

THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

The Journal for Edinburgh History



C. A. Malcolm, 'The Gardens of the Castle',
Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Original Series, 14 (1925), pp. 101–120.



This article is extracted from **The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club**, *The Journal for Edinburgh History* ISSN 2634-2618

Content © The Old Edinburgh Club and contributors. All rights reserved.

For information about The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (BOEC), including contents of previous issues and indexes, see <https://oldedinburghclub.org.uk/boec>.

This article is made available for your personal research and private study only.

For any further uses of BOEC material, please contact the Editor, The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, at editor@oldedinburghclub.org.uk. The Club has a Take-Down Policy covering potential rights infringements. Please see <http://oldedinburghclub.org.uk/oec-take-down-policy>.



Digitised by the Centre for Research Collections, Edinburgh University Library from the copy in the Library Collection.

historical and architectural interest. They include, or have included, Swan's Close, Geddes (formerly Hutcheson's or Richardson's) Close, North Foulis Close, Old Stamp Office Close (also known, from old and much frequented taverns, as Ship or Fortune's Close, the scene of the famous assemblies of the beautiful Susannah, Countess of Eglinton), Lyon's Close, Jackson's Close, the Fleshmarket Closes (of which there were three leading to the Fleshmarket or to Mylne's Square), Cachepool or Bull's Close (so named from the Black Bull tavern, on the site now occupied by the National Bank premises, in a cellar of which the signing of the Treaty of Union was completed); Conn's Close, Selater's Close, and Lee's Close; and on the space now taken up by North Bridge, Hart's and Cap-and-Feather Closes, the former named from the house of Andro Hart, and the latter the birthplace of Robert Fergusson, the poet. But so far as concerns sculptured or inscribed stones, the ground is 'drawn blank,' with the meagre exception recorded below. Milne's or Mylne's Square, swept away to make room for the new *Scotsman* buildings, was one of the city improvements undertaken by Robert Mylne, royal Master Mason, and architect of the newer part of Holyrood Palace. It was reached by a flight of steps from North Bridge. On the LINTEL (Class 3) of a handsome doorway on the south-west corner of the Square, was inscribed:

1689. A.B.

The initials are those of Alexander Borthwick, vintner, who owned a 'laigh tavern' and who preferred to build on his own ground, rather than dispose of it to the proprietor of the rest of the Square.

JOHN GEDDIE.

THE GARDENS OF THE CASTLE

PROBABLY none of the many visitors to the Castle of Edinburgh who look from its battlements on the Grassmarket, King's Stables Road, and Castle Terrace, ever imagine that there, stretching southwards, were in mediaeval times, royal gardens. Rather will they turn to the northern ramparts and, viewing the green and flowering enclosure known as West Princes Street Gardens, see in them the 'Pleasaunce' of the Scottish kings.

The old, royal gardens were nevertheless not there, but on the south and west sides of the Castle, the nearest being the kitchen garden, the terraced remains of which are still visible in the ground east of the Castle Wynd and behind the City Public Health Chambers in Johnston Terrace.

The great garden of mediaeval times was the orchard, which was not merely a fruit garden, but a 'Pleasure Ground' where, during the warmer months of the year, people could, in the open air, play games, dance, sing, and otherwise amuse themselves or rest after a long journey, or after the chase. Foreign potentates were sometimes entertained in the orchard, where also one found the scenes recorded in the various romances, fabliaux, or short stories of the Middle Ages.¹ Other features of the mediaeval orchard were the rabbit-warrens, the fish-ponds, and 'those isolated donjons,' the dovecots.

To fulfil all those functions the early mediaeval orchard was of necessity large. In Edinburgh it extended, on the

¹ Sir F. Crisp, *Mediaeval Gardens*, i. p. 31.

south-east, from the Grassmarket and King's Stables Road to the neighbourhood of Liberton, on the south, to the Burgh Muir, and on the west, to the borders of the King's farm, or 'Dal-ry'¹—a Celtic name implying that the farm was older than the twelfth century.

On the north side of the Castle the King's gardener evidently followed the prevailing fashion of the twelfth century in planting trees and shrubs about the base of the Rock,² and the evidence of hunting in the forest of Drumselch is testimony to the same meticulous attention to the practices of Royal Houses elsewhere, in having the hunting grounds on the north side of the Castle.³ Curiously, it is owing to the adventures of David I. in the forest of Drumselch that we possess our knowledge of the earliest recorded chapters in the history of the gardens of the Castle. In founding the Abbey of Holyrood, in 1128, as a thank-offering for his alleged miraculous delivery from the attack of an enraged stag, the King conferred on the Augustinian Canons, who were to become the inmates of the Abbey, large tracts of land in and around Edinburgh. Parts of these lands were below the Castle, and had previously been given by David to the secular clergy of St. Cuthbert's Church. Both Charters are preserved in the Chartulary of Holyrood.⁴ By the older of the Charters, David I. granted to the 'Church of St. Cuthbert next to the Castle of Edinburgh, all the land from the fountain that rises next the corner of the king's garden, on the way that leads to the same Church, and on the other side, below the castle, as far as a road below the castle towards the east.' The Charter in favour of the Canons, by which these lands

¹ The Sheriff of Edinburgh in 1335 noted in his Accounts the diminished value of the farm, which consisted of two and a half carucates (260 acres) worth in peace time, 9 chalders of corn at 20s. a chaldier, and 18 chalders of malt oats at 13s. 4d. a chaldier. As the result of the war the lands were worth only 14s. 4d. (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 378).

² Skene, *Archæol. Scot.*, ii. p. 471; *Court of Session Papers*, 1859, No. 35.

³ Sir F. Crisp, *Mediæval Gardens*.

⁴ *Lib. Sc. Crucis*, Nos. 1 and 3.

were transferred to them, cannot be dated more approximately than 1143-47. Its terms, so far as the lands of St. Cuthbert's are concerned, are identical with those of the older Charter, except in one important particular. In the earlier Charter the eastern boundary is given as 'a road'; in the Charter of 1143-47 it is 'a crag.'

Where were the gardens of the King and the lands thus gifted to the Churchmen? From the landmarks mentioned in both deeds, the situation of the gardens and of the lands must have been perfectly well understood in the twelfth century. Modern inquirers, however, have more difficulty in identifying the actual localities referred to in the Charters, a circumstance due to the changes in certain names, and the removal of the chief landmark—the fountain. In consequence of these alterations all the writers hitherto have attempted to identify the well at the Well-House Tower in West Princes Street Gardens as the fountain referred to in the Charters, and the 'road' or 'crag' as lying somewhere towards the east part of the Castle Rock.¹ That mistake has arisen from an endeavour to interpret the Charter of 1143-47 (the earlier deed seems to have escaped the notice of historians of the city) by itself. But neither, nor both together, make the situation clear. It is not until one examines some Charters of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries relating to the property of the 'Barras,' or disused tournament ground, which was situated in what is now King's Stables Road (between the corner of its junction with the lane near the Grassmarket and the bridge that spans the road), that the matter becomes quite clear. One of these Charters, dated 1578, describes the lands of the Barras as 'extending to St. Margaret's Well, lying on the south below the Castle; between

¹ Maitland (*Hist. of Edin.*, p. 146) is the earliest writer who makes this mistake—due entirely to the removal of the fountain from the 'Way to St. Cuthbert's'; and to the inability to consult the twelfth century titles. Later writers have been content to follow Maitland.

Polcatslieve and Orchardfield on the south; the public way to St. Cuthbert's on the north, the said fountain on the west, and the lands called the King's Stables on the east.'¹

The 'Way to St. Cuthbert's' was the earliest known name² of the road, which has been styled 'King's Stables Road' since 1827, when the road was widened and improved. Immediately prior to that year, it bore the name of 'Queensferry Road,' and sometimes 'Ferry Road' (that being the designation given in the second half of the eighteenth century), instead of the time-honoured 'Way to St. Cuthbert's.'

The 'fountain' had been removed long before 1753, when Maitland published his *History*, but it was there during the siege of the Castle in 1573. The fountain then supplied the needs of the besieged garrison of Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who 'used a postern gate beside St. Cuthbert's Church where, until Captain Mychell came from Dundee with his band, they had liberty to go in and out and to fetch water at St. Margaret's Well, hard beside. After his coming the well was poisoned with white arsenic and new lime stones and filled up with dead carrions.'³

The well was therefore either on the site of the causewayed King's Stables Road, or on the grassy slopes on its southern side, and to it, and not to that at the Well House Tower, belongs the long history dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

The well or fountain on the site of King's Stables Road marked 'the corner of the king's garden,' and that of the lands given by David I. to the Church. The position of each of these areas is easily ascertained. The glebe of St. Cuthbert's still extends from the eastern wall of its churchyard, across the King's Stables Road, to St. Mark's Chapel, 5 Castle Terrace, and as far west as the railway station of the L.M.S. Company.

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1543-80), No. 2813.

² Cf. Edgar's Map of Edinburgh, 1742 and 1765.

³ *Cul. of Scottish Papers*, iv. p. 474.

That area, and probably more, must have formed the western portion of the Church lands in the twelfth century, so that the fountain lay farther east, towards the Grassmarket end of King's Stables Road. This makes intelligible the description given in the later title-deeds of the estate of Orchardfield, as the royal orchard was then styled. In one of these the lands are entered as 'lying near the Castle of Edinburgh, on the west part thereof, betwixt the lands and lordship of Dalry on the west, the common gate below the castle on the east, and the king's common passage on the south parts.'¹ In another title preserved in the Register House, reference is made to a 'Piece of grass ground along the foot of the great orchard and yards of said lands of Orchardfield betwixt that piece of ground called the "burrows" (i.e. *barras*) belonging of old to the King's stables under the Castle to the east and St. Margaret's Well on the north and west parts.' From a third title the northern boundary of the Orchard is placed on the southern boundary of the lands of Coates, which is represented by the northern side of Shandwick Place.²

These titles, which still apply to properties within the area comprised by Castle Terrace, the south side of Shandwick Place and West Maitland Street, the north sides of Morrison Street and Bread Street, and the west side of West Port, do not indicate the original area—that is, the orchard of David I. Lavish gifts of lands, by the kings who succeeded David, were made to knights and favoured subjects. The earliest were on either side of the *Regis Vicus*, *Regia Via*, the later High Street, the gardens of which stretched on the one side to the margin of what later became the Nor' Loch,³ and on the other to the arable land of the valley which, in the fourteenth century, was changing to street: the *Novus*

¹ From Charter, dated 1719, in favour of Margaret Hamilton of Earlsall, furnished by Mr. J. Paterson, Crown Receiver of Rents.

² For these descriptive titles I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Macqueen, Sasine Office, General Register House.

³ See *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), *passim*.

Vicus or 'New Bigging Street'¹ and, in the second half of the seventeenth century (and not till then), was termed 'The Grassmarket.' The Militant Order of Knights Templar were among the early recipients of lands that till then had formed part of the kitchen garden and the orchard. In addition to their lands on the site of the Grassmarket, they had a huge tract on the western section of the orchard, still recorded in the titles to properties in Lothian Road, the railway ground there, Castle Terrace, Cambridge Street, Cornwall Street, Spittal Street, Grindlay Street, the north side of Bread Street, and Morrison Street. Such are the 'Temple Lands of Orchardfield.'

Although there is no positive evidence that the High Riggs estate was part of the original orchard, one may reasonably infer that it was. A very early reference to the 'Pomarium super montem prope Castellum,' points to the ridge of the Grassmarket, where now stands George Heriot's School. That was the eastern portion of High Riggs, which is defined in a Charter of 1458 as 'bounded on the south and east by the King's High Ways and on the west by the lands of Tollcross.'² The estate was then in the possession of John de Touris, who, in that year, gave it to his son. There is no record of any prior Charter of the lands of High Riggs, but one may conjecture that they were conferred on that Sir John de Touris, who was one of the foremost knights of David II., and the principal factor in the recapture of Berwick Castle in 1355.³

The estate of High Riggs lay north of the lands of William de Liberton, who, in 1420, is designated Bailie.⁴ Those lands are termed 'Orchardfield,' which indicates that in 1430, the date of the Charter, a remnant of the orchard was farther

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), No. 164; *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 346.

² *Ibid.* (1424-1513), No. 616.

³ Bower's *Continuation of Fordun*, Book xiv. cap. 35.

⁴ *Laing Charters*, No. 97; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424-80), No. 180. The Libertons were derived from David de Liberton, King's Serjeant, *tempore* David II. His 'serjeantry lands' were in Upper Liberton (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1363), App. I, No. 147).

south than the most southerly boundary shown in the later titles in the Register House. It also suggests that the expression in these titles describing the southern boundary as 'the royal highways on the south and east' meant, in the early fourteenth century, the roads now known as Lauriston Place, Teviot Place, and Bristo Port. The section east of the High Riggs was gifted by James I. to the Grey Friars, and that area, added to the High Riggs, namely from its junction with the Greyfriars ground¹ to its western boundary at the Tollcross, would make up the main part of the old orchard, as established by David I.

Within the later limits, however, we are on surer ground. If the titles of the properties within the Lothian Road area commemorate the name of the Orchard Field,² no less do certain landmarks in that neighbourhood. Morrison Street has on its south side the border of the old royal farm ('Dalry'), which terminated at what is now the west side of Lothian Road, having West Fountainbridge on the south and Morrison Street on the north. Within these boundaries, and as far west as Semple Street, were the 'Castle Barns,' once more undergoing a change, from its century-old uses as a Canal Basin, to another form of industrial enterprise. There, in mediaeval times, stood the granaries of the royal farm and the dwellings of the workers.

On the north side of Morrison Street (the border of the old orchard) one may yet see 'Orchardfield Court,' a quaint building with an arched entrance, popularly styled 'Castle Barns' as the 'next-of-kin' to the once real Castle Barns on the south side of the street. 'Orchardfield Entry,' slightly west, is at present boarded up, and will probably shortly disappear. Continuing in an easterly direction, one comes to

¹ Cf. Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. p. 265.

² Besides an old tenement that bore the name of Orchardfield, the name of 'Orchardfield Square' was suggested for a thoroughfare near the site of the Usher Hall, and is so marked on Ainslie's Plan of 1804.

Bread Street, which, in earlier times, was known by the more appropriate names of 'Orchardfield Place' and 'Orchardfield Street,' Spittal Street dividing the 'Place' on the west from the 'Street' on the east.¹

The marches of the orchard were along the north side of Bread Street, the south side being the northern boundary of the 'Tollcross Lands,' the 'northmost crofts' of which became the site of the tenements that extend from there to East Fountainbridge.

The fifteenth century royal orchard was terminated on the east by the west boundary of the High Riggs estate (the manor house of which long stood at what is now the north-west corner of Lauriston Street), whence it marched till it reached the King's Stables, which were built on the most northerly part of the old orchard. There, too, by their mere establishment, the character of the remaining portion of the once extensive orchard was considerably changed. The intruded garrison of Edward III., who held the Castle from 1335 to 16th April 1341, was responsible for the beginning

¹ '6 Mar. 1811. Sas. to Trs. of Robert Sempill, Brewer, Castlebarns, in 1 acre 3 roods 34 fall of land at Castlebarns of the lands of Brandsfield, formerly called Dalry, bounded betwixt the highway from Edinr. to Saughtonhall Bridge on the south, the highway leading from said Burgh to the Coltbridge on the north, the cross highway which leads from one of the said highways to the other on the east, and the other lands of Brandsfield formerly called Dalry on the west, with privilege of the well called Foulbridge Well, on Charter Confirmation and Novodamus by James Walker, one of the Principal Clerks of Session. 4 Sept. 1810.'

'11 Sept. 1810. Sas. Barbara Robb or Paterson and Agnes Robb as heirs portioners of James Robb in acre of ground of the lands of Orchardfield and houses built thereon, lying on the north side of the road opposite to the House of Castlebarns, extending in front twenty ells, betwixt the stone-quarry sometime possessed by Dame Elizabeth Anderson having the King's highway on the south and westwards and so northward, being an acre square as the same is bounded and described in a Feu Con. between the heirs portioners of Agnes Campbell, Lady Raeburn, and Janet Robb, spouse of William Lindsay, Gardener at Castlebarns, and the exact bounding of the said acre is now by ground feued by John Wightman of Maulslie to Robert Tenant in King's Knows on the east, the King's highway on the south and the ground sometime belonging in property to the said John Wightman in the west and north parts.'

of the stables. Finding the stable within the Castle 'quite unroofed,'¹ and inadequate for the needs of their nine knights, forty-nine men-at-arms, and sixty mounted archers, preparations were made for the building of a 'Great Stable' below the Castle, the details of which are given in their accounts, along with the money disbursed on timber from the Baltic ports, and the wages that were paid to the masons, carpenters, smiths, carters, porters, and others employed on the fabric. When the English were forced to surrender the Castle, the 'Great Stable' was either unfinished or damaged, as David II. had similar accounts to meet for work done on the stables.² That much decried King, whose love of horses of all sorts is attested by the purchases mentioned in the *Exchequer Rolls*, made considerable use of the 'Great Stable.'

The workmen who were employed, first in the erection of the stable, and later, the stable hands³—the farriers, ostlers, saddlers, cartwrights, carpenters, lorimers, masons, and gardeners—had their dwellings close by, a fact which may account for the origin of the township of the West Port. These workers and tradesmen with their families were also linked up with those whose labours lay in and around the King's farm of 'Dalry,' and who dwelt beside the Castle Barns. Both groups made up the Barony of Wester Portsburgh.

Castle Barns and King's Stables were granaries for the produce of the farm and meadows belonging to the King. Among the many references to this service of the barns, an entry of 1373 records that thirty-one chalders of corn and thirty-four chalders of malt had lain in the Castle Barns for seven weeks before being sent to the Castle for the use of the royal household.⁴ Quantities of hay were sent from the

¹ *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 216.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 252, and *Introd.* p. xlix.

³ *Exch. Rolls*, ii. p. 246.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

King's Meadows at Dalry and Liberton¹ to the King's Stables, fodder, doubtless, for oxen and horses. The name Haymarket may have arisen from the hay sold at the Castle Barns. The Grassmarket has undergone many changes since the twelfth century, when the Abbeys of Kelso and Cambuskenneth had crofts there.² In the first half of the fourteenth century, however, houses were being built to such an extent as to cause the hitherto unnamed street to be styled 'New Bigging Street.'³ These houses were, in many cases, built on ground that had formerly been part of the kitchen garden of the Castle, but it was the King's Stables that led to the feature for which the Grassmarket was most remarkable, namely, the sale of horses, cattle, and sheep. These animals were taken from the King's lands in Bute, Carrick, Mar, and elsewhere, and sold beside the King's Stables.⁴ Grass does not appear among the entries, but may have been part of the market.

More importance appears to have been attached to the agricultural than to the horticultural side. There were cattle markets, but apparently no fruit markets. The accounts, however, mention some fruits, vegetables, and flowers that were grown. Onions, leeks, syboes, cabbages, peas, beans, and garlic are the vegetables most frequently noted in the *Exchequer Rolls*, while of the fruits, the apple, pear, cherry, strawberry, and plum are most prominent. Those articles which the Scottish gardens lacked were made good by importation, as the recurrence of many foreign fruits in the *Exchequer Rolls* amply prove.

Roses, gilliflowers, cinnamon flowers (*flores canellae*),

¹ Patrick, the porter at the Castle, is mentioned in the accounts more than once. In 1380 he was given £4, 13s. 4d. for carting hay from the King's Meadow to the Stables (*Exch. Rolls*, iii. p. 53).

² *Lib. de Calchou*, No. 475. *Lib. de Cambusk.*, p. 129.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), No. 164.

⁴ In 1386, e.g. 100 cattle and 100 sheep were sent (*Exch. Rolls*, ii. p. 306). See also *Exch. Rolls*, vi. p. 46.

crocuses, and primroses were features of the gardens of the Castle, though flowers in general were not, in mediaeval times, cultivated with the idea of delighting the eye, but with the sole object of providing either food or medicine. The violet was used as a salad herb, and was eaten raw with onions and lettuce; while roses and primroses were cooked and served with milk, sugar, and honey. A decoction from the rose was also used for medical purposes.

The flower garden as simply a place of beauty was, it is said, unknown until the end of the sixteenth century, which appears to be an exaggeration. The churchmen of the Middle Ages were the greatest gardeners of their time. At their head was Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), a distinguished priest, who wrote of flowers in monastery gardens as intended for the pleasure of sight and smell. Flowers were used by the clergy in the decoration of altars and shrines, for chaplets or wreaths for the head, and for all great functions when the priests were crowned with flowers.

The English invasion of 1335 played havoc with the gardens of the Castle, a fact which the Sheriff of Edinburgh, acting as the accountant of Edward III., deplored. 'No rent from the kitchen garden below the castle on the south, though it used to be worth twelve pence a year,' and 'none from the orchard which was valued at thirteen shillings and four pence annually.'¹ The gardeners had apparently made good some of the damage, as, in the following year, the same Sheriff reported both kitchen garden and orchard to be worth five shillings and ten pence.² David II. evidently tried to improve the gardens, though the bare title of a Charter, appointing Malcolm Paganson his gardener in 1363,³ is all that remains to show the royal interest. In the first half of the fifteenth century the royal gardens had once more fallen into disorder,

¹ *Cal. of Docs. Relating to Scotland*, iii. p. 327.

² *Ibid.*, p. 376.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), App. 2, No. 985.

payment being made in 1435 of a sum of '£8 to Nicholas Plummar and the heirs of the "late" Walter Masoun, Master of Works,' for 'completing the herb garden of the king.'¹

In England and on the Continent the 'orchard was, at the close of the fifteenth century, giving way to the smaller garden,'² but in Edinburgh it had been undergoing the change to a smaller garden long before. In addition to the curtailment caused by the settlement of private subjects on parts of the orchard, the kings who had favoured the Castle as their residence had been succeeded by others who chose to dwell elsewhere. James III. preferred Linlithgow, while James IV. and James V. established gardens at Stirling and Falkland.³

But the decline of the royal gardens in Edinburgh was counterbalanced by the private gardens which grew out of them. If there was any tendency on the part of the smaller holders to neglect the cultivation of their gardens, their superiors were empowered to see that they had trees and broom commensurate with their holdings.⁴ James III. also passed a measure requiring all freeholders to make their tenants plant trees and hedges, and to sow broom 'after the faculties of their mailings in convenient places.'⁵ Further heavy penalties were meted out to 'stealers of green wood and destroyers of trees' and to 'breakers of orchards, stealers of fruit, and destroyers of cunninggars (rabbit warrens) and dovecots.'⁶

It is hardly probable that the gardens of the Castle of Edinburgh, or those elsewhere, ever equalled the gardens of the Church and the various Religious Orders, a circumstance not entirely explained by the frequent intrusion of hostile armies in their midst. The King's gardeners seem to have

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, iv. p. 623.

² Crisp, *Mediaeval Gardens*, i. p. 31.

³ *Exch. Rolls and Ld. Treas. Accounts*, *passim*.

⁴ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 7. Capital punishment was meted out to three men, convicted in the Justiciary Court of Edinburgh in 1623 for stealing from the gardens of Barnton, Liberton, etc. (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 555).

been frequently incompetent or neglectful of their duties, since the entries in the *Exchequer Rolls* of payments to these officials are sometimes accompanied by such remarks as 'male meritis' (ill-earned) 'inmeritis' (unearned), while one or two are entered as 'dismissed.' The first duty of the King's gardener appears to have been to provide his royal master with a sufficient supply of onions and mustard, his failure to do so in regard to the onions (eight barrels) resulting in no payment being made in 1493 and 1494 to John Gardiner.² But perhaps the season and not the gardener was at fault.

In all those lapses of the King's gardeners, the assistance of the Churchmen was invoked,³ and the results appear to have been quite satisfactory. The most fruitful and ornate gardens in the neighbourhood of the Castle were the gardens of St. Giles, which extended from the Church to the Cowgate; the gardens of the Blackfriars, stretching southwards from the Cowgate; and those of the Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields (better known as Kirk o' Field), which covered an area roughly represented by the old University buildings, Infirmary Street, High School Yards, and part of the Cowgate, adjacent to these streets. From the last-mentioned garden James IV. obtained in 1499 the seeds required for his 'new garden' in the ward of Stirling Castle.⁴

By the end of the fifteenth century, the gardens of the Castle were in waste, while those two once flourishing parts of them, the King's Stables and the Barras, were in a declining state. Originating together, they declined almost simultaneously with the rising popularity of Holyrood Palace as a rival residence. It was because of this that the King's Stables

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, *passim*.

² In 1496 the King's auditors paid Gardiner £5, 6s. 8d. for the two years. *Ibid.*, x. p. 589.

³ See *Exch. Rolls*, particularly vols. x., xi., and xii., for payments made to Friar Archd. Hamilton, Friar John Cauldwell, and Provost David Traill.

⁴ *Exch. Rolls*, vol. xi.

became a 'waste' and were sold in 1527 to Robert Baillie,¹ from whom the property can be traced to the present day.

The first chapter in the history of the Barras dates from 1335-36, when the English knights began to prepare the flat green sward immediately west of the King's Stables for tilting.² David II. put the finishing touches to the Barras, and paid the Constable of the Castle for all outlays.³ In 1398 Queen Annabella, wife of Robert III., held a tournament at the Barras⁴ in which tilted twelve knights, of whom the principal was her son, the unfortunate David, who was about the same time created Duke of Rothesay. The last chapter in its active career belongs to the year 1500, when Jean de Coupance met more than his match in Sir Patrick Hamilton.⁵ The Barras was then the most notable as well as picturesque part of the royal gardens, and the magnificent spectacle afforded the multitude who lined the enclosure, of two warriors in deadly encounter, was a thrilling experience even in that age.

This memorable occasion had two interesting sequels, one of which does not concern us here, but the other may be mentioned. The priest, who was as indispensable on these occasions as the Constable, the Earl Marshal, and the Heralds, in swearing the contestants on the Gospels, and in administering absolution to the dying, had no chapel in the vicinity. In order that he might officiate thenceforth within such seemly precincts, James IV. gave orders for the building of a chapel at the east end of the Barras, *i.e.* in the middle of the lane which can still be seen a few yards from the Grassmarket, and which had till lately the name of 'Lady Wynd.' The chapel, known as 'St. Mary's below the Castle Wall,' was in use in 1508,⁶ but had become a ruin by about 1750. The

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1513-46), No. 484.

² *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 369.

³ *Exch. Rolls*, ii. pp. 129, 177, 222.

⁴ Bower's *Continuation of Fordun*, ii. p. 421.

⁵ *Pitcottie's Hist. of Scot.* (Scot. Text Soc. ed.), i. p. 234.

⁶ *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, i. No. 1689.

purpose for which it was erected has hitherto escaped notice. Its first incumbent was Sir James Ellem,¹ whose duties were not confined to the rare occasions of a trial by combat or a tournament, but included the conduct of a daily service, in which prayers were said for the soul of the royal founder of the chapel. The annual emoluments of the chaplain were £13, 6s. 8d. Ellem, who held office until his death in 1545,² was reprovved for neglect of duty in the years 1531, 1532, and 1533, though on one occasion it was shown that the building could not be used. The office of chaplain was maintained until 1592, when Jerome Bowie had the appointment and the fee.³ Tournaments had then long been in abeyance, but not trials by combat. In the year 1602 orders were issued for the settlement by combat in the Barras⁴ of a charge of treason, made by an Italian against Moubray of Barnbogle. James VI., however, with characteristic timidity, revoked the order, but the luckless Moubray, in trying to escape from the Castle, fell on the rocks and was killed.⁵

Although the chaplaincy ceased with Jerome Bowie, the office of 'custodian' or 'watcher' of the Barras continued long after its original purpose had been forgotten. All who obtained sasine of the lands of the King's Stables with 'the piece of green land known as the Barras' were charged with the maintenance of its walls, a clause which was in operation until the close of the seventeenth century.⁶

The proprietors and the tenants of the King's Stables and Barras were for many generations brewers and tanners. One of the most eminent families of the seventeenth century residing there were the Borelands, one of whom, Thomas Boreland, sold the superiority to the Town in 1654.⁷ In 1685, however, the deed was reduced by the Court of Session

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, xiii. p. 96.

² *Ibid.*, xviii. p. 90.

³ *Ibid.*, xxii. p. 224; cf. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1648, No. 1974, and 1663, No. 536.

⁴ *Reg. P. C.*, vi. p. 531 n.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1660-68), No. 536.

⁷ *Edin. T. C. Reg.*

in an action brought against Borelands by the Constable of the Castle,¹ on the ground that the King's Stables formed part of the Castle property, and were inalienable. In consequence of the decree the Magistrates to this day pay to the Crown annually the sum of three shillings and nine pence²—the modern equivalent of the old feu-duty of forty-five shillings Scots.

In the eighteenth century, the Grindlays, who were tanners, were probably the most distinguished business men in the King's Stables. Two brothers, George and John, acquired the Temple lands of Orchardfield, *i.e.* all the area between the King's Stables and the south side of Bread Street and Morrison Street, including the intervening portion of Lothian Road as far as Castle Terrace. The memory of the Grindlays is perpetuated, not only in the name of the street, off Lothian Road, but in the documents of their Trustees, the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, who administer the revenues derived from the Temple lands of the Orchardfield for behoof of the trusts of James Gillespie, the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, George Watson's College, and the Royal Infirmary.

Until the year 1811 the lands of Orchardfield were arable,³ but their value was vastly increased when the Town Improvement Commissioners, acting under the local Act of 1827, constructed Johnston Terrace and linked up the Lothian Road area with the Lawnmarket. That led to a great demand for feus on the land of the Orchard, from which the Trustees of the Grindlays have largely benefited.

In their operations the Commissioners formed Johnston Terrace out of the south Castle Bank, permission for which interference with the Castle pertinents had to be obtained from the then Secretary for War, the Duke of Wellington. They also purchased 'Livingstone's Yards,' in King's Stables

¹ Fountainhall's *Hist. Notices*, ii. p. 626-7.

² Hunter and Paton, *The Common Good*, p. 24.

³ Report to Edin. Merchant Co. by their factor, T. Strong, W.S. (1867), p. 5.

Road, near the spot where, seven hundred years earlier, David I. established the Church gardens on the west and north sides of the Castle.

As the north side was part of what are now West Princes Street Gardens, the question arises: Was any portion of this ground a part of the gardens of the King or of the Castle? The area was originally divided into three sections by a burn and later by the Nor' Loch, as follows:—(a) the area extending from St. Cuthbert's Church eastwards, with its northmost boundary at the Lang Dykes, now identified with the site of Rose Street, and its southern at the margin of the burn or loch; (b) the water in the valley; and (c) the Castle Banks, together with the strip of land at their base. In the earliest recorded period, the first or northern section was held by St. Cuthbert's secular clergy and then by the Canons Regular of Holyrood. As this is not the *locus* stated by writers on the subject, it is well to scrutinise the terms of the Charters of 1127 and 1143-47.

It has been mentioned that the fountain on or near the site of King's Stables Road marked the south-eastern boundary of the Churchmen's gardens, the present glebe of St. Cuthbert's forming the western portion of their lands. These lands were stated in both charters to lie 'along the other side' (of the way to St. Cuthbert's) until a road was reached, or a crag 'below the Castle towards the east.' Both 'road' and 'crag' are situated in the vicinity of the Calton Gaol. The road—Leith Wynd—was then, and for centuries later, the only thoroughfare in that neighbourhood. The 'crag' had no other designation until late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century, when it was styled the 'Dhu Crag,'¹ 'Dow Crag,'² 'Craigengalt,'³ and in more recent times 'Nigel's' or 'Neil's Crag.'⁴ An old chapel, which was removed in 1847, to make way for the railway station, bore

¹ *Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 52, p. 635.

² *Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 52, p. 635.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 213.

⁴ *Ibid.*

on the lintel of its door the legend, 'Craig End.'¹ Finally, the Charter of Confirmation of Malcolm IV. referred to the lands of the Canons of Holyrood 'with the part at the Crag belonging to it'² (the Abbey).

The Calton site also fulfils the phrase in the Charter 'below the Castle towards the east.' In treating of lands situated at a distance from the Castle, expressions of a like nature are common in charters of a much later date. For example, in a deed of 1629 referring to George Heriot's Hospital, there occur the words, 'below the Castle Wall on the south side of the royal road'³ (i.e. High Street). Had the crag been situated at the Castle, the scribe would have used the genitive of 'Castellum' instead of 'sub Castello,' i.e. 'of' in place of 'below' the Castle.

From the west end of the present Princes Street to the Calton Crag may therefore be said to have formed part of the gardens of the Castle during the residence of the Canons in the citadel, which continued until at least the year 1208.⁴ The more southerly sections of the Gardens of to-day, i.e. the area covered by the Castle Bank and adjacent land, find no place in the history of the Gardens. That they were ever under cultivation, their northerly exposure and the complete silence of the earlier chroniclers render exceedingly improbable. The history of the Castle Bank belongs more particularly to that appanage of the Castle, the Well-House Tower, the active career of which may be traced from 1335-36.⁵

The 'Castle Bankis and Brayis,' i.e. the grassy slopes on the north, south, and west sides of the Castle, had been claimed by Town Councils as their property from the early seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Their right to these lands was recognised by James VI. in the 'Golden Charter' granted to the Town Council in 1603,⁶ but was

¹ Wilson, *Memorials of Edin.*, ii. p. 364. 1794

² *Lib. Sec. Crucis*, p. 22.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1620-33), No. 1423.

⁴ *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. No. 434.

⁵ *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 359; Skene, *Art. in Archaeol. Scot.*, ii. p. 471.

⁶ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1593-1608), No. 1427.

evidently regarded with a considerable degree of suspicion by Charles I.¹ who, while confirming his father's Charter in every other respect, recalled to the Crown the Castle Banks, 'without prejudice to any prior right which the Town or any burgesses had to them.'² Their right, which dated from 'ancient times,' the Town Council asserted in an action instituted in the Court of Session in 1771, and, owing to the Crown officials failing to produce evidence of their title, obtained judicial recognition in a 'Decree of Certification' given in their favour.³ But the tables were reversed in the more important law-suit of 1859-61, when the Courts found that the 'Castle Bankis and Brayis' were, and always had been, Crown property.⁴

The proof in that action threw much light upon the uses to which the land now known as West Princes Street Gardens was put, though the evidence went no farther back than the seventeenth century. While there was no proof to show that the Castle Banks were ever part of the Gardens of the Castle, there was abundant testimony indicating that the Castle authorities owned them. The grandson of a Grassmarket stabler who, as a boy, accompanied his relatives when they went to cut the grass either on the north or the south bank, recollected the annual payments made to the Crown Agent,⁵ and the Accountant who spoke to the presence of nineteen houses on the south bank whose tenants, until they were all removed about the year 1850 (known as 'encroachers' or 'squatters'), paid each to the Crown one shilling a year,⁶ were both independent witnesses who confirmed the evidence of the Castle officials, who had been accustomed to perambulate the Crown boundaries annually, and of a Corporal

¹ *Cf. Reg. Privy Council*, 2nd ser., vols. i. p. 590; iii. pp. 433, 634, 637.

² *Absque prejudicio alienjus prioris juris quod dictus burgus aut aliqui ejus burgenses ad easdem habuerunt (Reg. Mag. Sig. (1634-51)), No. 605.*

³ Cited in *Session Rep.*, 2nd ser., vol. xxii. p. 222.

⁴ *Ibid.*; affirmed by H. L., 3 Macq., p. 1.

⁵ Reports of Court of Session Cases, 2nd ser., vol. 22, p. 241. 1861, 3 Macq., p. 1.

⁶ *Session Papers*, 1859, No. 35. *Ibid.*

of the Royal Engineers whose plan showed the houses and the Crown boundaries. As a result of all this evidence, the boundaries, which were declared to be those of the Crown, may be traced from the entrance gate in King's Stables Road (where a stone next to St. Cuthbert's Wall is marked with the initials of the War Department), along by that Wall, and the centre of the railway to the Mound, and thence to the Castle Esplanade. All within that area was part of the Castle, but, so far as one can judge, never part of its Gardens. On the other side, the Crown boundaries extend from the foot of the Esplanade to the eastern side of Upper and Lower Castle Wynd, thence to the King's Stables Road, as far as the entrance gate of the Gardens there.

From that old 'Way to St. Cuthbert's,' alongside the Gardens, there ran a road to the gate of the Castle, near which the sons of Queen Margaret hurried down one November day in 1093 with the body of their dead mother. Near it, too, Randolph and his daring band climbed the Rock and captured the Castle. And a bright cavalcade was noticed there on a sunny September afternoon in 1561, when Mary Queen of Scots chose that way for her approach to the Castle.¹ It was the most secluded part of the precincts for ingress to, or egress from, the citadel, a fact which the besieged garrison of Kirkaldy of Grange knew well, they having made use of it for their secret supplies of water from the Well of St. Margaret, in the 'Way to the Church below,' until Captain Mitchel put an end to the practice. And it was along that 'Way' and up the same slopes that, more than a century later, Claverhouse went to have his talk with the Duke of Gordon.

These Castle slopes faced the royal Gardens and the Fountain of St. Margaret, and it is in the long-vanished 'fountain of St. Margaret on the Way to St. Cuthbert's' that we have the key to the Gardens of the Castle.

C. A. MALCOLM.

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrences*, p. 67.

SOME INNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE purpose of this paper is to set forth the result of certain researches made by the writer regarding some of the old inns of Edinburgh and of the life connected with them. The period covered by the narrative is roughly the last forty years of the eighteenth century, a period which witnessed not only the development of the stage coach, but a marked improvement in the standard of comfort prevailing at the inns. Indeed, before the eighteenth century closed, the old-fashioned and unwholesome inn of which we read in the pages of Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* had to a large extent been transformed into the modern hotel.

The subject is a wide one, and bristles with difficulties. Many important as well as interesting points have arisen during a somewhat prolonged investigation, and the writer regrets that owing partly to lack of time and partly to limitations of space he has been unable to deal as fully as he should have liked with the available material. It will therefore be obvious that the narrative makes no pretence to being exhaustive. It is based for the most part on scraps of information gleaned from the advertising columns of contemporary newspapers, from title-deeds and other documents, and from books not readily accessible. The material regarding certain inns is abundant, but about others it is tantalisingly meagre, and in consequence one of the difficulties has been to preserve a sense of proportion.

As the situation of the main roads very frequently deter-