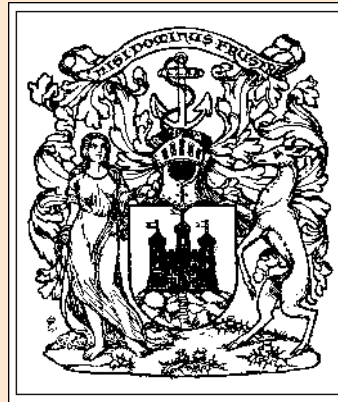


# THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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I cannot better conclude these notes than by quoting the eloquent words of Sir Henry Craik :—

‘Between Holyrood and the Castle . . . there ran one long street flanked by lofty tenements to which access was gained by grim, narrow and noisome passages. Along that street the pageants of centuries had passed; high festival and darkest tragedy had been enacted on its causeways; struggles that had shaken all modern nations had seen many of their most exciting episodes transacted there; and the annals of some of the most illustrious houses of Europe must recall that street in telling of the fates of their most conspicuous members. . . . Here, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, in houses piled up story upon story, whose only access was by a foul-smelling common stair . . . there congregated a proud, albeit a poor aristocracy, a gay and most sprightly society, and one of the most learned and witty professional circles of which Britain could boast.’

Such was the old High Street of Edinburgh. Would that we were all enabled to realise more fully that it is a great civic possession and a great national trust—not merely a ‘happy hunting-ground’ for sanitary surveyors and utilitarian officials.

BRUCE J. HOME.

20th March, 1908.

#### THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE

MUCH has been written regarding the Execution of the ‘Great’ Marquis of Montrose in 1650, and the ceremonious burial of his remains in the Chepman Aisle of St. Giles’ Cathedral in 1661.

Contemporary documents have been discovered from time to time throwing light upon minute details of these events, but certain interesting accounts of the Lord Lyon, now preserved in the General Register House, incurred in connection with the embalming and State funeral of the remains of the ‘Great’ Marquis, do not appear to have previously been published. Before giving transcriptions of these, a brief reference to some of the well-authenticated incidents of the period to which they belong may not be inappropriate.

On the morning of Friday, 17th May 1650, a select number of the Committee of Estates, which then constituted the Scottish Parliament, assembled in hot haste in order to decide the fate of Montrose, who was at that moment being conveyed, an outlawed prisoner, towards the capital. Three weeks before—on April 27th—his last hopes of regaining Scotland for Charles II. had been shattered when Colonel Strachan practically annihilated his slender force at Carbisdale, near the Pass of Invercharron. A few days later he was betrayed by Neil M’Leod of Assynt into the hands of General Leslie, who had him at once conveyed to Edinburgh.

The brief deliberations of the select committee resulted in an ‘Acte ordaining James Grhame to be brought from the Watter Gate on a cairte beare headit, the hangman in his liverie, covered, ryding on

the horse that draws the cart (the prisoner to be bound to the cart with a rope), to the tolbooth of Edinbrughe, and from thence to be brought to the parliament house, and ther, in the place of delinquents, on his knees to receive his sentence, viz., to be hanged on a gibbet at the crosse of Edinbrughe, with his booke and declaratione tayed in a rope aboute his necke, and ther to hing for the space of 3 houres, untill he wer dead; and thereafter to be cutt doune by the hangman; his head, hands and leges to be cutt offe, and destribute as followes, viz., his head to be affixed on ane iron pine, and set on the pinnackell on the west gavell of the new prissone of Edinbrughe; one hand to be sett on the porte of Perth; the other on the porte of Stirling; one lyge and foote on the porte of Aberdeine, the other on the porte of Glasgow. If he was at his deathe penitent, and relaxit from excommunication, then the truncke of his bodey to be interrid by pioners in the Gray Friars, utherwayes to be interrid in the Borrowmure, by the hangmans men under the gallows.<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with their instructions the Magistrates, accompanied by the Town Guard and common hangman, proceeded, the following afternoon, to carry out the first part of their ghastly task. Montrose, wounded and weary after his terrible fortnight's journey from Ross-shire, was brought into the City by the Water-gate, which formed the junction of the road from Leith with the Canongate, where the Magistrates made him aware of the sentence, so hastily, and without trial, passed upon him the previous day. Three days later, 21st May, 1650, Montrose, then but thirty-eight years of age, was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high at the Cross of Edinburgh which at that time stood a few feet north-east of the site of the present cross, on the south side of the High Street. The spot is still marked by an octagonal arrangement of the causeway stones, immediately opposite the High Street entrance to the present Central Police Office. While incarcerated in the Tolbooth, and with the awful words of doom still ringing in his ears, Montrose wrote with a diamond point on the window of his prison chamber what may be termed his dying prayer:—

<sup>1</sup> Balfour's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 12.

Let them bestow on every airt a limb,  
Then open all my veins, that I may swim  
To Thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,  
Then place my parboiled head upon a stake;  
Scatter my ashes, strow them in the air.  
Lord, since Thou knowest where all these atóms are,  
I'm hopeful thou 'lt recover once my dust,  
And confident thou 'lt raise me with the just.

The sentence was carried out in all its gruesome details. His body, after dismemberment, was 'cassen in to ane lytill schoirt kist,' thereafter conveyed by six workmen to the Easter Common Muir of the city, and hastily buried beneath the public gibbet, situated at the south eastern extremity of the Burghmuir loch. That spacious adjunct of the city of our day—at one time called Hope's Park, but now known as 'The Meadows'—in 1650 formed the bed of the Burghmuir loch, afterwards drained by Hope of Rankeillor. The exact spot where the gibbet under which Montrose's body lay during the period of the Commonwealth, is now covered by St. Leonard's School and grounds which occupy a considerable space at the junction of St. Leonard's Street with East Preston Street. An earlier gibbet is referred to in the Town Council records under date 9th October, 1566, when 'ye provest, baillies and counsall ordained Jhone Westoun Thesaurer to caus mak ane dure to ye galloss of ye burrow mure and to cause mend and heicht ye dykis yrof sua yt doggis sall not be abill to cary ye cariounis furth of ye samyn as thai had done in tymes past.' In 1586 the Council decided upon feuing certain portions of the Easter Muir, including the site of the old gallows, and at that time, as evidenced by the following entry, ordered the erection of the gibbet under which Montrose's body was afterwards buried:—

24 August, 1586.—In respect yat the auld gallowis in ye burrow mure is foulett and decayand bayt in the tymmer wark and ye wallis and yat ye samyn stands upoun the grund qlk is now sett in few thairfore ordanis the same to be removet and tayne doune and ane new

gallowis of pillers of stayne w<sup>t</sup> wallis to be biggit and raysit narrer ye toune in ye place devyset therefor.

On 5th June, 1668, the Council agreed to set in Tack to Thomas Sandilands, wright, Burgess of Edinburgh, the ground at the corner of the Dalkeith Road and Mounthooly Loan (now East Preston Street), called the Gallows Green, but reserved 'the loanings upon the east and south and the bounds of the gallows encompassed with the stane dykes for the touns use and their service as formerly.' The whole of the Gallows Green was feued by the Magistrates to John Davie, Brewer in the Pleasants, on 23rd June, 1699, and subsequently re-named Spittalfield, on which East Preston Street, and a considerable number of streets to the north thereof have since been erected.<sup>1</sup>

The head of the Marquis was affixed to an iron spike, and set upon a pinnacle over the ornamental north gable of the western portion of the city prison known as the Tolbooth, which stood in the middle of the High Street, immediately to the north-west of St. Giles' Church. The exact location is now indicated by a heart-shaped design in the causeway known as the 'Heart of Midlothian.' The limbs were placed in four boxes and despatched to the respective towns appointed by Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

The mutilated body of the Marquis was not destined to rest long undisturbed in its unhallowed grave. At the instigation of his devoted niece, Lady Napier, then living in the Castle of Merchiston, his heart was surreptitiously abstracted from the rude coffin two days after burial, 'embalmed in the most costly manner by that skilful chirurgeon and apothecary Mr. James Callendar, then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the now Lord Marquis who was then in Flanders.'<sup>3</sup>

The history of the heart of Montrose, as previously accepted,

<sup>1</sup> Town Council Records; Register of Sasines.

<sup>2</sup> City Treasurer's Accounts; *Montrose Redivivus*, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> True Funerals of Montrose. *Harleian MSS.*, vol. vii. p. 283.

is a most romantic one, unequalled for interest, as Napier says, even by that of the royal Bruce. Though much that has been written concerning it is merely conjectural, there is no doubt the heart was abstracted, embalmed, and given into possession of the young Marquis while exiled in Flanders. Napier, who investigated the matter most minutely, states that the gold box with its precious contents, had been traced with absolute certainty from Lady Napier to Montrose's son, but expresses regret that Sydsersf gives no hint in his relation of the 'True Funerals of Montrose,' published early in 1661, as to whether the second Marquis then actually had the heart in his possession in Scotland, or had left it behind in Flanders, or lost it while in exile. 'It is not so easy, however,' Napier proceeds, 'to determine when or how such a relique came to be lost to the family who undoubtedly do not possess it now. Here its history becomes obscured.'<sup>1</sup>

The question of actual possession of the heart in 1661 is now placed beyond doubt by an entry in the Chirurgeon's account, now first printed, which states that on 11th May, 1661, 'his Lordship's heart was sent to us by his honourable son and embaimed with oderiferous powders and oils.' This clearly proves that the heart of his father was in possession of the young Marquis until the preparations for the state funeral were nearing completion. Almost at the last moment he sent it to be re-embalmed by the Chirurgeons who had just completed that same office upon the other collected remains. What more natural than that the freshly embalmed heart, instead of finding a resting-place in box of gold or silver urn, should be restored to the body, and along with it receive a sepulture befitting the mortal ashes of the Napoleon of Scotland? The casket which had contained the precious relic no doubt became a family heirloom, around which may have been woven the many accepted romances regarding the heart of Montrose.

A decade of relentless religious persecution and political

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Montrose*, Napier, 1856, vol. ii. p. 815.

unrest, following upon the execution of Montrose, brings us to the dawn of the Restoration. Charles II., now received by the populace of the capital with acclamation, hastened to make what honourable reparation he could to the memory of the martyred royalist. Accordingly on 4th January, 1661:—

The Kings Majesties Commissioner represented unto the Parliament that it was his Majesties express pleasure that the bodies, bones and head of the late Marques of Montrose, and Sir William Hay of Delgetie should be gathered and honorable buried at his Majesties expence. Whairwith the Estates of Parliament being well satisfied did by ane unanimous vote appoint the Magistrates of Edinburgh to sie his Majesties will and pleasure herein punctuallie observed, and that they take the advice of the present Marques of Montrose as to the manner of it.<sup>1</sup>

Next day (Saturday) the Magistrates instructed the erection of a scaffold on the top of the Tolbooth for the downtaking of the head, and appointed the following Monday as the date on which the body was to be brought from the Burgh Muir. John Scott, merchant, had meanwhile been busy furnishing 'the first day's peall which was in great haiste.' Nicoll in his Diary of the period graphically describes the obsequies attendant upon the bringing of the body from the Burgh Muir to the Abbey Church of Holyrood, preparatory to the more ceremonious burial in St. Giles' four months later.

Upone Monday the sevint of January 1661 (Nicol tells us), the Magistrates and Counsell of Edinburgh causit the timber and sklaites nerrest to that pairt of the Tolbuith quhair the Erles heid was pricked and fixt to be takin doun, and maid a large scaffold thairon, quhair sindry pepill and trumpettoris sounding wer placed wayting thair discoverit till his corps wer raisit and brocht in from the Burrow mure. In the meintyme the Toun of Edinburgh airtie, about nyne in the clok, set out four of thair captanes with thair companyes, all of thaim in thair airmes and displayit cullouris; quha eftir a lang space marching

<sup>1</sup> Acts of Parliament.

up and doun the streitis, went out thairefter to the Burrow mure quhair his corps wer bureyit, and quhair sindry nobles and gentrie his freindis and favorites, both hors and fute, wer thair attending; and thair, in presence of sindry nobles, erles, lordis, barones, and utheris convenit for the tyme, his graif wes raisit, his body and bones taken out, and wrappit up in curious clothes, and put in a coffin, quhilk, under a canopy of riche velwet, wer careyit from the Burrow mure to the Toun of Edinburgh; the nobles, barones and gentrie on hors, the Toun of Edinburgh and many thowsandis besyde, convoyit these corpis all along, the cullouris fleying, drums towking, trumpettis sounding, musketis craking, and cannones from the Castell roring: all of thame walking on till thai come to the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, fra the quhilk his heid wes very honorable and with all dew respectis takin doun and put within the coffin under the cannopie with great acclamation of joy: all this tyme the trumpettis, the drumes, cannones, gunes, the displayit cullouris, geving honor to these deid corps. From thence all of thame, both hors and fute, convoyit these deid corps to the Abay Kirk of Halyrudhous quhair he is left inclosit in ane yll, till farder ordour be by his Majestie and Estaites of Parliament for the solempnitie of his buriall.<sup>1</sup>

The following accounts, reference to which has already been made, were transferred along with a mass of miscellaneous documents from the office of His Majesty's Treasury and Exchequer in Parliament Square to the General Register House, about the beginning of last century. These miscellaneous papers were sometime ago arranged by Mr. Clark of H. M. Record Office, when many items of historical interest were brought to light. The accounts then discovered only represent £345 sterling out of a total sum of £802 sterling disbursed by the Lord Lyon for the funeral of Montrose. Curiously enough it is the accounts paid by Bailie Cheislie mentioned in the Lord Lyon's warrant of 16th August, 1662, which have come down to us.

The Warrant is in the following terms:—

Bailie Cheislie you shall pay to the sev<sup>n</sup> persons for My Lord Montrose buriell according to My Lord Commissioners order eight hundreth and two pound sterg. of which Sr John Strachan hath gott in

<sup>1</sup> Nicoll's Diary. Bannatyne Club, p. 316.

all ther particular counts having ther receats this shall be yor warrant  
Edin: the 16 of August 1662.

ALEX DURHAM *Lyon.*

I meane ye having the receates of such as ye have payed extending  
to four thousand on hundreth threttie nyne punds nyn shillings eight  
pence I having receats for the rest my selfe which extends to 5485<sup>l</sup>  
2<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>.

The receipts for the balance of £457, no doubt as interest-  
ing as the others, were thus in the Lord Lyon's possession, but  
these, if extant, have not yet been discovered. Prior to the  
middle of the eighteenth century the Lord Lyon and his  
Heralds had charge of all the State and other funerals of  
note, and it was under the direction of Sir Alexander  
Durham, appointed to that office on 28th August, 1660, that  
the elaborate funeral ceremonies of Montrose were conducted.  
The accounts are here given in the order appearing in the  
manuscript.

#### MARQUIS OF MONTROSE'S FUNERAL ACCOUNTS, 1662

To be pay<sup>d</sup> to the Session of the Abbay Kireke ther mortcloath  
fyftin pound sterlling.

To be pay<sup>d</sup> to the Beddells in the Abbay Kirck for ther pains the  
tyme the corps stood in the church fourtie shilling sterg.

802<sup>lb</sup> Stg to be placid down debursed for my Lo/ Montros Buriall.  
Whereof my Lo/ Lyon hath delyvered in to S<sup>r</sup> John Strachan alredie  
the acom<sup>t</sup>. The 3935. 09. 8 pay<sup>d</sup> alredie out of the casch, the remaining  
5689. 2. 4 is to be tacken out of the first moneys comes in of the Exys  
and put in with my Lo/ Lyons cossa.

Accompt for ane Peall furnished by John Scott Mer<sup>t</sup> for the use of my  
Lord Marques of Montroses 5 Jany 1661.

|                                                                                           | LB. | S. | D. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| 26 ell 3 qrs and half 3 per ell Rich Black velvet 22 <sup>lb</sup> ell                    | 591 | 05 | 00 |
| 3 ell of Black busting at 18 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                          | 02  | 14 | 00 |
| 24 ells of broad black french ribons at 9 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                             | 10  | 16 | 00 |
| 2 unce 4 drop of black silk for showing at 24 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                         | 02  | 14 | 00 |
| 6 ell ane qrtter of black tafity at 5 <sup>lb</sup> 13 <sup>s</sup> 4 <sup>d</sup> p. ell | 35  | 08 | 04 |
| 64 unce small black silk for ane fringe at 24 <sup>s</sup> p. unce                        | 76  | 16 | 00 |

|                                                                                                                                          | LB.  | S. | D. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|----|
| Payed out for working at 4/ p. unce                                                                                                      | 12   | 16 | 00 |
| 1 ell of best black crepe                                                                                                                | 01   | 06 | 08 |
| 8 ell of black ribens for cufering the Cords at 6 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                                                    | 02   | 08 | 00 |
| 14 ell of black paddoway serg for the dayll 48 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                                                       | 33   | 12 | 00 |
| 1 peper of black prines                                                                                                                  | 00   | 05 | 00 |
| 8 gilded crapes at 12 <sup>s</sup> p. pr                                                                                                 | 04   | 16 | 00 |
| 6 May                                                                                                                                    |      |    |    |
| 16 ells and half of the forme black velvet for munting<br>the Peall and two cushings for the Burriall at 22 <sup>lb</sup> p. ell         | 363  | 00 | 00 |
| 40 ell doubell black tafity ribens at 12 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                                                             | 24   | 00 | 00 |
| 2 unce of Black silk for showing at 24 <sup>s</sup> p. unce                                                                              | 02   | 08 | 00 |
| 35 unce 10 drop of small silk for fringe, 24 <sup>s</sup> p. unce                                                                        | 42   | 15 | 00 |
| For working the s <sup>d</sup> fringe 4 <sup>s</sup> p. unce                                                                             | 07   | 02 | 06 |
| 4 ell of fyne demytie for two cushings 18 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                                                            | 03   | 12 | 00 |
| 13 pund of dounes for the cushings 9 <sup>lb</sup> p. stone                                                                              | 07   | 14 | 00 |
| 6 unce of black silk for 8 craps to the cushings at 24 <sup>s</sup><br>p. unce                                                           | 07   | 04 | 00 |
| Payed for working the s <sup>d</sup> craps and showing the cushings                                                                      | 03   | 00 | 00 |
| 16 ell of small ribens for the cordes at 6 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                                                           | 04   | 16 |    |
| Payed to William Paterson tailyour for showing and munt-<br>ting the first dayes peall which wes in great haist with<br>boyes drink mony | 12   | 00 | 00 |
| Suma                                                                                                                                     | 1252 | 08 | 06 |

Stg. £104 7 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

Acomp<sup>t</sup> be my Lord Lyone for the funerall of the Marques of Montros  
To William Mitchelson Mer<sup>t</sup> In Edinburgh 22 Feby 1661.

|                                                                                                      | LB. | S. | D. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Imp <sup>s</sup> 1 ell of fyne trailzay bukrom at 3 <sup>lb</sup> 4 <sup>s</sup> p. ell              | 003 | 04 | 00 |
| 25 ells of trailzay bukrom courser at 36 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                         | 045 | 00 | 00 |
| 3 ells & ane half of blak Inglis bukrom at 26/8 p. ell                                               | 004 | 13 | 04 |
| 11 ells of blak freiz to them at 30 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                              | 016 | 10 | 00 |
| 13 ells 3 quarters of blak spanish tafity at 6 <sup>lb</sup> 16/ p. ell                              | 093 | 10 | 00 |
| 10 ells & ane quarter of reid spains tafity at 9 <sup>lb</sup> 13 <sup>s</sup> 4 <sup>d</sup> p. ell | 099 | 01 | 08 |
| 4 ells of blew tafity to it at 7 <sup>lb</sup> 4 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                 | 028 | 16 | 00 |
| 6 ells and ane quarter of lemon collered tafity at 9 <sup>lb</sup> 10 <sup>sh</sup><br>p. ell        | 059 | 07 | 06 |
| 30 ells of lining cloath at 12 <sup>s</sup> p. ell                                                   | 018 | 00 | 00 |

## THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE

|                                                                                              | LB.            | S.  | D.    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----|-------|
| 14 ells of creaping creap at 26/8 p. ell                                                     | 018            | 13  | 04    |
| 5 ounce 1 drop of silk to shew the bainers at 30/ p. ounce                                   | 007            | 12  | 00    |
| 35 ells of 8 <sup>d</sup> blak ribbans to them at 8/ p. ell                                  | 014            | 00  | 00    |
| 2 ells and ane quarter of broad callico blew and yellow at 24/ ell                           | 002            | 14  | 00    |
| 1 ell of broad red bukrom to the funerall at 24/ ell                                         | 001            | 04  | 00    |
| 2 ells of blak searg at 3 <sup>lb</sup> 4/ p. ell                                            | 006            | 08  | 00    |
| 13 ells and ane half of blak dewcap talfity to the trumpet banners at 8 <sup>lb</sup> p. ell | 108            | 00  | 00    |
| 6 quarters of blak dutch searg at 3 <sup>lb</sup> 8/ p. ell                                  | 005            | 02  | 00    |
| 34 ells of blak baiz for sallies at 16/ ell                                                  | 102            | 08  | 00    |
| 94 ells more to them at 16/ p. ell                                                           |                |     |       |
| 2 ells of crimson velvit at 24 <sup>lb</sup> ell                                             | 048            | 00  | 00    |
| 2 ells of blak pan velvit at 18 <sup>lb</sup> 6 <sup>s</sup> 8 <sup>d</sup> ell              | 026            | 13  | 04    |
| 1 ell of blak double spanish talfity to lyne it at 6 <sup>lb</sup> 16/ p. ell                | 006            | 16  | 00    |
| 3 ounce of blak silk at 30/ p. ounce                                                         | 004            | 10  | 00    |
| 20 ells of blak 8 <sup>d</sup> ribbans to tye honors to the spear poynts at 8/ ell           | 008            | 00  | 00    |
| 25 ells of blak freiz delyvered to Childers & Cunninghame at 30/ ell                         | 037            | 10  | 00    |
| 2 blak hats to the two sallies at 3 <sup>lb</sup> 6/8                                        | 006            | 13  | 04    |
|                                                                                              | Suma is        | 772 | 06 06 |
| Your Lo <sup>ds</sup> dew by accomp <sup>t</sup> for the funerall of Hay of Dellgatey        | 160            | 02  | 08    |
|                                                                                              | Suma in all is | 932 | 09 02 |

The Compte of the moneys debursit be Robert Rae att the raising of the Corpes of the Noble and potent Marques of Montrose, and Sir William Hay of Dalgetie be order of Sir Robert Murray Lord Provost of Edinburgh 7 Jany 1661.

|                                                                                                          |     |    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Item 8 ells of fyne small holland cloth for my Lord Marques att 7 <sup>lb</sup> 10 <sup>s</sup> ell      | LB. | S. | D. |
|                                                                                                          | 60  | 00 | 00 |
| Item 8 ells of holland for Dalgetie 4 <sup>lb</sup> 10 <sup>s</sup> ell                                  | 36  | 00 | 00 |
| Item 5 staine of tow flax to stop ye coffines att 4 <sup>lb</sup> ye staine                              | 20  | 00 | 00 |
| Item 2 dozoun of torches att 12 <sup>s</sup> peire                                                       | 14  | 08 | 00 |
| Item to the two workmen that caired outt the coffines and two pocks of tow and torches                   | 02  | 08 | 00 |
| Item 8 ells of hardine cloth to be two pocks to put ye tow and flax in 6 <sup>s</sup> 8 <sup>d</sup> ell | 02  | 13 | 04 |

## THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE

|                                                                                                                                     | LB.      | S.  | D.    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----|-------|
| Item to Robert Johnstoune who came outt and did shew ye place wher the corpes lay and held bowetts                                  | 03       | 00  | 00    |
| Item to ye Tounes servant Jon                                                                                                       | 03       | 00  | 00    |
| Item to the men that brought in clein watter to ye Chirur-gines to wash ye bonnes                                                   | 01       | 16  | 00    |
| Item to Johne Kniblo for the two best velvit mort clothes and his drink money                                                       | 24       | 00  | 00    |
| Item to the 3 wreights that came outt and attenditt the fixe-ing of the coffines                                                    | 04       | 10  | 00    |
| Item to ye 6 graive makers for raising of the corpes                                                                                | 18       | 00  | 00    |
| Item for ane hundreth daills to be skaffolds pletts and ane staige to ye Trumpeters for the doune taking of My Lord Marquess head   | 48       | 00  | 00    |
| Item 10 double and 10 single Tries tharto                                                                                           | 18       | 00  | 00    |
| Item 100 garrone nail 3 <sup>lb</sup> and 200 double stonremy 3 <sup>lb</sup> 4 <sup>s</sup> and 400 singell to ye work             | 09       | 08  | 00    |
| Item 30 faldome of greatt tackell towes weying 3 staine at 8 mks ye stone to fix ye stair and plett                                 | 16       | 00  | 00    |
| Item to the workmen that caired ye daills Tries and punt-chines and served ye wreights                                              | 02       | 18  | 00    |
| Item for 4 puntchines to ye Trumpetts staig                                                                                         | 07       | 04  | 00    |
| Item to ye 8 wreights for ther drink money y <sup>tt</sup> maid ye skaffold plett and staiges                                       | 12       | 00  | 00    |
| Item to the Smith that did sheir of ye Cross Irone, and taking outt ye prick whereon my Lord's head was                             | 03       | 00  | 00    |
| Item to Andrew Cassie Sklaiter to mak new 12 greatt holls and ane Turnepyck head in ye Rouffe of ye Tollbouth conforme to aggrement | 40       | 00  | 00    |
| Item to the servants in Tollbouth ther drink money                                                                                  | 13       | 06  | 08    |
| Item for my awine attendance both night and day to see the haill bussines provyditt                                                 | 40       | 00  | 00    |
|                                                                                                                                     | Souma is | 398 | 12 00 |

This is my treu accompte (Signed) ROBERT RAE.

Robert Rae's account is endorsed on the back as follows:—

We undersubscryued being witnesses to the deburseing of this Compte on the other syde extending to thrie hundreth fourscore aughtein pounds twelf shillings scots money we humbly desyre conforme to the Act of Parliament thatt all that have intrest may be

satisfied. Conforme att Cannogeatte the 5<sup>th</sup> of February Jaj vi<sup>e</sup> and sixtie one years.

For the Reight honorable  
Sir Robert Murray  
Lord Provost of Ed<sup>r</sup>

J. GRAHAME.  
GEORGE HAY.

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Marquess of Montrose His Lo/  
Inbalmeing the 7th January 1661.

With the Corpes of Sir William Hay of Dalgety done in  
the like manner, viz.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| After ane exact search of his Lo/ bones from amongst the corrupt matter contained in the coffine they weir washt in aqua vitæ afterwards being scraped and made cleane they wer a second tyme washt in spirit of wyne and then being dried bone by bone they weir anoynted with oderiferous oylls and Balsoms and then be pouthered and the coffine filled with the aromatick and specifick pouders viz heire following | L. S. D.  |
| Imprimis. 12 <sup>lb</sup> of Aromatick and specifick spyces at 6 <sup>lb</sup> p. lb.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 021 00 00 |
| Item 1 <sup>lb</sup> of oderiferous oyls at 5 <sup>lb</sup> pr once                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 072 00 00 |
| Item 1 <sup>lb</sup> of oderiferous oyls at 5 <sup>lb</sup> pr once                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 080 00 00 |
| Feby 4. Then there was a second tyme that my Lord Madderdy had cawsed bring some of his Lo/ bones which was soe done with as the others above mentioned.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |           |
| Item 20 <sup>lb</sup> of the pouthers for this effect with 4 once of the oyls                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 032 00 00 |
| Item ½ lb of the Spirit of salt for the anoynting of his Lo/ bones which had become [decomposed?] by reason of the lyeing amongst the water that was contained in the coffine                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 012 00 00 |
| May 10. Then there was a full dressing <i>de novo</i> of his Lo/ bones with pouders and oyls viz.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |           |
| Item 4 <sup>lb</sup> of the powthers with ½ lb of the oyls                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 064 00 00 |
| Item ½ <sup>lb</sup> of the Balsome for anoynting the Coffines                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 010 00 00 |
| May 11. Lastly his Lo/ hearte was sent to us by his Hon <sup>ble</sup> soun and Inbalmed with oderiferous pouders and oylls Referres the paines and travell taken upon the Hon <sup>ble</sup> corpes to yer Lo/ discretion [7 <sup>th</sup> Stg.]                                                                                                                                                                       | 025 00 00 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 84 00 00  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 400 00 00 |

400<sup>lb</sup> scots.

DAVID PRINGIL, *Chirurgien*.

I James Patersone, Kirk thesaurer of the Sessioun of Halyroodhous Grants me to have received from Walter Cheislie Merchant burges of Edinburgh the soume of ane hundreth four score punds scots money at direction of S<sup>r</sup> Alexr Durham Lo/ Lyon And that for the Corpe of the Right Honorable James Marques of Montrose standing in the Kirk with the velvet mortcloath lying thereon the space of eight weeks or thereby. Which soume foirsaid I grant the recait and discharges the said Walter thereof in name of the said Sessioun of Halyroodhous for ever Be this my Discharge Sub<sup>d</sup> Wit. my hand at Edinburgh the second of Septem<sup>r</sup> 1662 years Befor thir Wittnesses William Gray serviter to George Imrie, Balife and William Davidson, Tayler in the Canongat.

Baillie Walter Chiesley, who rendered these accounts to the Lord Lyon, was father of that John Chiesley of Dalry who shot Lord President Lockhart dead in the Old Bank Close on Easter Sunday, 1689, and grandfather of Rachel Chiesley, Lady Grange, who was kidnapped by the Frasers from her house in the lower High Street, and carried to the Hebrides. The Chiesley family monument is in Greyfriars Churchyard. The arms of Chiesley of Dalry (three roses, slipped, gules) registered 1678-9, are almost identical with those of the second Marquis of Montrose registered a year or two before, which immediately follow those of Chiesley in the present Lord Lyon's *Ordinary of Scottish Arms*. Sir William Hay of Dalgetty, whose name occurs in the accounts, was a son of Sir Alexander Hay of Dalgetty in Aberdeenshire, a cadet of the family of Errol. He was born in 1613, and served heir to his father in the Dalgetty lands on 17th April, 1638. For his adhesion to Montrose he was beheaded by the 'Maiden' at the Cross of Edinburgh on 7th June, 1650. His body received ignominious burial beneath the common gibbet, but was raised along with, and deposited by the side of, that of Montrose in 1661.

While proving the existence of Montrose's heart in 1661 there are several items in these accounts which help to confirm and amplify previous narratives on this subject. The name of Robert Johnstoune, who pointed out the spot where



the body of the Marquis lay, and held 'bowetts' (hand-lanterns) during the exhumation, has not previously been mentioned. Probably he was one of the six workmen who aided at the interment immediately after the execution. The 'cross irone' referred to, which transfixed the head to the original spike is spoken of by Nicoll, who states that it was inserted within six days of the execution, because of a rumour that the friends of Montrose intended to remove the head secretly. The fact of the heart having been stolen from the body two days after interment had, doubtless, stirred the minds of the Covenanted government to provide against the possibility of a further encroachment on their ghastly preserves by the adherents of Montrose. The story in Binning's *Light to the Art of Gunnery*, printed in 1676, has elicited no verification, but is, on account of its age, if nothing else, worthy of reproduction:—

In the year 1650 I was in the Castle of Edinburgh. One remarkable instance I had in shooting at that mirror of his time for loyalty and gallantry, James, Marquis of Montrose's head, standing on the pinnacle of the tolbooth of Edinburgh,—but that Providence had ordered that head to be taken down with more honour. I admired of its abiding, for the ball took the stone joining to the stone whereon it stood, which stone fell down and killed a drummer and a soldier or two on their march between the Luckenbooths and the church, and the head remained till by his Majesty it was ordered to be taken down and buried with such honour as was due to it.

It is worthy of note that on 4th February, 1661, a month after the trunk and head had been deposited in the Abbey Kirk, a further portion of his Lordship's bones was brought to the surgeons by Lord Madderty, who married Montrose's youngest sister Beatrix. These undoubtedly were some of the mangled limbs dispersed, in terms of the sentence, eleven years before. From original letters preserved in the Aberdeen City Archives, it is known that the young Marquis wrote to the magistrates of that town on 30th March, 1661, desiring them

to deliver 'the member of my fathers' to Sir Robert Graham of Morphie, which was done on April 9th. It would reach the surgeons in time for the 'full dressing' mentioned as having taken place on the 10th of May. No authentic information has been produced as to the fate of the limbs consigned to the other three towns, but there is no reason to doubt that they were duly forwarded to Edinburgh on the King's commands being made known. A belief exists, however, that the right hand and forearm of the great Montrose were in the possession of a Yorkshire gentleman as lately as 1896. A drawing of this gruesome relic is given in Murdoch and Simpson's edition of Bishop Wishart's *Montrose*, but the story lacks confirmation.<sup>1</sup>

The collected remains having lain in state in the Abbey Kirk 'the space of eight weeks or thereby,' as noted in the accounts, the honourable burial appointed by the King took place on 11th May, 1661, with a magnificence unsurpassed by the funeral obsequies of any monarch of our own times. 'On that day, with all possible solemnity and heraldic splendour,' writes Andrew Lang in his *History*, 'the remains of Montrose were carried to St. Giles' Church, where a stately and beautiful tomb adorned by escutcheons of his kin and his companions in arms now marks the most sacred spot in Scotland, the resting-place of the stainless Cavalier.'

The place of sepulchre was the old Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, erected in the south-east portion of the Church of St. Giles by Walter Chepman, the 'Scottish Caxton,' immediately prior to the battle of Flodden. Montrose's grandfather, John, the third Earl, who was Chancellor of Scotland from 1599 to 1604, was buried there. For some time it bore the name of the Chepman Aisle, but subsequently became more generally known as the Montrose Aisle. At the restoration of St. Giles' by Dr. William Chambers in 1879, search was made for the remains of Montrose, but no trace of them was found. This is not surprising when it is considered that during a previous

<sup>1</sup> See also *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1896-7, p. 65.

'restoration' of St. Giles' at the expense of the Government in 1829, the aisle which formed the sacred tomb of Montrose was turned into a coal cellar.<sup>1</sup> For over two centuries no memorial marked the spot where the ashes of the great Montrose were laid. While viewing the Cathedral, during her visit to the Scottish capital in 1886, Queen Victoria expressed astonishment that the simple words 'Montrose 1661,' cut in the paving of the aisle at the restoration of the Cathedral in 1879, were the only visible sign of remembrance of the illustrious royalist. Stimulated by her remark, a movement already conceived by the clansmen of the Grahame culminated in the present monument, first viewed by the public on 2nd October, 1888. The following is a translation of the inscription on the tomb referred to:—'Within this Aisle the scattered remains of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, collected by the reverent care of his relatives and friends, were deposited on the 11th day of May, 1661. By his descendants and kinsmen, by the bearers of his name, by the admirers of his lofty genius, this monument was erected to his memory in the year of our Lord 1888.'<sup>2</sup>

JOHN CAMERON ROBBIE.

<sup>1</sup> Cameron Lees' *St. Giles'*, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> 'Jacobi Graham, Marchionis de Montrose, dissipatas olim reliquias, pia suorum opera collectas, huc porticus excepit, A. D. V. id Mai A. S. MDCLXI. cuius viri in memoriam, posteris cognati gentiles, cives ingenii tanti fautores, monumentum hoc ponendum curaverunt, A. S. MDCCCLXXXVIII.'

## THE PANTHEON: AN OLD EDINBURGH DEBATING SOCIETY

IN the palmy days of the latter half of the eighteenth century, and during the first twenty years of the nineteenth, Edinburgh was celebrated for its social clubs and literary or debating societies. There were institutions existing for all classes, and it has been alleged that ladies even had meetings of their own. The excitement of debate was the passion of the hour, and while conviviality, as part of the serious business for which a social club had its being, was by no means neglected, the intellectual exercise of debate occupied the really prominent place in the programme of an evening's entertainment at most of the clubs. The nature of the subject selected for discussion varied with the club, and the propositions ranged from topics that were earnest and thoughtful to those that were intentionally characterised by the most absolute buffoonery. Readers of Sir Walter Scott will recall in this connection the well-remembered scene in *Guy Mannering*, where Colonel Mannering and Mr. Dinmont discovered Mr. Counsellor Pleydell in Clerihugh's,<sup>1</sup> the centre of a company engaged in a game of 'High Jinks,' described by Scott in the following words.

This game was played in several different ways. Most frequently the dice were thrown by the company, and those upon whom the lot fell were obliged to assume and maintain for a time, a certain fictitious character, or to repeat a certain number of fescennine verses in a particular order. If they departed from the characters assigned, or if their memory proved treacherous in the repetition, they incurred

<sup>1</sup> A celebrated tavern in Writers' Court.