of Craigmillar, which are of difficult access, concealed by trees and bushes. Sir Walter Scott states that he described one of the Gorton caves as that at the monastery of St. Ruth in "The Antiquary."

It is impossible to notice the mansion and romantic locality of Hawthornden without referring to the celebrated William Drummond, the then proprietor, who here in his earlier years devoted himself to poetry, philosophy, and historical research. He was a cadet of the noble family of Drummond, latterly Earls of

¹ This atrocity is doubted by Lord Hailes, who admits that "our historians may have exaggerated the successes of the Scottish army at Roslin. It must, however, be observed, that the English historians have attempted to throw a veil over the events of the day."—*Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 272.

² "The English historians," says Lord Hailes, "report that Sir Robert Neville and his men staid behind to hear mass—that when they came up they repulsed the Scots in a great measure, and recovered many of their prisoners. They add, that of all those who staid behind to hear mass, no one was either killed, wounded, or taken prisoner."—*Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 272.

³ "Ralph the Cofferer," says Mr. Tytler, "had been taken prisoner by Sir Simon Fraser. When the order was given to slay the prisoners, Sir Ralph begged his life might be spared, and promised a large ransom. 'This laced hauberk is no priestly habit,' observed Fraser;

'where is thine albe, or thy hood? Often hast thou robbed us of our lawful wages, and done us grievous harm. It is now our turn to sum up the account, and exact its payment.' Saying this, he first struck off the hands of the unhappy priest, and then severed his head with one blow from his body."—Tytler's *History of Scotland* (citing Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle*, edited by Thomas Hearne), 8vo. 1841, vol. i. pp. 169-171.

⁴ It is stated that the names of several localities commemorate this decisive battle, which, it must be admitted, are rather fanciful. The "Hewan," near the site of the Maiden Castle, is supposed to be a corruption of *hewing*, where the conflict, from the precipitous nature of the ground, was most sanguinary. In the "Skinbanes Field" many human remains have been found, and the "Kill-burn" streamlet was discoloured with blood three days.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland*—Edinburghshire, p. 340.

Perth. In the fourteenth century William Drummond, brother of Annabella, Queen of Robert III., married Elizabeth, daughter and one of the coheirresses of Sir William Airth of that Ilk, and by this alliance obtained the Barony of Carnock in Stirlingshire. Hawthornden was then the property of the Abernethys of Saltoun, one of whom was ennobled as Lord Saltoun, and ancestors of the Frasers of Philorth, Lords Saltoun. Abernethy of Hawthornden sold the estate to a family named Douglas, from whom it was purchased by Sir John Drummond, second son of Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, and the father of the Poet.¹

Drummond married in 1630, in the forty-fifth year of his age, Elizabeth Logan, a grand-daughter of Robert Logan, of Restalrig, of Gowrie Conspiracy notoriety. He accidentally met this lady, and imagined her to resemble the first object of his affections, a daughter of Cunningham of Barns, in Fife, who died of fever during the preparations for the nuptials, and the Poet's grief is expressed in many of those sonnets which have procured for him the title of the Scottish Petrarch. By his marriage he had several children, the eldest of whom, named William, who lived to an advanced age, was knighted by Charles II., and was eventually the representative of Drummond, Baronet, of Carnock. Little is known of the private life of the Poet after his marriage till his death, in December 1649, said to have been accelerated by grief for the melancholy fate of Charles I. He seems to have resided in seclusion at Hawthornden, on which the date, 1638, is still prominent.²

The visit of Ben Jonson to Drummond, at Hawthornden, in the winter of 1618-19, and their laconic salutations, have been often related. The Dramatist, who contemplated a "fisher or pastoral play," the scene of which was to be the "Lomond Lake," journeyed from London as a pedestrian into a then strange country. He appears to have been much gratified by his expedition to his brother Poet, to whom he wrote after his return, that he had received a "most catholic welcome" from King James, and announcing that his "reports were not unacceptable to his Majesty."³ The spot is traditionally recorded where Drummond welcomed Ben Jonson to his mansion, and on a seat cut in the face of the rock adjoining, known as the Cypress Grove, he is alleged to have written many of his poetical effusions.

CRICHTON CASTLE.

In the parish of its name, upwards of twelve miles south-east of Edinburgh, is the desolate ruin of Crichton Castle, overlooking a little glen in the narrow vale of the Tyne, which in this almost incipient part of its course to the German Ocean is a mere rivulet. This stately and magnificent pile is a quadrangle, the oldest portion of which is the keep or tower in the north-western angle, and the additions, forming the inner court, reared at different periods. The eastern front of the court, which is of most beautiful masonry, and is the most recent erection, is supported by arches open from the ground, and is decorated with entablatures displaying a profusion of anchors. The stones of the exterior, which is now reduced to two storeys without a roof, are cut into facettes, and the angular proportions of these diamond-fashioned sculptures are peculiarly

¹ The families of Abernethy and Drummond became connected, after the lapse of nearly four centuries, by the marriage of the Right Rev. Dr. William Abernethy, one of the Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, to Barbara Drummond of Hawthornden, when he annexed to his own surname that of Drummond.

² Hawthornden is still the property of the lineal representatives of the Poet. Sir John Forbes Drummond, created a Baronet of the United Kingdom in 1828, son of Robert Forbes, Esq., of Corse in Banffshire, married Mary, daughter of Dr. Ogilvie of Forfar, cousin and heiress of Barbara, wife of Bishop Abernethy-Drummond, the only child of William Drummond, the last male descendant of the family of Hawthornden. Sir John Forbes Drummond was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis Walker, Esq., of Dalry, near Edinburgh, who assumed the surname of the family of his wife, in accordance with the patent of creation of the title. Sir Francis died in 1844, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir James Walker-Drummond, Bart. Bishop Abernethy-Drummond died in 1809, leaving no issue.

³ Drummond has been much censured for a breach of confidence in recording a severe character of his visitor, describing him as his "worthy friend Master Benjamin Jonson," a "great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest, jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived; a dissembler of the great parts which reigned in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted, thinketh nothing well done but what either himself or some of his friends hath done." It is evident that Jonson's jovial disposition was not over-agreeable to the sedate and loyal Poet of Hawthornden, whose guest he was for several weeks. The profusion of wood in the vicinity elicited from Peter Pindar, as Walcott designated himself, a sarcastic couplet on Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was valorous about the want of trees in Scotland, and who, Pindar alleges—

"Went to Hawthornden's fair scene by night,
Lest e'er a Scottish tree should wound his sight."



CORRIGUM CASTLE

From an Original Drawing by J. F. M. R. A.

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elegant. The interior of this division of the Castle is said to have contained a splendid gallery, or banqueting apartment, the access to which was by a spacious staircase, now destroyed, the soffits ornamented with twining cordage and rosettes. The original tower is evidently of the fourteenth century, when it was the paternal fortalice and residence of the Crichtons, the earliest known proprietors, and the precise dates of the other portions of the quadrangle are not ascertained. It is supposed, from the decoration of the capitals of the eastern portion with entwined anchors and cables, that this addition was the work of Patrick, third Earl of Bothwell, father of the fourth and notorious Earl. The less decorated portions of Crichton Castle present a variety of apartments, some of which are entire, and one of them containing a large stone chimney constructed of freestone most ingeniously dovetailed. A dark vault or dungeon, known as the "Massiemore," is accessible by a square orifice in the roof, through which captives were lowered to a den in this pile of antique baronial grandeur.

In the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, the ruins of Crichton Castle are interesting to the historian, the antiquary, and the admirer of picturesque scenery, as tending to "convey subjects of grave contemplation, and to cherish the remembrance of former times."¹ This observation, however, may be applied to all old baronial ruins. In the vicinity is the parish church, originally a rectory taxed at thirty merks, which was made collegiate by Lord Crichton in 1449, for a Provost and eight Prebendaries.² This small and venerable edifice was intended to be cruciform, but the other portions were never erected. Near the Castle are also the remains of a building which appears to have been a chapel.

The ancient proprietors of Crichton Castle are prominent in Scottish history, and were elevated from the position of lesser barons or gentry by the abilities of Sir William Crichton, who added to his fortalice or tower in the north-western angle. This personage was Lord Chancellor during the minority of James II., keeper of the young monarch's person, and exercised a powerful influence in state affairs. Little is known of his ancestors, who, as minor barons, were not entitled to the rank of nobility.³ A branch of them attained the honour of Lords Crichton of Sanquhar, and afterwards became Earls of Dumfries—a title which has merged into the Scottish Earldom and British Marquisate of Bute. Another scion of the family was created Viscount Frendraught in Aberdeenshire, in 1642.

The first public appearance of Sir William Crichton was his appointment, in 1423, as one of a deputation to congratulate James I. on his marriage; and when that monarch returned from his English captivity, Crichton became master of the royal household. In 1426, he was one of the envoys to Eric, King of Denmark, to negotiate a perpetual amity, and he was the favourite during the reign of James I., attaining an eminence rather from political than military talent. At the accession of James II., Sir William Crichton was constituted Lord Chancellor, and the government of the kingdom was consigned to him and to Sir Alexander Livingstone, with the custody of the juvenile monarch's person, and the command of Edinburgh Castle. He was chief contriver of the murder, after a mock trial, of William, Earl of Douglas, and his brother David, then youths, and Fleming of Cumbernauld, in that fortress, in 1400. Crichton was dismissed from the office of Chancellor, in 1444, by James II., to whom he was personally odious, and he secured himself in Edinburgh Castle, sustaining a siege, and afterwards a blockade of some months. Meanwhile Crichton Castle was taken and dilapidated by John Forrester of Corstorphine, an adherent of the Douglas family, to revenge the treacherous hospitality which the Earl and his brother had received within its walls on the day before they were inveigled into Edinburgh Castle. Crichton retaliated in 1445 by foraying the lands of Corstorphine near Edinburgh, and those of Abercorn and Blackness in Linlithgowshire. Yet his political sagacity enabled him, when he surrendered Edinburgh Castle, to retain his estates, and acquire honours. He was created Lord

¹ Crichton Castle is finely described in the Fourth Canto of "Marmion."

"Still rises unimpaired below,
The court-yard's graceful portico;
Above its cornice, row and row
Of fair hewn facets richly show
Their pointed diamond form,
Though there but houseless cattle go
To shield them from the storm.
And, shuddering still, may we explore,
Where oft whilom were captives pent,
The darkness of thy Massiemore;
Or from thy grass-grown battlement
May trace, in undulating line,
The sluggish mazes of the Tyne."

² After the Reformation the church lands of Crichton and the parsonage tithes were acquired by Sir Gideon Murray, father of the first Lord Elibank.

³ William de Crichton occurs in the Lennox Chartulary about 1240, and Thomas de Crichton is in the Ragman Roll, in 1296. Sir John de Crichton flourished in the reign of King David Bruce. William de Crichton is frequently mentioned towards the end of the fourteenth century, and John Crichton obtained a charter of the barony from Robert III.—Sir Walter Scott's *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*, 4to. 1826, vol. i. p. 2.

Crichton in 1445, and restored to the Chancellorship in 1447, which he held to his death, in 1454, after a long and determined feud with the powerful Douglas family, whom he had resolved to annihilate. His elevation as Lord Crichton is said to have been the reward for negotiating the marriage of James II. to Mary of Gueldres.

Lord Crichton left a son and two daughters, the one married to Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, and the other to Alexander, Lord Glammis. James, the son, who succeeded as second Lord, was commonly styled of Frendraught during his father's lifetime, having acquired that extensive property in Aberdeenshire by his marriage to the elder of the two daughters and coheiresses of James Dunbar, Earl of Moray. William, third Lord, succeeded his father in 1469, and was forfeited in February, 1483-4, for his connexion with the conspiracy of the Duke of Albany to dethrone James III. If Buchanan is to be credited, this Lord Crichton had sustained an injury from the King which was not likely to be effaced or forgiven. That monarch is accused of seducing the wife of Lord Crichton, who revenged himself by forming an intrigue, and afterwards a marriage, with the Princess Margaret, the King's sister, against whom the most deplorable charge is alleged.¹ Buchanan designates Lady Crichton as of the family of Dunbar, but if the peerage lists are correct he has mistaken the lady for her mother-in-law, the wife of the second Lord. The daughter of this singular marriage died without issue not long before Buchanan commenced his *History of Scotland*.²

The temporary possessor of Crichton Castle, after the forfeiture of this third Lord Crichton, was Sir John Ramsay of Balmain, the youthful favourite of James III., who narrowly escaped the indignation of the enraged nobility at the memorable "Raid of Lauder," in 1482. He was created Lord Bothwell in 1483, appointed Lord High Treasurer, and he enjoyed other offices of influence by the favour of the King, whose entreaties had saved him from the fate of the then royal minions. Meanwhile Lord Crichton was recalled from exile on the condition of marrying the Princess Margaret, and was received with favour by James III. at Inverness; but as neither party long survived the reconciliation, Lord Crichton, who died at Inverness, never obtained a full pardon.

Lord Bothwell was exiled and forfeited in 1448, and James IV. conferred Crichton Castle on Patrick Hepburn, third Lord Hailes, one of the most powerful men in Scotland, created Earl of Bothwell and constituted High Admiral in 1488. Crichton Castle appears to have been the principal residence of the Earls of Bothwell till the forfeiture and attainder of James, fourth Earl, in 1567, after his compulsory departure from Queen Mary at Carberry Hill. In 1559, the Lords of the Congregation garrisoned the Castle with fifty men, to revenge the robbery of 4000 crowns, which Bothwell took from Queen Elizabeth's messenger, who had been sent with this sum to assist them in the siege of Leith. In 1561, Lord John Stuart, titular prior or commendator of Coldingham, an illegitimate son of James V., was married in the Castle to Lady Jane Hepburn, and Queen Mary was present at the nuptial entertainments.

The next proprietor of Crichton Castle was the son of this marriage, who was Francis Stuart, the turbulent Earl of Bothwell, whose descent from the once potent Hepburns and from James V., and his own abilities, induced James VI. in an evil hour to elevate him to the forfeited title of his uncle. In 1594 he was compelled to leave Scotland, and the Barony of Crichton Castle was granted to Sir Walter Scott, first Earl of Buccleuch, the step-son of Bothwell. Francis, second Earl, was served heir on the 27th of February, 1634, but the Buccleuch family were not long in possession. Francis Stuart, son of the forfeited Earl of Bothwell by Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of David, seventh Earl of Angus, and relict of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, father of the first Earl, obtained a "rehabilitation," which was confirmed by the Parliament in 1683, which Charles I. was inclined to sanction. After this legal restitution, Stuart adopted stringent measures against the Earls of Buccleuch and Roxburgh, who had acquired the greater part of his father's estates. With the Earl of Roxburgh the King had comparatively little trouble, but the Earl of Buccleuch, who was then in military service in the Low Countries, was furious at the favour evinced to Stuart, and afterwards verified his threats by the conduct of his retainers at Newcastle, Marston-Moor, and Philiphaugh, in the service of the Parliament.

The second Earl of Buccleuch was a minor when he was deprived of Bothwell's estates in Mid-Lothian, and, although the Liddesdale property of the forfeited Earl was assigned by the King's arbitration to him and

¹ *Buchanani Historia*, fol. 1584, Original Edit.; Translation, 8vo. 1752, vol. ii. p. 86.

² Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. pp. 314, 315.



BORTHWICK CASTLE.

From an Original Drawing by J. Allan.

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

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

BORTHWICK CASTLE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



LINCOLN'S INN PALACE.

From an Original Drawing by C. A. P. 1840.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

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

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

LINLITHGOW.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



OLD MILLTENGOW, (ASSASSINATION OF KING GEORGE III.)

From an engraving by J. W. M. W. Turner.

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ *Ibid*, vol. iv. Appendix, p. 43.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

