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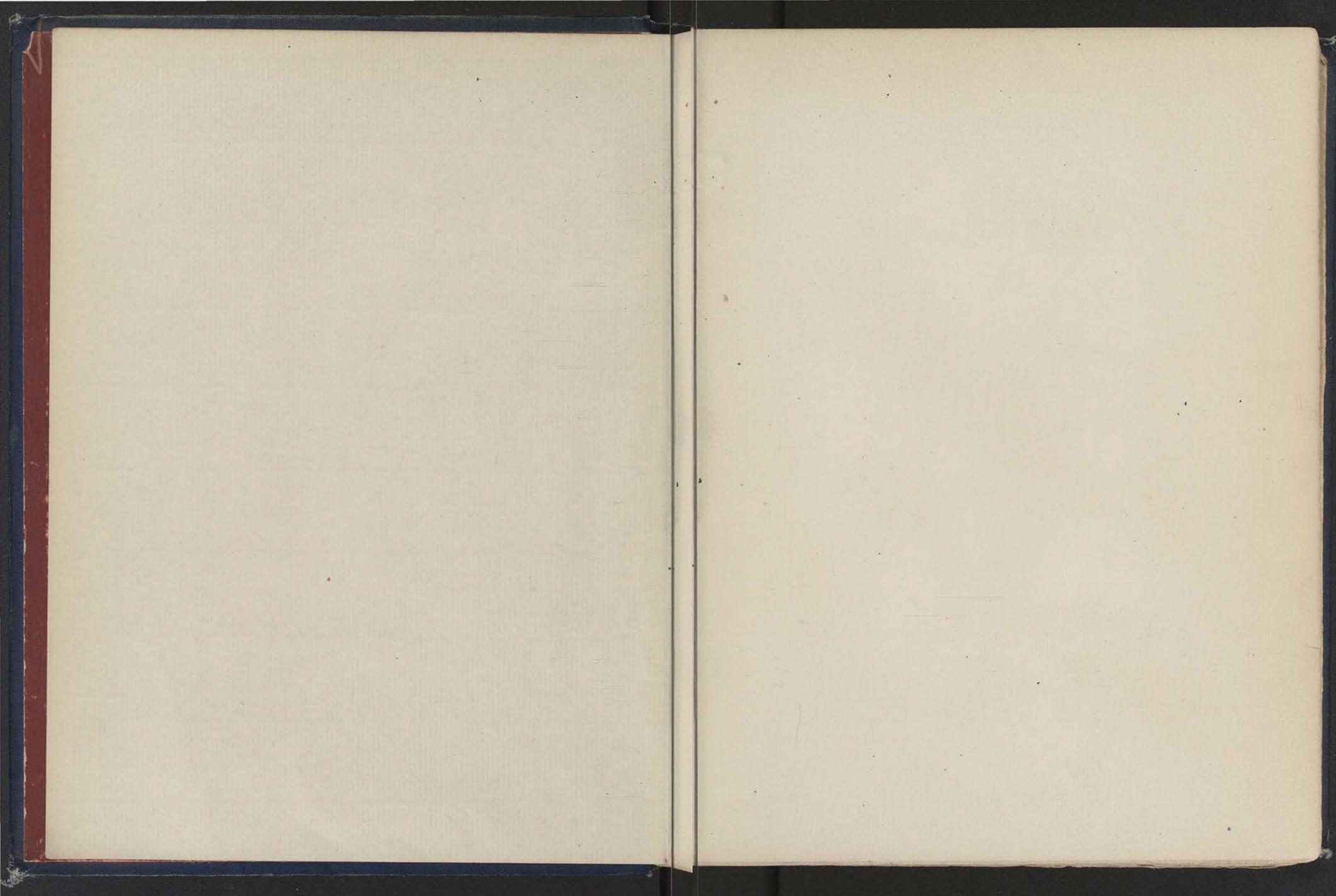
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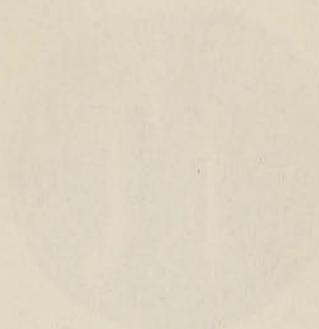
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FIG. 1.—Obverse



FIG. 2.—Reverse

SEAL OF 14TH CENTURY



FIG. 3.—Obverse



FIG. 4.—Reverse

SEAL OF 16TH CENTURY

SEALS OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH

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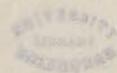
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FIG. 1.—Obverse



FIG. 2.—Reverse

SEAL OF 14TH CENTURY



FIG. 3.—Obverse



FIG. 4.—Reverse

SEAL OF 17TH CENTURY

SEALS OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH

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THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE  
CITY OF EDINBURGH

**M**UNICIPAL ARMS are a comparatively late invention. The practice of bearing heraldic devices was originally confined to knights, and was adopted primarily, it is supposed, for the purpose of enabling them to be recognised on the field of battle, when they were clad in armour and their identity was difficult to distinguish. It was not till the latter half of the twelfth century that arms became hereditary. One of the earliest Scottish coats which is known is that of John de Mundegumbri of Eagesham, about 1170, which bears a single fleur-de-lys: later the family of Montgomery adopted three fleurs-de-lys as their device. But the earliest known instance of complete achievement of arms in Scotland, that is, a shield with supporters, helmet, and crest, is said to be that which appears on the seal of Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar, appended to a deed of 13th May 1334. Round the residence of many a feudal lord grew up a burgh which came to be largely self-governing as regarded its own municipal affairs, but which looked to him for support and protection against enemies. From very early times (and not a few of the Scottish burghs date their beginning from the days of David I.) the burgh had its common seal. This seal had, of course, to bear some device. It was not necessarily armorial—in fact, seldom was armorial—except in the cases where a town adopted the arms of its local superior as its badge, and even then the arms were seldom displayed on a shield. But by far the most common practice among burghs was to have on their seal some local allusion, such as the figure of the

patron saint, as in the case of South Queensferry, which has a figure of St Margaret on its seal.

The earliest seal of the city of Edinburgh of which there is any example is one appended to a deed of resignation in 1392 by William Cochrane to Sir Henry Douglas, Knight, Lord of Longnewton, of two tenements in the latter place. The obverse shows a castle with three towers, one in the centre higher than the others which are on each side. (PLATE, Fig. 1.) In the embattlement of each of these towers appears a bearded head in profile looking to the dexter. It is difficult to say whether these represent soldiers, as Mr. Henry Laing in his description of the seal suggests, or whether they are merely meant to represent dummy figures, which it seems to have been the custom to put on the battlements of castles or gates, as can be seen to this day on Alnwick Castle, or on Monk Bar in York. Whatever they may originally have been meant for, they are very curious, and, as Lord Bute says in his book on *Municipal Arms*, it is a pity that such characteristic additions were ever allowed to disappear from the arms of the city. Above the side turrets on the seal we are considering are on the dexter a star of six points, perhaps representing the sun, and on the sinister a crescent, for the moon. The reverse of this seal (PLATE, Fig. 2) shows a full-length figure of the patron saint of the city, St. Giles, standing within a Gothic porch habited in pontifical vestments: in his right hand he holds a crosier, and in his left an indeterminate object which has been described as a book. Saints are no doubt frequently depicted as holding a book in one hand; and in the arms of the burgh of Elgin, which are recorded in the Lyon Office, St. Giles is certainly shown as holding a book in his left hand. If it is a book which is depicted in the Edinburgh seal, it is one with abnormally long markers, which are double the length of the book itself, and hang down as two pendants below it. On each side of the saint is a short staff terminating in a fleur-de-lys, and branches of foliage decorate the sides and lower part

of the design. Round the seal are the words: 'EGIDI SINGNO CREDATIS [CORDE BENNI]GNO.'

There is an interesting 'seal of cause' belonging to the city, which was used in the middle of the sixteenth century. Such a seal was used by a royal burgh in authenticating the grants or charters by which subordinate corporations or crafts were constituted. This seal has the representation of a castle on a rock with four turrets: there is a single central door flanked by two tall pointed towers, each bearing a flag on its finial: above the door are three tiers of fortifications, on the top of which two flags are displayed. On each side of the central towers the walls of the castle stretch out in perspective, each flanked by a short square-headed tower, rising not much above the crenellations of the walls, and on the top of each is seen, from the waist up, a figure—perhaps a female figure—holding in the interior hand a banner, and in the exterior a branch of foliage hanging over the battlements. Round the seal is the legend, s' (sigillum) COMMUNE BURGI DE EDINBURG AD CAUSAS. If the identification of the figures on this seal as those of females is correct, the allusion may be to the old name of the fortress, Castrum Puellarum, the tradition being that the daughters of the Pictish kings were kept in this castle. It is quite open to argument, however, whether the figures are really female, though certainly the impression given by their large head-dresses and their small waists leads one to the conclusion that they are. It is not likely that soldiers would be hanging out the olive branch of peace from the walls.

About the same period the regular common seal of the burgh bore on its obverse the representation of a castle standing upon a rock. (PLATE, Fig. 3.) The castle is much narrower than in the case last mentioned, and has no side walls seen in perspective. It consists of a curtain wall in the centre, with a door having the portcullis drawn up, the bottom of it just appearing below the arch at the top of the door. On each

side are two round towers, with loop-holes for firing out of, and embattlements above, both being crowned with a pointed roof. There is a central square, or perhaps octagonal, tower rising above the machicolations of the curtain wall: it is also embattled, and surmounted by a sloping roof ending in a narrow ridge. The background is ornamented with a slightly raised pattern of foliage. The reverse of this seal (PLATE, Fig. 4) has the figure of St. Giles with the head in profile surrounded by a nimbus. His left hand, which is bent over his breast, holds a book, while his right hand rests on the head of a fawn, which is standing on its hind legs, the forepaws resting on the saint's right thigh. The fawn is, of course, in allusion to the story of St. Giles, who was nourished, during a retreat he made near Nesmes, in Provence, by the milk of a hind. Flavius Wamba, King of the Goths, hunting one day in the neighbourhood, pursued the hind, which took refuge from the hunters with the saint.

There is another Edinburgh seal which I have not had an opportunity of seeing, but which is described in the Supplement to Laing's *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*. The obverse is said to have a representation of a single towered castle with closed gates, and with foliage in the background, while the reverse contains 'the arms of Scotland,' presumably the arms of the Kings of Scotland, the lion within the double tressure. The legend reads: JACOBUS DEI GRACIA REX SCOTORUM. It is impossible without having seen the seal to ascribe a date to it, but though the single towered castle seems to be a more archaic form than the one with three towers, yet it is extremely improbable that at an early period, when heraldry was more strictly looked after than it subsequently came to be, the city should have been allowed to adopt the personal device of the King. For the fact must be remembered, which even now is too often overlooked, that the lion and tressure are the arms of the Kings of Scotland and not of the country. The arms of Scotland are the silver saltire or St. Andrew

Cross on a blue field. I should think it probable, therefore, that this seal does not date from an earlier period than the reign of James VI. I question, too, whether its use extended over any long period, for the seal with St. Giles and his hind on the obverse was used in authenticating deeds granted by the city down at least to 1662, and possibly to the time at which the town received a regular grant of arms from the Lord Lyon.

It will be observed, from what has been said above, that the designs on the Edinburgh municipal seals have never, up to the time at which we have arrived (except in the case of the Royal Arms), taken an heraldic form. No municipal 'coat-of-arms' was ever displayed on them. In this they resembled the great majority of burgh seals; which, down to comparatively modern times, generally bore non-armorial devices. One outstanding exception is the city of Aberdeen, which is in possession of a beautiful seal bearing a heater-shaped shield charged with a triple-towered castle within a Royal tressure, and supported by two lions rampant *coué*, that is, with their tails between their legs: on the reverse is a graphic representation of St. Nicholas rescuing three children out of a caldron of boiling oil into which they had been plunged. What renders this fine seal peculiarly interesting is the fact that round the outside of the matrix is the following inscription, which gives the date of the seal: ✠ YE ZER OF GRAC MCCCXXX JON YE VANS WAS ALDERMAN AND YIS SAL MAD. Dundee also, so early as 1444, used a seal having a pot of lilies on a shield; and Peebles in 1473 used their present armorial bearings of a shield charged with three fishes.

As regards Edinburgh, while the city apparently employed the old seal with St. Giles and his hind down to 1662, there are indications at an earlier date of the beginning of an armorial coat. Perhaps the triple-towered castles, one over the entrance to the High School, finished in 1578, and the other on the Greyfriars Church, built in 1613, can

hardly be considered as armorial bearings, as neither of these is on a shield but on a panel. On the erection of the Parliament House, which was finished in 1640, the stone above the entrance door contained a triple-towered castle standing on a rock, with the following motto displayed on a scroll: *DOMINUS CUSTODIT INTROITUM NOSTRUM*. The castle is not placed on a shield, but it has had a supporter on each side, that on the dexter being evidently a 'lady richly attired,' though the head is now gone, while the one on the sinister, which was probably the hind of St. Giles, has disappeared altogether. A full account of this stone, which is now in the Hall of the Parliament House, will be found in the second volume of the *Old Edinburgh Club Book*, from the pen of



Fig. 5.

Dr. Thomas Ross. Again, in Gordon of Rothiemay's bird's-eye view of the town, published in 1647, there is in the upper corner a shield bearing a castle with two towers, one on each side of a small door, with a large window on the curtain-wall. Both towers are surmounted by a finial in the shape of a crown. (Fig. 5.) The towers are evidently copied from those at the north-west angle of Holyrood House as they appeared before Cromwell's burning of

1650. In the later edition of Gordon's map, engraved by Andrew Johnston about 1710, the castle has been altered to one with three towers.

In 1651 there was placed above the door of the newly erected Tron Church in the High Street an ornamental panel bearing the city arms, with the maiden and hind as supporters. The next occurrence of the coat which I have been able to trace is rather a curious one. In 1670 Wenceslaus Hollar, an artist who lived in London and held an appointment at the Court of Charles II., published 'A View of

Edinburgh from the South.' In one of the upper corners of this map appears the 'coat-of-arms' of the city, very much as we have it now. There is no crest, but there is a shield charged with a triple-towered castle, supported on the dexter side by a lady, richly attired, with her hair hanging down on her shoulders, and on the sinister, not a hind, but a fox. (Fig. 6.) The motto *NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA* is on a scroll below the shield. The remarkable feature about this rendering of the arms is of course the fact that instead of the usual hind the artist has put a fox as one of the supporters. It is in the highest degree improbable that in the arms used before this time a fox was ever employed as a supporter. It is most likely,



Fig. 6.

therefore, that the occurrence of this animal is either a mistake or a joke. It may have been that the engraver copied a bad representation of the arms, and mistook the hind for a fox; but this is hardly probable, and it is not at all improbable that it was a joke at the expense of the Scottish nation, or at least of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, many of whom had found their way south, and had been 'foxy' enough to gain honours, rewards, or lucrative appointments at the English Court. Such heraldic jokes were not unknown. In an ancient MS. called the Zurich Armorial, which was compiled probably between 1336 and 1347, there is an unnamed shield which the editor of the facsimile ascribes to Scotland, on the ground that in the Manesse collection of the arms of the Minnesingers, a MS. of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, in the National Library in Paris, there is a very similar coat ascribed to King Tyro of Scotland and Friedebant his son. The coat consists of a gold field charged with the figure of a monk in

his robe and cowl, holding in one hand a pastoral staff and in the other a dish, probably for alms. (Fig. 7.) But a more extraordinary instance occurs in an Armorial MS. by Conrad von Grünenberg, of date 1483, in which one



Fig. 7.

of two coats labelled '*Der King von Schotten*' consists of an ape or very monkey-like man, black in colour, and kneeling or crouching on one knee: with one hand he scratches the lower part of his back, while with the other he holds out an alms-dish. (Fig. 8.) It is quite possible that the figure of this poor degraded-looking beggar-man, apparently afflicted with the national cutaneous disorder, may be intended as reference to the poverty and dirt of the travelling Scot of that day. These are instances, then, of the heraldic joke, not very brilliant or refined ones, and I think we must take Hollar's fox to belong to the same category.

Be this as it may, we have in this drawing an early representation of the Edinburgh Arms. For the next instance in point of time of their occurrence I am indebted to Mr. Bruce Home, who informs me that on what are called the 'Orange Colours' in the Municipal Museum, the triple-towered castle appears with the Maiden (in full drapery) and Hind as supporters; these colours date from about 1676. During the latter part of the seventeenth century the printed Acts of the Town Council of Edinburgh were headed with the insignia shown in Fig. 9, and this was continued until 1732, when a Patent of Arms was granted to the city by the Lord Lyon on 21st April; the Lyon at that date being Alexander Brodie of Brodie. By some oversight, however, it does not seem to



Fig. 8.

have been recorded in the Lyon Register at the time, and it was not till the 23rd November 1774 that it took its place in the official register. The following is the blazon:—

Argent, a castle triple-towered and embattled sable, masoned of the first and topped with three fans gules, windows and portcullis shut of the last, situate on a rock proper, and on a wreath of the colours is set for crest, an anchor wreathed about with a cable all proper. Motto, in an escrol above, NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA. Supported, on the dexter by a maid richly attired with her hair hanging down on her shoulders, and on the sinister by a doe proper.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 9.

In less technical language it may be explained that the shield itself is silver, the castle is black with the mason-work outlined in white, the portcullis and windows, together with the three 'Fans' or wind vanes on the top of towers, are red, the rock itself being of its natural colour. It is unfortunate that at the time the arms were recorded it was not the custom to give a painted representation of them in the Register, so that we are in ignorance of the exact shape in which the castle was represented. There is, however, a seal of cause which was appended to burges tickets in 1784, which shows the castle to have its two side towers stretching back from the front wall in perspective. The lady on the dexter, far from being 'richly attired,' is but scantily clothed, with one of her legs bare to the middle of her thigh, and her hair does not fall down on her shoulders, but is neatly put up round her head in what was no doubt the style of the day. The motto is not on a scroll above the crest, but is put below the shield, so that the supporters stand on the edge of the ribbon,

<sup>1</sup> The Arms are shown on the title-page of this volume.

an absurd custom which it is hard to kill. No supporters should be called on to do acrobatic feats, either on the edge of a ribbon or on floriated gas-brackets, another style still much in vogue. They should be put on some solid and sensible foundation, in this instance a mound of green sward sown with thistles would be most appropriate.

In further considering the arms, a curious question, in which there may be any amount of controversy, arises as to where the lady supporter came from. Who or what is she meant to represent? Wilson, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh* (p. 72), says that previous to the Reformation 'the arms and burgh seal of Edinburgh contained a representation of the patron saint, St. Giles, with his hind; but by an Act of the Town Council, dated 24th June 1562, the idol was ordered to be cast out of the town's standard and a thistle to be substituted in its place, though the saint's fawn has since been allowed to appear in his stead.' Now we have seen that, previous to the Reformation, the devices used on the common seal of Edinburgh never take heraldic form: the city had, in fact, no 'coat-of-arms.' There was, no doubt, on the reverse of the seal a figure of St. Giles, latterly represented with his hind. But he was not a supporter, and even if he had been, a thistle could not have been substituted for him in that capacity. But it is quite possible that the ultra-Presbyterian feeling of the capital did, when arms came to be designed, object to the figure of a saint who was so much associated with the traditions of the city in Roman Catholic times; and that when it became necessary to have supporters, public opinion, while it would stand the hind, would not have St. Giles at any price. But why the lady? In hunting about for a suitable supporter, it might be thought that a lion from the royal shield, or a unicorn, which appeared as a supporter on the royal achievement, would have been appropriately adopted by the royal burgh which was the capital of the country, and had entertained so many

kings within its walls. None of these, however, was chosen, and the richly attired lady is somewhat of a mystery. Lord Bute, in his work on the *Municipal Arms of Scotland*, suggests that she was adopted 'in allusion to the name of the city, given in Latin as *Castrum Puellarum*, in French as *Château de Pucelles*, and in English as *Maidenburgh*.' I do not know that Edinburgh was ever called *Maidenburgh*; but the Castle was no doubt known in early times as *Castrum Puellarum*: there is a charter dated from it under that name in the twenty-first year of the reign of David I. What the origin of the appellation was will probably never be definitely ascertained. There is a mythical story told by Stow in his *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, that 'the Castell of Maydens, now called Edinburgh,' was founded by one Ebreuka, son of Mempricius, who was ruler of Britayne in B.C. 989! Camden says, 'The Britons called it Castel Mynedh Agnedh—the maidens' or virgins' castle—because certain young maidens of the royal blood were kept there in old times;' while Chalmers states that '*Castrum Puellarum* was the learned and diplomatic name of the place, as appears from existing charters and documents, Edinburgh its vulgar appellation.' Lord Bute, who was a great authority as a hagiologist, connects the Castle with a 'venerable virgin' called St. Modwenna, or Monyinne, who founded a nunnery in it which continued till its suppression by David I. when he founded Holyrood.

Whatever the real story of the *Castrum Puellarum* may have been, I should like to think the unknown designer of the City Arms had it in view when he thought out the achievement which was afterwards officially sanctioned. But I rather imagine that a more prosaic origin must be sought for, and that the lady is simply emblematical of the fair beauty of the city itself—richly attired as she is with all the adornments of nature and art.

The crest of an anchor wreathed with a cable is rather a peculiar one for a city which is not itself a seaport; but the

## 12 THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF EDINBURGH

only reason that can be suggested for its adoption is that it refers to the position of the Lord Provost as Admiral of the Firth of Forth. The motto is one which has always been popular in Scotland, and is one of the verses of Scripture very commonly met with in the decoration of the lintels of ancient Scottish houses. In the case of the arms, it is, of course, in a condensed form, NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA; but it is really the beginning of the Latin version of Psalm cxxvii., NISI DOMINUS [CUSTODIERIT CIVITATEM] FRUSTRA [VIGILAT QUI CUSTODIT EAM]—'Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.'

The 'livery colours' of the city of Edinburgh should, according to rule, be taken from the principal metal and principal colour on the shield. In this case they are black and silver, the latter metal being usually represented by white. Though at first sight this may appear a somewhat uninteresting conjunction, in reality it is not so, since remarkably fine effects can be obtained by its use. I suppose the robes of the Town Councillors are the royal scarlet, assumed in view of Edinburgh being a royal residence and the capital of the country. But the black and white appears in the trimming of the liveries of the town officers, which is composed of alternate squares of black and white, the latter bearing the anchor of the crest on them. It is also presumably from the fact that the town's colours are black and white that the hoods of Graduates in Arts of the University, formerly known as 'the toun's college,' are of black with white lining.

While, therefore, the arms of the city are not in themselves of very remote antiquity, they have been evolved from a usage and design which goes back many centuries, and they will doubtless be held in honour for centuries to come.

JAMES BALFOUR PAUL.



ST. DOMINIC

## THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH

*Pugiles fidei et vera mundi lumina.*

HONORIUS III.

AT Perth, on 11th May 1559, the strident voice of John Knox sounded the knell of the ancient Church of Rome in this country, and within a period of sixteen months thereafter a 'holy, godly Reformation,' the most complete and thorough in Europe, was established by the Estates of Parliament. Irrespective of the question of dogma, the Church at this date lay singularly open to the attack of the Reformers. Wanton licence prevailed among all ranks of its salaried professors, and there was no native hand strong enough to restrain excesses. The papacy of the day was overwhelmed with its own troubles and griefs, and was not in a position either to strengthen the bonds of discipline, or to afford assistance to its distressed servants. The duties of the parochial clergy thereupon fell to a large extent into the hands of men described by Knox and other contemporary writers as 'the friars.'<sup>1</sup>

Now, within the folds of the Church there existed a great number of organisations, both lay and clerical, whose members devoted their lives to the furtherance of the sacred cause of Christianity. Indeed, the Church recognised and encouraged

<sup>1</sup> The monks were men who sought within the shelter of a monastery to attain a life of 'perfection' by devoting themselves to prayer and contemplation. It was for long the prevalent idea that 'perfection' could only be found within the precincts of a cloister. Both St. Francis and St. Dominic rose above the current ideas of their day when they adopted the active life and 'warred for God'—to use Franciscan language—in the world.

every device of the human mind that had for its object the improvement of the spiritual, and the amelioration of the temporal, condition of its people. Each of these organisations or 'Orders' constituted a distinct entity, carrying out its own special objects, and working under its own set of Rules under the sanction of the Pope. The most successful, and certainly the most popular, of all these religious communities were the two Orders of the Grey and the Black Friars, and it was against these friars, whom Knox euphemistically termed 'serjeantis of Sathan,' that the first overt act of the Reformers was directed. We may therefore assume that in their eyes these friars constituted the main bulwarks of the Church. The founders of these Orders, St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic—both were canonised after death—appeared almost simultaneously in the early years of the thirteenth century, and were among the greatest historical personages of their day. St. Francis was a gentle enthusiast, whose heart overflowed with compassion for the sufferings and sorrows of the poor, and his mission was directed towards their spiritual and moral regeneration. He termed his followers 'friars'—*frères*, brothers of mankind—and his Rule entailed upon them a life of absolute poverty and self-abnegation. He was a layman, and unlearned. St. Dominic, on the other hand, was a man of great intellectual attainments, a canon of the Church, and a brilliant preacher. While St. Francis may therefore be said to have represented the heart of the Church, St. Dominic may be regarded as its intellectual head. His great mission was to equip and train a special body of public evangelists, who, by their preaching in the streets and squares of cities and in the fields, would not only educate the masses in the tenets of religion, but render them immune against the insidious attacks of heresy. His followers, like the Grey Friars, depended upon voluntary alms for their sustenance, and were officially described as the Order of Friar Preachers. Their principal house, or priory as it was termed, in Scotland

was situated in Edinburgh, and the following is an attempt, from the scanty materials at our command, to elucidate the history of this priory and of its inhabitants. The very completeness of the Reformation has, however, had the effect of nearly obliterating all knowledge, both of the personal life of these friars, and of the manner in which they conducted their special work. The extant Dominican muniments in this country are almost entirely confined to the legal documents relating to their heritable properties, their trifling feu-duties and ground-annuals, etc.; and the existence of these at the present day is certainly due to the fact that their preservation—or their registration in certain public registers—was a legal necessity to those who acquired the temporal possessions of the priory after the abolition of the Mass. This priory was also the seat of the Provincial or Superior of the Scottish Dominican Vicariate or Province, and much could have been learned from the many other records, Conventual and Provincial, which, under their constitutions, the friars were bound to keep. It is quite probable that the destruction of the priory by the 'rascal multitude' in June 1559 did set the seal of silence upon an abundant store of these muniments; but the responsibility of the mob for the actual paucity of record may be easily exaggerated. In this and many other cases the purification by fire was not unexpected,<sup>1</sup> and in Perth, where the warning was shortest, the largest number of original documents have survived. Priory accounts, 'registers of professions,' 'books of virtues' and of 'faults,' and similar collections were, however, of little interest to our ancestors, in whom the spirit of veneration for the past was but little

<sup>1</sup> In Aberdeen, Prior Andrew Abercromby carried off the records of his priory to Atholl; while the official transcript of the register belonging to the Priory of Elgin is preserved in the Advocates' Library. The copy charters in the Hutton MSS. prove that the writs of the Inverness Priory were in existence at the close of the eighteenth century. The extant records of the Priors of Glasgow, Perth, and Ayr, and a *précis* of those of Aberdeen, have been published; but no attempt has hitherto been made to reconstruct the life and work of the Scottish Dominicans during pre-Reformation times.

developed ; and it is perhaps to neglect rather than to wanton destruction that the disappearance of these instructive records may be ascribed.

## I

In the opening years of the thirteenth century a peculiarly virulent form of heresy flourished throughout southern and middle Europe. Although its professors styled themselves Christians, their wild dogmas, derived from the creeds of ancient Egypt and the far East, threatened the very existence of Christianity, and struck at the foundations of society. There were numerous bodies of these sectaries, the most powerful being the Patarini of Italy, and the Albigenses, who were the predominant faction in the south-eastern provinces of France. The majority, however, were popularly known as the Cathari. It was an age of emotional enthusiasm, and, despite all repressive measures, including a free use of the cord and the stake, their propaganda continued to spread and gain ground. It was greatly favoured by the political situation in northern Italy, where each town was at war with its nearest neighbour. Everywhere was misery, and a general feeling of restlessness almost amounting to frenzy. In this crisis the Church seemed to have entirely lost its personal influence. The bishops, who alone possessed the power, had ceased to preach ; while among the ranks of the Cathari were many able and powerful preachers. But the Pope for this period, Innocent III., was an exceptionally strong and capable administrator, and at the meeting of the Fourth Lateran Council of November 1215 he did not hesitate to declare that the cause of all the troubles lay in the corrupt condition of the clergy, and the general neglect of their offices. At this point a regenerator appeared on the scene in the person of one Domingo de Guzman, who, with a few other ardent souls—the germs of the great Order of Friar Preachers—proposed, entirely by peaceful means, not only to stay the

further progress of the heresies, but to bring the wild sectaries themselves within the folds of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The saintly Dominic was born at Calaruega, in the north of Spain, in the year 1170, and his parents, it is alleged, belonged to a good family. At the age of twenty-five he became a canon-regular under the Rule of St. Augustine in the Cathedral Church of Osma, and two years later was promoted to the rank of sub-prior. These canons did not, strictly speaking, form a religious 'community,' although they conformed to the Rule with the exception of the perpetual vow. Hence Dominic was able, with the sole permission of his bishop, to quit his Chapter, and to follow, in full liberty, the call which he conceived came from Heaven. In 1203 he accompanied his bishop on a mission to Denmark, and in the course of his journey entered the town of Toulouse, where for the first time he became aware of the vast extent of the Albigensian heresies. His career in life was thenceforth decided, his first convert, according to Catholic tradition, being the host of the house in which he dwelt. Down to the year 1215 little is known of the manner in which he conducted his self-imposed mission ; but in December 1206 he succeeded, with the consent of the famous Foulques, Bishop of Toulouse, in establishing a house for women at Prouille. Thereafter he became known as the Prior of Prouille.

In the beginning of the year 1215 he was enabled, by the generosity of Pierre Seila, a wealthy citizen of Toulouse, who had become a convert, to establish his first foundation in that town. By a formal deed of gift<sup>2</sup> Seila made over to the cause a large house belonging to him situated near the castle,

<sup>1</sup> Of Catharism, a by no means friendly critic of the Catholic Church says : ' However much we may deprecate the means used for its suppression, and commiserate those who suffered for conscience' sake, we cannot but admit that the cause of orthodoxy was in this case the cause of progress and civilisation. Had Catharism become dominant, or even had it been allowed to exist on equal terms, its influence could not have failed to prove disastrous.'—*Hist. of the Inquisition*, H. C. Lea, i. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Balme, *Cartulaire ou Histoire Diplomatique de Saint Dominique*, i. p. 504.

and of this Dominic and his six companions at once took possession. It became thenceforth known under the name of the Convent of *Saint Romain de Toulouse*. Here the great Order of Friar Preachers—one of the greatest of all the religious communities, and one that has for centuries exercised a powerful influence, political as well as religious, in the progress of humanity—had its birth; and here for the first time the brethren assumed the white tunic and black cloak<sup>1</sup> used by Dominic as a Canon of Osma. His friend Foulques, the Bishop of Toulouse, also confirmed them within the limits of his diocese as ‘preachers in order to extirpate heresy, wrestle against vice, teach the rule of the faith, and diffuse good manners’;<sup>2</sup> and he further tells us that it was the intention of the friars ‘to live in *holy poverty*, and to go on *foot* to announce the Word of God.’<sup>3</sup> As the formation of his Order had now begun to take practical shape, Dominic, accompanied by his friend the Bishop, proceeded to Rome in the month of October to solicit the sanction of his Holiness, Pope Innocent III. The moment, however, seemed unpropitious, for although he succeeded in obtaining confirmation of the friars and sisters in the Convent of Prouille,<sup>4</sup> the Lateran Council decreed that there already existed Orders in the Church sufficient in number to permit of a free choice to all,<sup>5</sup> and that the bishops should appoint specially qualified men to preach in their respective dioceses.<sup>6</sup> It was also apparent that the institution of an Order expressly devoted to ‘universal preaching’ would meet with serious opposition at the hands of many of the bishops and secular clergy. His Holiness, therefore, was at first unfavourably disposed towards Dominic’s scheme;

<sup>1</sup> The habit of the Black Friars was a white woollen gown fastened round the waist with a white girdle; a white scapular—or piece of cloth hanging down from the neck to the feet like a long apron both before and behind—and a black cloak with a hood, used only outside the priory.

<sup>2</sup> Balme, *Cartulaire*, i. p. 515.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. 526.

<sup>5</sup> *Can. XIII. Acta Conciliorum*, p. 32 (Harduin, 1714).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* x. *Acta Concil.*, p. 27.

but, recognising the dangerous position of the Church, he at last granted his full permission.<sup>1</sup> Assembling his associates at Prouille, Dominic found that they had in the interval increased in number to sixteen—eight French, seven Spanish, and one an Englishman, named Friar Laurence—and under the papal powers they adopted for their Rule that of St. Augustine. By this time the papal chair had become vacant, and Dominic found it necessary once more to betake himself to Rome in order to obtain confirmation from the new Pope, Honorius III. Accordingly, on 22nd December 1216, two bulls were issued from the papal chancery. The first approved<sup>2</sup> of the new Order, serving God under the Rule of St. Augustine; while the second confirmed the Order of Canons as the ‘champions of the faith and the true lights of the world’—*pugiles fidei et vera mundi lumina*—in all their lands and possessions, present and future, and placed it under his Holiness’s immediate protection.<sup>3</sup> Both bulls are addressed to Dominic as the prior of the Convent of S. Romanus of Toulouse, and to his brethren as an Order of Canons, and from the fact that they were known for some years by the names of the respective convents in which they established themselves, it may be assumed that Dominic was not the originator of their designation—*Order of Friars Preachers*. It is true that Bishop Foulques, in a deed dated July 1216, designed Dominic ‘Master of the Preachers,’ and that Honorius in the following year terms the friars ‘preachers in the country of Toulouse’; but it was not until after the death of Dominic that they appear on record under their proper designation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tradition relates that Innocent’s doubts were removed by a dream in which he saw the Lateran Basilica tottering and ready to fall, and a man in whom he recognised the humble Dominic supporting it on his shoulders.—*Hist. of the Inquisition*, H. C. Lea, i. 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, i. p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. 4. *Nos attendentes*.

<sup>4</sup> The tradition is that Innocent III., in addressing a note to Dominic, ordered his Secretary to direct it to ‘brother Dominic and his companions.’ This he altered to ‘brother Dominic and the preachers with him,’ and finally corrected into ‘Master Dominic and the brethren preachers.’

The friars loved to be called canons, and they continued to be so described in the writs issuing from the papal chancery during the succeeding fifty years. The name also appears in the Chartulary of the Priory of Elgin so late as the year 1520.<sup>1</sup>

Armed with papal authority, the subsequent progress of the Order in popularity was remarkable, and its success in attracting adherents has never, down to the present time, been equalled. The friars were universally regarded as the leaders in a genuine movement of reform within the limits of the orthodox faith, and their fervid appeals enlisted the widest sympathies. Crowds of the best of the secular clergy joined their ranks, and convents sprang up, as if by magic, throughout every country in Europe. Numbers of the laity became members of the Order, and, where qualified, were appointed friars of the choir; while others were known as the *fratres conversi*, and performed the humbler of the conventual offices. As the friars were practically independent of all control by the bishops and others of the hierarchy, it soon became necessary for the proper government and discipline of the Order to devise some system of organisation. Accordingly, at the head of each priory a superior or prior was placed, who owed his position to the suffrages of his fellow-friars. The whole of the priories were then divided into separate groups, according as their geographical or political situation was defined by the use of a common language. These groups were called provinces, or, where the priories were few in number, vicariates; and these were ruled by a provincial master or vicar elected at a provincial chapter composed of the priors, along with a delegate from each priory within the province. Over all was placed the Chapter General, composed of the provincials and two delegates from each of the provinces; and which, in turn, elected the chief of the Order, called the Master-General. His rule was absolute. Over each of the other Orders—that of the Grey

<sup>1</sup> MS. Adv. Lib.

Friars, for example—a cardinal-protector was placed, so as to favour and assist their respective interests at the Roman Court. There is no mention in the *Acta* or the *Bullarium* of such an official, so far as the Friar Preachers were concerned, until the year 1378,<sup>1</sup> and the omission is probably to be explained by the great favour with which the Order was regarded by the Holy See: there was no need for a cardinal-protector.

The first Chapter General was held at Bologna at the Feast of Pentecost (Whitsuntide) in the year 1220, under the presidency of Dominic as the Master-General. It was at this chapter that the Rule of absolute poverty as the leading factor in the personal life of the friars was adopted; and thenceforth they became mendicants, depending, like their brothers the Grey Friars, upon free-will alms for their subsistence. They renounced all right to their possessions, and, in this respect, it has been asserted that Dominic simply copied the Rule laid down by St. Francis for his followers. It is alleged that he was present at the famous meeting of the Grey Friars held in 1219 in front of the Portiuncula near Assisi. On the other hand, Dominican writers denounce the story as mythical, and point out, truly enough, that poverty had been Dominic's portion for several years prior to 1220. But Dominic was no slavish imitator of other men; he had a definite purpose in all his acts. His principal opponents, the Patarini, had among their ranks many mighty preachers who personally led a life of poverty and self-denial in imitation of the apostles; and when Dominic imposed a similar life on his followers, he thereby clearly evinced his intention to fight these wild sectaries with their own weapons, as he had previously done by establishing a nunnery at Prouille. His success was instantaneous. Honorius in the early months of the following year issued four bulls<sup>2</sup>—three recommending

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Capitulum Generalium*, Reichert, ii. 457.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, i. pp. 11, 12, 13.

the friars to the Roman hierarchy throughout the then known world, and the last permitting them the use of portable altars, so that they could conduct their operations everywhere without restriction. On the 30th May 1221, the second Chapter General was also held at Bologna, the last graced by the presence of Dominic, at which eight provinces—two, Hungary and England, only *in posse*—were represented.<sup>1</sup> Friar Gilbert, who was present, was appointed Provincial of England and head of a mission to that country, and it was through this mission that, nine years later, the Order of the Friar Preachers was introduced into Scotland.

## II

In August 1221, Friar Gilbert and his companions made their appearance in London,<sup>2</sup> where they were enthusiastically received. Indeed, so great was the rush of adherents from among the clergy and the laity, that they were enabled within the space of a few years to erect convents in nearly every district in the country. In the progress of their expansion northward, they crossed the Tweed in the year 1230, and entered the town of Berwick, at that time the principal highway between the two countries, in the suburbs of which they established their first priory on Scottish soil. The year 1230 is fixed with certainty by the *Melrose Chronicle*,<sup>3</sup> a nearly contemporaneous record, and is confirmed by Fordun<sup>4</sup> and the *Extracta*.<sup>5</sup> The allegation of the credulous Boece,<sup>6</sup> that a mission was sent by Dominic in 1219 to this country, may be dismissed as mythical. We are told that they were

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen.*, i. p. 2. The whole of the Acts of the Chapters General, so far as extant, are to be found in the *Monumenta Ord. Frat. Praed.* Those for the Chapters held in 1220 and 1221 are wanting.

<sup>2</sup> *The Reliquary*, xvii. 33. C. F. R. Palmer.

<sup>3</sup> Page 142.

<sup>4</sup> Page 92.

<sup>5</sup> ii. 58; ed. Goodall, 1759.

<sup>6</sup> ii. 283-4.

introduced by Friar Clement,<sup>1</sup> although Spottiswoode<sup>2</sup> transfers that honour to William Malvoisin, Bishop of St. Andrews. Clement is certainly the principal figure in Scottish Dominican history at this date, and Fordun describes him as a man of high education and of great forensic ability.<sup>3</sup> It is more than probable, therefore, that, at the Bishop's request, it was under his leadership that the friars entered Scotland. He was a Scot<sup>4</sup> by birth, and had the honour, in 1219, of receiving the habit at Paris at the hands of Matthew, the first and last Dominican abbot. His administrative ability and organising zeal in the settlement of his friars doubtless attracted the notice of the hierarchy; and, soon after his arrival, he was entrusted with the reclamation of the depleted See of Dunblane—a field of usefulness likely to test the powers of a strong man.<sup>5</sup> On 4th September 1233, he was consecrated by his friend Malvoisin in the Stow Church of Wedale.<sup>6</sup> Fordun<sup>7</sup> speaks of the friars as the *Fratres Jacobini*, or Friars of the Convent of St. James in Paris, the great educational institution of the Order, at which Friar Clement<sup>8</sup> and probably most of his brethren had been trained; and he tells us that they found their greatest sympathiser and friend in the person of King Alexander II., who became their special pro-

<sup>1</sup> Robertson, pf. xxxvii. n. 5, quoting the *De Scotorum Fortitudine* by D. Camerarius; see also Grubb, *Ecd. History of Scot.*, i. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Keith, ed. Russel, p. 44, gives no authority. Malvoisin was present at the Fourth Lateran Council, and, therefore, brought into contact with the central views on the Mendicant movement approved of *re* the Franciscans; but revival of the Dominican tenets came at a later period.

<sup>3</sup> *Variarum linguarum interprese loquentissimus, vir potens sermone et opere coram Deo et hominibus*, ii. 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1896, p. 485. It was the practice, when sending a mission into any country in Europe, to place a native of that country at its head.

<sup>5</sup> Theiner, *Mon. Vet. Hib. et Scott.*, No. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Melrose Chron.*, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. ix. c. 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Anal. Sac. Ord. Praed.*, 1896, p. 485. The friars were known in France for centuries as the Jacobins, and, on their expulsion from St. James's at the French Revolution, the revolutionary club which made this convent their headquarters also became known as Jacobins.

tector. They rapidly increased in numbers, and were thus enabled, within the same year, to establish priories in several of the royal burghs, including that of Edinburgh. Here the King granted them, by a formal Charter, dated 1230, a house which belonged to himself—a *mansio Regis* or *manerium*—to which was attached a large piece of ground<sup>1</sup> situated to the south of the Cowgate, and afterwards bounded on the south and east by the Flodden Wall in its course down Drummond Street and the Pleasance. A trance or lane was added so as to permit of access to the High Street by what was then known as the Vennel—afterwards as Blackfriars Wynd, and now as Blackfriars Street—in which there were only a few straggling houses. At this period Edinburgh was a small, thinly populated town, its buildings—mostly of wood, single storied, and thatched—being only sufficient to line both sides of the Lawnmarket and part of the High Street down towards the Nether Bow. The situation of the ground gifted by the King as a site for their priory was therefore very acceptable in the eyes of the friars, who, as a rule, preferred the suburbs to the interior of a town. They loved to dwell amid sweet meadows and flowers. It is, perhaps, as well to keep in view that the whole character of the ground has been entirely altered since the time of the Reformation. From the south end of the trance a footpath was formed in course of time leading in a south-westerly direction to the Church of Our Lady in the Fields, commonly known as the Kirk of Fields, and this road, including the trance—which, after the Reformation, became known as the High School Wynd—developed in the eighteenth century into the street termed Infirmary Street. This pathway cut off on the south-western side of the trance a plot of ground—subsequently known as the

<sup>1</sup> Keith, p. 441. The deed is not extant, but it is verified by another Charter granted by Alexander III. on 7th June 1260. This writ is really a confirmation of that of 1230 (*Charters of St. Giles*, p. 108). The King's gift certainly did not include the street now known as Blackfriars Street, as Spottiswoode implies.

friars' garden of the Quarrelyards—and on which, in 1644, Lady Yester's Church—the first of its name—was erected.<sup>1</sup> The Cowgate in 1230 was simply a narrow verdant valley—the *Via Vaccarum* or road of the cows to the pleasant pastures beyond—and down the middle there trickled a small streamlet or burn. The portion on the south side, situated between the foot of the Pleasance and the trance, was divided into small plots which were all in private hands, with the exception of a small lane or roadway leading to the friars' cemetery—the silent cloister of their dead—and the plot at the west end. Both the lane and this plot were at a later period feued off by the friars. South of the plot was the 'Great House,' or guest-house of the priory—*pro hospitibus ad jacendum extra dormitorium*<sup>2</sup>—which was utilised by our Kings, prior to the erection of Holyrood Palace, as a place of entertainment for their royal and distinguished visitors, among whom was the unfortunate King Henry VI. of England. On these occasions a special allowance was made by the Lord Chamberlain to the friars. The Great House also contained a large hall, described in an English writ as the *camera bassa* or lower chamber, in which the espousals of the infants, Prince James, afterwards James IV., and the Princess Cecilia of England were celebrated by proxy in 1474. It was also utilised as the refectory for the royal and other guests of the friars. For lady visitors accommodation was found in a house outside of the priory walls; but it was the duty of the hospitarius—the friar placed in charge of the guest-house—to make due provision for their entertainment. It was also his duty to see that the guests, male or female, did not exceed the limits of the priory hospitality. A few yards farther south was the great gate of the priory, which was always kept closed. It had a small grille through which

<sup>1</sup> This church was taken down in 1803, when the present church was erected on a site farther west.

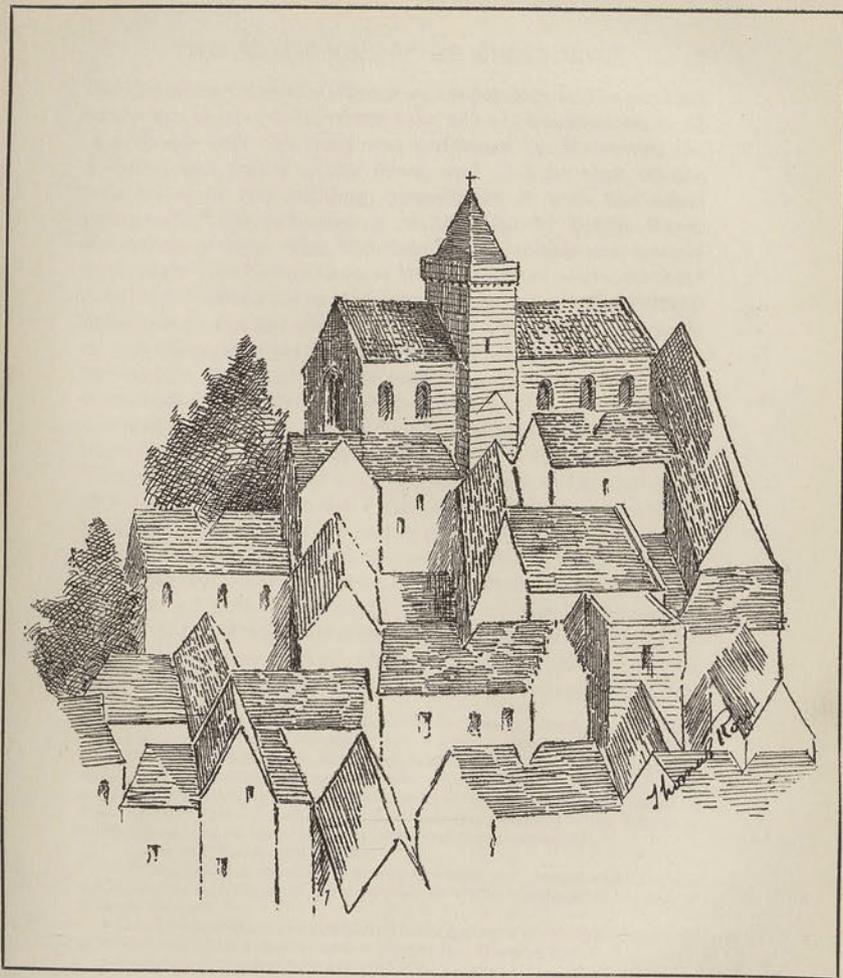
<sup>2</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen.*, i. 176.

the portarius or friar-porter could examine visitors before admission. This porter was, generally speaking, a *frater conversus*—a lay brother—and for him there was provided a separate cell situated near the gate,<sup>1</sup> probably in the Great House. From the gate there was a road, having the Great House on the north and the Church of the priory on the south, that led to the cemetery; while the open space immediately within the gate formed a courtyard where the friars received their friends, and where they distributed their alms to the poor, for whom a covered shelter or shed was provided. The Church, as befitted a colony of Canons-Regular, was a large building surmounted by a spire, and of it a rough drawing on a small scale, believed to have been made in 1544 by one of the Earl of Hertford's engineers, is still preserved in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> On their arrival in Edinburgh, the erection of their church would undoubtedly be the first care of the brethren, and it is equally certain that the architect under whose superintendence it was built was a member of their community. The Dominicans have in all ages been great lovers of art, and have produced from among their ranks many celebrated painters,<sup>3</sup> sculptors, and architects. It was the practice at the foundation of all churches for the bishop of the diocese to appear at daybreak on the appointed day, and fix the line of direction of the building from the shadow cast by his crozier when held up to the rays of the sun. In this way, as the sun alters its course from south-east in winter to north-east in summer,

<sup>1</sup> On the night of the murder of Darnley, in 1567, it was at this gate that the murderers waited for the bags of gunpowder.

<sup>2</sup> See *Miscell. Bann. Club*, vol. ii. Spottiswoode asserts that the priory was destroyed by fire in 1518, but there is every reason to believe that this is an entire mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Of these, the most celebrated were Friars Angelico da Fiesole and Bartolommeo della Porta, neither of whom worked for gain nor, strange to say, for personal fame. Every picture painted by the former has been described as an 'act of praise,' and by the latter, the bolder genius, as 'an anthem of praise sung to the pealing organ, and lifting up the soul and sense at once, like a divine strain of harmony.'—*Legends of the Monastic Orders*, Mrs. Jameson, 370.



THE CHURCH OF THE PRIORY OF THE BLACK FRIARS, EDINBURGH.

Enlarged by Thomas Ross, LL.D., from the drawing of 1544.

the line of direction of a church was dependent on the position of the sun at the period of the year when it was founded.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that this duty was performed by Malvoisin, the diocesan and friend of the friars, and that he also, on the completion of the building, consecrated it with the usual ceremonies,<sup>2</sup> and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin Mary. According to their rules, the church was humble and modest in its style—*mediocres domos et humiles Fratres nostri habeant*<sup>3</sup>—with no adventitious aid from sculpture or unnecessary ornament.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, from the artistic character of the friars, we may feel assured that what was wanting in the matter of ornament was more than compensated for in correctness and beauty of outline, which, after all, constitute the true 'aristocracy of art.'<sup>5</sup> Of its altars, and there must have been many, only four—the high altar in honour of the Virgin Mary at the east end, and the altars of St. Catherine of Siena, St. Catherine the Virgin, and another, unnamed, in Bertram's aisle, all on the north side of the church—appear on record. The altar of St. Catherine of Siena would, according to general usage, be placed in a side chapel<sup>6</sup> erected by the members of both sexes in Edinburgh of the Confraternity of the Black Friars, otherwise known as the Tertiaries or Penitents of their Order. They were the special friends and benefactors of the friars, from whom they received, in return,

<sup>1</sup> On the celebrated Rock of Cashel in Ireland there are two churches built within a few feet of each other, but, for this reason, lying at different angles.

<sup>2</sup> In 1242 David de Bernhame, Bishop of St. Andrews, found it necessary, owing to the neglect of his predecessors, to consecrate no fewer than one hundred and forty churches, including those of St. Giles and St. Cuthbert of Edinburgh, and the Church of the Black Friars of Perth (*Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, Robertson, i. pf. ccxcviii). The Edinburgh Priory Church must, therefore, have been consecrated at some earlier date.

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta Ord. Praed.*, 1896, p. 646.

<sup>4</sup> 'No superfluities or curiosities in sculpture, pictures, and pavements which deform our poverty' (*Acta*, i. 113); but this prohibition was evaded in many of the convents in Italy and elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> The only relic of Dominican architecture in this country is the beautiful ruined aisle in St. Andrews, in which Cardinal Beaton is believed to have been buried.

<sup>6</sup> Examples are to be seen in the churches of the convents at Pisa, Siena, etc.

a Letter of Confraternity, admitting them to the spiritual benefits of the Order. None of these Letters of Confraternity are now extant. In 1541 the friars received from Cardinal Betoun the sum of £20 for the 'repairing of the high altar of their church in terms of the precept of our right reverend lord the Cardinal, subscribed with his hand 13th July 1541';<sup>1</sup> and by Charter, dated 19th January 1471, John Layng, Bishop-elect of Glasgow, granted in their favour three small annuals for the perpetual maintenance of a lamp in the choir.<sup>2</sup> The nave, as usual in mendicant churches, was enlarged for the purposes of preaching; while the principal entrance was at the western gable, and nearly opposite the priory gate. There were usually two doors on the south side. Many of the pious citizens of Edinburgh found a last resting-place within the precincts of the Church, and stone cenotaphs were erected over some of their tombs. Among these the following appear on record:—

1476. Epitaphium of William Fauside, in Choir.<sup>3</sup>  
 1480-1. Do. of John Spens.<sup>4</sup>  
 1483. Do. of Thomas Dunsyre.<sup>5</sup>  
 1492. Do. of Walter Bertram.<sup>6</sup>  
 1493. Do. of Sir David Hepburn of Wauchton,  
 in Choir.<sup>7</sup>

Although no drawing of the priory buildings has been preserved, it is not difficult, from what is known of the Dominican houses in other countries, to understand the general plan on which it would be built. In the middle was a courtyard of a square or rectangular shape, having in the centre a fountain,<sup>8</sup> at which the friars in the open performed their ablutions. From this fountain the water required for

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Chamberlain's Accounts, Rentals of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews*, f. 62, Adv. Lib.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. of Great Seal*, vii. 288.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Cal. of Ch.*, iii. 455.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 495.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 505.

<sup>6</sup> *Reg. of Great Seal*, xiii. f. 189.

<sup>7</sup> *MS. Cal. of Ch.*, iii. 581.

<sup>8</sup> This fountain was also often placed in the cloister or other sheltered spot.

domestic purposes was also taken. This courtyard, in which bushes and flowers were planted, was bounded on the north by the church, and on the three other sides by the priory buildings; while on the inner side of these buildings, including the Church, was the cloister, which thus enclosed the whole courtyard. If the hand of the friar-architect was restricted in the decoration of his church, he was, as a rule, allowed greater freedom in his design for the cloister. The ceiling was probably vaulted, the colonnades enriched with sculpture, and the walls covered with monuments and paintings in remembrance of their deceased friends and benefactors. It was here that the friars loved to walk and prepare their sermons. The ground floor of the building on the southern side was used as the refectory, and had an entrance from the cloister. It was a large room, extending the whole length of the building, and was also utilised for meetings of the Provincial Councils and Synods of the Church, and for other purposes.<sup>1</sup> Dinner was served in summer—from Easter to 14th September—between two and three o'clock, and about noon during the remainder of the year. On a signal by the bell of the church, the friars, having previously washed their hands, assembled in the cloister, and took their seats on the benches ranged around; and when the friar-cook had intimated that all was ready, by sounding what was called the *cymbalum*—a kind of gong—the prior proceeded to his seat at the end of the room. Above his chair was an image, and at his right hand hung a bell styled a *nola*, which, if satisfied with the arrangements, he then rung, whereupon all the friars marched in, two and two, and took their seats, according to their rank and position, on the benches placed round the walls. In front of them ran a long line of tables, while the centre of the room was kept clear. Visitors, whether lay<sup>2</sup> or cleric, were placed

<sup>1</sup> *Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, pf. i.

<sup>2</sup> 'And secular persons are not readily to be permitted to eat in the refectory with the friars.'—*Acta*, iv. 36.

according to rank, next the prior, who, however, gave up his seat on the entrance of the Master-General or of royalty. There is no known instance of the former having ever visited this country, although several visits to England of the General are on record. During the progress of the dinner strict silence was maintained by the friars, so that the voice of the friar-lector, or reader, could be heard chanting chapters from the Bible, the Lives of the Saints, or other suitable works, in Latin, from a small pulpit placed in a corner of the room. When dinner was finished, the friars then marched in procession, two and two, to the church. The ground floors of the buildings on the other two sides furnished accommodation for the conventual schools, the library, rooms for the prior and the sub-prior—who controlled the business arrangements of the priory—and other offices; while in the upper floors were the friars' cells and dormitories. The infirmary stood on the eastern side of the priory, detached from all the other buildings. Women were strictly prohibited from entering the cloister or any of the priory buildings. Round the eastern end of the church was the priory cemetery, in which the bodies of the dead were buried so as to face the east. Behind the refectory was the vegetable and flower garden, divided from which by a rough mound were four yards which the friars retained in their own hands and cultivated. Some time during the fifteenth century they received a gift of three acres of ground situated on the south side of the Flodden Wall, and part of which, on the side facing the Pleasance, they had feued off when the crash came.

### III

In addition to providing a home for the friars, King Alexander granted them an annuity of ten merks, payable out of the royal fermes<sup>1</sup> or taxes of Edinburgh; and this annuity

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. of Great Seal*, vii. f. 289. *Cf. Exch. Rolls*.

was thereafter regularly paid by the Exchequer down to the time of the Reformation. These timely gifts enabled them, without further delay, to bring their crusade against religious ignorance and vice into practical operation. Their plan of campaign, and the severe preparatory course of training imposed on them, may be briefly described. As canons-regular they performed both day and night the usual services in their Church; but these, on account of the duties of their special mission, were largely abbreviated.<sup>1</sup> 'Universal preaching' was their special work, and they sent forth preachers—in pairs, a friar and his 'marrow,' as appointed by the prior—to all the towns and villages within a radius of twenty or thirty miles of Edinburgh. The friars, when travelling, were not permitted to ride either on horseback<sup>2</sup> or in carriages: all journeyed on foot. Each priory possessed a certain recognised sphere of influence—a Dominican parish, as it were—within the limits of which the brethren from other priories could not interfere. Their sermons to the general public were always delivered in the vernacular—not in Latin—and the Magistrates of Edinburgh recognised the value of their labours in the streets of the burgh by an annual grant of six barrels of sowens beer,<sup>3</sup> a drink composed of sour beer mixed with the fluff or refuse of oatmeal, and highly popular among the labouring classes. Friars qualified to preach were first of all examined by inspectors appointed

<sup>1</sup> *Hors omnes in ecclesia breviter et succinctorum taliter dicantur, ne fratres devotionem amittant, et eorum studium minime impediatur* (*Analecta Sac. Ord. Praed.*, 1896, 624). The beautiful Dominican 'offices' were sanctioned at the Chapters General of 1255 and 1256 (*Acta*, i. 73, 78), and confirmed by Clement iv. in 1267 (*Bull. Ord. Praed.*, i. 486, *Consurgit*). To the friar-chanter was committed the direction of all the offices.

<sup>2</sup> 'Whereas the pomp of riding upon horseback, and excessive riding, is an abuse of our Order. Oh, shame! It confounds the office of preaching and destroys voluntary poverty. We forbid any friar to ride on horseback without the express permission of the Provincial Prior, who is not to presume to grant the same without a very just and reasonable cause.'—*Acta Cap. Gen.*, iii. 73. May 1403.

<sup>3</sup> *Edinburgh, Old Accounts*, R. Adam, i.

for that purpose;<sup>1</sup> while those who excelled could become what were termed *preachers general*. Combined with preaching were the cognate and important branches of hearing confession<sup>2</sup> and of burial within the precincts of their own priory. The right to exercise these functions was directly imposed by the Pope under a long series of bulls, in spite of the strong opposition of the parish clergy, whose emoluments they seriously curtailed. Honorius III. appointed Dominic Master of the Palace of the Vatican, a judicial office of great importance, and Pope Gregory IX. made his successor, Jordan of Saxony, his personal confessor and chaplain, and in this he was quickly imitated by all the kings, princes, and nobility in Europe. Each had a Black Friar for his confessor. The practice prevailed in this country down to the time of James IV. and James V., when the duties fell into the hands of the Observantine Grey Friars. From the Edinburgh priory most of these royal confessors were selected;<sup>3</sup> but our knowledge from the record is practically confined to the reign of David II. In 1332 the Chamberlain provided robes for two Black Friars who were living in residence with the boy King;<sup>4</sup> and in 1340, 1343, and 1360 Friars Walter of Blantyre, Thomas of Wateristona, and Adam of Lanark are successively noted as having received certain payments<sup>5</sup> as confessors to the King. In 1342 a meeting of the Provincial Chapter was held in the Edinburgh priory, when King David contributed a sum of forty shillings towards its expenses.<sup>6</sup> Friar Adam of Lanark was one who seems to have mingled diplomacy with routine observance of his Rule. On 13th December 1356, he had a

<sup>1</sup> *Analecta*, 1896, 641: 'Certain learned men and zealous for the faith, inspectors and examiners of their whole preachers and confessors. . . . These inspectors are to be distributed throughout the convents.'—*Acta*, iv. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Permission to hear confession was only granted to friars who were thirty years of age, and were licensed to do so by their superiors (*Acta*, i. 28, 70; iii. 282). They were warned not to induce penitents to give anything to themselves or to the Order (*Ibid.*, i. 108).

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta*, 1896, p. 485.

<sup>4</sup> *Exch. Rolls*, i.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 455, 465, 466, 535; ii. 51, 129, 174.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. 509.

safe-conduct from the English king on his return to Scotland with his 'marrow' and a servant 'on certain affairs touching David Bruce, our prisoner.'<sup>1</sup> In the following year we find him again in England, where King David requested an extension of his confessor's safe-conduct until August first;<sup>2</sup> while Martin, Bishop of Argyle, appointed him his procurator in the payment of his share towards the royal captive's ransom. On 21st June 1358, Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull refusing to allow the clergy of Scotland to become bound for payment of any portion of the king's ransom, and on the 19th of the following month of September, this bull was solemnly promulgated in the Church of the Edinburgh priory, in presence of a crowd of the clergy.<sup>3</sup> After King David's return to Scotland, Friar Adam had his expenses paid for two missions to the papal court,<sup>4</sup> with the object of obtaining the sanction of his Holiness to a levy of one-tenth upon the rents of the Church, and in which his diplomatic efforts were crowned with success.<sup>5</sup> Prior to this date several other instances had occurred where friars had shown a desire to exercise the wiles of diplomacy in preference to enduring the duller routine of the friary. On 17th November 1264, Friars Malise of Strathearn and Simon de la Fontagne received a safe-conduct as envoys of the Scottish king,<sup>6</sup> and the early fragment of the Exchequer Rolls records payment of £1, 7s. 0d. to this Friar Malise and Friar Alexander of Berwick for their expenses on their journey beyond the sea.<sup>7</sup> In the negotiations concerning the submission of Magnus, king of the Isle of Man—following upon the battle of Largs—they also took a prominent part; while, for journeys to Man and Norway, they received payment of eight shillings and £2, 7s. 7d.

<sup>1</sup> *Rotuli Scotie*, i. 798 b.

<sup>2</sup> Bain, *Cal. of Doc. Scot.*, ii. 1610.

<sup>3</sup> *Not. Inst.* attesting promulgation, dated 20th Sept. 1358; Bain, *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iv. No. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Exch. Rolls*, ii. 51, 79, 129, 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 109, 110.

<sup>6</sup> Bain, *Cal. of Doc. Scot.*, i. 2373.

<sup>7</sup> *Exch. Rolls*, i. 26.

respectively.<sup>1</sup> Other entries in the Rolls show that they appeared in the island in the suite of the Archdeacon of Man on two other occasions.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, in 1290, two unnamed friars are noted as having visited Ireland with letters by the English king regarding the cession of the Island of Man.<sup>3</sup> The priory *provenance* of all these friars is unknown.

It was, however, in the systematic training and education of their preachers that the Black Friars excelled. Learned men were, no doubt, to be found in the monasteries; but these, in the early days at least, were only individual cases. The Black Friars were the first in Europe to devise and introduce for their students a complete and systematic course of education, extending over several years, and ending in a degree at a university. This degree, in turn, required confirmation by the Chapter General, and Provincials were forbidden to accept any one as a master of theology who had not a licence from the Master of the Order or the Chapter General.<sup>4</sup> It was a common saying among the friars that there could be no priory unless there were both a prior and a doctor of theology; and we may conclude that it was their system that Knox unwittingly imitated when he desired to make the burgh schools a preparatory step to the university. But medicine and surgery had no part in the education of the Friar Preacher. The Chapter General of the year 1553 decreed that 'We ordain and most strictly prohibit every one of the friars of our Order, under the pain of the graver fault, from following the art of the doctor, physician, or surgeon, and all permits hitherto granted we absolutely annul.'<sup>5</sup> In early days the friars had practised medicine, evidently with the view of adding the emoluments to the *peculium* of the priory;<sup>6</sup> but in 1336, in consequence of some scandals arising through what the Chapter in its righteous wrath terms the *dampnabilis*

<sup>1</sup> *Each. Rolls*, i. 17 and 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen.*, iv. 135.

<sup>6</sup> *Acta*, i. 58, 268; ii. 122, 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 47.

*temeritas* of certain friars,<sup>1</sup> a veto was placed except where duly licensed by the prior. In the fifteenth century the entire practice and teaching of medicine and surgery were absolutely forbidden, and continued so until the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> Another significant prohibition is that of the Chapter General of 1313 against the study of alchemy. Friars are prohibited from either learning or teaching such a subject; books are to be burnt within eight days; and offending friars to be excommunicated.<sup>3</sup> In the Edinburgh priory there was the usual conventual school presided over by a doctor or professor of theology, as well as, until the middle of the fifteenth century, the provincial school. Nothing is known of the working of these schools. The principal university schools were those of Oxford, Paris, Bologna, and Cologne. Now, the Scottish priories were at first all grouped together to form a *vicariate*, under the supervision of the provincial of England; but the successful result of the War of Independence freed the friars from the galling yoke of the foreigner. After the disastrous battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, the Black Friars of Berwick displayed in their sermons such intense animosity towards the English conquerors, that Edward III. ordered them to be taken and distributed one by one among the English priories south of the river Trent: 'And that you place your Scottish brethren who dwell within the said town and county in the houses of your Order in England beyond the Trent, *individually in separate houses*; so that, with your kind treatment of them, the cause of their maligning will cease, and, overcome by this manifestation of your brotherly affection, they will learn to love those whom they now hate.'<sup>4</sup> The friars were therefore patriots as well as clergymen, and although the *Acta* of the Chapter General, so far as extant

<sup>1</sup> *Acta*, ii. pp. 239, 286, 298.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 139; iv. 65, 350.

<sup>4</sup> *Rotuli Scotie*, i. 258. The warrant to the English governor of Berwick to carry out the order is couched in similar terms.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. 65.

for this period, are silent as regards Scottish affairs, there is a letter among the Denmyln MSS., dated 29th September 1349, which goes to prove that the Scottish vicariate had by that time been placed directly under the Master-General himself, and thereby outwith the jurisdiction of the English provincial.<sup>1</sup> It is addressed from Avignon by Jean des Moulins, the twentieth Master-General, to the 'Vicar General of the Order of Friars Preachers in the realm of Scotland':— 'Whereas it is meet to grant a willing consent to the just requests of supplicants, therefore, looking favourably upon your petition, I, by the tenor of these presents, approve, renew, ratify, and confirm all and sundry the immunities and favours bestowed upon your nation by whomsoever Masters of the said Order, my predecessors, adding thereto also—as a mark of our esteem—this privilege, that your Vicar who shall be for the time may assign to each common seminary of our Order a friar as a student, and recall him at the good pleasure of his will.'<sup>2</sup> The only Scottish student who is recorded in the *Acta* as having been sent to a foreign school is 'Friar Alexander of Scotland.' He was assigned to the *Studium Generale* at Paris in 1525.<sup>3</sup> The Edinburgh priory had not only to provide their students with suitable clothing as well as the necessary books, but also to pay a large portion of the cost of their maintenance at these foreign schools; and this must have proved a severe burden upon a community that had no material possessions of its own. The grievance was to some extent mitigated by the establishment of a *studium generale* at the University of St. Andrews, where, in 1491, the Dean of Dunkeld established a foundation for five or six Dominican students.<sup>4</sup> A decree by the Chapter General of the year 1525 marks the success of some of these students:

<sup>1</sup> The *Analecta* says this occurred in 1415. *Anal.*, 1896, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> *Denmyln MSS.*, Adv. Lib., App. p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta*, iv. 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen.*, iii. p. 408. 'We approve of the agreement entered into between the Dean of Dunkeld and the reverend Provincial of Scotland, relative to the foundation for five or six students in the Convent of the University of St. Andrews.'

—'We approve for the *Mastership* Friar James Crichton of the Province of Scotland; and we license as *Bachelors* Friar Alexander Campbell, Friar Alexander Barclay, Friar Alexander Lawson, Friar James Chevot, Friar Francis Carpitarius, Friar John Makecap, Friar John Makdorod, and Friar James Pryson of the said Province of Scotland.'<sup>1</sup> Some of these friars must have belonged to the Edinburgh priory; but it is impossible to wade through the dry pages of the *Acta* without being impressed by the ardent love for learning that prevailed among all ranks of the Order, and by the keen desire that every friar should, mentally, be properly trained for his work. The constant cry is for study, study, study; and while at first their great mission is described as 'preaching and study,' latterly the call is for 'study and preaching.' Their greatest scholar was St. Thomas Aquinas—the contemporary of St. Bonaventura among the Grey Friars—whose teaching was made the foundation of all Dominican learning.<sup>2</sup> His writings are largely read at the present day.

Amid such a crowd of highly educated men, it is not unnatural to find that personal ambition should play its share in their lives, and that many of the friars should attempt to discard the hood in favour of the pompous mitre. Including Friar Clement,<sup>3</sup> there were no fewer than seven of the Scottish Black Friars who were raised to the Episcopal bench in this country. Friar Laurence of Argyle was raised in 1261 to the See of Argyle,<sup>4</sup> and he lived long enough to take an active share in the marriage of Queen Margaret and Edward II. It

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen.*, iv. p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> 'Likewise, because the glory and advantage of the whole Order is the study of General and of Sacred Literature, therefore we will and ordain that in all the convents in which there is a *studium generale* in terms of the ordinances of many Chapters General, the life and teaching of Saint Thomas be read, maintained, and defended.'—*Acta Cap. Gen.*, iv. 39.

<sup>3</sup> 'Friar Clement of our Order, Bishop of Scotland, one mass by every friar-priest, and in the Province of England, the suffrages of a friar.'—*Acta*, i., Chap. Gen. at London, 1250.

<sup>4</sup> Keith, 286.

is believed he died in 1299. His immediate successor was another Dominican friar, Andrew, who transgressed the constitutions of his Order in accepting the selection of the Deacons and Canons of the See without having previously obtained the consent of his superior. To remedy this vice in his appointment, he proceeded to Rome, where he resigned all his rights under the deed of selection into the hands of Boniface VIII., who thereupon sanctioned his consecration by Theodore, Bishop of the Papal State.<sup>1</sup> He is recorded as a 'witness' to several donations in favour of the Black Friars of Glasgow—perhaps his old priory<sup>2</sup>—and died in or before the year 1330. The See of Argyle again passed under the charge of another member of the fraternity, when Friar Finlay of Albany, Vicar of the Order and Prior of Ayr, was chosen Bishop during the minority of James I. He, doubtless, owed his elevation to the Dominican sympathies of the House of Albany, and acquired some notoriety when he accompanied the fugitive James to Ireland.<sup>3</sup> In 1269 William of Kilconceath, the Prior of Perth, was elected to the See of Brechin,<sup>4</sup> and so acceptable had his régime been to his College, that its choice fell upon another Black Friar of Perth, in the person of William Cumyn, Doctor of Theology and Reader in the Faculty of Theology there.<sup>5</sup> He was not unmindful of the Order in which he had been educated, as he obtained papal sanction in 1289 to test upon his own personal property in its favour.<sup>6</sup> Friar Adam of Lanark, previously mentioned, who was promoted to the Bishopric of Galloway<sup>7</sup> in 1359, completes the list of the Black Friars in this country who are known to have been raised to the episcopate. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, hundreds of the friars on the Continent found salvation in the Episcopal bench from

<sup>1</sup> Theiner, No. 368, 10th Dec. 1299.

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenta*, Mait. Club, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Fordun, lib. xvi. c. x.; ii. 483; Keith, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 217; Keith, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, i. 450.

<sup>5</sup> Theiner, No. 262, 24th May 1275.

<sup>7</sup> Keith, p. 274.

the meagre fare and hard toil of the priory, until at length the Chapter General attempted to put a stop to the practice.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the Papal Court continued to be haunted by these Dominican aspirants, who managed under various pretexts to find their way to Rome; and, so late as the year 1523, the Chapter General forbade 'all the friars of the Order from going to Rome without the permission of their Provincial or Vicar General, or of the Province or Congregation, *under the penalty of imprisonment!*'<sup>2</sup>

## IV

King Robert the Bruce, of immortal memory, was another of our sovereigns who held the friars in high esteem; and after the successful issue of the Battle of Bannockburn he gave a striking proof of his kindly regard by allocating to them all the rich tapestries and silken hangings taken from King Edward's own pavilion or tent. These, with other portions of the spoil, were divided among the whole of the priory churches in the country—that at Edinburgh, as the principal house, receiving an important share—to be converted into vestments for the friar priests, and frontals for their altars. Boece, who records the fact, assures us that many of these interesting memorials of the crowning blow in the struggle for independence were in his day—c. 1526—still carefully preserved by the friars: 'But the tapestries, many of which, made of the finest cambric interwoven with gold, he had taken from the royal pavillion, he divided among the Churches of the Preachers throughout the kingdom, so that they might make ornaments of them for the service of the Sanctuary. These things we have yet in our remembrance.'<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, none of these historical relics are known to have survived the storm of the Reformation. The

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen.*, ii. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta*, iv. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *H. Boethii Scotorum Historiae*, lib. xiv. f. 303, ed. 1575.

royal hero's shirt,<sup>1</sup> his sword,<sup>2</sup> his four mazars' or drinking-bowls, and the cup from which he used to drink—'ane culp quihlk was King Robert Bruicis, gilt'<sup>3</sup>—were for long preserved in the Jewel House in the Castle. To the Edinburgh friars Bruce, by a charter dated 12th May 1325, granted an annuity of five merks<sup>4</sup> payable from the mills of Liberton, and it is more than probable that it was from among these brethren that he chose his confessor. On behalf of his son, David II., the Chapter General held at Milan in 1340 ordered one mass to be celebrated<sup>5</sup> throughout the Order; while his grandson, Robert II., showed his Dominican sympathies by issuing a letter of caption,<sup>6</sup> in which he instructed all his justiciars, sheriffs, and other officers to arrest 'certain professed brethren of the Friars Preachers residing within our kingdom,' who 'have, by instigation of the devil, apostatised from the state of their profession, and insolently defied the salutary restraints of their superiors.' The 'black plague' of 1338, about which our records are almost silent, had swept away large numbers of the people, including many of the friars,<sup>7</sup> and a period of famine, following upon the long-

<sup>1</sup> 'King Robert Bruicis serk' (Jowellis fund in the Castell, 17th June 1488, Thomson's *Collection of Inventories*, p. 8). In the same way the chemise of St. Margaret, who died in the castle in 1093—*camisia Beate Margarete Regine*, described in the vernacular record as 'Sanct Margarettis sark'—was kept at her shrine at Dunfermline, and for a period of nearly four and a half centuries the queens of Scotland continued to clothe themselves in it in their hours of travail when their children were born. So late as March 1511-12, the Treasurer's Accounts show that eight shillings were paid 'to Luke of the Wardrop, to feche Sanct Margarettis sark to the Quene.'

<sup>2</sup> This sword was carried in 1488 by James III. to the fatal field of Sauchieburn, where it was lost for a time, but recovered by one Walter Simson—to whom a reward was paid by the Lord Treasurer—and returned to the Castle.—*Lord High Treas. Accounts*.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson's *Collection*, pp. 73, 111.

<sup>4</sup> *Haddington MSS.*, p. 13, No. 25; *Reg. of Great Seal*, i. App. i. No. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta*, ii. 265. He issued in 1357 a Letter of Protection in favour of the whole Order in Scotland.—*Munimenta*, Mait. Club, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, translated by Dr. Patrick, p. 226.

<sup>7</sup> The priories throughout Europe were depopulated, and in some cases, as at Marseilles, the friars perished to a man. At the opening of the Chapter General of 8th June

continued war with England, ensued. It lasted for a long time, and the wells of charity, in consequence, became dried up, with the result that the friars, who, under their vow of poverty, depended entirely upon free-will offerings for their sustenance, suffered severely. The great schism in the Church of 1378, when two Popes, one at Avignon and the other at Rome, reigned, and the introduction of strife within the Order, by the appointment of two Masters-General, also acted as a deterrent against the giving of alms. Many of the friars, in sheer desperation, had therefore quitted their priories and sought shelter in monasteries or among the secular clergy, and thereby were said to have apostatised from the 'Dominican religion.' They were in no sense apostates as understood by Protestants. The friars were also unfavourably situated for the collection of alms, as their whole time was devoted to their duties of preaching, study, and the ministration of divine service. The complaint of the want of food became universal in all the priories in Europe, and it was even asserted that the richer friars often spent their own funds in providing food for themselves alone, while their poorer brethren were left to starve. A large number of the friars favoured the complete abrogation of the Rule of Poverty; but others, the extreme or Puritanical section, as stoutly urged the adoption of the reform known as the 'Observance,' the object of which was the maintenance of the *ipsissima verba* of the Dominican Rule. At the instance of King James III., the Chapter General held at Rome in 1468 granted authority to Friar Andrew of Oroden, Preacher General and Master of Arts, to introduce the Observance into Scotland.<sup>1</sup> At last, by the bull *Considerantes*,<sup>2</sup> dated 1st July 1475, Pope Sextus IV., at the instigation of Friar

1348, held at Lyons, the brethren commented with grief on their sadly diminished numbers.—*Acta*, ii. 322.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta*, iii. 312.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, iii. 528. Bulls are always cited by one, two, or three of the words in Latin with which they commence.

Leonard de Mansuetis, the thirty-first Master-General, authorised the friars *as a community* to hold lands, annual rents, and other kinds of immovable property; while, by another decree, *Nuper nostras*,<sup>1</sup> dated 13th April 1478, his Holiness granted them the right of purchase. The alteration in the Rule, so far as poverty was concerned, was gratefully accepted by the Chapter General that met on 10th May 1478 as a practical solution of a difficult question.<sup>2</sup> The individual friar was still bound to live the old hard life of poverty;<sup>3</sup> but the priory itself, on behalf of the whole community, was empowered to acquire by donation or purchase heritable property of every class. In point of fact, the Edinburgh priory, like many of the other houses, had by this time acquired ten small annual rents, ranging from 6s. 8d. to 20 merks, all heritably secured, and to these, under the operation of the new law, considerable additions were made in course of time. These heritable gifts were all granted in return for the celebration of divine service on the anniversaries of the deaths of the donors and their friends. On 28th March 1474, King James III. granted an annual rent of 24 merks—£16 Scots—payable furth of the lands of Gosfurd in Haddingtonshire, for anniversary services for the weal of the souls of his father and mother, as well as on behalf of himself and his Queen, Margaret of Denmark. This formed the third and last of the eleemosynary annuals gifted by our sovereigns to the Edinburgh priory.<sup>4</sup> The effect of the new law on the individual friar was also witnessed in numerous cases noted in the City Protocol Books, where, on a succession to heritage, it was promptly handed over to the priory on behalf of the community. For example, Friar John Fortoun conveyed to the

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, iii. 550.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta*, iii. p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> The *Acta* of the Chapters General of 1501 and 1505 furnish descriptive definitions of Dominican poverty (iv. 9, 35); and that of 1523 decreed that whatever was obtained in preaching, hearing confession, lectorship in any faculty, or from any mechanical art, should be placed at the feet of the Prior for the benefit of the community (iv. 181).

<sup>4</sup> *Eccl. Rolls*, viii. 239.

priory certain subjects situated in Todrick's Wynd, to which he had succeeded as heir of his father;<sup>1</sup> and Friar John Thomson, as heir of his father, assigned his heritable succession in like manner to his priory.<sup>2</sup> As these friars are all described as sons of burgesses, we can understand the class from which they were mainly recruited. In these successions, however, the claims of kindred were by no means ignored. In many instances the heritable succession was handed over by the friar, with the consent of his priory, to his nearest relatives, so that in these cases the priory was no gainer by the transaction. In this way, among others, Friar John Henrison handed over his succession to his sister and her husband; while Friar James Johnstone, who fell heir to three successions—that of his father, his brother, and his sister Margaret—assigned the whole to his surviving sister and his nephew.<sup>3</sup> Much of the heritable property belonging to the friars, therefore, came from within their own body, and was, according to their custom, feued off to furnish a small but secure addition to their resources.<sup>4</sup> About this period the Scottish Vicariate was raised, at the special request of King James III., to the dignity of an independent Province. The *Analecta* asserts that this occurred in the year 1470, when Friar John Mure, Prior of the Edinburgh priory, was Provincial Vicar;<sup>5</sup> but the formal sanction of the Chapter General was not issued until the year 1481:—

'Likewise we declare that, at the instance and entreaties of his highness the King of Scotland, we have erected into a province the convents of the lands which are subject to his Majesty, and this has been done for very great and reasonable causes set forth in this present visitation by the unanimous vote of all the reverend

<sup>1</sup> 11th May 1515, City Prot. Thomas Strachan.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, John Foular, iii. 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, John Foular, i. 273; Alex. King, i.

<sup>4</sup> In the same way, the purchase of superiorities is a favourite form of investment at the present day by the General Assemblies of all our Presbyterian Churches.

<sup>5</sup> *Analecta*, 1896, p. 485.

provincials and visitors of this present Chapter, so that we will it to be a Province separate and distinct from that of England, called the Province of Scotland, with its convents, privileges, rights and liberties of the Order just as other provinces, and to take place among the Provincial Priors, and the Prior of Scotland to have place in our General Chapters according to the custom. And that the foresaid Province may not lack a suitable head for the time, the Most Reverend Master of the Order appointed and established Friar Mure,<sup>1</sup> Bachelor of Sacred Theology, Provincial Prior of the Province of Scotland, giving him jurisdiction over the said Province in things temporal and spiritual, and over the friars of the said Province, and all and sundry things which are granted to other provincials in the said Order.<sup>2</sup>

To meet the expense of the meetings of the Chapters General, a specified contribution was levied on each of the provinces, and that for Scotland was fixed at 'eleven gold ducats to the Master of the Order, and six to the procurator.'<sup>3</sup> These contributions were ordered in 1515 to be handed over either to the Priory of Paris or that of Bruges.<sup>4</sup> The *Acta*, so far as extant, show that the Scottish Province was represented by diffinitors at the Chapters General of 1484<sup>5</sup> and 1505,<sup>6</sup> and by the Provincial, John Mure and Friar John Spence<sup>7</sup> of the Edinburgh priory at that of 1516.

## V

In the meantime, the Edinburgh priory had been the scene of many incidents of historical importance. In the spring of the year 1274, a General Council of the Church was held at Lyons, at which a levy of a tenth of all the Church revenues during the six following years was imposed for an expedition to the relief of the Holy Land; and in the following month of

<sup>1</sup> Mull in *Acta*.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta*, iii. p. 368, Rome, 10th June 1481.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 375.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 156, 157.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 25.

September, Pope Gregory x. wrote a letter to the Scottish Provincials of both the Black and the Grey Friars, urging their friars to preach up the crusade in their sermons.<sup>1</sup> The papal collector, Boiamund of Vicci, a canon of the cathedral of Asti in Piedmont, arrived in Scotland, and, amid a storm of opposition from the clergy, fixed the *verus valor*, or true yearly value, of each benefice instead of the ancient conventional valuation known as the *antiqua taxatio*, as the basis of the levy.<sup>2</sup> Spottiswoode states, with some probability of truth, that it was in the church of the Edinburgh priory<sup>3</sup> that the clergy appeared in 1276 and gave up the rentals of their benefices. This new valuation roll, 'Bagimount's Roll,' as it was termed, remained down to the Reformation the basis of taxation at the Court of Rome on the creation of new benefices. From a very early period it was also the practice to collect the King's taxes for the three Lothians, as well as the counties of Fife, Forfar, and Perth, in this priory—in the hall of the 'great house.' The rolls of the Exchequer were kept in the Register House in the Castle, and were carried down to the priory in the month of February of every year, and placed in a room designated the Exchequer House—*domus scaccarii in loco Fratrum Praedicatorum de Edinburgh*. For this accommodation the friars were paid annually a chaldar of malt, and in the sixteenth century the sum of £10. Messengers were then sent to the sheriffs and others charging them to appear before the Lords of Council 'in the Black Freris of Edinburgh, and bring with thame thair taxt rollis, ilk man for his awin part, and to mak compleit paiement of the said taxt being on thair handis, under the payne of tynsall of thair office.'<sup>4</sup>

On the 18th June 1449, the fleet which escorted Mary of

<sup>1</sup> Theiner, pp. 103-6. Cf. *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, i. pf. lxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, i. pf. lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Keith. No authority quoted. The clergy met at Perth in 1275 to protest against the *verus valor*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Eccl. Rolls and Lord High Treas. Accounts*.

Gueldres, the bride-elect of the young James II., and her large retinue of Burgundian and French nobles to Scotland, came to anchor in the Firth of Forth; and, on the following day, she rode in state on horseback, seated behind Lord Campvere, to the lodgings which had been prepared for her and her suite in the priory of the Black Friars. The Burgundian writer, De Coussy, the contemporary authority of this incident, thus describes her movements: 'Et après, en partant de là, elle monta à cheval derrière le susdit Seigneur de la Vere, comme firent aussi ses gens et s'en alla à Aldembourg (Edinburgh), où elle fut logée dans l'église des Jacobins.'<sup>1</sup> The Jacobins were, as previously explained, the Black Friars,<sup>2</sup> and the brethren must have experienced considerable difficulty in finding accommodation for their numerous visitors. The lady had suffered from the usual *mal de mer*, and it was not until midnight, when she had sufficiently rested, that the impatient young king was permitted to see his bride. Twelve years later, after the defeat of the Lancastrians at the battle of Towton, the unfortunate Henry VI. of England, along with his heroic wife, Margaret of Anjou, and their son, fled to Scotland, where, says John Major, the authority for this period, they 'had hospitable reception in the convent of the Preaching Friars.'<sup>3</sup> There were strong political reasons why Henry preferred the hospitality of the Black to that of the Grey Friars. In recognition of his kindly reception, he conferred on the citizens the same rights of trade to all parts of

<sup>1</sup> Matthieu de Coussy, *Chronique de 1444 à 1461*, ed. Pantheon Littéraire.

<sup>2</sup> Our local historians—Sir Daniel Wilson, Grant, and Stevenson—identify, by mistake, the Grey Friary as her place of residence (Wilson's *Memorials*, ed. 1891, ii. p. 166; Grant's *Old and New Edin.*, ii. 55; and Stevenson's *Chronicles*, p. 38); while the same error is to be found in Pinkerton, i. 208, and in Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iv. p. 599. Tytler, founding on the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, says that Mary rode from the shore of Leith to Holyrood Palace, iv. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *History*, p. 387; *Scott. Hist. Soc.* In this our local historians make the blunder of following the statement in Abercromby's *Martial Achievement*—a work of no authority—that it was the Grey Friary where the royal fugitives found shelter.—Wilson, i. 25; Grant, ii. 233-4.

England as those of London enjoyed.<sup>1</sup> During the meeting of the Exchequer at the priory in 1473, the friars were allowed three chalders of malt for their *beldecheir*<sup>2</sup> or refectory. In the year 1474, the *camera bassa* of the priory was the scene of the picturesque espousals by proxy of the infant children of James III. and Edward IV.<sup>3</sup> After the preliminary declarations, the Earl of Crawford, as procurator for King James, taking the English commissioner, Lord Scrope, by the hand, plighted his faith that his dread lord, the King of Scotland, would bestow his son, Prince James, when of sufficient age, in marriage upon the Princess Cecilia of England. This promise was followed by a corresponding declaration by Lord Scrope. The English ambassadors were lodged in the priory, and the friars were allowed for this service five chalders of wheat and three of malt;<sup>4</sup> while the Exchequer spent a sum of £100 *ad expensas dictorum ambassiatorum*. A further payment to the friars of three chalders of malt *ad expensas Anglicorum*,<sup>5</sup> shows that in the following month of October, some of the English visitors were then lodging within the priory walls. There is also a notice in the Rolls for the years 1477-8 that a sum of £34 was expended by the Chamberlain 'in the late banquet in the Place of the Friar Preachers'<sup>6</sup>—a festivity of which nothing is known. Another guest of the Black Friars was the English 'Carlile' Herald, who came to this country regarding the prorogation of the truce between the two countries from 3rd July 1488, when it expired, to 1st September 1499. This Herald appended his seal to the agreement at the 'Black Freris of Edinburgh'<sup>7</sup> on 24th November 1487.

<sup>1</sup> Charters, etc., *Edinburgh Burgh Records*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Exch. Rolls*, viii. 181.

<sup>3</sup> 'Acta erant haec in camera bassa Fratrum Praedicatorum' says the English official account (*Foedera*, xi. 823). Tytler, although quoting this deed, wrongly identifies the place as the Grey Friary.

<sup>4</sup> *Exch. Rolls*, viii. 292.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 512.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 294.

<sup>7</sup> *Foedera*, xii. 328.

The next guest to partake of the hospitality of the friars was the notorious English impostor known to history as Perkin Warbeck. He claimed to be the Duke of York—one of the two royal children murdered in the Tower of London in 1483—and was received as such by James IV., who gave him in marriage the beautiful Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly. He must have resided a few weeks within the walls of the priory, as the friars were paid in 1499 two chalders of barley—'cum le cherité'—for his maintenance.<sup>1</sup> In 1496 King James himself is recorded as having been present in the priory church on the occasion of the first mass of a young priest, when he placed an offering of fourteen shillings<sup>2</sup> on the high altar. James was also present on the days of the festival of St. Catherine of Siena in 1505 and 1507, when the 'kingis offerand to Black Freris' amounted to the sum of £1, 8s. St. Catherine of Siena was the greatest female saint in the Dominican Calendar, and although only a member of the Third, or Order of Penitents, she was held in the highest veneration by the whole fraternity for her piety and charity, as well as for her extraordinary skill in allaying political disputes. Her altar stood on the north side of the church, and on 14th February 1471-2, David Dalrymple, burgess of Edinburgh, granted an annual rent of seven shillings, payable out of the tenement of John Knox on the north side of the High Street, for the upkeep of a lamp before her altar.<sup>3</sup> Shortly before the year 1492, Walter Bertram, burgess of Edinburgh, erected a chapel a little to the west of the altar of St. Catherine the Virgin on the north side of the church; and on the 2nd May of that year he executed a Charter of Mortification, granting to the friars two annuals of 24 merks and 14 merks, payable from his properties in the High Street and the Friars' Vennel, in return for certain masses and anniversary services.

<sup>1</sup> *Exch. Rolls*, xi. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Lord High Treas. Accounts*.

<sup>3</sup> Original in G. R. H.; *MS. Cal. of Ch.*, iii. No. 435.

Bertram was a wealthy merchant, and two years later became provost of the burgh; and the careful and minute instructions in the deed as to the manner of conducting the numerous services, the family anniversary requiem on the 7th October, the use of the Gregorian chant<sup>1</sup> accompanied by the organ, and the placing of lighted candles on the family tomb and the altar, all illustrate the piety of the time.<sup>2</sup> It had also become the practice of the wealthy burgesses to bequeath doles or 'portions' of food and drink to the poor; and, accordingly, Bertram ordained that fifty portions—each consisting of three pennyworth of bread, the same of ale, and fourpence worth of flesh—should be divided among that number of the aged, needy, and infirm poor. The gifts were to lie on the table during divine service, and thereafter to be taken and handed over to the poor in the shed in the outer courtyard. In a subsequent charter in favour of the Church of St. Giles, certain of the secular chaplains there were taken bound to see that the friars did not fail either in the celebration of the masses, or in the distribution of the 'portions' to the poor.<sup>3</sup> From the extant records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, the great society that comprised all the crafts that wrought in metal—the Blacksmiths, Goldsmiths, Pewterers, Lorimers, Saddlers, Cutlers, Buckle-makers, and Armourers—we learn that the annual meetings of its members, for the election of the Deacons and for the revision of the accounts, were often held in 'ye hall of ye Blak Frers'<sup>4</sup>—the *camera bassa* before referred to. The earliest meeting is that noted for the year 1497; but in the last, that for the year 1556, the members could only assemble in the 'Blak Frier Zaird,' as by that time, of the historical Great House with its *camera bassa*, the English invader had

<sup>1</sup> There was a school in the priory for the teaching of grammar and music.—*Acta*, ii. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Charter of Conf., 2nd July 1492. *Reg. of the Great Seal*, xiii. 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Charters of St. Giles*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> *The Hammermen of Edinburgh*, John Smith.

left only a mass of ruined, blackened walls. It was never rebuilt.

During the short reign of the brilliant King James iv., the country experienced a marked advance in material prosperity; and perhaps Edinburgh never looked gayer or brighter than upon that sunny morning in August 1503, when his bride, the Princess Margaret of England, made her state entry, seated behind the King on a palfrey of honour. For the complete story we are indebted to the report made by Young, the English Somerset Herald<sup>1</sup>—our country has always been weak in the matter of historians—who in his panegyric almost fails to find sufficient words of praise to describe all the ceremonies and happy scenes he witnessed. The cavalcade passed along Bristo Street and down the Candlemaker Row, where a large crowd of country people, all seated on horseback, were assembled. At the door of the Grey Friary, the brethren with their warden at their head waited, and presented to the King some holy relics to kiss. This, with characteristic chivalry, he refused to do until after they had been kissed by the Princess; and, says the worthy Herald, 'he had his head bare during the ceremonies'—evidently then a form of courtesy of recent introduction! The Black Friars, headed by their prior, came next with similar ceremonies, and so on, amid cheering crowds and through decorated streets, the procession gradually made its way to Holyrood. It was a strange coincidence that the Princess should come to Scotland under the charge of the Earl of Surrey, who, ten years later, commanded the English army on the unhappy field of Flodden; and we are told that the youthful monarch displayed much friendship towards his martial visitor. The retinue of the Princess numbered five hundred, and, under the Treaty, their expenses fell to be paid by the Scottish Exchequer. While, therefore, Surrey and the other English nobles were entertained at

<sup>1</sup> Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 258-300, ed. 1774.

Holyrood, the majority of the English visitors were lodged at the priory of the Black Friars. The resources of the priory must on this occasion have been severely taxed, and many must have slept in the cloister, the courtyards, and yards outside the buildings. For this service the friars received due payment from the Lord Chamberlain, who would also provide the necessary food and attendance. The precise sum paid to the friars does not appear in the Rolls.<sup>1</sup> Among other lands, the Forest of Ettrick had been assigned as part of Queen Margaret's dowry; but, at a meeting of the Lords of Exchequer on 18th April 1506, *in aula Fratrum Praedicatorum*—the *camera bassa*—an imperative order was issued to 'all the forestaris, tenentis, and inhabitantis [of] the steidis of the forest of Ettrik' to appear at the priory before the succeeding term of Whitsunday in order to arrange with the Commissioners for the conversion of their holdings into feu.<sup>2</sup> It is apparent from the Rolls of 1508 that the friars received the sum of £10 for the use of their hall, and that the Exchequer paid also for furnishing the 'table, seats, wax, and key.'<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the sounds of revelry within their own home through the presence of so many stranger guests, the life of poverty endured by the friars seems to have become so exacting, that many began to quit the priory, and to seek among the priories in England a life more endurable than was to be found in that at Edinburgh. Accordingly, at the request of the Provincial, James iv. addressed a letter to the Master-General, demanding that power should be given to enforce the return of these apostates:—'But whereas those are never wanting, who, in their folly, prefer to run into danger than to save themselves by a wise sagacity. So were these wretches found in your Order, who, debasing the glory of their Profession, rushed, O sad to relate! into every

<sup>1</sup> *Exch. Rolls*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xii. 659.

wickedness. And though the Provincial authority long and often recalled them to their duty, it was in vain. And then, flying, to escape the deserved chastisement of their deeds, to the adjacent Province of England, they involved it in their folly, and being uncanonically admitted there by the priors of the places, they lived as apostates and a disgrace to their country.' The King then requests the General to compel these refractory friars 'by the terror of punishment, as ecclesiastical discipline demands and uprightness of life requires,' to return to their own priories, and to prohibit the transference of friars from one priory to another unless with the express sanction of their superior.<sup>1</sup> But there seems to have been a considerable falling off at this time in enthusiasm among the Black Friars throughout the country, and their propaganda suffered. With the advent of a new Provincial in the person of Friar John Adamson, a revival of interest set in, which, by the year 1522,<sup>2</sup> enabled them to regain their former position. The Provincial proceeded to Rome, and was present at the Chapter which gave its sanction to the 'reformation of Scotland.'<sup>3</sup> Armed also with a petition from John, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, he obtained from his Holiness Leo x. a special Letter of Indulgence,<sup>4</sup> dated 5th June 1518, in favour of all who should devoutly visit any of the Churches and Oratories of the Order, or the newly founded Nunnery of St. Catherine of Siena at Edinburgh. It was the only convent of the Dominican sisterhood ever erected in our country, and, according to the usual rule, it was placed under the supervision of the superior of the Edinburgh priory.

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolae Regum Scot.*, i. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See Bull by Pope Adrian vi., dated 31st August 1522, to the Black Friars of Elgin.—*MS. Chartulary of Elgin.*

<sup>3</sup> 'We approve the reformation accomplished in the Province of Scotland by the Reverend the Provincial there, and it is our will that it be carried out by all the friars there.'—*Acta*, iv. 173.

<sup>4</sup> *Denmyln MSS.*, Adv. Lib., App. p. 86.

## VI

The unfortunate issue of the Battle of Flodden had a disastrous effect on the nascent prosperity of the country, which then became exposed to the selfish machinations of an ambitious, turbulent, and unscrupulous nobility. The principal actors were the rival houses of the Douglasses and the Hamiltons, represented by their respective chiefs, the Earl of Angus—the stormy petrel in the politics of his day—and the Earl of Arran. It was between these two factions that the sanguinary street fight, long celebrated in the annals of Edinburgh as 'Cleanse the Causeway,' took place in 1520. The Hamiltons were routed, and their leader, James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, fled down the Black Friars' Wynd to the priory church, where he sought shelter behind the high altar. It was with great difficulty that he was rescued from the hands of his wild pursuers, and then only through the intercession of Gavin Douglas, the poetic Bishop of Dunkeld. A spirit of decadence in both morals and religion was also quickly manifested among the general body of the beneficed clergy, who neglected the pastoral duties of their office. In this *impasse*, the friars, both Black and Grey, became their willing substitutes, and were to be seen everywhere preaching in the cathedrals and parish churches, and administering the services of the Church to the general satisfaction of the people. Our reformer, Sir David Lyndsay, in his rugged verses, repeatedly testifies to the value of the work of the friars in their new rôle. He tells us that both Devotion and Chastity, when driven out of the Church, 'fled to the freris' for refuge, and that

'War nocht the precheing of the begging freris,  
Tynt war the faith among the seculeris.'

During the whole period of the evolution of the Reformation, the friars continued to be the sole professors of the art of

preaching. It was at this juncture that the Lutheran doctrines began slowly to circulate throughout the country, to the evident alarm of the hierarchy; and the gentle Patrick Hamilton, who suffered at the stake in 1527, is believed to be the first of Scottish birth who paid with his life for his religious convictions. During the Lollardian heresies of the fifteenth century, the Black Friars are not known to have filled the unenviable rôle of *inquisitores privatis haereticæ*; but, at the trial of Patrick Hamilton, Friar Alexander Campbell, Prior of the Black Friars at St. Andrews, was his accuser; while John Grierson, the Provincial, was one of his judges. There were altogether three trials held in Edinburgh for heresy, and in none of these are our local Black Friars known to have taken any active part. We may acquit them, therefore, of being accessories to the deaths of the unfortunate David Straton and Norman Gourlay, who were in 1534 led 'to a place besydis the roode of Greynsyd, and thair thei two war boyth hanged and brunt.'<sup>1</sup> The second trial, which, like that referred to, took place at Holyrood, terminated in the execution at the stake at the southern bank of the Castlehill of no fewer than five unfortunates, including in their number two Black Friars, John Kyllour and — Beverage. Friar Kyllour had the temerity to write a play satirising the beneficed clergy after the manner of Sir David Lyndsay; but while the latter, for some unexplained reason, escaped condemnation, the poor friar suffered for his boldness. Another of these victims was a priest named Foret, who *inter alia* was accused of preaching on Sundays to his parishioners, 'whiche then was a great noueltie in Scotlande, to see anye man preach except a Black frier or a gray frier.'<sup>2</sup> The last of the three trials was held in the summer of the year 1550, with great pomp and ceremony, in the Church of the Black Friars—the 'Kirk of the Blak thevis, *alias* Freiris,' according to Knox. The

<sup>1</sup> Knox, Laing's ed., i. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i., App. 521, Foixe

church, which had suffered at the hands of the English during Hertford's invasion of 1544, had by this time been sufficiently repaired; and to provide accommodation for the prelates and nobility, a large scaffolding was erected by the Crown authorities<sup>1</sup> at the east or chancel end, on which raised seats were placed. In the middle sat the Earl of Arran, then Lord Governor of Scotland, and on his right a long array of prelates, headed by John Hamilton, the successor to Cardinal Betoun in the Archbishopric of St. Andrews; while on his left, the Earl of Argyll, as hereditary justiciar, with his depute, Sir John Campbell of Lundy, and a large number of the nobility had their seats. Among the crowd of ecclesiastics present was the Prior of St. Andrews, a young man of eighteen, who afterwards became famous as the Regent Moray. The prisoner, Adam Wallace, *alias* Fean,—'a sempill man without great learning, but ane that was zelous in godlines and of ane uprycht lyeff,' says Knox,—was then brought in, and after being catechised by the official accuser or inquisitor, Master John Lauder, parson of Morebattle, and others, he was finally sentenced to death. He was placed under the charge of the provost of the burgh, and next day taken to the Castlehill, where the dread sentence of death by fire was duly carried out. The southern bank of the Castlehill subsequently became a common place of execution for the burgh down to the year 1681, when the right was withdrawn by the Crown, to the great indignation of the Town Council.<sup>2</sup> The site of the executions is marked in Gordon's drawings of 1646 and 1647; but the appearance

<sup>1</sup> *Exch. Rolls.*

<sup>2</sup> In a petition to Parliament, the Council declares that the 'said Grassemercat is now absolutelie necessar for want of other places to be a mercat for pitch, tarr, grasse, herbs, horse, nolt, sheep, and other things which can be exposed to sale in no other place'; and that 'His Majestie and his Ministers having taken from us the south-bank of the Castle of Edinburgh, which was the ordinarie place for publick executions of malefactors, we have no other place besides the said grasse mercat for any such execution' (*MS. Parl. Papers*, Sup. xi. No. 30). The Council's request was refused by Parliament on 16th September 1681.—*Acts of Parl.*, viii. p. 357.

of the bank itself has been completely altered through the formation of Johnston Terrace—the great 'western approach,' regarding which the citizens entertained such absurd expectations—under the Act of 1827.<sup>1</sup>

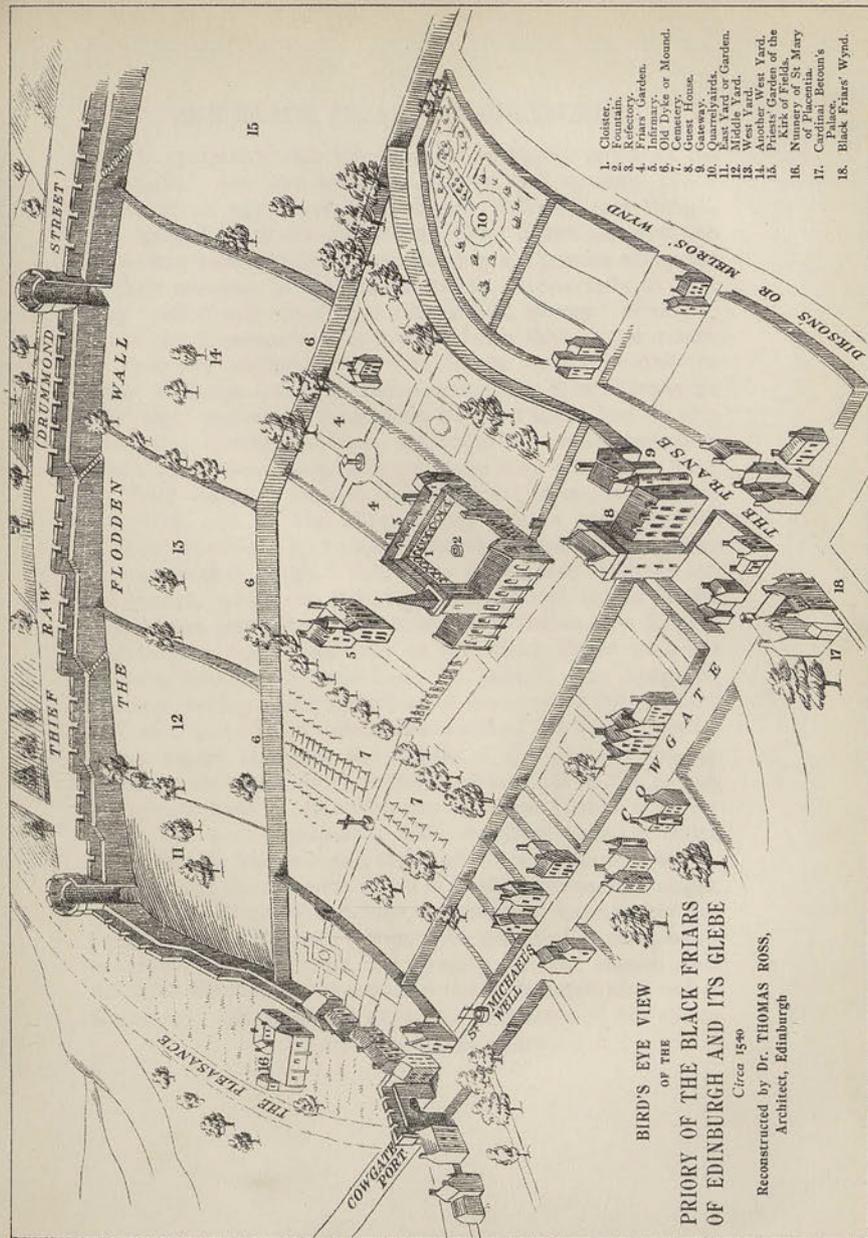
## VII

In August 1542, a few months before his death, James v. granted to Friar Alexander Lindesay, 'one of the freir predicatouris of the burgh of Edinburgh,' a liferent pension of £20 Scots, 'for the gud, trew, and thankfull service done be him to oure souerane lord, and for certane utheris reasonable causis and considerationis moving his hienes thairto.'<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known of the nature of the service which Friar Lindesay rendered to the King; but it could not have been that of confessor, for James, like his father, preferred for that confidential post the services of an Observantine Grey Friar. The acceptance of such a monetary gift would also have been a contravention of the friar's vow of poverty<sup>3</sup>—a difficulty from which he was happily released through the omission on the part of the Lord Chamberlain to implement the terms of the Letter of Gift! The death of King James and the appointment of the Earl of Arran to the Regency were quickly followed by the ascendancy of the Anglophile faction and the arrest of Cardinal Betoun. The year 1543, therefore, opened with a complete change in the political situation. The reformed doctrines were openly professed, and the Bible was

<sup>1</sup> The Improvement Commissioners widened the Esplanade on the south side and erected the present wall with its miniature towers; and they also built the steps leading down to Johnston Terrace over the site of the old east boundary wall of the grounds of the Castle. This wall extended southward over the Terrace and under the western gable of the present Normal School, so that there is a strip of about a couple of feet in breadth for which, as an encroachment on the rights of the Crown, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland pays a duty of one shilling per annum. 4th May 1844. —*Process, H.M. Ordinance v. Magistrates of Edinburgh*, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Reg. of Privy Seal*, xvi. f. 47.

<sup>3</sup> The Chapter General of 1532 strictly prohibited friars from having possessions or rents, or becoming in any way *fratres proprietarii*.—*Acta*, iv. 246.



read in sympathy with the adoption by the Governor of the new faith. Attached to his suite were two apostate Black Friars of an aggressive type, Friars Williams and Rough, and against them the Edinburgh Grey Friars adopted the somewhat hardy tactics of conducting a vigorous campaign in their sermons in the public streets. Knox tells us that they 'yelled and rored as devillis in hell, Heresy! Heresy!' From the Treasurer's Accounts we learn that in the month of February riding-gowns with hoods were provided for Friar Williams and the above-mentioned Friar Alexander Lindesay,<sup>1</sup> and we may conclude that the latter had by this time also turned apostate, although, for some unknown cause, his position in Arran's suite was soon afterwards filled by Friar Rough. Dundee was the great stronghold of the reformers, and on 31st August they gave a practical hint of their intentions by sacking both the Black and the Grey Friaries in that burgh. Four days later Arran suddenly left Edinburgh, when the infantry captains and others in his pay, at the instigation, it is believed, of Sadler, the English ambassador, made their way to the Black Friars with the obvious intention of wrecking the priory. The burghers, however, taking alarm, assembled at the sound of the common bell, and drove them outside the walls of the town. Sadler in his report furnishes the details of the riot:—'Also by reason of the Governour's sodon departure out of this towne, the people here of all sortes are so amased, that this day hath ben a gret gathering and assemblee amongst them, every man in harnes; and the capitaynes of the fote bande, with part of the retynew which is in the Governour's wages, entered the Blacke Freers here, intending to have sacked the same, but that the hole towne, both men and women, being assembled together with the rynging of the comen bell, defended the freers, and expulsed the saide capitaynes out of the towne; albeit, as it is thought, the freers will not escape

<sup>1</sup> *Lord High Treas. Accounts*, viii. 170.

so. Surely, my lordes, I never saw people so wylde and in suche furey as they be here even now!'<sup>1</sup> This remarkable demonstration in favour of the friars only drew from Knox the curt comment that 'the towne of Edinburgh, for the most parte, was drowned in superstition.'<sup>2</sup> Within a week after his flight from Edinburgh, Arran formally abjured the reformed faith and became reconciled to Cardinal Betoun, by whom he was compelled to do penance, on the 8th of September, in the Grey Friars Church at Stirling, for having given his sanction to the sacking of the friaries at Dundee. On the 10th he issued a Letter of Protection under the Privy Seal in favour of the whole Order of the Black Friars in this country—'Ane Protection maid to the freris predicatouris, provinciale, priouris, and all and sindry thair brethir and sistereris of thair ordour within the realme of Scotland *in communi forma*,' etc.<sup>3</sup> This Letter of Protection proved of little avail three years later, when Norman Leslie and those associated with him in the murder of the Cardinal committed both the Black and the Grey Friaries of St. Andrews, as well as the College of St. Salvator, to the flames.<sup>4</sup> A second Letter of Protection was subsequently issued by Arran in the name of Queen Mary,<sup>5</sup> in which he takes the Order of Black Friars 'under our special protection, maintenance, supple, defence and saif garde,' and all their possessions, heritable and moveable, from 'ony evill molestatioun, disturbance, violence, iniure, harme or greif of ony maner of degree.'

A convention of the nobility had in the preceding month of August solemnly agreed to the marriage of the infant Queen Mary with Prince Edward of England; but the appearance at Dumbarton of two French agents, De la

<sup>1</sup> *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Reg. of Privy Seal*, xvii. f. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi. ff. 29, 30, 32, 50.

<sup>4</sup> 12th February 1553-4. *MS. Reg. of Privy Seal*, xxvi. f. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, i. 97.

Brosse and Jacques Mesnaige, with a treasure of 83,600 livres,<sup>1</sup> had the immediate effect of once more transforming our nobility from 'good Englishmen' into 'good Frenchmen,' to use the cant language of that day. The violence and pretensions of Henry VIII., and the seizure of the Scottish ships, aroused the nation, and the marriage was repudiated in December by the Treaty of Edinburgh—a decision which cost the French King 41,700 livres, part of the treasure, in *presents and expenses*. In furtherance of what the English termed the 'godly purpose of marriage,' the city was completely destroyed by fire in May 1544, by a force under the command of the Earl of Hertford, and the priory of the Black Friars suffered in the general ruin. The church was a solid stone Gothic edifice, and it may, in these days when gunpowder was not much employed, have suffered little from fire, save the demolition of the roof<sup>2</sup> and the wooden spire. In any case, the church was, in the course of a year or two, completely repaired, and in 1550 it was the scene, as previously narrated, of the trial of the unfortunate Adam Wallace. The historical 'great house' was destroyed and never rebuilt. In the sasine of Murdoch Walker of 9th January 1567-8, it is described as the 'great mansion, now wasted and burned by the English.'<sup>3</sup> The tenement situated to the north of the 'great house' was also burned down, but that to the east, also belonging to the friars, escaped. Some others of the priory buildings must have been equally fortunate; because, in the following month of February, the Treasurer's Accounts prove that the Court of Exchequer held their usual meeting for the collection of the royal taxes within the priory walls.<sup>4</sup> It is apparent that the friars had

<sup>1</sup> See *A French Mission to Scotland in 1543*, in which the writer drew attention to the Official Register of this mission preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.—*Proc. Antiq. Soc.*, xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Provincial Antiq.*, Sir Walter Scott, pp. 119, 120.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. City Prof. Books*, Alex. Guthrie, elder, iv. f. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Treas. Accounts*, viii. 350, 351.

devoted themselves with great energy to the repair of their convent, and in 1550 they received towards that work a sum of £40 *ex elemosina domini Gubernatoris*.<sup>1</sup> Two other sums, one of £13, 16s. and another of £20, were also paid to them 'in almous' by command of the Governor during the years 1551-52.<sup>2</sup> By this time the wooden steeple of the church had been re-erected, as there is a notice that, under an Act of 26th April 1550, the Town Council instructed the Dean of Guild to pay the Black Friars £20 'of thair bell siluer.' This money was only paid by instalments, and it was not until five years later that the Dean was enabled to pay the 'Pryor of the Blak Freris for the rest of the compleit payment of the commoun bell.'<sup>3</sup> In 1553 the Town Council paid the friars the further sum of £10, 'conforme to an obligatioun maid to thame be the provest, baillies and Counsals,'<sup>4</sup> and in 1555 they sent them 'ane punscioun wyne,' a grateful addition, no doubt, to the Council's annual gift of six barrels of sowens beer for preaching in the streets. A further sum of £5 was paid in the month of November of that year 'at the townis command, quhen thair cheptour wes haldin'; while from the Rolls we learn that the Queen Regent also contributed a similar sum. It would appear that the priory was occasionally utilised by the Lords of Session as their seat of justice. A strike had occurred among the masons and wrights employed in some work at the Tolbooth, resulting in an appeal to the Court; but, on the morning of the trial, the Town Council, with great shrewdness, entertained these workmen to lunch—'for ane disjune'<sup>5</sup> in Johne McDowgallis hous to all the masonis and wrychts—and, amid the agreeable play of the knives<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Ecch. Rolls*, xviii. 142. Spottiswoode's assertion that the priory was scarcely rebuilt at the Reformation is undoubtedly a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Lord High Treas. Accounts*, x. 21, 23rd July 1552.

<sup>3</sup> *Burgh Records*, ii. 191; *Dean of Guild's Accounts*, 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 178.

<sup>5</sup> *Déjeuner*.

<sup>6</sup> Forks were then practically non-existent.

spoons, a settlement of the dispute was quickly arranged to the satisfaction of both parties. When the 'Lords had passit to the Blak Freirs to sit,' the provost and bailies along with the workmen proceeded to the priory, and explained to their Lordships the terms of their agreement—'thair opinion, the falts, and remeid thairof.'<sup>1</sup> In the same year, 1555, the Magistrates leased for the purposes of a grammar school a lodging situated at the foot of Black Friars' Wynd;<sup>2</sup> and this fact brings into relief the strange antipathy the friars entertained against the establishment in the neighbourhood of their priory of any scholastic institution. In a Feu Charter, dated 12th August 1478, in favour of Laurence Wallace and his spouse, of subjects on the west side of the trance, the friars prohibit their vassals from letting the subjects for immoral purposes, for a *school*, or for ball (playing).<sup>3</sup> In another in favour of David Berwick and his spouse of part of the Priory Croft,<sup>4</sup> they prohibit the subjects from being let either for a *common school* or an abode for loose women; while in a third, granted in favour of James Bassinden and his spouse,<sup>5</sup> there is a prohibition against letting to loose women, smiths, or *schoolmasters* for *schools*! By the destruction of the city in 1544 the yearly income of the Friars derived from heritable property had been much diminished; but in 1556, twelve years later, they found it necessary in some cases, in order to secure payment, to invoke the strong arm of the law. On an appeal to the Lords of Session they obtained warrants 'to pass, appryse, compell, poynd, and distrenze the reddyest gudis' in certain tenements in Leith belonging to a Mrs. Clapertoune and Agnes Hamilton. The former was eight years in arrear of an annual of twenty shillings;

<sup>1</sup> *City Treas. Accounts*, i. 134-5, 16th February 1554-5. This is probably the earliest mention in Scottish history of a strike among workmen and its unique mode of settlement.

<sup>2</sup> *Burgh Records*, ii. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Original Conf. in G. R. H.; *Cal. of Ch.*, iii. 488a.

<sup>4</sup> 21st May 1485. Original in G. R. H.; *Cal. of Ch.*, iii. 510.

<sup>5</sup> 24th April 1542. Original in G. R. H.; *Cal. of Ch.*, iii. 1290.

while the latter had for four years evaded payment of an annual rent of two merks.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of the following year the friars also obtained a transference or continuation of a decree, dated 31st January 1536-7, against Niniane Seytoun of Tulibodie for failure to pay an annual rent of four bolls of bere<sup>2</sup> due furth of his lands of West Gordoun in Berwickshire. To the decree the worthy Niniane had paid no attention; and it is to be feared that, in view of the critical position of the ecclesiastical world in the year 1557, the chances of his successors—Niniane had died in the interval—redeeming their lawful debts were exceedingly remote.

The last appearance of the Black Friars in public was at the famous procession on St. Giles' day—1st September—1558, which furnished so forcible an illustration of the anti-clerical temper of the times. 'And who was there,' says Knox in his rugged, humorous account, 'to lead the ring but the Queen Regent herself, with all her shavelings, for honour of that Feast.' But no sooner had the Queen left than a violent assault was made by the mob on an image—'Little St. Giles' as it was contemptuously termed—and the procession broken up. Then, as Knox describes with rollicking enjoyment, 'doun goes the croses, of goes the surpleise, round caps cornar with the crounes. The Gray Freiris gapped, the Black Frearis blew, the Preastis panted and fled, and happy was he that first gate the house; for such ane sudden fray came never amongis the generatioune of Antichrist within this realm befor.'

## VIII

The concluding scene in the history of the priory, before its final destruction in June 1559, was enacted, appropriately enough, by the leading representatives of the orthodox

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Reg. of Acts and Decrees*, xiii. f. 479.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv. f. 35. Bere was an inferior class of barley.

clergy of every class and denomination in the country. On 1st March 1536, a General Provincial Council of the Church assembled in the priory church; but of its transactions little is known beyond the imposition of a yearly tax upon the prelates for the maintenance of the College of Justice, which James v. had established some four years earlier. Another Provincial Council, convoked by Cardinal Betoun, met in the priory in January 1546, and granted a contribution of £13,000 for the prosecution of the war with England. The Cardinal, in all probability, presided in person over this meeting. In November 1549 a third meeting of the General Convention and Provincial Council was held within the precincts of the priory. There were sixty members present, consisting of bishops, abbots, priors, commendators, doctors of divinity, licentiates of divinity, Black Friars, Grey Friars, and secular priests of all kinds; and the meeting was presided over by John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Black Friars were represented by their Provincial, John Grierson, Friar Robert Lieche, and Friar Andrew Abircromby; and, among the clergy present, was the youthful Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards better known as the Earl of Moray. After the celebration of high mass in the church, the representatives proceeded to the refectory of the priory and seated themselves in due order round the walls, the Archbishop occupying the seat of the Prior at the end of the hall. The proceedings were opened by the delivery of a sermon—a practice continued at the meetings of all our General Assemblies—by one of the licentiates in divinity from the friar-lector's rostrum, placed in a corner of the hall so as to command the attention of all. A long series of Statutes were then passed, having for their object the reformation of the personal conduct of the clergy, as well as their mode of discharging their religious duties. The fourth and last of the Provincial Councils known to have met in the Edinburgh priory was convened by Archbishop Hamilton at the request of the Queen-Regent,

Mary of Lorraine. It assembled in the priory on 1st March 1559, and continued, with an interval, until the 10th of the following month of April. It met, primarily, to consider certain proposals for the correction of abuses among the clergy which had been submitted to the Queen-Regent by some of the leading members of the laity. The Statutes of the Council of 1549 had remained practically a dead letter, and the clergy, on the eve of the Reformation, still failed to foresee the impending disaster to their Church. After passing various Statutes, the Council parted, to meet again on Septuagesima Sunday next—11th February 1560. But this Council meeting was in reality the last official act of the ancient Church in this country; <sup>1</sup> and when the Archbishop and his clergy had passed through the portals of the priory, they had, all unconsciously, bidden farewell—a long farewell—to all its greatness. Months before the appointed time, both the priory and the Church itself were in ruins.

On the morning of 1st January 1559, the friars had found pasted on the priory gate a formal summons, known to history as the 'Beggars' Warning.' It was affixed to the doors of every friary in the kingdom, and was addressed:—'The Blynd, Cruked, Bedrelles, Wedowis, Orphelingis, and all uther pure, sa viseit be the hand of God as may not work, To the Flockes of all Freires within this Realme, we wische Restitutioun of Wranges bypast, and Reformatioun in tyme cuming; for Salutatioun.' The friars were ordered to 'remove furthe of our said Hospitallis betuix this and the Feist of Whitsunday next.'<sup>2</sup> On the 2nd of May, John Knox arrived at Leith, and, nine days later, the Black and Grey Friaries at Perth were destroyed by the 'rascall multitude.' A like fate was meted out to the friaries in Edinburgh by the 'rascall people' on the 28th of June, when the news

<sup>1</sup> See the *Stat. Eccl. Scot.*, by Dr. Joseph Robertson, for an account of the meetings of the Provincial Council.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, i. 320-1.

reached the burgh of the near approach of the reformers; but the destructive hand of the ever-willing mob was confined, strangely enough, to the two friaries. The other churches in the city—St. Giles, Church of Holyrood Abbey, Trinity College Church, and St. Mary Magdalen—were only 'purified' on the following day. The friars were the strongest bulwarks of their Church at this epoch, and the destruction of their houses formed the leading feature in the reformers' plan of campaign. From Knox's account, we learn that the action of the Provost in attempting to protect the Black and the Grey friaries by sleeping every night in one or other was the cause of much offence to the brethren. He says:

'The Provest for that tyme, the Lord Seytoun, a man without God, without honestie, and oftentimes without reasone, had befor greatlie troubled and molested the bretherin; for he had taikin upoun him the protectioun and defence of the Blak and Gray Frearis; and for that purpose did nocht onelie lye him self in the one everie nicht, but also constaned the most honest of the town to wache those monstouris, to thair greaf and truble. But, hearing of our suddane cuming, he abandoned his charge, and left the spoile to the poore, who had maid havook of all suche thingis as was movable in those placis befor our cuming, and had left nothing bot bair wallis, yea, nocht sa muche as door or windok; wharthrow we war less trubilled in putting ordour to suche places.'<sup>1</sup>

It was one of these 'most honest of the town' that was convicted of throwing stones, when on duty, at the priory windows.<sup>2</sup> An anonymous contemporary writer<sup>3</sup> declares that it was only when they noticed the friars packing up their valuables that the attack by the 'rascall people' was made; but this assertion cannot be correct. From an entry in the Town Treasurer's Accounts of a payment to two masons and three men 'that biggit the blak yet of the Blackfreirs, being casten down,'<sup>4</sup> it will be readily understood that the mob

<sup>1</sup> Knox, i. 362-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Wodrow Miscell.*, i. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Burgh Records*, iii. 40.

<sup>4</sup> i. 282.

obtained entrance to the priory in the usual way—by smashing the gate off its hinges. On the destruction of their home, the friars obtained temporary shelter among their friends and adherents who were still to be found in the city, and there awaited with patience the result of the conflict. They probably did not appreciate the imminence of the revolution in religion that was at hand, for, nine months later, we find their prior, Bernard Stewart, appearing before the Lords of Session in an action at his instance against the lessee of the Priory Croft. The eastern portion facing the Pleasance had been feued off by the friars; while the remainder had been leased for the year 1559 to one Steven Story for payment of 22 bolls of bere. Ultimately it was agreed that Story should, within a fortnight, 'gif and deliver to the said priour for himself and convent of the said abbay tuelf bollis beir, gud and sufficient stuff and mercat met of this burght,'<sup>1</sup> and that he should also renounce the lease. Two months later, the Town Council, without any authority, forbade their treasurer to pay any pension or duty out of the common fund to 'ony kirkis, kirkmen, or otheris that servit in sic service of befoir,'<sup>2</sup> and, in consequence, payment by the Treasurer of Alexander II.'s gift of ten merks—£6, 13s. 4d.—to the friars from the fermes of the burgh ceased from that moment.<sup>3</sup> Another inhibition against the payment of feuduties by 'all personis heretouris of lands within this burgh detbound to kirkmen' entailed upon the unfortunate friars the loss of nearly the whole of their small income.<sup>4</sup> But the crisis in their fate was finally reached some three months later, when, on 24th August 1560, the Estates of Parliament abolished the authority of the Pope in this country, and forbade the celebration of the Mass under certain penal

<sup>1</sup> 5th March 1559-60. *MS. Acts and Decrees*, xx. f. 144.

<sup>2</sup> 8th May 1560. *Burgh Records*, iii. 64.

<sup>3</sup> This annual of £6, 13s. 4d. appears in the Exchequer Rolls as well as in the Town Treasurer's Accounts. In the former it is only a cross entry.

<sup>4</sup> 26th May 1560. *Burgh Records*, iii. 65.

enactments.<sup>1</sup> The pathetic lament of Friar Vincent Justinian, the Master-General, to his Chapter General that met in Rome on 25th May 1561, on the great disasters that had overwhelmed his Order in other countries as well as Scotland, may prove of interest. It shows us how much importance was attached, even to the very end, to scholarship and the work of education:—

'The grandeur of our Religion is as completely gone in the most powerful kingdom of England as in Dacia. In that vast realm of Hungary barely two little convents remain to us. Of the Provinces of Bohemia, Scotland, Ireland, Greece, and the Holy Land, nothing is left to boast of but the name. The vastness of our Order in that most populous district of Upper Germany and Saxony is reduced almost to insignificance. For where now are those most learned and pious fathers of our Churches who were the glory not only of us but of all Europe? Where are our numerous Universities? Where our abounding schools and colleges, in which the study of the sciences, both human and divine, so gloriously flourished? Where now is the reverence for our laws and decrees, the channels by which the minds of our children were most frequently drawn to the sweet embracing of the virtues? Our Churches are destroyed, or stand empty or void, or are desecrated by profane use. Our schools are thrown down, learning has ceased, character deteriorates, our decretals are despised, and, in short, all our *lights* have been extinguished.'<sup>2</sup>

## IX

It is evident that the priory in Edinburgh was a large and important establishment, although, unfortunately, there is no evidence now extant from which the number of the friars who dwelt in the convent can be ascertained. In a Feu Charter granted by the convent on 16th December 1479, of a tenement on the south side of the Cowgate, the names

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Parl.*, ii. 534, 536. Ratified and confirmed 20th Dec. 1567. *Ibid.*, iii. 13-22.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ord. Frat. Praed.*, x. 28. The last clause refers to the phrase in the Bull of Honorius III.—*vera mundi lumina*.

of thirteen friars<sup>1</sup> are enumerated; but this number only represented those who had attended the chapter, and were thereby enabled to sign the document, in terms of their statutes, *in presence of the brethren*. On this point their laws were stringent. Many of the friars would be absent on their usual evangelical rounds in the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, as well as on their other avocations outside of the burgh. There would be the lay brothers, the *fratres conversi*—of whom each priory had two or three<sup>2</sup> for the kitchen and other menial work—the novices, and the children who attended their schools. It may be surmised that between the years 1550 and 1560, the period of transition in the religious opinions of the burghers of Edinburgh, there would be few additions to the numbers of the friars. Of their fate after the passing of the Act of 1560 but little is known, although it is not improbable that, as stated in the *Analecta*, the majority found an asylum either in France or in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> In Edinburgh the friars were in a peculiarly helpless position, as the Town Council had passed several Acts, ordering the expulsion from the burgh of all those friars and others who refused to conform to the new faith.<sup>4</sup> It is certain that at least four of the friars did remain in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood after the Reformation, and we may conclude, therefore, that these friars did renounce their religion. Their Provincial, Friar Grierson, signed a formal act of recantation,<sup>5</sup> which, from the virility of its language, a recent historian believes to have been modelled, if not actually drawn up, by John Knox;<sup>6</sup> but Grierson was at this time an old man—probably over eighty years of age—and having no money, could not possibly

<sup>1</sup> *Laing Charters*, No. 177, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta Sac. Ord. Praed.*, 1896, 485. During the progress of his mission, which terminated in the Treaty of Edinburgh, Bishop Montluc indicates the departure of Scottish churchmen to France without throwing any light upon the Order to which they belonged. *Négociations sous François II.*, Doc. Inéd.

<sup>4</sup> *Burgh Records*, iii.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Andrews Kirk Session Reg.*, Dr. Hay Fleming, i. 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Reformation in Scot.*, Dr. Hay Fleming, 290.

leave the country. Now, in December 1561, the Privy Council allocated two-thirds of the fruits of all the benefices for the maintenance of the old clergy, and the remaining third for the support of the reformed ministers and the Crown. Rentals of all the benefices were ordered to be given up to the Collector of Thirds, and to him the friary rents and revenues were also assigned. From this fund each of the Black Friars who chose to remain in the country was paid a life-long annual pension of £16 Scots. According to the detailed rental<sup>1</sup> of the Edinburgh priory, submitted by the Prior, Bernard Stewart, the annual income from all sources amounted to nearly £333 Scots,<sup>2</sup> and in this list the annuals of £6, 13s. 4d. gifted by Alexander II., and of £16 by James III., appear, but not that of £3, 6s. 8d. granted by Robert the Bruce.

Although their permanent income—miserably small when compared with the wealth of the monkish houses—exceeded in amount that of any of the other priories,<sup>3</sup> it is apparent that it was wholly insufficient *per se* for the maintenance of the friars and their schools, the upkeep of their buildings, their excessive hospitalities—due, in a great measure, to their residence in the capital of the country—and for the assistance of their poor; but, as in the case of all the mendicant houses, there were other sources of revenue open to them, the fruits of which, however, it is now impossible to estimate. Of the usual offertories nothing need be said. In those cases where the offerings were given in return for funeral services, hearing of confession, etc., it was their duty to hand over one-sixth to the parochial clergy of St. Giles. It was upon what may be described as the casual donations, both *inter vivos* and *mortis causa*, that the friars mainly depended for their means of subsistence. These came in the shape of small sums of

<sup>1</sup> The rental book of the Priory fell into the hands of Mungo Ros, a baxter or baker in Edinburgh, from whom it was purchased in 1587 by the Town Council for the sum of ten merks (*Burgh Records*, iv. 488, 514). It is not now to be found in the City archives.

<sup>2</sup> See App., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> See comparative table in *Scottish Grey Friars*, i. p. 140.

money, bolls or chalders of victual, articles of food, and of clothing, etc., bestowed upon them by all classes of the community. The larger donations have been already noted in our narrative. In the Exchequer Rolls the official donations by our Sovereigns are entered; while, in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, the eleemosynary gifts from the privy purse show that the Edinburgh friars were the recipients of a considerable share of the royal bounty. Casual payments of sums of 14s. by James IV. are, for example, noted as having been paid four, five, or even six times in the course of a year. As will be seen from the priory Chartulary,<sup>1</sup> the friars received substantial assistance from the beneficed clergy—from the Archbishop down to the humblest rector. There is a notice in the Archbishop's Rental of St. Andrews for the year 1545-6 of the delivery by the 'granitar' of Cardinal Betoun of three bolls of corn in 'almsgift of the Lord Cardinal, in terms, as the accountant affirms, of an order by the late Right Reverend Lord *who was then in the flesh*, but at the accountant's risk, as he did not produce the precept of his reverence upon this intromission.'<sup>2</sup> The Cardinal had evidently given instructions to his accountant for delivery of the grain to the friars, but his death, a day or two thereafter—on 29th May 1546—at the hands of Norman Leslie and his associates, had intervened before the Precept could be signed, and it was not until three years later—1549—that the account was accredited by the Chamberlain. In the earlier pages of this Rental there are three entries which display the close connection between our local friars and the Cardinal, whose palace, in Edinburgh, was situated at the foot of Black Friars Wynd, close to the priory. During the four years 1539-1542, one of the friars, Henry Adamson by name, acted as Penitentiary to the Cardinal<sup>3</sup> for the Archdeaconry of Lothian, a duty for which he received from the Cardinal's

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, Appendix, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Rental*, Adv. Lib., f. 182; App., p. 85. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 25-60, 81; App. pp. 84-5.

Chamberlain an annual fee of £10. As Penitentiary he received the confessions of the secular clergy within the district; but he also adjudicated in those special cases among the laity where penitents, bowed down by the weight of some exceptionally horrid crime, craved forgiveness and absolution as a relief to their burdened souls. In the event of the friar, owing to the enormity of the offence, declining to grant absolution, the wretched penitent could only obtain the desired relief by presenting a petition in person to the Grand Penitentiary<sup>1</sup> at Rome. In terms of his vow, Friar Adamson would lay the emoluments of his office at the feet of his prior, to be expended for the benefit of the whole community. The municipal charities have been already referred to, and they show, down to the year 1555, a continued interest in the work of the friars. Unfortunately, the want of the priory records precludes further inquiry, although it is certain that it was among the citizens of Edinburgh that the friars found their greatest supporters. The action of the burghers in 1543, when they so strenuously protected the priory from attack, is evidence of the great value they attached to the labours of the friars. Many of the citizens were also members of the confraternity, and these would make it their special duty to look after the wants of the brethren. In their statutes the friars were strictly forbidden, when visiting the sick, to solicit the granting of legacies either in their own favour, or in that of their priories; and the fragments of the Registers of Confirmed Testaments that now remain to us seem to testify to the strictness with which our local friars obeyed this injunction. Only one trifling legacy of £6, 13s. 4d., granted by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, appears on record.<sup>2</sup> He left certain sums under the title of *legacia religiosis*, all of which, fifteen in number,

<sup>1</sup> This office is now reserved to a Cardinal. St. Raymond of Pennafort, the third Master-General, was appointed by Gregory IX. to the offices of Penitentiary, Chaplain, and Confessor to his Holiness. <sup>2</sup> *MS. Commissariat of Glasgow*, 1548.

were bequeathed to friaries—five Black, eight Grey, and two White. Sir William Douglas of Dalkeith, ancestor of the Earls of Morton, also bequeathed by testament, dated 19th December 1392, the sum of £3, 6s. 8d. to the priory;<sup>1</sup> while from an entry in the Protocol Books of John Foular of 15th September 1508, it is, perhaps, possible to trace the hand of the friar. The testator, John Todrick, leaves to the friars a sum of 40 merks 'if he shall die of his present illness,' and, in the event of his convalescence, he binds himself to infett them in its place in an annual of 4 merks, and to leave to the convent 10 merks for prayers for the weal of his soul. As will be readily understood, it was only when pressed by dire necessity that the friars resorted to begging as a means of replenishing their depleted larder. Mendicity was an impossible ideal, and, however sanctified, could never have been an engaging profession to highly educated men. During the last three or four decades of their history, the generosity of their friends in the city probably proved sufficient for their wants. Lastly, there falls to be considered the revenue derived by the friars from the cultivation of their four yards, and from the rent of their croft. The erection of the Flodden Wall completely disjoined the croft from the remainder of their glebe. The wall bounding the priory on the east was strengthened and heightened, while a new wall was erected from the angle at the foot of Drummond Street—where a tower was placed—and continued in a south-westerly direction until it joined the boundary wall of the priests' garden of the Kirk of Field. By order of the Town Council, there was left on the south side of the new wall a clear space of twenty-four feet wide, which was soon converted by the citizens into a roadway, and became known under the euphonious title of the 'Thief Raw,' and, in later times, as Drummond Street, in commemoration of a distinguished Lord Provost.

<sup>1</sup> *Bann. Miscell.*, ii. 117.

Turning, again, to the Accounts of the Collector of Thirds, we find in those for the years 1561 and 1562 the names of eight Black and Grey Friars of Edinburgh entered as having been paid their pensions:—'And to Bernard Stewart, John Stevinsoun, James Richertsoun, Andrew Leyis, James Hopper, — Blyth, John Chepman, and James Johnnestoun, Blak and Gray Freiris of Edinburgh, being aucht in nowmer, and ilkane of thame in the yeir sextene pundis, as thair acquittances particularlie schawin and producti upoun compt beris, quhairfof the Comptare aucht to be dischargit, £128.'<sup>1</sup> Of these, only four—the Prior, Bernard Stewart, and Friars Leyis, Hopper, and Chepman—can be identified as Black Friars. In the Accounts for Whitsunday 1585 Friar Chepman's name alone appears, and we may conclude that he was the last representative in this country of the Black Friars of Edinburgh. He probably died in the course of that year, and the Town Council signalised the event by laying claim to the ancient gift by King Alexander II. to the friars of 10 merks out of the royal fermes of the burgh. In the litigation which ensued, the Council made good their claim against the royal Comptroller, and were awarded decree by the Lords in March 1586.<sup>2</sup> The little annual was thereupon swept into the Common Good of the burgh. In the *Analecta* it is stated that of the Black Friars in this country 'only five made defection from the Catholic faith, confessing themselves heretics'; while 'some courageously remained to serve the Catholic people in Scotland.'<sup>3</sup> This estimate, however, minimises the true position somewhat unduly, and is to be explained by the fact that, at the headquarters at Rome of the whole Order of the Black Friars, very little information regarding the Scottish Province is now to be found.<sup>4</sup> A more reliable

<sup>1</sup> *The Scottish Grey Friars*, ii. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Burgh Records*, iv. 406.

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta*, 1896, p. 485.

<sup>4</sup> Among the few Scottish documents now preserved is a letter, dated 26th January 1557-8, by the Provincial Grierson to the Master-General, in which Grierson draws a vivid picture, from the Dominican point of view, of the condition of the burgh of Dundee

estimate can be obtained from the extant Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds; <sup>1</sup> but, owing to the method adopted of grouping together the friars of every denomination with no attempt at identification, it is impossible to fix with accuracy the total number of friars who remained in this country after the Reformation. All that can be said with certainty is that at least thirty-five Black Friars did remain, and were each accorded the usual yearly pension of £16.<sup>2</sup> There were at the Reformation only twelve priories, and yet in this list, in addition to the Provincial, there appear the names of no fewer than six of the priors—Friars Bernard Stewart of Edinburgh, William Henderson of Stirling, Andrew Abercromby of Aberdeen, David Cameron of Perth, Francis Wrycht of Elgin,<sup>3</sup> and James Dodds of Wigtown. Friar Law, the Sub-Prior of Glasgow, was another who is noted as having been paid the usual pension; while, by command of Queen Mary, the pension of the venerable Provincial was increased to £25, 6s. 8d. It can hardly be doubted that all these friars did conform, in outward appearance at least, to the tenets of the new religion; although there certainly did lurk the hope—the hope that springs eternal in the human breast, to use the language of our epigrammatic poet—in the minds of many that their ancient Church would soon be re-established in all its former greatness. This feeling can be readily understood. Their Church had existed for many centuries, and in its progress had successfully overcome many

as at that date. He states that, as the Priory at Dundee was recently erected, so it was more recently cast down, ruined and destroyed, first by the heretics—in 1543—then by the English—in 1548—and seeing that town is infected with heresies, and, for the most part, favours and encourages heretics, not only are there no religious contributions, but the friars are mocked, scorned, and despised without any hope of amendment, and even proceeding from bad to worse. Yet, we have assigned thereto two friars, who do not live there but in other convents, coming and going, so that religion may retain a hold on their place.—*Analecta*, 1896, p. 484.

<sup>1</sup> In G. R. H.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Accounts, Collector General and Sub-Collectors*, 1561-68, in G. R. H.

<sup>3</sup> Or Inverness?

perils; and there are several deeds still extant in which a strong belief in its revival is clearly expressed. We find, for example, Provincial Grierson, in spite of his solemn act of recantation, stipulating, in a conveyance of part of the lands belonging to the priory of St. Andrews, for a renunciation of the deed in the event of the friars being permitted to return to their convent.<sup>1</sup> It may also be admitted, as stated in the *Analecta*, that a few Black Friars—none of whom can be identified as having belonged to the priory of Edinburgh—rather than go into voluntary exile, chose to remain behind to administer to the wants of their religious compatriots.

No more than simple reference can be made to the relations between the Black Friars and the Hospital of St. Laurence, situated near the burgh of Haddington. Founded and endowed by Richard Guthrie, Abbot of Arbroath,<sup>2</sup> the hospital seems to have been placed under the control of the Black Friars, and was subject to the visitation of a 'Visitor' and his marrow from the Edinburgh priory. There are other known instances where the friars have taken over the charge of poorhouses,<sup>3</sup> but their practice, in the absence of record evidence, is very obscure. In 1532 the hospital lands of St. Laurence were formally annexed by Sir John Gourlay, the last Preceptor, to the nunnery of St. Catherine of Siena, the inmates of which—the Black Sisters, as they were called—carried out their Rule under the supervision of the Superior of the Edinburgh priory and his Provincial. Of this nunnery an account has been published by the Abbotsford Club.<sup>4</sup> Before concluding our story, it is, perhaps, necessary to refer briefly to the long-continued conflict between the two Orders of the Black and the Grey Friars and the parochial clergy on the vexed question of 'preaching, confession, and burial.'

<sup>1</sup> *Reformation in Scotland*, Dr. Hay Fleming, p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson's *Acts of Parl.*, iii. 586.

<sup>3</sup> The *Maison Dieu* at Elgin, for example, was annexed to the priory in that burgh.—*MS. Chart. of Elgin*.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber S. Katerine Senensis*, 1841.

over which the clergy claimed supreme control. The dispute was the occasion of a vast amount of polemical writing and the issue of numerous bulls; <sup>1</sup> but as none possess more than a mere academic interest, they do not fall within the scope of our inquiry. It is sufficient to state that the conflict, through the determined action of the Papacy, eventuated in the right being granted to the parishioner to seek the ministrations of the clergyman of his choice—the friar, Black or Grey, in preference, if he so desired, to the parish rector.<sup>2</sup>

During the long period of 330 years, our local Black Friars sounded the diapason of the Christian religion in the public streets of our city; and it may be asserted that it was largely upon their religious and ethical teaching that the social fabric of these stormy days was supported and maintained. The success of their beneficent mission is to be measured by the immense popularity they enjoyed with all classes of the community, and it is by this standard alone that, in consonance with the tenets of modern historical criticism, they must be judged. It is not a question of dogma. In these days there was only one rule of faith, round which clustered the ideals of that time—ideals which do not correlate in many respects with those that now govern religious life in this country—and it was under the pressure of the then dominant principles that the friars sought to enforce their teaching by the example of a life of holy poverty and self-denial. The discipline under which they lived was severe. The novices served a novitiate of a year—at first only six months—and were free during that period to quit the priory in the event of the life opened to them proving unendurable or unsuitable. There was no compulsion, nor

<sup>1</sup> Copies of a few of these bulls are still extant in this country. See *Friar Preachers of Ayr*, p. 83; and *Lib. Collegii N.D.*, Mait. Club, p. 214, for transcripts of bull by Leo x., dated 26th June 1518.

<sup>2</sup> There is some slight analogy between this conflict and that which brought about the Disruption in our own Presbyterian Church in 1843, and the passing of the Patronage Act.

was poverty an objection, although the friars, in their selection, were largely guided by the possible aptitude of the novice for the vocation. The name of the friar appeared for the first time in the Register of Professions, in which were recorded the date on which he took the three essential vows, the name of the Prior or Superior who received him, and that of the Master-General.<sup>1</sup> Any incident in his career that redounded to the fair name or credit of the priory, or of the Order generally, was inscribed in a book known as the *Vitae Fratrum*<sup>2</sup>—the Book of Virtues before referred to; while the Book of Faults contained 'his notable defects,' and was reserved for the eyes of his prior and provincial superiors, so that careful watch might be kept upon his actions when transferred to the schools or to another priory.<sup>3</sup> To aid in the supervision of the friars, it was the duty of one called the *Circator* to report privately to the Prior any dereliction of duty, etc., by the brethren of which he may have become cognisant.<sup>4</sup> None were allowed, without express permission, to go outside of the priory walls, and then only when accompanied by a *socius* or companion—his 'marrow' in our vernacular—selected by the Prior. So far as is known, history has failed to record a single instance of misconduct among their ranks—not a breath of scandal—from their first appearance in 1230 to their dispersal in 1560; and we may believe in their comparative immunity from the usual frailties that dog the footsteps of poor humanity. Our great reformer, John Knox, who was well acquainted with the current opinion concerning the friars, is significantly silent both as regards their faults and their virtues. They were, outside of Edinburgh, somewhat active in the defence of their Church, and

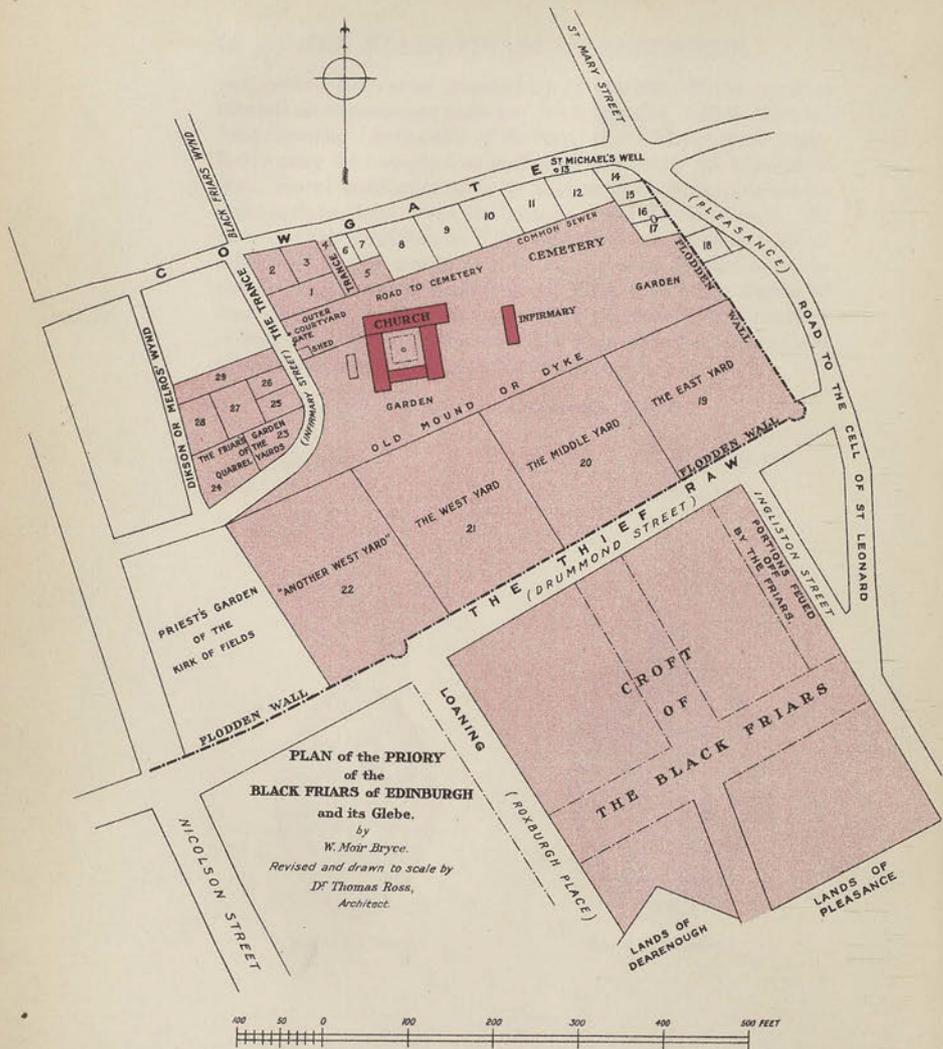
<sup>1</sup> *Acta*, Chap. Gen. 1245, i. 32; 1513, iv. 99. The friar received a written testimony of his profession, either from his own Superior or the diocesan Bishop, signed by the witnesses present.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. Gen. 1478, iii. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. Gen. 1322, ii. 140; *Acta Prov.*, chap. 1232-1309, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. Gen. 1261, i. p. 71. He was to be a loyal watcher, not a spy.





## EXPLANATORY NOTES TO PLAN

*The thanks of the writer are due to Dr. Thomas Ross for his kind assistance in the preparation of the Plan, etc.*

1. The 'Great House' or Guest House of the Priory. Feued to Murdoch Walker (Chartulary, No. 123).
2. Corner Tenement, burnt in 1544 by the English, and feued by the Friars on 20th February 1553-4 to William Anderson and Agnes Reed. Built on part of the corner plot (Chart. 98).
3. Built land which escaped destruction by the English in 1544, and was inhabited in 1554 by Janet Pery, widow of Thomas Alisone, Slater. Built on part of corner plot (Chart. 98).
4. Transe or lane of 10 to 11 feet wide, leading from the Cowgate to the cemetery, and feued to Bassenden, along with No. 5.
5. Piece of waste land feued by the Friars to Bassenden, 2 May 1542 (Chart. 82).
6. James Bassenden's wester half of tenement (Chart. 82).
7. John Foular's easter half of tenement (Chart. 82).
8. Lands of Alexander Josse and Robert Pytt (Chart. 82).
9. Land of Nicolas Barcar (Chart. 8).
10. Land of Elizabeth Hombil (Chart. 8); afterwards of Robert Hommyl (Chart. 81); and afterwards of Andrew Johnston (Chart. 110).
11. Land of Nicolas Maclelan and spouse (Chart. 8).
12. Land of Patrick Sallarman (Chart. 8).
13. St. Michael's Well (Chart. 8).
14. Land of James Rathe (Chart. 49).
15. Land of James Pacok (Chart. 49).
16. Land of William Caddy (Chart. 49).
17. Land of Patrick Reidpeth (Chart. 72).
18. Nunnery of St. Mary of Placentia.
19. The East Yard or Garden, feued to William Anderson (Chart. 122).
20. The Middle Yard or Garden, feued to Andrew Henderson (Chart. 120).
21. The West Yard or Garden, feued to Henry Stalker (Chart. 124).
22. 'Another' West Yard or Garden, feued to Robert Glen (Chart. 121).
- 23, 24. The Friars Garden of the 'Quarrellyaird.' The wester half was acquired by Isabel Purves, as heir of her father, Adam Purves, Carpenter, by Sasine, dated 5 February 1580-1 (MS. C.P.B. Alexander Guthrie, x. f. 124). This half was bounded on the west by Dikson's or Melros' Wynd. The first Church of Lady Yester was afterwards erected on the easter half.
25. The Laird of Applegarth's land (MS. C.P.B. Alexr. Guthrie, viii. f. 160).
26. John Spottiswod's Garden (*Ibid.*).
27. Land feued by Trinity College to Adrian Wauche, 21 March 1576-7 (*Ibid.*, vii. 178).
28. Land of Andrew and James Dundas (*Ibid.*).
29. Land of John Davidson (*Ibid.*).

## APPENDIX

I. BOOKS OF ASSUMPTION<sup>1</sup>

## DOMINICAN PRIORY IN EDINBURGH

THE RENTALE OF THE FREIRS PREDICATOURS OF EDINBURGH OF ALL  
ANNUELS AND FERMES PERTENYNG TO THAME AND THAIR PLACE  
YEIRLIE.

*And first in the towne of Edinburgh—*

Inprimis, of Muncurris <i>alias</i> in Jo <sup>a</sup> . Thornetoun land	£1 0 0
Item, of Jo <sup>a</sup> . Wrichtis land	1 0 0
Item, of Andro Symsones land	0 7 0
Item, of Mr. Alexander Curroure land	0 6 8
Item, of Andro Harwy, now James Harlawis land	0 13 4
Item, of Lawrie Haliburtoun, now Markie Broun and William Lawrie land	0 13 4
Item, of William Davidsoun, now Hendersones land	0 10 0
Item, of Fairlie land	1 6 8
Item, of Thome Castelhills, now James Jonstounes land	0 13 4
Item, of James Townis land	0 16 8
Item, of Gilbert Knokis land	24 0 0
Item, of Edward Littills land	3 6 8
Item, of William Foularis land	1 6 8
Item, of Thome Diksoun land	2 0 0
Item, of Johne Mar land	2 0 0
Item, of Donald Kylis land	2 0 0
Item, of Robene Skarthmure land	0 13 4
Item, of Alexander Park land	2 0 0
Item, of Thome Russels land	1 0 0
Item, of Sanders Adamsones land	2 0 0
Item, of Helene Ross land	1 0 0
Item, of Henry Ramsyis land	6 13 4
Item, of Roddis land now James Bell, encyne	1 0 0
Item, of Mr. Thomas Marjoribanks land a pund of pepper and	1 0 0

<sup>1</sup> Gen. Reg. House.

Item, of Michael Tullis, now Alesoun Cokburne land . . .	£1 0 0
Item, of Petir Marche now David Kinloches land . . .	0 16 8
Item, of the payntit chalmir . . .	1 0 0
Item, of George Todriks land . . .	1 0 4
Item, of Thome Dymfrie, now William Ker land . . .	0 16 8
Item, of Patrik Tennents land . . .	0 5 0
Item, of Pyncartonis <i>alias</i> Norysis land . . .	0 6 8
Item, of Robert Lyddells now Andro Mowbrayis aires . . .	0 6 8
Item, of William Lokhartis land . . .	1 6 8
Item, of Patrick Flemynys land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of Johne Watsounes land . . .	0 10 0
Item, of Gallowayis land . . .	0 7 0
Item, of William Adamsones land . . .	2 16 8
Item, of Lambis land in Leyth Wynd . . .	2 2 0
Item, of Nicoll Porters land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of Johne Joyis <i>alias</i> Thomas Maltmakers land . . .	0 10 0
Summa . . .	£72 11 4

*The annuells and mailles of the gleib of the saidis freiris west the Cowgait and under the Wall.*

Item, of Johne Henrysounes land . . .	£0 4 0
Item, of George Cowpars land . . .	0 12 0
Item, of Sir Symon Blyth land . . .	0 9 6
Item, of Johne Muders land . . .	0 4 0
Item, of Will Cadars land . . .	0 0 2
Item, of Pacoks land . . .	0 10 0
Item, of Wyncreppis, now Stevinsoun land . . .	2 0 0
Item, of Richie Grays land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of David Chepmanes land be defalcation . . .	0 17 6
Item, of the land quher Walter Bynnyng duellis . . .	0 5 0
Item, of Canours land . . .	0 6 8
Item, of Pyottis land . . .	1 14 4
Item, of the land that Patersoun duellis in . . .	0 14 0
Item, of James Bassondyne land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of our awin land quher the sklateris wyff duellis, with ane pairt of the querrell yaird . . .	8 0 0
Item, of Willie Andersounes land . . .	8 0 0
Item, of Archibald Leith land . . .	..
Item, of Johnne Spottiswod land . . .	0 13 4

Item, of Rolland Gardners land . . .	£9 6 8
Item, of Bellis land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of Schir Alexander Jardein land . . .	..
Item, of Dundas land . . .	0 8 4
Item, of Melrose land . . .	1 15 0
Item, of Adame Purves land . . .	5 6 8
Item, of Andro Craiges land be defalcation . . .	0 15 0
Item, of our eist yaird . . .	5 6 8
Item, of our west yaird and Bowquhannis yaird . . .	3 6 8
Item, of the kirk yaird . . .	2 0 0
Item, of Johne Hoppers land . . .	0 13 4
Item, of the Magdaline Chapell . . .	0 10 0
Item, of the Laird of Innerleithis land . . .	1 16 8
Item, of Watsounes land at the Mwiswall . . .	0 8 0
Item, of the Laird of Fentoun land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of Mawsy Lyne land . . .	0 9 6
Item, of Cowchrenis land . . .	0 12 0
Item, of Johne Blakstoks land . . .	0 16 0
Item, of Adame Spens land . . .	0 2 0
Item, of our croft, 18 bolls, beir . . .	..
Item, of Adame Gibbis wyff house mail . . .	6 13 4
Item, of Johne Wauchis land . . .	7 0 0

*The annuells pertenying to the Freiris Predicatoris on the south syd of the gait of Edinburgh.*

Item, of Lawsounes land . . .	0 13 4
Item, of Fawsyds land in the Over Bow . . .	0 5 0
Item, of Tuedeis land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of Clement Littills land . . .	0 10 0
Item, of the Laird of Corstorphines land . . .	0 10 0
Item, of Willie Ra land . . .	0 10 0
Item, of John Bestis land . . .	0 10 0
Item, of Robein Cokstoun buith now Robene Dennon land . . .	0 6 8
Item, of William Andersoun land . . .	0 13 4
Item, of Johne Dee land, now Sande Guithreis . . .	0 13 4
Item, of Gilbert Hayis land . . .	1 0 0
Item, of Mr. Thomas Marjoribanks land in Bells Wynd . . .	0 13 4
Item, of William Lawsounes land . . .	0 13 4
Item, of the Magdalene land . . .	0 18 0
Item, of William Lauders foirland . . .	1 10 0
Item, of William Nesbit land . . .	0 15 0
Item, of Cavernours land . . .	1 13 4

Item, of Butlares land	£0 8 0
Item, of Walter Bertrems Over and Nather lands	26 13 4
Item, of James Rynds land	0 5 0
Item, of David Melrose land	1 0 0
Item, of Neilsounes land	1 6 8
Item, of Auldoucht land, now Marioun Scottis	0 13 4
Item, of the College of Creichtounes land	1 0 0
Item, of Mr. Johne Prestounes land	5 0 0
Item, of Johne Vernouris land	1 0 0
Item, of Robein Dawgleisses land	2 0 0
Item, of George Pecoks land	1 12 8
Item, of the baikhouse fra George Gibsoun	0 12 0
Item, of Lowchis land	0 5 0
Item, of Lambis land, now George Gibsoun	0 2 0
Item, of our awin land quher Thomas Jaksoun duellis	2 13 4
Item, of Johne Connohills land	3 6 8
Item, of William Lindesay land	1 6 8
Item, of Andro Murrays land	0 10 6
Item, of Walter Wichtis land	5 16 8
Item, of Robesoun the Tinclers land	2 0 0
Item, of Andro Mowbray land	5 16 8
Item, of James Bassinden land	0 10 0
Item, of Purves land	0 13 4
Item, of Sandie Youngis land	1 0 0
Item, of Mr. Thomas Marjoribanks, now Helene Reid land	1 6 8
Item, of Methestoun, now Johne Sprot land	0 6 8
Item, of Fawsyds, now Willie Mailles land	1 6 8
Item, of William Elphingstounes land	1 15 0
Item, of Nicoll Borthwikis land	0 6 8
Item, of Muriell Kincaids land	0 5 0
Item, of Lappie Stane	2 0 0
Item, of Willie Hills land	0 10 0
Item, of the Customes of the toun of Edinburgh	6 13 4
Item, of Johne Johnestoun	2 13 4
Summa of thir annuellis abouewrittin	..

*The annuells in Leyth and to landwart pertenying to the saids  
Freirs Predicatuors of Edinburgh.*

Item, of Findguids land, now Johne Carkettills	£0 13 4
Item, of Halkerstones land, now Anne Hamiltones	1 6 8
Item, of William Clappertonis land	1 0 0
Item, of Todriks land	0 10 0

Item, of William Fawsyds land	£0 10 0
Item, of Michael Gilbertis land	8 0 0
Item, of the akers in the Newhevin	10 0 0
Item, of Gosfuird	16 0 0
Item, of Hartisheid and Clyntes	13 6 8
Item, of Ratho byers	12 0 0
Item, of the Burnefute	4 0 0
Item, of Littill Barnebowgall	1 0 0
Item, of the Laird of Bowards land in Duddingstoun	0 10 0
Item, of Mr. Johne Hayis land in Peblis	1 0 0
Item, of West Gordoun in the Merse, four bolls, beir	..

This is the rentale of the Freirs Predicatuors of Edinburgh, subscriyvit be me, Bernard Stewart, Priour of the saidis fewares (*sic*). *Sic subscribitur, Ita est, Bernardus Stewart, manu sua.*

## II. EXCERPTS FROM ACCOUNTS OF THE COLLECTORS OF KIRK RENTS FOR THE CITY OF EDINBURGH, 1573-1612. (*MS. Register*, vol. i., in Charter Room, City Chambers.)

THE Compt of the annuells of this burgh, be the space of sevin yeiris, vizt., 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, and 73 yeiris, becaus of the trublis could not be sence maid, intromettit with be Robert Cunnyngname at the Townis command, except twa yeiris and ane half of the samin quhairof Mr. Mychell Chisholme wes Collector, and the said Robert chargis him with the hail that Mr. Mychell haid not resavit nor maid compt of befor his entrie thairto.

Item, deliverit to freir Andro Leiss <sup>1</sup> quhilk wes restand awand to him of his Witsoundayis pensiou 1569	£6
Item, deliverit to freir Andro Leiss for his pensiou of Mertimes 1569, Witsounday and Mertimes 1570 and Witsounday 1571	£32
Item, gevin to him sen we come to the toun befor his deith	40s.
Item, deliverit by me to John Chepman <sup>2</sup> for his pensiou of foure yeiris as his acquittance beiris	£64
Item, to the said Johnne for the '73 (1573) yeiris pensiou	£16
Item, deliverit be me to Johnne Chepman for his 2 yeiris pensiou, viz., 74 and 75, ilk yeir £16, as his acquittance beiris	£32

<sup>1</sup> Black Friar.

<sup>2</sup> Black Friar.

Item, deliverit to James Ross quhilk he gaif to John Chepman to pas over the Watt. (Water) to rasyve at the tounis command	40s.
Item, the Comptar dischairgis him with £32 pyit to John Chepman for his twa yeris pensiou	£32
Item, the sowme of saxteine pounds payit to freir John Chepman for the termis of the yeir comptit	£16
(This entry repeated in the accounts for the year 1579-1580.)	
Item, the careing of the coffer with the freir evidents out of the Counsal hous to my hous, and ane skeynze pak threid to the sortit evidents togydder	6d.
Item, for thre lang buistis <sup>1</sup> to put the sortit evidents in	15s.
Item, 1581.—To freir Chepman	£16
Item, 1582.—Drink Syluer of raising the Decret gottin agains the Comptrollar of the ten merks annuell to the freiris	3s. 6d.
Item, 1582.—To freir Chepman	£16
Item, 1583.—To freir Chepman	£16
Item, 1584.—To freir Chepman pensiou	£16
Item, to freir Chepman for his pensiou the Witsunday 1585	£8

### III. MS. RENTAL OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST. ANDREWS. (Adv. Lib.)

#### CARDINAL BETOUN AND THE FRIARS

DISCHARGE of the Chamberlain, crop 1539.—Et eidem (allocatur) in viginti libris liberatis fratri Henrico Adamsoun, ordinis predicatorum in Edinburgo, penitentiario reverendissimi Domini (Cardinalis) in archidiaconatu Laudonie, pro suo feodo de dictis Synodis annorum 1539 et 1540, percipienti in anno decem libris, de dictis duobus annis, xx lib. Fol. 25.

DISCHARGE, 1541.—Et eidem in decem libris similiter deliberatis et solutis fratri Henrico Adamsonsone, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, penitentiario reverendissimi remanenti in Edinburgh ex parte australi aque de Forth, in suo feodo de Synodo Edinburgi anni m. v<sup>o</sup>. quadragesimi primi, ut patet per ejus quittantiam manu sua subscriptam ostensam super compotum, x lib. Fol. 60.

DISCHARGE, 1542.—Et eidem in decem libris similiter deliberatis et solutis fratri Henrico Adamsonsone, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, penitentiario

<sup>1</sup> Boxes or chests.

reverendissimi remanenti in Edinburgh ex parte australi aque de Forth, in suo feodo de Synodo Edinburgi anni m. v<sup>o</sup>. quadragesimi primi, ut patet per ejus quittantiam manu sua subscriptam ostensam super compotum, x lib. Fol. 81.

DISCHARGE of Archibald Betone, chamberlain, 1541.—Et eidem [allocatur] in viginti libris solutis fratribus predicatoribus Edinburgi pro reparatione magni altaris ecclesie eorundem, per preceptum reverendissimi Domini (Cardinalis) manu sua apud Edinburgh die xiii mensis Julii, anno m. v<sup>o</sup>. quadragesimo primo, subscriptum ostensum super compotum, xx lib.

DISCHARGE of Mr. Robert Auchmowty, granitar, 1545-6.—Et eidem in tribus bolis frumenti deliberatis fratribus predicatoribus Edinburgi in simili elemosina Domini (Cardinalis), ut compotans asserit de mandato quondam <sup>1</sup> reverendissimi Domini tunc in humanis agentis, et sub periculo compotantis, quia non ostendebat preceptum reverendissimi super hujusmodi deliberatione facta, iij bolle frumenti.—*Accounts of the Granary Keeper*, f. 182.

### IV. LETTER BY JEAN DES MOULINS, TWENTIETH MASTER-GENERAL, TO VICAR GENERAL OF FRIAR PREACHERS IN SCOTLAND, DATED 29TH SEPTEMBER 1349. (Denmyln MSS., Adv. Lib.)

IN Dei filio etc., dilectis vicario generali fratrum ordinis predicatorum in regno Scocie ceterisque fratribus ejusdem ordinis in eodem regno Frater Johannes, fratrum eorundem magister et servus, salutem anime finem fidei reportare. Cum iustis petencium desideriis dignum sit facilem consensum adhibere, idcirco petitioni vestre favorabiliter condescendens, immunitates et gratias vestre nationi factas per quoscumque magistros predicti ordinis meos predicatores omnes et singulas tenore presencium approbo, innovo, ratifico et confirmo, addens eciam de cum digno ut vester vicarius, qui pro tempore fuerit, ad unumquodque studium generale ordinis nostri unum fratrem in studentem possit assignare et eundem revocare secundum beneplacitum sue voluntatis. In cujus concessionis testimonium sigillum officii mei presentibus est appensum. Datum Avinion in crastino decollationis beati Johannis Baptiste, anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup>. xlix<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This account was rendered in May 1549.

V. NOTARIAL TRANSCRIPT OF LETTER OF PLENARY INDULGENCE BY POPE LEO X. IN FAVOUR OF THE FAITHFUL WHO VISIT DOMINICAN HOUSES, DATED 5TH JUNE 1518. (Denmyln MSS.)

UNIVERSIS et singulis Christifidelibus presentes literas inspecturis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Licet is de cujus munere venit ut sibi a suis fidelibus digne et laudabiliter serviatur ex abundantia sue pietatis que merita supplicum excedit et nota bene servientibus multa majora retribuatur quam eorum merita valeant promereri, nihilominus nos, desiderantes populum domino reddere acceptabilem et honorum operum sectatorem fidelis ipsos ad inserviendum ei quibusdam allectinis muneribus indulgentiis videlicet et remissionibus libenter inducimus ut exinde reddantur divine gratie aptiores. Cum itaque sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte dilecti filii Johannis Ade, ordinis fratrum predicatorum et Sacre Theologie professoris, petitio continebat alias postquam ipse Johannes, qui ad almam urbem et capitulum generale dicti ordinis in ea nuper celebratum personaliter se contulit, in priorem provinciam provincie regni Scotie secundum morem ejusdem ordinis electus et institutus fuerat, fratres ordinis provincie et regni hujusmodi vitam a religione alienam antea ducentes et eorum fame detrahentes verbo doctrine et exemplo religiose vite divina sibi gratia assistente adeo reformaverit et ad rectum vivendi modum juxta ipsius ordinis regularia instituta reduxerit, ita ut plures ex eisdem fratribus et religiosis in theologia et aliis facultatibus docti et literati evaserint ac eorundem fratrum vita nunc exemplaris sit et fratres ipsi circa divinorum officiorum celebrationem et alia saluberrima opera ad salutem animarum intenti, solliciti et diligentes existant, ac Christi fidelium partium illarum benivolentiam consecuti fuerint, et qui eos antea contemnebant nunc illos cum ex eorum laudabilibus vita et doctrina spiritualem consulacionem suscipiant, venerentur et eorum ecclesia s devocionis causa frequentent. Nos, cupientes ut ecclesie domus et alia religiosa loca ordinis et regni Scotie predicatorum a Christifidelibus debita veneracione frequententur eoque libentius Christifideles ipsi animarum suarum salutem facilius Deo propitio consequi possint, ac facilius devocionis causa ad easdem ecclesias confluant et pro felici statu universalis ecclesie, necnon salute vivorum et requie omnium fidelium defunctorum Deo promptius preces effundant, quo se per hoc majori celestis gratie devocione et dono refice posse cognoverint de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi consideratione potissimi dilecti filii, nobilis viri, Johannis, Ducis Albanie,

illustris dicti regni Scotie gubernatoris, cujus nomine nobis super hoc humiliter supplicatum fuit, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus antedictis undecunqve venientibus vere penitentibus et confessis seu confitenti prepositum habentibus, qui singulis quadragesimalibus et aliis anni temporibus et diebus stationum basilicarum dicte alme urbis nostre et extra muros ejusdem ecclesie et oratoria domorum seu conventuum et locorum ordinis provincie et regni predicatorum reformatorum et si reformata non fuerint reformatorum, necnon ecclesiam seu oratorium monasterii monialium ordinis Sancti Augustini prope opidum de Edinburgh Sancti Andree diocesis sub cura provincialis et fratrum predicatorum degentium, seu aliquam vel aliquod illorum aut quatuor vel quinque altaria in eis sita ad hoc per fratres ipsius ordinis pro tempore deputanda devote visitaverint et pro felici statu universalis ecclesie necnon vivorum ac salute et requie fidelium defunctorum quinquies orationem dominicam et totiens salutationem angelicam devote recitaverint quotiens id dictis diebus et temporibus fecerint, omnes et singulas ac easdem prorsus indulgentias et peccatorum remissiones consequantur quas consequerentur et consequi possent si in dicta urbe presentes existerent et basilicas ac ecclesias urbis et extra illius muros existentes quas a Christifidelibus temporibus quadragesimalibus ad stationes hujusmodi requirendas visitari solent singulis temporibus et stationum diebus hujusmodi personaliter visitarent, ac omnia et singula alia adimplerent que pro hujusmodi stationum indulgentiis consequendis quomodolibet requiruntur auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium concedimus pariterque indulgemus ac hujusmodi indulgentias et presentes literas sub quibusvis revocationibus, suspensionibus et derogationibus quarumcumque similium vel dissimilium indulgentiarum etiam in favorem cruciate contra infideles aut fabrice basilice principis apostolorum de eadem urbe seu quarumcumque ecclesiarum aliarum vel piorum locorum et alias quomodolibet et ex quibusvis etiam urgentissimis causis ac sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis et cum quibusvis clausulis et decretis etiam motu proprio et ex certa scientia factis et faciendis nullatenus comprehensas seu in futurum comprehendi posse aut debere sed semper ab illis exceptas existere et censi, et quotiens ille emanabunt totiens presentes in eum statum in quo antequam ille emanarent vel emanabunt erant restitutas et plenarie repositas fore et esse, dicta auctoritate decernimus, non obstantibus premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Presentibus post decennium a data presentium computandum minime valituris. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die quinto Junij m<sup>o</sup>. d. xvij<sup>o</sup>. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto. (Signed) Jo. Ant<sup>o</sup>. Battiferus.

## VI. CHARTULARY OF THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH

## Abbreviations

A. and D.—Register of Acts and Decrees, G.R.H.	C.P.B.—Protocol Books in City Chambers
Adv. Lib.—Advocates' Library.	E.R.—Exchequer Rolls.
B.R.—Edinburgh Burgh Records.	G.R.H.—General Register House.
B.R.A.—Edinburgh Burgh Records, Accounts.	P.B.—Protocol Books.
C. of C.—Calendar of Charters, G.R.H.	P.C.—Register of Privy Council.
	P.S.—Register of Privy Seal.
	R.M.S.—Register of Great Seal.

- (1) 1230. . . . Charter by King Alexander II. in favour of the Friars, of a house belonging to the King, with a trance. [Keith, 441.]
- (2) 1260. June 7. Charter by Alexander III. to the Friars, of a street in which was a manor house belonging to the King, with a trance thereto. [Charters of St. Giles, No. 79.]
- (3) 1325. May 12. Charter by King Robert the Bruce in favour of the Friars, of an annual of 5 merks sterling from the Mills of Liberton. [Haddington MSS., Adv. Lib., p. 13, No. 25; R.M.S., vol. i., App. i., No. 23.]
- (4) 1357. April 14. Precept or Letter of Protection under the Privy Seal by King David II. in favour of the whole Order of Friar Preachers in Scotland. [Munimenta, Mait. Club, p. 159.]
- (5) 1408-9. Jan. 7. Instrument narrating that John Reid of Dalrympil, Burgess of Edinburgh, granted to the Friars an annual of 2 silver marks from his tenement in north side of Burgh. [Laing Charters, No. 88.]
- (6) 1413. Oct. 22. Charter by John Berklay of Kyppow to the Blackfriars, of annual of 10s. furth of dominical lands of Dodyngston. [Original MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 234.]
- (7) 1415. . . . Charter by Richard Were, and Agnes his spouse, to Henry de Aytoun, Burgess of Edinburgh, of subjects outside Nether Port; under burden *inter alia* of annual of 26s. 8d. to Friars. [MS. in G.R.H.; C. of C., 245.]
- (8) 1458-9. March 14. Charter by Walter Spens of Irwin to Nicolas MacLelan of tenement in street leading to St. Michael's Well, on north side of the Black Friars, and south side of the well, for *inter alia* payment to the Black Friars of an annual of 5s. [MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 352.]

- (9) 1462. April 30. Charter by Nicholas de Borthwic of Balwolphy to the Friars, of annual of 6s. 8d. furth of tenement in Edinburgh. [MS. in G.R.H.; C. of C., 367.]
- (10) 1462. May 5. Charter by John Harlaw, Burgess, in favour of Friars, in annual of 6s. 8d. furth of John Maxtoun's lands on south side of Cowgate. [Laing Charters, No. 147.]
- (11) 1463. Sepr. 3. Charter by Patrick Lesours, Rector of Newton, to Friars, of annual of . . . s. furth of house of S. Mary Magdaline, Edinburgh. [MS. in G.R.H.; C. of C., 375a.]
- (12) 1471-2. Feby. 14. Charter by David de Dalrympl, Burgess, to Friars, of annual of 7s. furth of tenement of John de Knox on north side of the High Street, between the land of James Harelaw on the east and the land of John Lyndissay of Cowantoun on the west, for support of lamp before the altar of St. Katrine the Virgin. [MS. in G.R.H.; C. of C., 435.]
- (13) 1473. May 14. Charter of Confirmation by James III., confirming the following gifts to the Friars:—
- (1) Annual of 10 merks from the Burgh Fermes of Edinburgh, granted by Alexander II.
  - (2) Annual of 20 merks by George, Lord Seton, and Christian Murray his spouse, from the lands of Hertishede and Clyntis in Berwickshire.
  - (3) Annual of 20s. sterling from the lands of Litl Bernbugale, by Philippa Mowbray, Lady Barnbougall.
  - (4) Annual of 10s. from the lands of Dudingstoun by John Barclay of Kippo. (See No. 5.)
  - (5) Annual of 13s. 4d. from subjects in Leith by James Findgud. The King also confirms and mortifies the foundation and site of the church, buildings, etc., and all previous grants. [R.M.S., vii. 289.]
- (14) 1473-4. Jan. 19. Confirmation by James III. of Charter by John Layng, Bishop Elect of Glasgow, in favour of the friars, for the maintenance of a lamp for the choir of their church, of—
- (1) Annual of 4 merks furth of the land of John Hay, Flesher;
  - (2) Annual of 40s. from the land of James Greg, Furrier;
  - (3) Annual of 13s. 4d. from the land of Walter Fleschwar. [R.M.S., vii. 288.]
- (15) 1474. March 28. Charter by King James III. in favour of the Friars, of an annual of 24 merks from the lands of Gosfurd in Haddingtonshire. [E.R., vol. viii. 239-40.]

- (16) 1475. May 2. Charter by James Beltmakre, with consent of his spouse, in favour of Agnes Butlare his spouse, of his land on the south side of High Street, under burden of *inter alia* an annual of 8s. to the Friars. Confirmed by Crown 12 September 1477. [R.M.S., viii. 37.]
- (17) 1476. Aug. 13. Obligation by the Friars in consideration of Grant by William Fauside, Burgess, for divine services, of annual of 14s. 8d. furth of his tenement in south side of Edinburgh.  
[MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 458.]
- (18) 1478. May 10. Act by the Chapter General approving of the two Bulls by Pope Sixtus iv.—*Considerantes* and *Nuper Nostras*—altering the Rule of Poverty at the request of the Master-General :—  
'In primis denunciamus sanctissimum dominum nostrum Sixtum divine providencia papam iv. confirmasse ac de novo concessisse omnia et singula privilegia apostolica hactenus ordini nostro a suis predecessoribus indulta et preter illa nonnulla alia addidisse, prout in eius super inde confectis litteris continetur.  
'Item. Denunciamus sanctitatem suam ex singulari affectione ad sustentacionem ordinis nostri et fratrum ad supplicacionem reverendissimi magistri ordinis indulsisse per bullas patentes, ut conventus nostri et loca, redditus et possessiones retinere possint salva consciencia, constitutionibus nostris vel aliis in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Qui eciam per breve indulget declarans, ut de pecuniis fratribus et domibus nostris collatis bona stabilia per nos emi possint. Cuius quidem brevis tenor sequitur et est talis.' [*Acta Capitulum Generalium*, Fr. Reichert, iii. p. 336.]
- (19) 1478. Aug. 12. Charter by the Friars to Laurence Walas and Mariota his spouse, of land on west side of trance, for payment of 8 merks yearly. (*Vide* 16 July 1479.)
- (20) 1479. June 14. Charter by Thomas Awldhoght, Burgess, with consent of spouse, to Friars, of annual of 13s. 4d. furth of land of William Cotis on south side of High Street. [MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 484.]
- (21) 1479. July 16. Charter of Confirmation by Provincial Chapter of Black Friars confirming foregoing Charter to Laurence Walas and Mariota his spouse. [MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 488a.]
- (22) 1479. Dec. 16. Notarial Instrument in favour of Friar John Muir, Vicar General, of tenement on south side of Cowgate. On Resignation by Robert Vaus, and Christiana his spouse.  
[Laing Charters, No. 176.]

- (23) 1479. Dec. 16. Charter by the Friars in favour of Nicholas Cant, of subjects on south side of Cowgate, resigned by Vaus, and a burden to the friars of annual of 4s., and of a further annual of 6s. 8d. as in Charter of 5 May 1462. [Laing Charters, No. 177.]
- (24) 1480-1. March 12. Charter by John Spens, Burgess, to Friars, of annual of 13s. 4d. furth of his land on north side of Kowgate.  
[MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 495.]
- (25) 1481. June 10. Act by Chapter General held at Rome raising the Vicariate of Scotland at the special request of King James III. into the dignity of a Province :—  
'Item. Denunciamus. quod ad instanciam et preces serenissimi regis Scocie de conventibus terrarum. que sue maiestati subduntur maximis et racionabilibus causis in presenti diffinitorio allegatis. de unanimitate voto omnium reverendorum provincialium et diffinitorum presentis capituli provinciam fecimus. quam per se volumus a provincia Anglie distinctam appellari et separatam esse et eandem provincie Scocie cum suis conventibus, privilegiis, graciis et libertatibus ordinis. quemadmodum et cetera provincie deinceps possit gaudere et locum inter priores provinciales et priorem Scocie in nostris generalibus capitulis, ut moris est, obtinere. Et ne predicta provincia idoneo capite careat pro tempore, reverendissimus magister ordinis fratrem Mull sacre theologie bachelarium formatum in priorem provinciam provincie Scocie instituit et creavit. dando ei auctoritatem super dictam provinciam in temporalibus et spiritualibus et super fratres eiusdem provincie ac omnia et singula. que ceteris provincialibus in ordine conceduntur.'  
[*Acta Capitulum Generalium*, Fr. Reichert, iii. p. 369.]
- (26) 1483. May 6. Charter by Thomas de Dunsyre, Burgess, with consent of spouse, to Friars, of annual of 16s. 8d. furth of his land on north side of High Street. [MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 505.]
- (27) 1483. Sept. 17. Charter by Mr. Alexander Inglis, 'decretorum doctor,' Chief Archdeacon of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews, and Dean of Dunkeld, and elect of the same, in favour of the Friars, of an annual of 26s. 8d. from the house of Catharine Fawlou, wife of late George Ramsay, on north side of High Street, under burden of religious services, and of the maintenance of a lamp before the altar of St. Katharine the Virgin. [Laing Charters, No. 191.]
- (28) 1485. May 20. Charter by the Friars to David Berwick and Mariot his spouse, of piece of their croft. [MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 510.]

- (29) 1485. May 24. Instrument of Sasine following upon the foregoing Charter. [MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 511.]
- (30) 1486. December 12. Charter by the Friars to George Henderson of Fordel, undertaking, in return for certain sums and annual rents, to sing masses for the souls of Robert Henderson, his father, and Janet the wife of said Robert. [Fordel MSS.]
- (31) 1491. July 1. Charter by William Fawside in favour of the Friars, of annual of 10s. furth of his land in Leith. [MS. in G.R.H. ; C. of C., 564.]
- (32) 1491-2. March 4. Charter by James *rv.*, narrating that under Decree obtained by the Factor of the Sacred Heart in France against George Robisoun, for a debt of £120, the tenement belonging to him on the south side of the High Street was sold for 100 merks to John Murray. The King confirms for payment of 10 merks yearly to the Convent of Melrose, and 20s. to the Friars. [R.M.S., xii. 350.]
- (33) 1492. May 2. Charter by Walter Bertrem, Burgess of Edinburgh, to the Friars, of an annual of 26 merks from his land on the south side of High Street at the head of Niddry's Wynd, and another of 14 merks from his land on the west side of the Vennel. Confirmed by King James *rv.*, 2 July 1492. [R.M.S., xiii. 189.]
- (34) 1493. Novr. 10. Charter by David Hepburn of Walchtoun to Friars, of annual of 20s. furth of back land of Patrick Redpath, on north side of Edinburgh. [MS. G.R.H. ; C. of C., 581.]
- (35) 1498. Nov. 18. Charter by William Richardson, Baker and Burgess, and spouse, in favour of Thomas Solater, Prior of the Friar Preachers, of annual of 30s. over land below the Nether Bow. [Laing Charters, No. 237.]
- (36) 1500. Dec. 22. Charter by Friars to William Forhouse and Margaret his spouse, of part of their croft, for payment of duty of 4s. yearly. [MS. G.R.H. ; C. of C., 634.]
- (37) 1508. May 26. Sasine, William Foular and spouse, of waste land of John Hay, Flesher. On Charter of Resignation by the Friars. [C.P.B., John Foular, i. 187.]
- (38) 1508. May 27. Sasine, David Dranane, of land called St. Johns Land at Lophie Stane, under the Nether Bow ; under burden of annual of 40s. payable to the Friars. On Resignation by the Friars. [C.P.B., John Foular, i. 186.]

- (39) 1508. Sep. 15. Memorandum narrating that John Todrik left to the provincial and friars of the order of preachers of the burgh of Edinburgh the sum of 40 merks out of his readiest goods and money, if he shall die of his present illness, and if he convalesce he shall infeft them in an annual of four merks in place of the said sum for an anniversary 'cum nota,' *placebo dirige* and *trigintali missarum* for his and his parents' souls ; and he also leaves to the convent 10 merks for prayers for his soul to be made in the house of the provincial of the said order. [C.P.B., John Foular, i. 195.]
- (40) 1508-9. Feb. 12. Memorandum that Andrew Moncur and Janet Cant his spouse resign in favour of the Friars an annual of 21s. from their lands on the north side of the High Street at the Castle Hill. [C.P.B., John Foular, i. 206.]
- (41) 1509. March 31. Sasine given to Friar James Thomson, Prior of the Black Friars, in a tenement back and fore which belonged to Robert Merschel, otherwise called Dalzell land, on south side of High Street. On Resignation by the Friars. [C.P.B., John Foular, i. 209.]
- (42) 1509. June 14. Inst. of Sasine in favour of Adam Lambe and spouse, of part of the Croft. On Resignation by the Friars. [MS. G.R.H. ; C. of C., 741.]
- (43) 1512. May 4. Memorandum narrating that Sasine had been given to Friar John Henrison, *alias* Litstar, son and heir of the deceased David Henrison, litster, burgess of Edinburgh, in his lands in Halkerston's Wynd on the north side of the High Street ; the said Friar, with consent of his Provincial John Adamson, thereupon resigned same for infeftment to be given to Margaret Henrison, his sister, and John Broun her spouse, and their heirs ; whom failing, to Friar John himself, and his heirs. [C.P.B., John Foular, i. 273.]
- (44) 1512. May 26. Protest by Friar John Spens, vicar of the Prior, that they should suffer no prejudice by the granting of Sasine to William Wallace of the wester half of land on the south side of Cowgate. [*Ibid.*, i. 275.]
- (45) 1512. June 5. Resignation by said William Wallace, with consent of Prior John Spens, Prior of the Convent, in favour of David Leiche, Burgess, and his spouse, of said lands. [*Ibid.*, i. 276.]
- (46) 1513. Oct. 25. Resignation by Sir John Scougall, Chaplain, in favour of the Friars, of an annual of 40s. out of William Adamson's land, back and fore, lying at the north side of the High Street, below the Nether Bow. [C.P.B., Thomas Strachan.]

- (47) 1513-14. Jan. 31. Memorandum containing *inter alia* Resignation by Sir John White, Rector of Pittockkies, in favour of the Friars, of tenement of William Spens *alias* Slater, bounded by the wall of the garden of the Friars on the south. (This entry is scored through.)  
[C.P.B., Thomas Strachan.]
- (48) 1514-15. March 23. Resignation by Alexander Donaldson, Flesher and Burgess, *inter alia*, resigning annual of 14s. furth of his built land on south side of Cowgate.  
[C.P.B., Thomas Strachan.]
- (49) 1515. May 8. Precept of Sasine by the Friars to infest James Pacok as son and heir of James Pacok, Burgess, of land having the friary cemetery on the west and the highway on the east.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, ii. 7.]
- (50) 1515. May 11. Sasine in favour of Friar John Fortoun, son and heir of Patrick Fortune, of two lands lying in Todrick's Wynd; and Resignation by the said Friar in favour of Friar John Spens. [*Ibid.*]
- (51) 1516. May 24. Sasine in favour of Friar Steven Muir, Subprior, of waste land lying under the Castle wall on north side of High Street; and Resignation by the Subprior and Friar William Dee, of the said land in favour of Thomas Bertram and spouse. [C.P.B., Thos. Strachan.]
- (52) 1516. June 23. Sasine in favour of George Edwardson, in Nicholas Spethy's tenement on north side of High Street; who thereafter resigned same in favour of Elizabeth, Countess of Crawford, and she in turn resigned in favour of Friar Steven Muir, Subprior.  
[C.P.B., Thomas Strachan.]
- (53) 1516. July 9. Resignation by Thomas Levington and Marion Derling his mother, in favour of Friar Steven Muir, Subprior, of an annual of 20s. from William Nesbit's tenement on the south side of the High Street [Cowgait], for prayers and orisons on behalf of Marion's deceased husband.  
[C.P.B., Thomas Strachan.]
- (54) 1516. Decr. 3. Resignation by Friar John Fortone, son and heir of Patrick Fortone, with consent of his Provincial, of an annual of 26s. 8d. furth of said Friar John's land in Todrick's Wynd, and in which Sasine was granted to Sir Alexander Touris of Innerleith, in security to him of the celebration of anniversary services.  
[C.P.B., Thomas Strachan, vol. i. f. 99.]
- (55) 1516. Decr. 9. Protestation by Friar John Grierson, vicar, that Sasine to Edward Rutherford and his son, of John Best's lands on the south side of Cowgate, shall not prejudice the interest of the Friars.  
[C.P.B., Thomas Strachan.]

- (56) 1519. Dec. 10. Sasine in favour of Friar John Adamson, Professor of Sacred Theology and Provincial, in an annual of £3, 12s. from a land belonging to Dame Margaret Creichtoun, Lady Semple, for an anniversary service, and a provision to the poor. [C.P.B., John Foular, 317.]
- (57) 1521. May 6. Sasine in favour of the Friars, of annual of 13s. 4d. furth of Simon Dowell's tenement on north side of High Street, between the land of Patrick Cant on the east and that of the deceased Stephen Knox on the west. On Resignation by Thomas Castlehill.  
[C.P.B., Thomas Strachan, i. 139.]
- (58) 1522. Aug. 8. Sasine in favour of Friar John Haw, Factor and Collector of the Priory, of annual of 20s. from William Halkerstoun's tenement on north side of High Street, for anniversary services. On Resignation by Helen Baty, spouse of Allan Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh, and one of the heirs of the deceased James Baty.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iii. 120.]
- (59) 1522. Sepr. 30. Protest by Friar John Haw, Procurator of the Friars, in name of Friar John Lethame, son and heir of deceased William Lethame, against the granting of Sasine to another William Lethame, the pretended son and heir of the deceased William, in land on south side of High Street; and that the pretended Sasine should not prejudice the said Friar John or the privileges of the priory; and he accordingly annulled and cancelled the same by the breaking of a disc upon the said lands.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iii. 123.]
- (60) 1522-3. Feb. 12. Sasine in favour of the Friars in an annual of 5 merks furth of the land of Adam Johnston, within the tenement of John Blackstok, on the north side of High Street, for two anniversaries to be granted for the souls of the deceased Sir William Ogilvie of Strathern, Treasurer to James v., and Mr. James Ogilby, Commendator of Dryburgh, his brother.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iii. 134.]
- (61) 1523. Oct. 6. Sasine in favour of the Friars of an annual of 13s. 4d. furth of two tenements of John Wicht, elder, on the north side of the High Street. On Resignation by said John Wicht for anniversary services.  
[C.P.B., Vincent Strachan, i. 208.]
- (62) 1524. April 30. Sasine in favour of Friar Alexander Lawson, Prior, in William Currou's tenement on south side of Cowgate, having the Friary Cemetery on the south. On Resignation by William Currou.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iii. 179.]
- (63) 1524-5. Jan. 23. Sasine in favour of Friar Gilbert Fynlason, Collector of the Priory, in a waste land on the south side, and another waste land on the north side of the High Street, in terms of Process as led by the said Friars, before the Provost. [C.P.B., John Foular, iii. 212.]

- (64) 1525-6. Jan. 29. Charter by James v., in favour of James Campbell of Lawris and Mariote Forester his spouse, of the lands of Fordew, Glentarkane, and Balmuk. On Resig. by the Friars.  
[R.M.S., xxi. 100.]
- (65) 1526. May 18. Sasine in favour of Friar John Thomson, son and heir of the deceased Andrew Thomson, in the said Andrew's land lying in William Selyman's tenement. On Resignation by Janet Wemys, widow of the said Andrew; and Resignation by said Friar John Thomson, with consent of Alexander Lawson, his prior, in favour of the Friars.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iii. 267.]
- (66) 1528. Sepr. 25. Sasine in favour of Friar John Lethame, son and heir of the deceased William Lethame, in his land on the south side of the High Street. On Resignation by Sir William Lethame, Monk of the monastery of Paisley, son of said deceased William.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iv. 24.]
- (67) 1530. Oct. 6. Sasine in favour of William Elphinston, Burgess, in the land of the deceased William Richertson lying under the Nether Bow; under burden of annual of 35s. payable to the Friars. On Resignation by the Friars.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iv. 91.]
- (68) 1530. Oct. 6. Sasine in favour of the Friars of the deceased William Richardson's land on the south side of the High Street, beneath the Nether Bow.  
[C.P.B., Vincent Strachan, ii. 116.]
- (69) 1531. June 1. Sasine, Robert Grahame, Burgess, and spouse, in tenement of the deceased Nicolas Spethy on north side of High Street. On Resignation by the Friars.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iv. 113.]
- (70) 1531. Aug. 28. Charter by Thomas Chalmer of Seggieden, and his father, David Chalmer, in favour of the Friars, of the Lands of North Leys, Barony of Seggieden, Perthshire. Confirmed by Queen Mary, 11 February 1545-6.  
[R.M.S., xxxi. f. 29.]
- (71) 1531. Novr. 4. Sasine in favour of the Friars, in an annual of 18 merks, furth of Janet Kennedy's lands within the tenement of Robert Barnton of Over Barnton, on north side of High Street, in warrandice, under a contract between the Friars and David Bonar, husband to said Janet Kennedy, of a conveyance to the Friars of 12 acres 17 particates of arable land in Newhaven. [C.P.B., John Foular, iv. 122.]
- (72) 1534. April 17. Sasine in favour of the Friars in a waste land belonging to deceased Patrick Reidpeth near the Nether Bow, and another waste land on west side of High Street [Pleasance], between the garden of the said Friars on the south and their cemetery on the west, and the highway on the east.  
[C.P.B., John Foular, iv. 189.]

- (73) 1536-7. Jan. 19. Sasine in favour of the Friars, of John Crawford's land on south side of Cowgate, having the lands of the Friar's Preachers on the south; also Sasine in a waste land of deceased John Nory on the north side of High Street; also same in land of Matthew Pinkerton, formerly of John Nory, and now granted to the Friars in security of an annual of 7s.  
[C.P.B., Vincent Strachan, iii. 69-70.]
- (74) 1536-7. Feby. 12. Resignation by Friars of an annual of 20s. out of John Crawford's land now belonging to the Friars, and Sasine whereon is granted in favour of William Hay of Tallo, as procurator for his brother-german Thomas Hay, Dean of Dunbar.  
[C.P.B., Andrew Brownhill, vol. i. f. 11.]
- (75) 1538-9. Feby. 26. Charter by Henry Quhite, Dean of Brechin, to the Friars, of annual of 40s. furth of tenement of Edward Bissait on west side of the Friars Wynd, for the salvation of the souls of Robert Logane of Restalrig and others.  
[MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 1183.]
- (76) 1538-9. Feby. 27. Sasine in favour of Friars in annual of 40s. furth of Edward Bisset's land on south side of High Street (Cowgate). On Resignation by Master Henry White, Dean of Brechin.  
[C.P.B., Andrew Brownhill, i. 91.]
- (77) 1538-9. March 4. Instrument of Cognition and Sasine by Friars to Walter Lamb, as heir of Adam Lamb, his grandfather, in part of the Croft.  
[MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 1184.]
- (78) 1538-9. March 4. Charter by the Friars in favour of Sir Simon Blyth, Chaplain, in liferent, and James Blyth his brother in fee, of part of the Croft, resigned by said Walter Lamb for payment yearly of 9s. 9d.  
[MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 1185.]
- (79) 1540-1. Jan. 6. Charter by the Crown to David Chepman, burgess, of waste land on south side of Cowgate between the lands of Thomas Johnston, James Gray, and William Huntroddis, and the cemetery, pertaining as *ultimus haeres* of Isabelle Fressale. Under burden of annual Rents to Friars.  
[R.M.S., xxvii. f. 142.]
- (80) 1541. Apl. 11. Sasine in favour of the Friars, in land in Todriks Wynd. On Recognition by Friar John Fortune, son and heir of Patrick Fortune.  
[C.P.B., Vincent Strachan, iii. 135.]
- (81) 1541-2. Jan. 16. Resignation by the Friars in favour of David Chepman and Elizabeth Ireland his spouse and Nicol Chepman their son, of land belonging to said Friars, having the cemetery of said friars on the south and the highway on the north.  
[C.P.B., Andrew Brownhill, ii. 39.]

- (82) 1542. April 24. Charter by the Friars in favour of James Bassinden, Burgess, and Alison Tod his spouse, of back land on south side of the Cowgate, paying yearly 20s. [MS. G.R.H. ; C. of C., 1290.
- (83) 1542. May 2. Sasine in favour of James Bassenden and Alison Tod his spouse, of waste land of the friar lands on south side of Cowgate, having the cemetery on the south. On Resignation by the Friars. [C.P.B., Andrew Brownhill, ii. 64.
- (84) 1542. May 2. Sasine in favour of the Friars in annual of 20s. furth of subjects on south side of Cowgate, having the said waste land of the friar lands on the south. On Resignation by said James Bassenden and Alison Tod his spouse. [C.P.B., Andrew Brownhill, ii. 64.
- (85) 1542. August 28. Letter of Gift under the Privy Seal to Friar Alexander Lyndesay 'ane of the freir predicatouris of the Burgh of Edinburgh for the gud trew and thankfull service done be him to oure souerane lord and for certane utheris reasonable causis and considerationis moving his hienes thairto of the gift off an erlie pension of the soun of twenty poundis usuale money of this realme.' [P.S., vol. xvi. f. 47.
- (86) 1543. Sept. 10. Letter of Protection under the Privy Seal by the Earl of Arran, Lord Governor of Scotland, in favour of the whole order of Black Friars in Scotland. [P.S., xxvi. 47.
- (87) 1549. May 25. Sasine in favour of Margaret Johnstone, in one half, and Helen Johnston in the other half, of subjects north side of High Street. On Resignation by their brother, Friar James Johnstone, who was infest as heir of his father Adam Johnstone, Burgess, and with consent of Friar Andrew Abircrummy, his Prior. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, i.
- (88) 1549. Sept. 26. Precept under the Signet for Crown Charter confirming Charter by Henry Wardlaw, son and heir of John Wardlaw of Torry, with consent of Catherine Lundy, spouse of said Henry, in favour of the Friars, of the lands of Corshill, in county of Fife. Blench. [P.S., xxiii. f. 42.
- (89) 1549-50. Jan. 17. Sasine in favour of Friar James Johnstone, son and heir of deceased John Johnstone, Burgess, in annual of 7 merks, furth of land on north side of High Street, and in another annual of 5 merks furth of a booth below the Tolbooth. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, i.
- (90) 1549-50. Jan. 17. Assignment by Friar James Johnstone, with consent of Friar James Abercrummy, Subprior of his convent, in favour of Helen Johnstone, his sister, and Laurence Stevenson, son and heir

- of deceased Margaret Johnstone, another sister of said friar, of Letter of Reversion granted to the deceased Adam Johnstone and his heirs for the redemption of the 5 merk lands of Middilkill in Parish of Moffat, which Adam Johnstone had wadset to Gavin Johnstone for £80 Scots; and the said Friar assigns in favour of said Helen and Laurence all goods and moveables pertaining to Adam Johnstone his father, or John Johnstone his brother. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, i.
- (91) 1551-2. Jan. 13. Sasine in favour of Henry Ramsay, Burgess, and Agnes Wilson his spouse, of tenement on north side of High Street below Slater's Close; under burden of annual of 10 merks. On Resignation by the Friars. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, iii.
- (92) 1552. Aug. 25. Instrument narrating that the Friars gave Sasine to Patrick Wilson, Burgess, and spouse, at request of Thomas Frisall and spouse, of piece of the Croft. [P.B., John Robeson, xiv. 21a.
- (93) 1552-3. March 17. Instrument of Cognition, Resig: and Sasine testifying that the Prior proceeded to subjects on the Croft, and there cognosced and entered Sir Symon Blyth, Chaplain, as heir of late James Blyth, and that Sir Symon resigned in favor of John Blyth, son of the said Sir Symon, who thereupon received Sasine at the hands of the Friars. [MS. G.R.H. ; C. of C., 1582.
- (94) 1552-3. Mar. 21. Resignation by the Friars in favour of Walter Wycht, burgess, and Helen Cokburn, his spouse, in the Friarland in Todrik's Wynd; under burden of 8 merks of annual in addition to the former annuals due therefrom. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, iv.
- (95) 1553. Oct. 27. Charter by Gilbert Knox in favour of the Friars, of annual of £24 scots furth of his tenement on north side of High Street, having the Nor' Loch on the north. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, iv.
- (96) 1553. Nov. 21. Resignation by said Gilbert Knox in favour of the Friars, of his three booths in the foresaid tenement and an annual rent out of other two booths there. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, iv.
- (97) 1553-4. Feby. 12. Letter of Protection under the Privy Seal by Queen Mary, with consent and authority of James, Duke of Chatelherault, Earl of Arran, 'Protectour and governour of oure realme,' in favour of the whole order of Black Friars in Scotland. [P.S., xxvi. 47.
- (98) 1553-4. Feb. 20. Sasine in favour of Wm. Anderson, Burgess, and Agnes Reid his spouse, of corner tenement burned by our 'auld enemeis of England,' having the trance on the west and the Cowgate on the north, with the great tenement or great house of the friars, also

burned, on the south, and another built land of said friars, not burned, which Janet Pery, widow of Thomas Alisone, Slater, inhabits on the east; under burden of a feu-duty of 12 merks yearly. On Feu Charter, dated 18 Feby. 1553, by the Friars. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, iv.

- (99) 1555. Novr. 18. Agreement whereby Gilbert Knox, Burgess of Edinburgh, and John Hamilton in Prestounpannis and his spouse, renounce subjects in Leith for infettment to be given by the Friars to Michael Gilbert, Goldsmith, Burgess of Edinburgh. [P.B. G.R.H.; James Harlaw, xii. 124b.
- (100) 1556. June 27. Decree by the Lords of Session in favour of the Friars against Jonet Lummsidane, relict of the late Williame Clappertoune in Leith, for payment of an annual of 20s. furth of subjects in Leith, unpaid for the period of eight years; and against Agnes Hamilton for an annual of two merks furth of subjects in Leith, unpaid for four years. [A. and D., vol. xiii. f. 479.
- (101) 1556-7. Feby. 5. Revival of a Decree granted by the Lords of Council on 31 Jany. 1536-7, at instance of the Friars, against Ninine Seytoun of Tulibodie for payment of an annual of 4 bolls bere furth of the lands of West Gordoune, and now re-granted against Walter Seytoun of Tulibodie, his son and successor. [A. and D., vol. xiv. f. 35.
- (102) 1557. March 31. Charter by Robert Liddell, chaplain, St. Giles, in favour of Patrick Goven and Isobelle Turnour, his spouse, of tenement bounded by King's Common Road on the north; under burden, *inter alia*, of 40s. to the Black Friars. [Charters of St. Giles, No. 148.
- (103) 1557. Nov. 19. Notarial Receipt by Friar John Grierson, Provincial of the Friars Preachers, on behalf of Dame Jonet Hepburne, Lady of Seytoun, of £40 from William Barcar, Indweller in Leith, and spouse, for redemption of annual rent of 4 merks furth of subjects in Leith. The writs in the custody of the Provincial were given up. [P.B. G.R.H.; John Robeson, xiv. 205b.
- (104) 1559-60. Mar. 5. Decree at the instance of the Friars against Stewin Story in Plesance, for payment of 22 bolls bere, being rent of their Croft for year 1559. Reduced by arrangement to 12 bolls, and renunciation of the Lease. [A. and D., vol. xx. f. 144.
- (105) 1561. Novr. 18. Feu Charter by Friar Bernard Stewart, Prior of the Convent of Black Friars, to Robert Murray, Burgess of Peblis, of the third part of the lands of Mylkenstoun, in the Barony of Edil-

stoun, commonly called Quhytebarony, in the Sheriffdom of Peblis, for Feu-duty of 6 merks and 6s. 8d. of augmentation of the rental. [Abb. Feu Charters of Kirklands, Treasurer's Office, i. 173.

- (106) 1562-3. Jan. 31. Precept under the Privy Seal by Queen Mary to John Gilbert, Burgess, Goldsmith of Edinburgh, of the Croft of the Friars, extending to 3 acres; to be held of the Crown for payment of 1d., if asked. [P.S., xxxi. 88.
- (107) 1562-3. Jan. 31. Blench Charter by Queen Mary in terms of the above Precept. Confirmed by James vi., 29 August 1568. [R.M.S., xxv. 410.
- (108) 1562-3. March 16. Precept under the Privy Seal by Queen Mary in favour of the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, of the place and yards and cemetery which belonged to the Black Friars, for the erection of an Hospital for the Poor, to be commenced within a year and finished within ten years thereafter. [P.S., xxxi. 84.
- (109) 1563. Apl. 6. Sasine in favour of Magistrates of Edinburgh, in the Place and Garden which belonged to the Black Friars—*dominicalibus alias nigris fratribus*—of Edinburgh. On Precept from Chancery, dated 16 March 1562-3. [C.P.B., Alex. Guthrie, iii.
- (110) 1564. July 15. Sasine, Andrew Johnston, as heir of Thomas Johnstone, Burgess, his grandfather, in tenement of waste and built land lately belonging to the Friars on south side of Cowgate, between lands of John Fraser on the east, Nicolas Barcar on the west, and the friary and cemetery, or exit of common sewer, on the south. [C.P.B., Alexr. Guthrie, iii.
- (111) 1564-5. March 10. Letter of Gift, under the Privy Seal, in favour of Archibald Leche, furrou and burgess, of the 'foir midmest buith above the stairheid,' formerly belonging to the Friars, of tenement on north side of the 'Quenis Hie Gait' of Edinburgh, 'foranent the Marcat Croce.' [P.S., vol. xxxiii. 2.
- (112) 1564-5. March 20. Precept for Crown Charter to James Cowper, Clothier, of 4 booths on north side of public highway, formerly belonging to the Friars, in Gilbert Knox's tenement. [P.S., xxxiii. 21.
- (113) 1565. Aug. 7. Instrument of Sasine in favour of said Robert Murray, in said Lands of Mylkenstoun. On said Feu Charter by Bernard Stewart. [Abb. Feu Charters of Kirklands, Treasurer's Office, i. 173.

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- (114) 1565. October 20. Precept for Crown Charter to James Johnnestoun of Kellebank, Burgess, of annual of £24 formerly belonging to the Friars, furth of Gilbert Knox's tenement. [P.S., xxxiii. 113.]
- (115) 1565-6. March 24. Letter of Tack under the Privy Seal to Johnne Davidsoun, Tailzour, of back land and tenement at the 'Freir Wynd fute' on south side of Cowgate. [P.S., xxxiv. 70.]
- (116) 1566-7. March 13. Charter by Queen Mary, granting to the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, for the sustentation of the Ministry and the Hospital within the Burgh, all the lands, tenements, annual rents, etc., which formerly belonged to the Black Friars. [Charters and Documents, Trinity College, p. 73; P.S., xxxvi. 71.]
- (117) 1567. March 29. Instrument of Sasine following upon Charter of 13 March 1566-7. [*Ibid.*, p. xviii.; C.P.B., William Stewart, iv. 110.]
- (118) 1567. Nov. 20. The Council disposed to certain persons, in feu farm, the lands 'sumtyme pertening to the Blak freris and now to the toun of Edinburgh, for the interes syluer and yeirle annual under-written to be payit to thair hospitale and sustening of the pure thairrof.' [Burgh Records, Print, vol. iii. p. 244.]
- (119) 1567-8. Jan. 3. Letters of Remission by James VI., narrating the Charter of 16 March 1562-3, and dispensing with the erection of an Hospital on the Black Friar Yards. [Charters, Trin. Coll., xviii.-xix.]
- (120) 1567-8. Jan. 9. Sasine, in terms of Act of Town Council of Edinburgh, dated 20 Novr. 1567, in favour of Andrew Henderson, Merchant Burgess, in the middle garden of said Friars, lying between the wester and easter gardens, and having the Flodden Wall on the south. [C.P.B., Alexr. Guthrie, iv. 115.]
- (121) 1567-8. Jan. 9. Sasine, in terms of said Act of Town Council, in favour of Robert Glen, Burgess, and spouse, in 'another' West Garden, with the dike of the priests' gardens of the Kirk of Field on the west, and the west garden on the east, the Flodden Wall on the south, and the old dike of the garden, and the passages from the friary to the Kirk of Fields on the north. [C.P.B., Alex. Guthrie, iv. 116.]
- (122) 1567-8. Jan. 9. Sasine, in terms of said Act by Magistrates of Edinburgh, in favour of William Anderson, in the easter garden of said Friars, having the Flodden Wall on the south and east and the Cemetery on the north. [C.P.B., Alex. Guthrie, iv. 117.]

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- (123) 1567-8. Jan. 9. Sasine, Murdoch Walker, mason, in the great mansion now wasted and burned by the English, formerly belonging to the Friars, on south side of Cowgate, having the tenement of Wm. Anderson on the north, the passage to the cemetery on the south, the garden of James Bassenden on the east, and the trance on the west; also piece of garden belonging to said friars on west side of the trance. [C.P.B., Alex. Guthrie, iv. 118.]
- (124) 1567-8. Feb. 23. Feu Charter by the Town Council of Edinburgh in favour of Henry Stalker, Goldsmith, Burgess, of the west yard of the Friars, lying betwixt 'another' west yard on the west and the mid yard on the east; Composition £48, and Feu-duty 12 merks, both payable to Trinity College. [MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 2111.]
- (125) 1567-8. Mar. 19. Sasine Andrew Henderson, Merchant Burgess, and William Henderson his son, of the middle garden of the Friars. [C.P.B., Alex. Guthrie, iv. 161.]
- (126) 1569. June 6. Charter of Sale by George Blyth, Burgess, with consent of his spouse, to John Broun in Plesance, of part of the Croft; under burden of the Feu-duty of 9s. 9d. payable to the Town Council as having right to the Friar Lands. [MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 2154.]
- (127) 1569. Nov. 24. Charter of Confirmation by James VI., confirming—  
 (1) Charter, dated 13 Sepr. 1569, by the Town Council of Edinburgh to Alexander Hay, Writer, of 14 acres in Newhaven and Leith which belonged to the Black Friars, and which they had leased to said Alexander Hay for £10 per annum for 12 acres and 20s. each for 2 acres. Feu-duty in Charter stated at £10, 'as formerly,' with 40d. of augmentation.  
 (2) Charter, dated 7. October 1569, by said Alexander Hay to David Duff, Indweller in Leith, and Janet Anderson his spouse. [R.M.S., xxxii. 74.]
- (128) 1569-70. Jan. 11. Instrument of Cognition of George Blyth, as heir of his brother the late John Blyth, in piece of land in the Wynd called the Pleasance, and west side thereof; and Sasine in favour of said George Blyth and Margaret Blackburn his spouse. [MS. G.R.H.; C. of C., 2170.]
- (129) 1578. Novr. 8. Sasine in favour of the Magistrates in piece of waste land formerly belonging to the Black Friars lying on the east side of cemetery, bounded by road to Chapel of St. Leonards on the east, the Royal Wall—*Murum Regium*—on the south. Acquired, according to rubric, 'for strenthning of the toun and wallis thairrof.' [C.P.B., Alexr. Guthrie, ix. 33.]

- (130) 1593. April 2. Charter of Confirmation by James VI. confirming Charter by Thomas M'Balzeane, Burgess of Edinburgh, to Walter Wilkesoune in Rathobyris, of a fourth part of Abthane of Ratho called Rathobyres; now granted of new to Gilbert Wilkie in Rathobyres and Robert Wilkie his son, in liferent and fee in blench-farm for payment yearly of a pound of wax upon the ground of the said lands, and to the Blackfriars and their successors the annual rent formerly paid so long as same does not exceed 9 merks. Charter undated. [R.M.S., xxxix. 2.]
- (131) . . . Memorandum that John of Cambuskenneth gave for ever to be uplifted yearly by the Black Friars of Edinburgh 'unam libram piperis de tenemento suo' on the south side of the burgh. (No date.) [Charters of St. Giles, p. 287.]

DOUBLE DATES.—By an Act of the Privy Council of 17th December 1599, it was ordained that, in agreement with the general practice on the Continent, the 1st of January should, beginning with the year 1600, be reckoned as the first day of the year. Prior to that date the 25th of March had been the accepted first day of the year in all our records, legal deeds, etc. Through this change the position of the months of January, February, and the first twenty-four days of March was advanced one year in the new Calendar; and, hence, in quoting from documentary evidence falling within that period prior to 1st January 1600, the year in the record requires to be supplemented by that of the true year. For example, where an excerpt from the records, etc., bears to be dated 14 February 1555, it is rendered thus—14 February 1555-6. The Imperial Parliament of 1751 adopted the Scottish style of recognising the 1st of January as the first day of the year. It also decreed that the year 1752 should be shortened by eleven days—the 3rd of September being reckoned as the 14th of September—so as to bring the British Calendar in line with the Gregorian. The estimates under the Imperial Budget still continue to be reckoned from the 25th of March, now represented—through the elision of the eleven days—by the 5th of April.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRIDAY CLUB WRITTEN BY  
LORD COCKBURN, TOGETHER WITH NOTES  
ON CERTAIN OTHER SOCIAL CLUBS IN EDIN-  
BURGH

THE FRIDAY CLUB

ALTHOUGH a few details of this Club's career were given in the *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, this is, as far as I can ascertain, the first time that Lord Cockburn's manuscript history sees light, in printed form, in its entirety.

There is something rather touching in the story when we consider the occasions when the different parts were written.

To begin with, it was in 1827 that he first thought of committing to paper the history of the Club which he helped to found in 1803. Twenty-four years had passed, during which he had done his best to keep the Club going, new members had joined, new friendships formed, while a good many familiar faces had disappeared; some gone to join the great majority, whilst others, like Sir Walter Scott, were irregular in their attendance, owing to infirmities and old age creeping on.

For several years he made a point of writing down, in each succeeding January, some occurrences which had affected the Club during the preceding twelve months, and from the playful chaff addressed to Thomas Thomson on his marriage, and to Andrew Rutherford on becoming secretary and later on for his sins of omission in not making adequate arrangements for the Club business and meetings, we get an interesting glimpse of the familiar terms of friendship they mutually

enjoyed. One or two remarks might be thought a little personal, such as the reference to the 'contemptible stomach' of Abercromby, afterwards Lord Dunfermline; but it is all good natured, and probably, if his lordship's interior would not allow him to do full justice to the fare provided by Barry, his other fellow-members chaffed him as lightheartedly, and it would all be taken in good spirit.

Then came a pause, 'fearful and shameful' Lord Cockburn calls it; but in January 1843 he makes up for lost time, and tells us a few occurrences of the past five years.

All the same, he seems to have had a presentiment of impending downfall: Jeffrey, who had 'irradiated' the Club for so long, was in failing health; Thomson, another shining light, was the victim of financial adversities; several members had passed away, and most of those who enjoyed the meetings twenty and thirty years before were now lacking the vigour to keep the old Club together.

Seven years more passed, and finally Cockburn, now over seventy years of age, regretfully feels that the time has come when the Club is rapidly dissolving. What memories must have surged through his mind as he penned the last few lines! He had seen the Club in its infancy, when he himself was only twenty-four; he had watched its career during his manhood, while he was winning a great position at the Scottish Bar, crowned by his appointment as a Lord of Session; and now, an old man, he sees the inevitable dissolution of this coterie.

The last paragraphs are quite pathetic: 'So we hung on—recollecting the past, and indulging in vague dreams of revival, till, at last, Jeffrey's death seems to terminate the Club. . . . Let it go—it is a type of life, of which the brightest scenes close, and which it is in vain to cling to after their autumn has plainly arrived.'

Reading through the list of members, either the original MS. list up to 1827, or the later one printed in 1840, one is struck by the fact that almost everybody admitted to the

Club was in possession of great intellectual qualities. So much have they, even in recent years, been considered men of great ability, that, almost without exception, their individual history is to be found in the indispensable *Dictionary of National Biography*.

That, at any rate in their younger days, the members were not averse to practical joking (or 'sky-larking' we might call it now) is evident from the story of the attempted robbery of Galen's head from above the door of the worthy apothecary of George Street. Galen, or to give him his classical names, Claudius Galenus, was a celebrated Greek physician, born about 130 A.D. He was for long supreme authority in medical science, and in the days when shops had signs to indicate the nature of the business conducted within, it was not unusual for a chemist, or apothecary, to have a bust of Galen exposed above the door, in the place often occupied nowadays by a mortar and pestle.

This deed of daring took place probably in 1803 or 1804, for we are told that it was while Club suppers were in vogue, and the dinners only commenced in June of the latter year. Frivolity of youth can hardly have been the excuse of all the miscreants; Playfair must have been about fifty-six years of age, Thomas Thomson thirty-six, Sydney Smith thirty-four, and the sneak Brougham only twenty-six.

Again, the burning of paper in the interior of the New Zealand clay god at Fortune's Tontine Tavern seems nowadays rather childish; and although it is said that 'small things amuse small minds,' the proverb seems misplaced in connection with these budding philosophers.

Unlike some old convivial clubs, the members of the 'Friday' cannot be accused of excessive drinking, judging from the bills which have been preserved. Eight bottles claret, six of port, and four of sherry seems almost frugal for a dinner of sixteen members in June 1804; and three bottles claret, five of port, two of madeira, and two of sherry

for thirteen members dining six months later is a most abstemious allowance. We must recollect, too, that dinner would be a prolonged function, and that they doubtless sat at table for three or four hours at least. A quarter of a century later the quantity is much the same, but by that time a bottle or two of hock had been introduced, and a little champagne by way of novelty.

The Friday Club bills would have been more interesting if further details had been vouchsafed us; for instance, what was the 'Menu' on 9th June 1804, when dinner for sixteen members cost £4, 16s., or 6s. a head? Twenty-five years later it was more than double, at Barry's. The bracketing of the 'extras' is curious: 'Bread and Beer, 4s.'; 'Biscuits and Prawns (a strange mixture), 4s. 6d.'; 'Olives, 8s. 6d.'!

Again, at Barry's, we should like an explanation of what 'Devils, 10s.' were; mixed up with anchovies, coffee, tea, and lights, in all £2, 19s. 6d.

With these preliminary remarks we now leave our readers to the history of the Club.

#### LORD COCKBURN'S MANUSCRIPT

'This volume contains all the archives that exist of the "Friday" Club.

'This Club was formed in June 1803, and got its name from the day of the week on which it used originally to meet. It was intended merely as a social institution, and has never been anything else. Learning and talent, and public reputation, have always been prized in it, but the chief qualifications that have been looked to in members are, a taste for literature, agreeable manners, and above all, perfect safety. There are two vices which have always been avoided entirely—conversational exhibition and religious narrow-mindedness; and a third, party spirit, which has been avoided as much as

possible. The two first are held in established and uncompromising abhorrence in all their forms and degrees. The opposite opinions of the members on public subjects, and the harmony that has uniformly subsisted among them, is best proof that the Club has always been open to the worthy of all political parties. But owing to the prevalence of liberal opinions among most of the eminent men of Edinburgh in our day, the fact is that Whiggism has been its general creed.

'We have never had any laws, or elections. The institution keeps itself, and its members, right, by a prevailing feeling of propriety, and its members are kept up by a kind of growing together. Nobody has been rejected, for nobody has ever been formally proposed. Before a person can be supposed to be so worthy, so as to make it occur to any one to wish him among us, he must have been well known in the ordinary society of several of the members; if, after being discussed by a few leading associates, he is thought quite safe, and quite agreeable to all the rest, perfectly quiet and free from offensive prejudices, of unimpeachable reputation, and adequate public consideration, he is gradually drawn in by a sort of natural attraction; an operation, however, which sometimes occupies years—our tendency has always been to get stricter. Under this system the Club has always gone on without a single jar, or dispute, for twenty-four years and a half.

'It met at first every Friday about nine in the evening, but this was soon given up for a supper once a fortnight. Then the suppers and a dinner became alternate. But at last all-conquering dinner prevailed; and for above twenty years there have been monthly meetings at half-past five or six in the evening during about eight months every year. There has scarcely ever been a meeting between the 12th July and the 12th November. After the regular dinner system was established, the day was changed to Sunday, and it has continued so ever since.

'It was during one of the suppers that the memorable attack was made on Galen's head. An apothecary called Gardiner had a shop (which his son still continues) in the house immediately to the east of the Assembly Rooms in George Street. Over the door was a head of the Greek doctor (was he a Greek?) which certain of our more intellectual members had long felt an itch to possess. But it stood high and was evidently well secured. However, one night Playfair, Thomas Thomson, and Sydney Smith could resist no longer; they mounted the iron railing, and one of them got on the back of another, and had almost reached the prize when Brougham, who had eagerly encouraged them to the exploit but had retired, was detected in the dim distance of the oil lamps, stealing up with the watch, for which he had wickedly gone. The assailants had just time to escape, and the gilded philosopher smiles a gracious defiance at this day.

'We first assembled at Bayle's Tavern in Shakespeare Square. Bayle's was in the spot which is now occupied by the westmost house on the north side of Waterloo Place. We then went to Fortune's, in the eastmost division of Princes Street, where we remained for sixteen or eighteen years. This was the very best tavern that has ever been in Edinburgh, and was particularly remarkable for having, to an extent that few establishments of the kind have anywhere, the quietness of a private house.

'A graven image, like a New Zealand god, about a foot and a half high, stood on the chimney-piece, and was long an object of theological speculation. It was in the form of a sitting quadruped, though of what exact species our zoologists could never determine. Its essence was of brown clay, and it had large open eyes and ears, with a gaping mouth and wide nostrils. It was hollow, and when its body was filled with burning paper, the flames issuing from all its orifices made the demon, in spite of a general graciousness of expres-

sion, very awful. Playfair and Jeffrey (such is the habit of cleverest habits) were apt to worship it, and it was long bowed to as a tutelary saint.

'Fortune died, and his widow did not long attempt to carry on the business. Since then we wandered about seeking dry ground for the soles of our feet, and by some carelessness we lost our deity. For some time past, however, we have resorted to Barry's, which is the westmost house on the *south* side of Princes Street, and we have been so well, that is, so luxuriously and quietly, accommodated that it is not improbable we may settle here.

'We have no fines—no contributions—no presidents—no forms—no accounts. Some of these appear in our earlier proceedings, but they were scarcely ever attended to, and very soon disappeared entirely. The only officers of the institution are a secretary and his squire, a chairman. John Richardson, now solicitor in London, was the secretary from the commencement of the establishment to December 1805, when he left Edinburgh. Upon this the office was conferred upon, or assumed by me, and I have discharged its duties excellently ever since. Our chairman has always been William, but, for his services in this and the Crichton Club, raised to the dignity of *Sir* William Ross. His duty consists in collecting the names of those who mean to attend each meeting, and of levying, at the same time, the bill of the last one. All this, and the order to have the next feast ready to the tavern keeper, is done like clock-work, and costs no trouble to any one, Sir William, notwithstanding a little occasional unsteadiness of step and a nasal blue of regularly increasing intensity, being a correct, careful man, well acquainted with our ways, and familiar without disrespect or obtrusiveness. My first official act was to print a card containing the names of the members and the days of meetings throughout the ensuing year. A regular series of these cards, which are the only documents I have had occasion to make out, is in this

volume. I have hitherto been in the habit of leaving out the names of deceased members, but I mean henceforth to restore them. It is gratifying to see the names of those whose society we once enjoyed.

'When we supped, punch was our staple liquid. It used to be made by Brougham—who compounded a very pleasant but somewhat dangerous beverage—of rum, sugar, lemons, marmalade, calves-foot jelly, and a lot of water—a sort of warm shrub. This gradually gave place to iced punch, from which the marmalade and the jelly were omitted. When the suppers were exchanged for dinners, claret became the standard. It was interspersed with other and more delicate productions of the grape, but at first this was done timidly. Indeed, in those days there was a paltry prejudice against rarer French and German wines, which besides were very dear, so that their cost and their novelty made foolish people stare when they were rashly produced. The Friday had always a contempt of this, and an innate propensity towards good taste; which from the very first was evinced by a generous extravagance. But I don't think it was till the Peace of 1814 that, the Continent being opened, we soared above prejudice, and ate and drank everything that was rare and dear; a principle which is still held sacred in all our convocations.

'It is needless to add that our bills have always been high, or that their tendency has always been to get higher. On an average each dinner costs each of those who partake of it from £1, 18s. to £2, 5s. In twenty-four years three of our members, and only three, have complained of this, which has generally made us more extravagant when they were present. The costliness is a good thing in such an association; it makes it more comfortable and more select; and, after all, the price at the end of the year is not more than what a prudent gentleman, aware of the value he receives in return, will always be willing to pay. The Club may date its

decline from the day on which it has an election, or makes a law, or gets cheap.

'The mere name of most of the members is enough to fix their identity and to recall their memories. But there are others as to whom it may not be altogether unnecessary to specify something more to those who did not know them personally.

'The original members were as follows:—

1803. 1. Sir James Hall, author of the work on Gothic Architecture, and of several geological discoveries and publications.
2. Professor Dugald Stewart.
3. Professor John Playfair. Died in 1819.
4. Rev. Archibald Alison: Essays on Taste, Sermons, etc.
5. Rev. Sydney Smith, an Englishman and English clergyman, author of Sermons, the *Letters of Peter Plymley*, various articles in the *Edinburgh Review*.
6. Rev. Peter Elmslie, an Englishman and an English clergyman, editor of several Greek classics. Dead.
7. Alexander Irving, Advocate, now Lord Newton.
8. William Erskine, Advocate, afterwards Lord Kinnedar. He was the great friend of Scott, and wrote the review of Scott's novels in the *Quarterly Review*, and the supplementary lines to Collins' Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlands. He died in 1822.
9. George Cranstoun, Advocate, now Lord Corehouse.
10. Sir Walter Scott.
11. Francis Jeffrey.
12. William Clerk, Advocate, now first Clerk of the Jury Court.
13. Thomas Thomson, Advocate, Deputy-Clerk Register and Clerk of Session. It is he who has superintended the recent publication of the proceedings of the Scottish Parliaments, and by whom everything that has been done for unfolding and arranging our public muniments, under the name of the Record Commission, has been accomplished.
14. Dr. John Thomson, Physician, author of Lectures on Inflammation.

mation and other medical works. He was Professor of Medical Military Surgery in the University, but resigned and lectures out of the College on medicine.

15. John Archibald Murray, Advocate, member for Leith.
16. Henry Brougham.
17. Henry Mackenzie, senior, author of the *Man of Feeling*, etc.
18. Harry Mackenzie, junior, his son—Advocate, now a Judge, Lord Mackenzie.
19. Malcolm Laing, author of the *History of Scotland*. He died in <sup>1</sup>
20. Henry Cockburn.
21. John Richardson, Solicitor in London.
22. John Allen, formerly Lecturer on Physiology in Edinburgh. Now head of Dulwich College. He is the author of most of the articles on the more difficult and learned matters on English Constitutional Antiquities or History that have appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*.
23. Francis Horner. Died in 1817.
24. Thomas Campbell, author of the *Pleasures of Hope*.

‘Those admitted after the original constitution of the Club are as follow :—

1804. 25. Alexander Hamilton. He was secretary to Lord Cornwallis, and afterwards Oriental Professor at Haileybury. Dead.
26. Dr. Coventry, Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh.
27. Professor John Robison, whose life Playfair has written. Dead.
28. George Strickland, son of Sir George, in Yorkshire.
29. Andrew Dalzell, Professor of Greek in our University. He died in 1806.
30. Lord Webb Seymour. Brother of the Duke of Somerset. He died in 1819.
31. The Earl of Selkirk. He was the person who formed the colonies for emigrants from Scotland in the back settlements of America, where he went and resided himself. He died in <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Date blank in manuscript.

32. Lord Glenbervie. His original name was Douglas. He was the author of the *English Law Reports*, which are known by his name, and of other legal publications, and of translation of an Italian poem. He died in <sup>1</sup>
1807. 33. The Rev. John Thomson, minister of Duddingston, and the finest landscape painter in Scotland.
1810. 34. John Jeffrey, the brother of Francis.
1811. 35. Thomas F. Kennedy, of Dunure, M.P.
36. John Fullerton, Advocate.
1812. 37. George Wilson. A Scotsman by birth, but long and very highly established at the English Bar. He was the great friend of Romilly, and would probably have been at the head of the Courts if he had not been struck with palsy about 1812, on which he retired to Edinburgh. He died in <sup>1</sup>
1814. 38. Dr. John Gordon, Physician and Lecturer on Anatomy in Edinburgh. He died in 1818. His life has been written by Daniel Ellis.
1816. 39. Andrew Rutherford, Advocate.
1817. 40. James Keay, Advocate.
1825. 41. Leonard Horner, brother of Francis, formerly a merchant here, now Warden of the London University.
42. James Pillans, formerly Rector of the High School, now Professor of Humanity here.
1826. 43. Count de Flahault. A native of France, friend and aide-de-camp of Napoleon, and now married to the daughter of the late Lord Keith.
1827. 44. The Earl of Minto.
45. William Murray, Esq. of Henderland, a member of the English Bar.

‘Nobody can know Edinburgh without being aware that these are the most select and distinguished names connected with its history in our day. Besides these, the society of the Club has been varied by visits from strangers, though in general the feeling has been against this intrusion. I

<sup>1</sup> Date blank in manuscript.

remember seeing Southey there, who was very bad company. But this was soon after he was beginning to feel the *Edinburgh Review*, and Jeffrey was sitting opposite him. The stranger we saw oftenest, and with the greatest pleasure, was old James Watt.

'Brougham and Sydney Smith predominated as long as they remained in Edinburgh, which, however, was not long after the Club began. If there has been any ascendancy since, it has been acquired over willing associates, by worth, steadiness of attendance, excellence of conversation, and agreeableness of manner. By these virtues we owed much of our pleasure formerly to Dugald Stewart and old Harry Mackenzie, who have been prevented by age and infirmity from attending for some years past. Scott, too, always was, and when he comes, always is, delightful, but though he has by no means given us up, his appearances among us are not so frequent as we all wish.

'But John Playfair was the person who, from our very first meeting till the summer in which he died, was unquestionably at our head. For sixteen years the Friday Club, both for the pleasure which he conferred and which he enjoyed, was the favourite scene of that inimitable person. Not *next* to him—for this would seem to imply competition of which we have never had a feeling—but *along with* him we have been indebted to Francis Jeffrey and Thomas Thomson, in whose hands more than in those of any other individuals, the institution now is.

'Nothing more honourable could be written of any Club than its obituary of this one. But where these things are not done at the moment, they are never done. Many interesting men, and curious scenes, have been seen there, and many things have been said, which, if they had been judiciously recorded at the time, would not only have been gratifying to surviving recollection, but might have imparted a permanent value to the details of a biographer, or local

historian. Our thirteen deceased members were all worthy—but a more particular remembrance is due to Malcolm Laing and John Gordon, each of whom was not only eminent in public life, but seemed to prize his eminence chiefly as a source of gratification to his private friends. The interest of Wilson was greatly increased by his being a stranger—who had been obliged to leave his adopted country, the best London society, and great professional consideration, from illness; yet sat among us regularly, with his glass of water, excellent conversation and gentle manner, as cheerful and resigned as if he had only returned to his natural sphere. It always struck me as the triumph of magnanimity over broken health and altered prospects. But what could be expected from the man, who, after being struck with his terrible disorder, wrote and consoled his friend, Dr. Gregory, by saying, among other things: "We batchelors have a great advantage over you married men—in *dying*."

'When Richardson went to London he left all his Club papers with me. I laid them aside and forgot their existence till this autumn, when I fell upon them accidentally. On looking over them I was much struck with the interest that comes at last to attach to any memorial, however slight, which recalls, or suggests, the private hours of conspicuous men, especially when they also happen to be mutual friends in times gone by. I therefore arranged everything I had chronologically, and got it bound into this volume. It is a very inadequate record of our existence and proceedings, but I could not have resisted the pleasure of preserving it, had it been even more imperfect than it is. Nothing can be frivolous which awakens such associations.

H. COCKBURN,

10th December 1827.

'15th January 1829.

'The Club has flourished all last year. There has not been an interruption of a single Club day, and our parties

have generally consisted of from eight to ten, of whom Corehouse has almost invariably been one. I mention him particularly, because he used to be less steady than some of the rest. But he is one of the very few persons who have not been made stupid by being made a judge.

'Our only loss was Dugald Stewart, whose memory will ever be cherished by those who knew him as a member of this association. It is an honour to us to have it in our power to say that we lost such a man.

'We are still at Barry's, and still very quiet and very luxurious. An attempt was made to lower our bills; but the very next one was the very highest we ever had to pay.

'7th January 1830.

'Still flourishing. But we have this year lost Alloway, who joined us late in his life, but adhered to us during the two years we were permitted to enjoy him, with the happy gaiety and kindness which always seemed to gush over him whenever he escaped from legal drudgery into rural or social ease.

'Whisky, too, has proved fatal to "Sir" William Ross, who demised last spring—a respectful and attached officer. John Stewart has ever since been on trial as his successor, and I suppose I may now consider him as more than a novice.

'6th January 1831.

'Going on beautifully. We have this year gained the Hon. Mountstewart Elphinstone, late Governor of Bombay, and the author of the book on Caboul; and the person described by Bishop Heber as the ablest man he ever met with. He is gentle, calm, natural, and so full of modesty that it is only by directly consulting him that his very great knowledge and talent are discoverable. He has the air and appearance

otherwise of a poor worthy tutor long oppressed in some great Highland family.

'But alas! we have been deprived of the excellent Coventry, the Professor of Agriculture, a most excellent person; learned especially in science; more simple than any child; warm-hearted, ludicrously absent, combining the plainness of a farmer with the knowledge of a philosopher. His whole time was spent going about as a land doctor arranging agricultural affairs. He told me that in nine months last year he only slept four times in the same bed. But all beds, and tables, and companies were the same to Coventry; for he was constantly happy, and so absent that he never knew one from another.

'16th January 1832.

'Last summer old Harry Mackenzie died, but he had not been at the Club for some years. We have got no new member in 1831, but the attendance has been steady and the meetings regular, and Barry, at the British Hotel, is worthy of Fortune in his best days.

'Jeffrey has been almost entirely in London; so much for being Lord Advocate.'

'3rd January 1833.

'Last year we have lost Sir James Hall, Lord Newton, and Scott. None of them had attended for some years, but their names were an honour.

'We have seen a good deal of James Abercromby, but he has a maxim against clubs, and won't become a member. It is surmised that Sir Andrew Agnew, M.P., who is at the head of various societies and committees for checking the profanation of the Lord's day, has smelt us out, and means to be at us for the sin of eating our radish and our egg, and drinking

our cup of cold water upon Sunday. Does he wish us to have a dinner extra at our own houses that day?

'The agitation of the Reform Bill, with the intense interest of its first popular fruits in Scotland, has made no odds on the calm, intellectual course of the Friday, which holds on its way, superior to these low terrestrial objects.

'18th January 1835.

'We still flourish. Only two events have distinguished our anchorite history during the last two years. 1. Abercromby has become one of us. He has a contemptible stomach, but he duly regrets this, and has probably spoiled it by past indulgence. 2. In November 1834, the King rewarded my twenty-eight years' services to this Club by making me a Senator of the College of Justice. This prevented me from mingling any more among the crowd in the Outer House, and there arranging our social parties, and besides, it was beneath the dignity of a supreme judge to be adjusting tavern bills. I therefore abdicated, and of my own authority named *Andrew Rutherford* my successor.

'Fortunate youth! thy character, thy fiery eye, thy morocco books, thy eloquence, thy bits of vertu, thy law, thy deep voice, thy virtues, even thy glorious debauchery, thy generous profligacy will all be forgotten. But this honour! thy election by me, to be the Recording Angel of the Immortal Friday, this shall endure! Consuls have marked years—flavours vintages—discoveries epochs—cooks sauces—druggists doses, but henceforth thy eternal name blazes on the Friday. Dean of Faculty Rutherford—Lord Advocate Rutherford—President Rutherford—even Andrew Rutherford, what are they? But Friday Rutherford!! Equal this, Fame! At this very moment (one P.M. of the 18th January 1835) you are on the hustings at the Cross of Edinburgh proposing Sir John Campbell, late Attorney-General,

to be Member for this City. Honourable task, no doubt; but yesterday thou satest for the first time, overpowered with thy new glory, surrounded by me, Jeffrey, Thomson, Pillans, Abercromby, John A. Murray, William Murray, *members*, and Lord Abercromby and Campbell, *strangers*; and what a station was thine! I have given thee immortality; discredit not thy benefactor!

'18th January 1836.

'No change last year. No death, no admission. Abercromby has done better as Speaker than he ever did before, and if he were in Edinburgh oftener would probably become a fixture. I have been twice absent, from which it is suspected that the stupor of the Bench is coming over me. Our new Secretary has done well, considering the perfection of the predecessor, with which he has the misfortune to be contrasted.

'12th January 1837.

'As we were. Except that Thomas Thomson, at the age of *at least* seventy-two, and after a long course of social virtue, took unto himself a wife. Friday groaned; a petticoat in your library! our small luxurious suppers! gleaming through the whole night, the Pharos of quiet friendly hospitality—ensuring a harbour to the castaway who were safe in risking at any hour a berth on his hearthstone, or round his board. His large paper copies! his antiquarian and literary manuscripts! old worthy Miss Lockhart, the most exquisite of caterers, and seen only in her works! It is all gone. Oh! Thomas, Thomas! what had a petticoat to do there?

'26th January 1838.

'Last year is marked by the death of James Keay. Honourable, amiable, judicious, social, and hospitable, he

could not be but a good member of any club. For though his talents were not high, and he had no learning, and no peculiar power of conversation, yet he was one of the men of whom a large infusion is necessary in every society in order to form the public among whom the brighter spirits are to shine. He was so respectable in his character and conduct, both personal and professional—had such an unexceptionable plain manner—and was always so cheerful, safe, and sensible, that he imparted an air of security, comfort, and propriety into all his social scenes. He has been blamed by a few of late for inconsistency in politics since the introduction of the Reform Bill. I have always thought the imputation most unjust. He never mixed much in politics anyway, but his friends being mostly Whigs, some of them chose to fancy, when his conversation, which was always his faith, was called a little into action by the times, that he had deserted them; though I defy them to show any Whiggish act he had ever done, or one Edinburgh measure of this party in which he had ever been consulted by his own Whig associates. He was an admirable counsel; not learned or eloquent, but learned enough for practical business; candid even in litigation, and absolutely matchless for luminous verbal statement or argument.

Our worthy secretary forgot to print and distribute a Club card for 1837. To be sure he has his great practice to attend to—besides the Law Commission, and the general public charge of Scotland, but what are all these to the Friday!

Lockhart has (very foolishly) mentioned in his *Life of Scott* (vol. ii. p. 286) the only painful occurrence that ever disturbed us. It was when Scott allowed his temper so far to get the better of himself as to behave rudely to Lord Holland. It was the first time he had met Lord Holland after a discussion in the House of Lords, in which his lordship has given his opinion against a clear job of an office for Scott's

brother, but in very handsome terms towards Scott himself. Sir Walter says in his letter to his brother that he and Holland "met accidentally at a *public* party." He must mean by this that it was at a club or dinner, not in a private house; for it was at the Friday, the least public of all meetings, with only about ten or twelve persons present. He had not expected to meet Holland, though he must have known he was in Edinburgh, and that strangers were admitted, and evidently lost the command of himself from the first moment he entered the room. How sulky he looked! He hardly spoke a word, except to his two neighbours, and I was always expecting to see him use his knife as his borderers would of yore—not upon mutton. When Holland, the mildest of gentlemen, asked him if he would do him the honour to take wine with him, the answer was "No," uttered in a strong disdainful growl. After two hours or so of this childishness he suddenly pushed back his chair, and stumped out of the room. Richardson, who had been sitting between him and me, whispered to me that he was glad he was gone, for that his (Richardson's) knee was almost crushed by the action upon it of Sir Walter's, which had been shaking with rage ever since we had sat down. Instantly after he had retired, Lord Holland said, in his sweet-blooded way: "The Bard seems very angry at me, but I really don't know what it is for. It can't be about his brother's business—at least if it be, he has been misinformed; for what I said was that if the arrangement was about an office, it was a job; but if it was meant as an indirect reward of Walter Scott, my only objection to it was that it was too little."

"I don't believe that Scott ever did anything so unlike himself. The scene was painful certainly, but yet there was some entertainment in seeing the gruff feudal spirit taking its own way. We smiled occasionally while it was going on, and laughed outright after the unkempt man had shut the door.

' 10th January 1843 !!!

' A fearful and shameful pause in five years! which memory cannot fill.

' All 1838, 1839, and 1840 we went on as usual. Our professionally and officially busy secretary, Lord Advocate Rutherford, was too long absent, and too much occupied while at home, to enable him to whip us in properly—but still he by no means did his worst, and our meetings were pretty regular, and always quiet, cheerful, and luxurious.

' But in June 1841, Jeffrey was taken ill, and went to England, where he remained till May 1842, and he has never since been so strong as to enable him to be regardless; and though his social propensities can be safely yielded to, in all their sprightly amiableness, in the domestic scene, we have thought it better not to put him within the temptation even of our philosophic tavern. The partial quenching of this, our brightest star, was enough to have abated our zeal. For the Club, which Jeffrey used to irradiate, to abstain from meeting while his health prevented him from irradiating it still, was an homage due by it to him. But, alas! another calamity of a different, and perhaps severer, nature overtook us in the pecuniary misfortunes of Thomas Thomson, our next shining light. These misfortunes have, for a season, compelled him to live in privacy.

' The consequence of these afflictions has been that it is now nearly two years since we have had a meeting. I think the last was in May 1841. But we are only in abeyance. If the institution be destined to die with the generation that created it, its duration cannot now be long. I trust, however, though I do not see how, that its existence may be prolonged; and at any rate, even among those who be, there are many evenings which it may brighten.

' 10th June 1850.

' We have not met for some years. Our secretary, Lord Advocate and M.P. Rutherford, has allowed the contemptible cares of a senator and public accuser to interfere with his honourable duties as Secretary of the Friday. Thomas Thomson, besides marrying, got for some years into pecuniary confusion; and Jeffrey's health made his attendance impossible. So we have hung on—recollecting the past, and indulging in vague dreams of revival, till, at last, *Jeffrey's* death, last February, seems to me to terminate the Club. Its continuance by the surviving members is scarcely possible; and with our recollections and habits, I do not see what new shoots could be grafted on the old stock.

' Let it go—it is a type of life, of which the brightest scenes close; and which, though they may be renewed in other generations, it is in vain to cling to after their autumn has plainly arrived.

H. C.'

*End of Lord Cockburn's Manuscript.*

Lord Cockburn's tribute to the homely comforts which were enjoyed at Bayle's, Fortune's, and Barry's seems an excuse (if one is required) to refer more fully to some of these old Edinburgh taverns, but perhaps we should now confine ourselves to those at which the Friday Club was wont to meet.

Bayle's was the tavern at which the Club was inaugurated, in 1803, when the members merely supped on a Friday evening.

John Bayle was a Frenchman, whom we find (from old Edinburgh Directories) first established in 1777, in Bridge Street, as a Vintner, which probably included the occupation of tavern keeper. Nine years later he had moved to Shakespeare Square, and in 1793 his house, No. 1 Shakespeare

Square, is first described as a French tavern, a designation accorded to it for some years in succession.

Lord Cockburn, in 1827, says (p. 110) that it was 'in the spot now occupied by the westmost house on the north side of Waterloo Place,' which would be at the corner of what is now Leith Street.

About 1788 John Bayle, in partnership with a certain Mrs. Catherine Morrison, was interested too in keeping a boarding-house in St. James Square, but the undertaking was not a success, and terminated some ten years later. For three successive years from 1802, Mrs. Bayle, however, is found as keeper of a board and lodging house at, first No. 6 and then No. 5 St. James Square, but she died on 17th August 1805, leaving one daughter, Lucy. John Bayle himself must have died about 1803, for his name disappears from the Directory, and Mrs. Bayle, in her will, is described as his widow.

Previous to setting up in Edinburgh as a vintner and tavern keeper, John Bayle, on his arrival from France, had been in private service as *chef* to General Scott of Balcomie, in Fife, and of Bellevue, an ornate villa situated where Drummond Place now stands. The General, who was a notorious gambler, married Margaret, daughter of Robert Dundas of Arniston, and their only daughter became the wife of the fourth Duke of Portland in 1795.

An amusing story is told, in a book now little known,<sup>1</sup> of John Bayle's arrival at Balcomie on taking up his situation there, where the family was already in residence. Having crossed the Forth, he hired a gig at Kinghorn, but the very indifferent roads were almost impassable owing to heavy falls of snow, and further discomfort arose from the fact that he was unable to speak English so as to be understood by his driver. Having proceeded many miles, the horse became knocked up, and could go no farther. This interruption to

<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman*, P. B. Ainslie.

the journey took place close to the residence of Mr. Durham, of Largo, a very hospitable laird, and to this house M. Bayle was conducted by his jehu to ask shelter for the night. With a good address, and the agreeable manners of a Frenchman, Bayle was introduced to Mr. Durham as a gentleman going to Balcomie. Neither the laird nor any of his family spoke, or understood but very imperfectly, any French, but after repeated bowings, Bayle introduced himself, saying:

'Monseigneur, j'ai l'honneur d'être chef de cuisine à M. le Général Scott, et je suis en route à son château, mais malheureusement il fait un temps si orageux que je viens d'être arrêté en route.'

The honest laird seized upon the expression 'chef de cuisine,' which he translated to himself as chief cousin, or first cousin, to General Scott, and shaking M. Bayle warmly by the hand, he expressed himself delighted at the fortunate circumstance which had brought under his roof so near a relative of his good friend and neighbour. Refreshments were produced, and the bewildered Frenchman was introduced to the ladies in the drawing-room as their neighbour's first cousin.

Later on he was conducted to a bedroom, from which he descended next morning greatly refreshed, and after indulging in a hearty Scottish breakfast, he rose to continue his journey, but to his further astonishment he found the laird's own carriage waiting to convey him to his 'cousin's' residence. His arrival in such an imposing manner created great surprise, and later on, when the mistake was explained, there was a standing joke against the laird for many a long day.

We now come to Fortune's Tontine Tavern, 'the very best tavern that has ever been in Edinburgh,' Lord Cockburn tells us; but we ought perhaps to hark back some fifty years, and first refer to Fortune's Tavern in the Stamp Office Close off the High Street, belonging to John Fortune,

father of Matthew, who opened the Tontine Tavern in the New Town.

About 1750 we find Fortune's Tavern the most fashionable in Edinburgh, and it remained so for some thirty or forty years. The house had formerly been the town residence of the Earls of Eglintoun, and here Lord Hopetoun, when Lord Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1754, gave his entertainments to which ladies of rank were invited, as on similar occasions now at Holyrood House.

John Fortune, described as a vintner, married, in August 1766, Anne Sommers, daughter of John Sommers, a farmer in the parish of Kilmadock, near Doune, and sister of Thomas Sommers, who had another tavern in the High Street. They had a large family, six sons and three daughters, viz.—Thomas, born in July 1767; John, in December 1768; Matthew, in December 1769; Dalrymple (a high-sounding name for the tavern-keeper's son), in February 1772; Richard, in August 1774; and Alexander, in March 1779: the daughters were Jean (who married one Richard Blackwell, vintner), Ann, and Isabella.

The second son, John, and the youngest, Alexander, were in the service of the Honourable East India Company, the death of Major John being noted in the contemporary *Scots Magazine* as occurring at Trichinopoly in 1815, 'after a service of twenty-three years.' He is said to have married Miss Crawford, daughter of Sir Hew Crawford of Jordan Hill, an alliance which evoked a considerable amount of surprise at the time. Matthew, the third son, later on conducted, with one Leslie, the tavern in the New Town, under the name of Fortune's Tontine Tavern, which will be referred to presently.

John Fortune died in January 1787, and the tavern some eight or nine years later ceased to exist. His widow, Anne Sommers, survived him nearly twenty-five years, dying in January 1811.

We now come to Fortune's Tontine Tavern, managed by

Matthew, the third son of old John Fortune, the haunt for some fifteen years of the Friday Club.

The migration of the upper classes to the New Town of Edinburgh had now set in in earnest, and the cleanliness and freshness of a newly built tavern must have been appreciated by patrons who had been accustomed to the probably dingy apartments of the old Fortune's Tavern in Stamp Office Close, though to modern ideas the arrangements were probably far removed from the luxurious establishments we are now familiar with.

The tavern was opened in 1796 at No. 5 Princes Street, Matthew's name alone appearing in the Directory for four years, till 1800, when we find 'A. Fortune & Son,' doubtless Anne, the widow of old John Fortune, and Matthew her son. In 1805 a Peter Fortune appears together with 'Fortune and Blackwell,' the latter being brother-in-law of Matthew, and the tavern seems to have remained under their management till 1811, when the numbering of the houses in Princes Street was changed, and No. 5 became No. 15.

When nearly forty years of age, Matthew Fortune married, in April 1809, Miss Helen St. Ledger Gillies, daughter of a minister at St. Monance in Fife, by whom he had a daughter, Ann, and a son, William. He died in 1818, and as his widow did not long continue in the business of the Tontine Tavern, the Friday Club found it necessary to change their rendezvous to Barry's.

Barry's, in 1822, was in Princes Street, 'the westmost house on the south side,' Lord Cockburn says, and from this description it evidently stood at the side of what we now know as the 'Waverley Steps,' its site being comprised in the ground nowadays occupied by the North British Station Hotel.

After ten years here, Barry moved farther west, and opened the 'British Hotel' at No. 70 Queen Street, where,

at any rate, old patrons like the 'Friday Club' continued to meet, and the hotel existed till the late 'sixties.

The manuscript volume of the Friday Club history contains various dinner bills, printed lists of members, and printed cards sent out to members showing the dates on which the Club would meet during the current year. The following is an exact copy of the latest list of members:—

## MEMBERS OF THE FRIDAY CLUB, instituted in June 1803

(Those marked with an asterisk \* are dead)

1803 *Sir James Hall	1804 *Alex: Hamilton
*Professor Dugald Stewart	*Dr Coventry
*Professor John Playfair	*Professor John Robison
*Rev <sup>d</sup> Archibald Alison	Sir George Strickland
Rev <sup>d</sup> Sidney Smith	*Professor Dalzell
*Rev <sup>d</sup> Peter Elmslie	*Lord Webb Seymour
*Alex: Irving, Lord Newton	*Earl of Selkirk
*William Erskine, Lord Kin- nedar	*Lord Glenbervie
George Cranstoun	1807 Rev. John Thomson
*Sir Walter Scott	1810 John Jeffrey
Fras. Jeffrey, Lord Jeffrey	1811 T. F. Kennedy
William Clerk	J. Fullerton, Lord Fullerton
Thomas Thomson	1812 *George Wilson
John A. Murray, Lord	1814 *Dr John Gordon
Murray	1816 A. Rutherford
Lord Brougham	1817 *James Keay
*Henry Mackenzie	1825 Leonard Horner
*Malcolm Laing	Professor Pillans
H. Mackenzie, Lord Mac- kenzie	1826 Count M. de Flahault
Henry Cockburn, Lord	*D. Cathcart, Lord Alloway
Cockburn	1827 Earl of Minto
John Richardson	William Murray
John Allen	1830 Mountstuart Elphinstone
*Francis Horner	1833 Lord Dunfermline
Thomas Campbell	1839 William Empson
	Fox Maule

## THE BONALY FRIDAY CLUB

Although hardly to be considered in the same light as other old clubs, the Bonaly Friday Club seems worthy of recognition here for several reasons.

It was an imitation of the Friday Club, which we have seen was 'fathered' by Henry Cockburn; it was instituted by his sons and their friends, and the Club meetings took place at Bonaly, Lord Cockburn's country residence near Colinton, in which he took so much interest. In addition to these points, from the printed history of the Club issued in 1842, we rather suspect that Lord Cockburn had a hand in writing the somewhat amusing particulars.

In reading the history of this Club, one would imagine at first sight that it had been a genuinely old-established institution, but after a few pages one sees that the whole thing is a joke in that respect.

Regrets are expressed that the original papers, giving the history, *must* have been lost in the great fire of 1824, which devastated Parliament House and the adjacent buildings, *because* they were not to be found, but as a matter of fact the club could have only been instituted a year or two later.

Lord Cockburn's eldest son, Archibald W. Cockburn, was the originator; and five brothers, with twenty-nine youthful friends, constituted the club in 1842. The history is written in a grandiloquent style, as if the club were one of great importance, and Bonaly is alluded to as if it was their own particular property. For instance, we are told that—

'In the year 1838, it being found necessary to enlarge the accommodation of the club, the present club hall was built; a mansion not only commodious but elegant, and whose

lofty tower is often pointed out to the passing traveller as the most interesting object in the landscape, interesting, not from its picturesqueness alone, but also from the uses to which it is put, and the flood of civilisation which thence pours forth to fertilise the surrounding wastes.'

Again, colour is lent to the idea of the club's importance in detailing the beneficent effects various members have conferred during their travels on those resident in foreign parts.

'At the dinners lately given in America to Lord Morpeth and to Boz, among the obligations which America owed to the mother-country, the sending over the Friday Club was doubtless dwelt on with much feeling, though we can easily conceive how newspaper reporters did not understand, and therefore did not think of reporting, the allusion.

'In Australia, the savages who came in contact with our emissaries are stated to have already shown symptoms of improvement, and contemplate putting themselves under our protection.

'Even in England, so long plunged in barbarism and ignorance, where men use teaspoons to mix whisky toddy, and are so effeminate as to apply the name of mountains to the most insignificant hillocks, even in this benighted region the light begins to dawn. It is impossible to doubt that the world will ultimately be civilised by its instrumentality. At present it is perhaps necessary to have kings and queens, policemen, and bum-bailiffs, but the time will come when these, if tolerated at all, will be appointed by, and under the control of, the club.'

Writing some fifty years after this history was printed, Mr. Francis Jeffrey Cockburn, Lord Cockburn's youngest son, says that the club, which met only twice a year, in summer, was a great success, numbering amongst its members ministers,

doctors, and others, many of whom came well to the front in their respective professions. He continues :—

'The object of the club was, or was said to be, the elevation of those unfortunate people who did not happen to be Scotch. The club had a theory that Bonaly and everything in it was the property of the club, and that my father was their tenant, to whom as a special favour the privilege was accorded of providing the club with everything required on the days on which it was pleased to meet. When the day was fixed the president sent a polite but formal note to the tenant informing him that the club would meet at Bonaly on such a day, and requesting him firstly to vacate the premises, and secondly to provide what was needful for their comfort.'

As to the admission of candidates, we are told that—

'They were kept absolutely in the dark as to the real nature of the club, and if they had to face a competitive examination of the present day, they could scarcely have been in greater anxiety. The plan was to entrap them. For instance, having been informed with much solemnity that the club hated everything low and never allowed slang, the candidate would be asked to translate "Mens vester ego," and when, after much wonderment, he said, "Mind your eye," some member would get up and protest against his admission on the ground that slang was contrary to the principles of the club.

'I held the honourable post of club constable, and had a gorgeous painted baton suspended from my wrist by a piece of leather. I had stood for the post of punster, but was beaten by Balfour, afterwards for many years Professor of Botany in Edinburgh.

'When candidates for admission were admitted to membership at nine in the evening, I, as constable, locked them up in a room which was quite dark, with a stool or two and a chair for them to tumble over here and there. The members then proceeded to get ready for the ceremony. There was a

large box and a chest of drawers filled with theatrical costumes; I don't think any one costume was complete, but we did not think that mattered much. There were also in various places skins of tigers and leopards, and some members tied these on their backs; when they careered about on all fours, the effect was very striking, and every member had at least one penny trumpet.

'The drawing-room where the ceremony took place was kept pretty well dark. The candidate was brought in blindfolded, and was addressed by the president in solemn tones and stately language. He was reminded of the high honour about to be conferred on him, of the grand and lofty principles which it would be his duty to uphold and spread; then the bandage was removed, and a sponge full of water dashed in his face. In a moment the wild beasts capered about, the masked actors danced around him, and the penny trumpets were lustily blown. The whole scene was calculated to strike awe and amazement into the mind of the new member.

'One member, afterwards in a large practice in London, despised penny trumpets, for he had the most extraordinary power of roaring I ever heard; I believe he would have frightened a real tiger!'

Among the members of this club we find, from the list printed in 1842, besides the six sons of Lord Cockburn, their cousins, Stuart, George, and Adam Maitland, sons of Lord Dundrennan; Mr. Stuart Maitland succeeded to Drundennan and Cumstoun in Kirkcudbrightshire. Mr. George Ferguson Maitland succeeded to Hermand (Lord Hermand's wife having been an aunt of Lord Dundrennan's wife, both Macdowalls of the Garthland family), while the youngest brother, Adam Maitland, entered the Army, and died at Sebastopol in 1854. Other members were Daniel Wane, who became a well-known doctor in London, and James Dunsmure, who was

equally known as a doctor in Edinburgh. An interesting link with older days is the fact that Dr. Dunsmure for some years occupied the Castle Street house of Sir Walter Scott. John H. Balfour, another of this coterie, became Professor of Botany in Edinburgh, and one of the last survivors was James Maxton, who afterwards became Mr. Maxton-Graham of Cultoquhey, and who died within the last ten years.

## THE WIG CLUB

The 'Wig' was a club of very different character from the foregoing, and for the sake of propriety it is impossible to enter deeply into the full details of their proceedings. The age, we know, was coarse at the time the club was founded (1775), but considering that the members were all well-known men, peers of the realm, landed proprietors, and officers, one might have expected them to have set a good example. It may have been thought that there was no necessity for this, seeing that the club was, naturally, private, and the members at first limited to twenty-five.

Robert Chambers, in his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1825, is very reticent about it, possibly because the club was still in existence, though in its dotage; he merely tells us that 'it was remarkable for eating Souter's Clods and drinking the old Scottish ale called Twopenny, upon which, we have heard old people say, it was possible to get most satisfactorily drunk for a groat.'

None of these facts, however, are alluded to in the MS. Minutes of the club which are still extant.

Before continuing with the history of the club, however, let us consider how it originated. Why *Wig* Club? These were the days of wigs (though at that date they had declined in size), when there can have been nothing very odd in such a head-covering being worn by any gentleman, so that a wig

could scarcely be regarded as a strange object unless something peculiar about the one from which they took their name was known to the members.

Fortunately, a correspondent to the *Edinburgh Courant* and to the *Scots Magazine*, in February 1781, gives us an idea of this Wig's peculiarity, and helps us to understand, in a way, what led up to the coarse allusions which dominated the club. The letter is as follows :—

'SIR,—I am informed from good authority that, among the many valuable remains of antiquity that will soon be presented to the Antiquarian Society, none will be more admired than that invaluable relic now in possession of the Wig Club. This precious ornament was a gift from Cleopatra, the wife of Ptolemy Dionysius, to her lover, Mark Anthony. She, observing that his Worship was become rather bald, assembled her handmaids together, in order to deliberate how this defect might be supplied; they resolved unanimously to furnish each a ringlet from their beautiful tresses to adorn the amorous chief. The council broke up; and the Wig was soon completed. The moment Anthony assumed this delightful covering, he felt a rejuvenescence which agreeably surprised Cleopatra;—in short, he constantly wore it until the day preceding the fatal naval engagement of Actium which lost him the world—and his wig! It had been put on board a galley with some other baggage, and was carried by Augustus in triumph to Rome. It occasionally adorned the head of many an emperor, until Constantine, that pious Christian, removed the seat of Empire from Rome to Bysantium. He that year (viz. 328) made a present of it to the Bishop of Rome.

'The wig, at this period, underwent as great a conversion as Constantine did himself; for the clergy maintained it to be the gift of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. But I will not fatigue you with a minute detail of all the wonders

it performed, after it came into possession of the Church. There it mostly remained till Pope Clement x. sent it as a bribe to our very amorous monarch, Charles II., who was so delighted with the present that I am afraid he ever afterwards was a sound Catholic in his heart. Be that as it may, he wore it often, and never visited the Duchess of Portsmouth without it. His brother James seldom wore it, but always considered it as a holy relic, and at the Revolution carried it with him to France. There it remained until his grandson, Charles Edward, undertook the conquest of these kingdoms. It composed part of his Regalia, and accompanied him upon that expedition. Into whose hands it fell after the Battle of Culloden, with other matters, shall be the subject of a future discussion.—I am, etc.,  
A. B. C.'

Now this letter is interesting for several reasons; it shows that the club was in possession of a somewhat extraordinary wig, which we shall see presently had belonged to the Earl of Moray, but it is obviously impossible that it could have been a wig actually woven from the tresses of Cleopatra's handmaidens, and passing through so many vicissitudes for nearly eighteen hundred years, as stated in the letter! Why, therefore, were the members said, by 'A. B. C.,' to be so anxious to announce their intentions of presenting it to the Society of Antiquaries? The reason probably was that 'A. B. C.,' the writer of the letter, was a practical joker, anxious to delude this newly-formed society into accepting a spurious antiquarian gift. The Society, founded in 1780, was in many ways unpopular, and was perhaps rather a laughing-stock at the beginning of its career. So much was it in disfavour that on their petitioning the King for a Royal Charter (granted in March 1783), the University, the Advocates' Library, and the Philosophical Society actually presented counter-petitions praying that it should not be granted on the ground that each of them were quite capable of treasuring

the antiquities of Scotland; requests that were, however, ignored.

We hear nothing more of the matter, so that either the wig was not presented or else the antiquaries of that day were not deceived by its fictitious history; besides, the minutes of the club make no mention of their having ever parted with it, so we may conclude that the one which exists to the present day, among a few club relics, is actually the wig which had belonged to the Earl of Moray, and was presented by him to the club in 1775.

From the allusion to Mark Antony and to the amorous King Charles II., we can see that the wig was believed to possess the power of rejuvenating the wearer, but the subject is rather too delicate to discuss here, and we can only say that the erotic sentiments of the club are fully borne out by the fact that several relics more than border on obscenity. The ballot-box consists of the naked body of a man (unnecessarily proportioned), from the waist to the knees standing about two feet high; the interior is hollow and constituted the box in which, as the case might be, the black or white balls were deposited when an election of members was in progress. They also had a glass of offensive shape from which new members had to drink a bumper of claret, and the impression of a well-cut seal is one which could not nowadays be exhibited in decent society. It might be thought all this arose from the licence and frivolity of youth, but Lord Haddington was getting on for fifty years of age, while Lord Moray and Sir P. Warrender, among others, were about forty when the club was formed. It is noteworthy, too, of this club that, with the exception perhaps of Henry Dundas, hardly any of the members shone in literary, legal, or political circles; they were perhaps more gifted with high spirits than brains.

The first meeting took place on 6th March 1775 at Fortune's Tavern, when the following members were present:—

Alex. Stuart, Esq.	Sir James Baird.
Earl of Moray.	Captain Gray.
Earl of Haddington.	Captain Campbell, Fin nab.
Col. Campbell, Fin nab.	John Scot of Gala.
Hon. John Gordon.	— McDugal, Esq.
Hon. Captain Stuart.	

Various plans were formed, amongst others:—Fortune was to prepare a dinner at half a crown a head; names of those attending were to be given to him by the Caddie of the club, these members to pay 'come or not'; the caddie was to be 'Lord North,' a well-known character in that capacity. Each member, when admitted, was to kiss the wig standing, and afterwards to wear it during the ceremony of drinking from the glass already mentioned.

They decided, too, that, 'as it is impossible to support the honour of the wig if drinking to excess prevails, it is agreed that after each knight has had one bottle of wine the president is to call the bill and the wig to be put into its box.'

The club was to consist of twenty-five members, one black ball to exclude, and Captain Stuart to be Secretary. At the end of the month we find it noted that Mr. Cheap of Sauchie had presented the wig with a comb, and 'Wilson the shoemaker' was ordered to make a pedestal for the wig.

The following November it was agreed to increase the membership, and these were admitted:—

Earl of Aboyne.	Lord Robert Ker.
Sir William Erskine.	Mr. Walter Hamilton.
H. M. Stuart, Esq.	Mr. Forrester, Denevon.
Sir P. Warrender.	Mr. John Nisbet, Pitcaithland.
Captain Edgar.	Mr. Charteris, Amisfield.

At the same time it was desired that the secretary and Mr. Cheap of Sauchie should choose a hogshhead of claret for the club.

When the club had been in existence a year they resolved to have a patron saint (of their own creation), and the first

Monday of every February was to be known as St. P——'s Day, but it is impossible to denominate this 'Saint' more frankly here. James Grant, when writing of the club in *Old and New Edinburgh*, was perplexed at the single initial being referred to in an advertisement in an Edinburgh paper announcing a dinner, and searched the calendar to discover the name, but it would not be found in any list of holy men!

In 1778 it was agreed to still further increase the membership to fifty, 'there being so many respectable candidates, and the club full.'

\* In December 1789 they determined that in future they would only drink wine of their own choosing, and 'in order to prevent their wine being drunk by other companies, Mr. Fortune is directed to have their catacombs fitted up with doors and locks and keys.'

Two months later, February 1790, the secretary 'is desired to order two Hogsheads of Claret, the best he can serve, from Messrs. Bell, Rannie & Co., also half a pipe of Port: it being understood that this wine is not to be touched for one year from the laying in.'

Twelve years later the attendance of members was slackening, and Lord Elcho twice notes with regret that no members have assembled at the dinner-hour.

What the original dinner-hour was, we do not know, but in 1805 it was resolved that it was to be five P.M., so that before this it had evidently been considerably earlier, for the tendency was to get later and later.

They met originally at Fortune's Tavern, as we have seen, but that establishment came to an end shortly before the close of the century, and they then gathered at the 'Royal Exchange Coffee-House.' In 1810 the club was reviving again, and we find them at Fortune's Tontine Tavern in the New Town. Fifteen years later, however, they had withdrawn to the Old Town again, and a printed list of members was issued from the Royal Exchange Coffee-House in 1827.

For how long after this the club existed, we cannot say; it seems unlikely that it continued for many years, the Georgian Age and the viciousness which accompanied it were both coming to an end, and manners and customs were changing for the better.

List of some prominent members of the Wig Club, extracted from the Minute-Book, with dates of election:—

1775 Earl of Moray (b. 1737, d. 1810).	1778 Mr. Macdowall, Castle Semple.
Sir James Baird (6th Bart., d. 1830).	1779 Sir John Scott of Ancrum.
Captain Stuart.	1781 Col. Montgomery (? d. 1800).
Sir Alex. Don (5th Bart.).	Sir W. Cunningham.
Mr. Baird.	Lord Balcarres.
Lord Binning (b. 1753, d. 1828).	Sir John Halket (d. 1793).
Sir William Erskine.	1782 Mr. Dundas (1st Lord Melville).
Hon. Mr. F. Charteris (Lord Elcho, d. 1808).	Lord Elphinstone.
Earl of Haddington (7th, d. 1794).	1784 Earl of Crawford.
Sir H. Macdougall.	Duke of Roxburgh.
Mr. Cheap of Sauchie.	Earl of Eglintoun.
Sir John Whitefoord.	1785 Duke of Buccleuch.
Mr. John Belsches.	1787 Lord Torphichen (d. 1815).
Mr. Walter Hamilton.	1788 Mr. McQueen.
Sir Peter Warrender (b. 1731, d. 1799).	1791 Mr. Hay of Spott.
1776 Sir William Maxwell.	1792 Lord Elibank.
Lord Glencairn.	1805 Sir David Hunter Blair.
Sir Archd. Hope (b. 1735, d. 1794).	Sir J. Heron-Maxwell (d. 1830).
1777 Duke of Hamilton (d. 1799).	Sir James Baird.
Lord Haddo.	1823 Marquis of Tweeddale.
George Drummond.	Lord Elcho (8th Earl of Wemyss).
1778 Sir David Kinloch (d. 1795).	Earl of Lauderdale (d. 1839).
	1826 J. Whyte Melville.
	Earl of Hopetoun (d. 1843).
	Lord Ruthven.

## THE MIRROR CLUB

Of all the Old Edinburgh Clubs, the 'Mirror' has preserved its memory best, in consequence of the literary eminence attained by so many of the members. The periodicals which were issued under the titles of *The Mirror* and *The Lounger* were eagerly looked for on their publication, and although some of the subjects discussed may nowadays be regarded as old-fashioned, the purity of the English and their easy flowing language have constituted them literary masterpieces in miniature.

But first let us consider the origin of this club. Sir Daniel Wilson, in the *Memorials of Edinburgh* (1848), tells us that the club had previously 'existed under the name of the Tabernacle.' This would have been before 1779, when the first number of the *Mirror* was published. Now in 1770 anyhow, possibly for some years previously, possibly for some years after, there existed a club called 'The Feast of Tabernacles,' and it seems logical to suppose that these were one and the same, for it is improbable that there would be a Tabernacle Club and a Feast of Tabernacles about the same time.

The *Mirror*, we know, was a club of legal and literary men, and Mr. John Ramsay of Ochertyre, who died in 1814, tells us in *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, that 'the Feast of Tabernacles was a club composed of lawyers and literary men, whose bond of union was their friendship for Mr. Dundas, and who met at Purves's Tavern in Parliament Square.' The *Mirror* was a 'step from it,' he adds; from which we gather that the *Mirror* was a step, not in point of distance, but in reorganisation.

That the Feast of Tabernacles was flourishing in 1770 we know from the fact that the club presented to Mrs. Cockburn

of Cockpen (mother of Lord Cockburn) a large china bowl, with a framed testimonial stating that 'united by the Bonds of Friendship and in testimony of their superior regard, they have presumed to dignify with her name the Rolls of their Society.' Mrs. Cockburn was sister to Henry Dundas's wife, which would account for the 'Bonds of Friendship.'

From 1774 to 1782 Henry Dundas was Member of Parliament for Midlothian, and for most of the time Lord Advocate. We can, therefore, readily understand that his time was mostly occupied *away* from Edinburgh, and if, as Mr. Ramsay says, the *raison d'être* of the club was the friendship for Mr. Dundas, we can suppose that his absence would cause a slackness in the meeting of his friends; hence a necessary reorganisation of the club, and its transformation into the *Mirror* about 1778.

Who the members of the Feast of Tabernacles were we cannot say for certain; Henry Dundas, of course; probably his brother-in-law, Archibald Cockburn of Cockpen, at that time Sheriff-depute of Midlothian, afterwards Baron of Exchequer; John Maclaurin, Lord Dreghorn certainly, and, we may suppose, many of those who were prominent members of the *Mirror*.

Among those who were contributors to the periodical we find:—

Henry Mackenzie, the prime mover in the matter of the publication, and author of various novels (*The Man of Feeling*, etc.) and miscellaneous works.

William Craig, Advocate, who on the death of Lord Hailes was promoted to the Bench under the title of Lord Craig. He died in 1813.

Alexander Abercromby, son of George Abercromby of Tullibody. Admitted an Advocate in 1766, he was raised to the Bench as Lord Abercromby in 1792, but died less than four years later.

William Macleod Bannatyne, another Lord of Session.

William Richardson, Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University. He died in 1814.

Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, the well-known historian, who died in 1813.

David Hume, nephew of the historian, Professor of Scots Law, etc.

Robert Cullen, another Advocate, who succeeded Lord Swinton as a Lord of Justiciary in 1799.

Dr. James Beattie, author of numerous serious works, who died in 1803.

Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes.

Mr. George Home of Wedderburn, a Clerk of Session, and Cosmo Gordon, a Baron of Exchequer.

Most of these were also contributors to the Mirror Club's second venture, the *Lounger*, and, in addition, we find the names of:—

Dr. Henry, author of the *History of England*, and

Rev. Dr. Greenfield, a well-known man in his day, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

The Feast of Tabernacles met, as we have seen, in Purves's Tavern in Parliament Close, but when the club developed into the 'Mirror,' to ensure greater privacy, as the authorship of the periodical was strictly concealed, they tied themselves down to no one rendezvous, but moved from, say, Clerihugh's Tavern in Writers' Court, to that kept by Sommers' (brother-in-law of old John Fortune) in the High Street, or Stewart's Oyster Rooms, and, doubtless, to many others.

So much was secrecy observed by the writers of the various essays in the *Mirror* that even William Creech, the publisher, was unaware of the identity of the different authors. The periodical was of folio size, and the first number appeared on Saturday, 23rd January 1779. The price was 'three halfpence when called for, or two pence when sent,' the publisher's note says. Towards the end of August it was temporarily discontinued, but notice was at that time given that it would be resumed on 7th December, on which day it duly reappeared, but terminated on 27th May 1780.

The next venture was the *Lounger* which first saw light

on 5th February 1785 and, continuing on the same lines as the *Mirror*, was published weekly till 6th January 1787.

There is no reason to suppose that the club itself came to an end, although we hear nothing more of it, but they probably continued to meet, to delight in each other's society, and perhaps in the autumn of their days they had earned a rest, and the enjoyment of *otium cum dignitate*.

## THE POKER CLUB

The origin of this club may be explained best, perhaps, by quoting *in extenso* its history, which has been prefixed, in manuscript, to the Minutes of the club meetings, contained in a volume in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

This history, written probably about 1784, is undoubtedly attributable to the Rev. Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk for more than fifty-five years, because about two-thirds of it are found almost word for word in his most interesting autobiography, which was published for the first time in 1860.

'After the suppression of the Rebellion in 1746, it occurred to many of the noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland that one of the most effectual securities against the recurrence of dangerous insurrections, as well as invasions, would be the establishment of such a Militia force as had existed in England ever since the days of Edward I. The same opinion was entertained by the most eminent of the men of letters, and the subject was frequently discussed in county meetings, town councils and other influential bodies. The leading periodicals between the year 1750 and 1762 contained a number of spirited and able articles in support of the same cause, and several highly educated individuals published pamphlets which exercised a powerful influence, and led to the formation of

associations for the purpose of kindling and keeping alive the flame of patriotic feeling.

'In the beginning of the year 1762 was instituted the famous club called the "Poker," which lasted in great vigour till the year 1784. About the third or fourth meeting the members thought of giving it a name sufficiently significant to the initiated, but of uncertain meaning to the general public, and not so directly or obviously offensive as that of *Militia* Club would have been to the adversaries of any such object. Professor Adam Ferguson luckily suggested the name of Poker, which was perfectly intelligible to all the originators of the scheme, while it was an impenetrable mystery to every one else.

'This association consisted of all the literati of Edinburgh and the neighbourhood (most of whom had been members of the Select Society), with many country gentlemen who were indignant at the invidious line drawn between Scotland and England.

'The management of the club was frugal and moderate, as that of every association for a public purpose ought to be. The members met at the tavern kept by Thomas Nicolson (which was the name of their old landlord of the Diversorium), near the Cross. Dinner was on the table soon after two o'clock at the rate of a shilling a head. The only wines used were sherry and claret, and the bill was called for at six o'clock.

'After the first fifteen admitted by unanimous nomination, it was resolved that the members should be chosen by ballot, and two black balls were to exclude any candidate.

'At every successive meeting a new president was to be called to the Chair; Mr. William Johnstone, advocate, afterwards Sir William Pulteney (of Westerhall) was elected Secretary, with the charge of all publications which might be thought necessary by him and two other members whom he was directed to consult.

'In a laughing humour, the club appointed Mr. Andrew Crosbie, advocate, to be Assassin if in any extremity the services of such an officer should be needed. But David Hume was added as assessor, without whose assent nothing was to be done, so that between *plus* and *minus* there was no risk of bloodshed.

'This club continued with great spirit to hold frequent meetings six or seven years, and every member being satisfied with the frugal entertainment was not less pleased with the company. According to the testimony of the members who attended most regularly, no approach to inebriety was ever witnessed. About the end of the seventh year an unfortunate misunderstanding between one or two of the members and the landlord occasioned the removal of the club to Fortune's Tavern, the most fashionable in the town, where the day's expense soon became three times more than the usual amount of the bill at Thomas Nicolson's, and the consequence was that many of the members, not the least considerable, attended much less frequently than they had done while the management was more economical.

'A still more unfavourable result was that a number of new candidates were admitted whose views were not congenial with those of the old members. To obviate this disadvantage a few of the original members formed a new club called the "Tuesday," which met at Sommers' Tavern, and continued to flourish about two years, after which time, as the original club had to a great extent dwindled away in consequence of the death of some, and the desertion of others, the most strenuous supporters of the principles of the old club broke up the "Tuesday" meeting and returned to their former friends.'

Judging from the Minutes, which have fortunately been preserved, the club seems to have met fairly regularly on Fridays. Sometimes, however, there is an interval of two,

or even three, weeks, whilst in summer, meetings were in abeyance for perhaps three months, but at the conclusion of any meeting, they seem to have always fixed the next date, so that there was never any real irregularity in their assemblies.

Two members were always appointed at the conclusion of one meeting to be 'attending members,' *i.e.* Chairman and Vice-Chairman, at the next, and in the event of their absence, and not sending a substitute, the rules of the club ordained that the bill for the evening should be sent to the offender for settlement.

Sometimes only three or four members turned up, at other times sixteen or more, in which case it might have been a serious item of expenditure for the delinquent. The attendance, however, was, on an average, ten or twelve members.

An interesting instance of a defaulting Chairman occurs in July 1775. Sir John Whitefoord and Mr. David Ross had been appointed 'attending members' for the meeting of July 21st. Sir John Whitefoord was absent, and Mr. William Cullen took his place, 'without authority,' the minutes add; then follows a note:—

*N.B.*—Sir John Whitefoord is desired to look at the Minutes of the Club, 12 March 1773. (These are missing.)

Underneath, in a different hand, we find:—

Sir John Whitefoord was not in town for a fortnight till two o'clock on Friday, when he had invited company to dine with him, being his birthday.

Possibly these reasons were found sufficient excuse, but we suspect that the members were not averse to compelling some one else to pay their own club bills!

The minute recounting this is signed 'D. H.,' which we may take to be the initials of David Hume, the historian. The minutes were always signed by the member who had been

appointed president for that meeting, so that this volume contains a goodly list of autographs. One curious point is that the Earl of Haddington invariably wrote his name, very distinctly, Hadinton.

A similar case of a Chairman's absence occurs six months later, when it is noted on 26th January 1776, that 'Lord Ellick not having attended nor substituted any one in his room, is appointed to pay the bill for this day in terms of the resolution of the club for 23rd January 1771.' It thus seems that rules had been made on two separate occasions.

In July 1776 two notes in the Minutes seem to require some explanation which is not to be found. At the meeting on 19th it was agreed that Mr. Fortune 'should be allowed twenty shillings for providing dinner in place of twelve as formerly fixed.' Twelve shillings would scarcely have paid the actual dinner for a number of men ranging from perhaps six to eighteen; perhaps this was to cover the cost of a private room, attendance, etc. Again, on 26th of the same month, it was 'resolved that every member of the club shall pay half a guinea to Mr. Fortune who is hereby desired to collect the same from the members.' It is not at all clear what this toll was for.

Like the Wig Club, the Poker was evidently not quite satisfied with the liquor supplied by Mr. Fortune, and in January 1777 we find that 'Sir John Whitefoord, Sir John Halket, and Col. Fletcher are appointed to *chuse* two hogs-heads of wine for the use of the club.' We may be tolerably certain that the 'wine' to be chosen was claret, the most usual beverage for gentlemen of position.

On 30th July 1779, only two members attended the dinner, and they gravely note in the Minutes, 'Mr. Nairne and Mr. Adam Ferguson drank the Scotch Militia, the King, and all the friends of the Militia, but not the absent members,' expressing thereby their disgust at the non-attendance of their fellow-members.

On one occasion, two years later, the attendance was even smaller, for only one member turned up! The Minute for Friday, 27th July 1781, reads:—

Present Mr. Morehead, solus, Mr. Cullen and Mr. Brown not having attended nor secured the attendance of any members for them. Resolved *una voce* that the Bill be sent to these gentlemen.

Let us hope that Mr. Morehead, alone in his glory, did himself well!

At the next meeting, the following Friday, Mr. George Ferguson and Mr. George Home were 'attending members,' but the latter absented himself; the Minute for that evening informs us that the Bill was to be sent to him, adding, 'on which the meeting drank a bumper to Mr. George Home.'

A year later, it was agreed on 19th July 1782, 'that on Friday fortnight a meeting be called on special business of the Militia, and that Mr. Fortune do advertise it in the papers.' The result was surely disappointing, as on 2nd August only five members turned up, and no 'business' is reported.

The previous week, however, fifteen members had attended, and the Marquis of Graham was elected to the club. At the same time the President was empowered 'to write a letter of thanks to the Marquis of Graham for his noble behaviour in the business of the Scotch Militia last session.'

On the 15th May the Marquis of Graham had introduced a Bill, in the House of Commons, for 'the better ordering of a Militia in Scotland.' In 1778 leave had been granted to raise eight regiments of volunteers in Scotland, under the name of Fencible Men, but it was now argued by the Marquis of Graham, Lord Maitland, Lord Mahon, the Lord Advocate and others, that it was absolutely necessary for the safety of Scotland, that no invidious distinctions should be drawn between England and Scotland in this respect, that a Militia in Scotland was necessary, and would be a shield to the constitution of Great Britain.

Lord Barrington (second Viscount Barrington, who died

1793), the Secretary for War, opposed the Bill, and amongst those who sided with him was one Sir T. Turner, who quaintly objected to the scheme for this, among other reasons, that 'he had seen three Scotch Highlanders, without breeches, drive a whole village in England before them!'

On the 10th June, however, the Bill was thrown out, and not for the first time, for such measures had been unsuccessfully brought in on several previous occasions.

From these facts, and from the knowledge that the club had caused to be written a letter of thanks to Lord Graham for his efforts, we see that during the twenty years of their existence they had not lost sight of their original object, namely, to stir up their compatriots to demand for Scotland equal powers with England in the matter of raising a regular Militia.

Eighteen months later the club resolved to meet in future only once a month, which probably arose from a suspicion that the weekly meetings were now becoming, perhaps, a little wearisome, and that freshness might be introduced by their assembling less frequently.

Members, however, were dropping out, and the last recorded meeting was in January 1784.

In the Life of Henry Home (Lord Kames), by Alexander Fraser Tytler, the second of the lists printed below is given in full, comprising the members up to 1784, but a supplementary list is added of the members, 'of the younger Poker Club about the year 1786 or 1787.' They were:—

Professor Dugald Stewart.	George Home, Esq.
Lord Daer.	William Graig, Esq.
Dr. W. Greenfield.	Henry Mackenzie, Esq.
John Playfair.	Solicitor-General Robert Dundas.
William, Lord Robertson.	John Morthland, Advocate.
David Hume, Advocate.	D. Rutherford, M.D.
Lord Bannatyne.	Alexander Tytler, Advocate.
Patrick Brydone, Esq.	Dr. Henry Grieve.
	William Waite, Esq.

## Old members attending :—

John Home, Esq.	Dr. H. Blair.
James Edgar, Esq.	Dr. Joseph Black.
Dr. A. Carlyle.	General Fletcher Campbell.

Otherwise nothing more is known of the younger Poker Club. It was probably an ineffectual attempt to revive the glories of the older club, and in course of time had, like most others, to pass away from want of sufficient power of attraction, in spite of the fact that all the members mentioned above were men of very particular mark in their day.

## LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE POKER CLUB, 1768. FROM MS. IN THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

John Wedderburn of Gosford, Esq.	Dr. Hugh Blair.
Dr. Alexander Carlyle.	Dr. Robert Dick.
Dr. Adam Ferguson.	Dr. Robert Finlay.
John Fordyce of Ayton, Esq.	William Graham of Gartmore, Esq.
Mr. John Home.	
Mr. Jas. Ferguson, Jun., of Pitfour.	Sir Adam Ferguson.
Lord Elibank.	Mr. Alex. Wight, Advocate.
Baron Grant.	Sir John Whitefoord.
Dr. Francis Home.	Dr. John Drysdale.
Dr. George Wishart.	Hon. Patrick Boyle.
Mr. Andrew Crosbie, Advocate.	Dr. William Wight.
Mr. John Clerk.	Sir William Maxwell.
Mr. Ilay Campbell, Advocate.	Pat. Heron of Heron, Esq.
Mr. William Nairne, Esq.	The Earl of Dunmore.
David Hume, Esq.	John Stewart Shaw, Esq.
Mr. W. Alexander, Merchant.	Sir Michael Stewart.
Mr. Jas. Russel, Prof. of Nat. Philosophy.	James Dundas of Dundas, Esq.
Mr. James Edgar.	Dr. John Gregory.
Mr. John Adam.	Mr. Samuel Garbett.
Dr. William Robertson.	Mr. William Hogg, Minister.
Mr. Andrew Stuart.	Mr. Andrew Grant, Merchant.
William Pultney, Esq.	Mr. Robert Stair Dalrymple.
	Mr. Pat. Miller, Merchant.

Mr. Robert Malcolm.	Robert Keith, Esq.
Mr. John Macgowan.	Matt. Henderson, Esq.
Mr. John Dalrymple, Advocate.	Sir Robert Myrton.
Mr. Houstoun Stuart Nicolson.	Baron Mure.
George Dempster, Esq.	David Ross, Esq.
Dr. Joseph Black.	Archibald Cockburn of Cockpen, Esq.
Mr. Robert Chalmers.	David Smyth of Methven, Esq.
Col. Robert Murray.	Earl Marischal.
Mr. John Ross.	Mr. Henry Bethune.
Col. James Stuart.	Mr. Orr of Barrowfield.
Mr. Adam Smith.	Mr. Robert Aberdeen.
Mr. Alex. Home.	Mr. W. Hamilton.
Hon. Andrew Erskine.	Mr. Gascoign.
Mr. Patrick Robertson.	Capt. Ross Lockhart.
Lord Ellicock.	Col. Mure Campbell.
Mr. James Gordon.	Col. Andrew Montgomery.
Archibald Menzies of Culdares, Esq.	Hon. Jas. Stuart.

## LIST OF POKER CLUB : 26TH JANUARY 1776 (IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH).

Lord Elibank.	Mr. Baron Grant.
Dr. Carlyle.	Mr. Ilay Campbell.
Professor Ferguson.	Mr. James Dundas.
Mr. Fordyce.	Mr. John Clerk.
Mr. John Home.	Col. Fletcher.
Mr. George Dempster.	Sir Jas. Stewart.
Mr. James Ferguson.	Mr. Hume of Ninewells.
Mr. Andrew Crosbie.	Mr. Andrew Grant.
Mr. William Pultney.	Col. Campbell, Finnab.
Mr. William Nairne.	Mansfield Cardonel.
Mr. David Hume.	Mr. Alex. Ferguson.
Mr. James Edgar.	Mr. Robert Chalmers.
Mr. John Adam.	Mr. Robert Cullen.
Dr. Robertson.	Mr. George Brown of Elliston.
Mr. Andrew Stewart.	Professor John Robison.
Mr. Adam Smith.	Mr. William Gordon of Newhall.
Sir John Dalrymple.	Mr. George Home of Braxton.

Dr. Blair.	Lord Advocate H. Dundas.
Sir Adam Ferguson.	Captain Elliot.
Sir John Whitefoord.	Mr. James Russel.
Mr. Baron Mure.	Mr. Robert Keith.
Mr. David Ross (Lord Ankerville).	Mr. William Graham.
Dr. Black.	Mr. Dundas of Castlecary.
Mr. Alex. Home.	Mr. Kennedy of Dunure.
Earl of Glasgow.	Lord Binning.
Mr. Baron Norton.	Mr. Mark Pringle.
Mr. George Fergusson.	Mr. Rutherford of Edgerston.
Sir John Halkett.	Earl of Haddington ( <i>sic</i> ).
Duke of Buccleuch.	Mr. William Morehead.
Earl of Glencairn.	Mr. William Miller, younger of Glenlee.
Mr. Fletcher of Salton.	Marquis of Graham.
Lord Mount Stuart.	Sir James Johnstone.
Mr. Baron Gordon.	
Lord Ellicock.	

## THE CAPE CLUB

The 'Cape' was, in some ways, of very different standing from the 'Poker,' though both were formally constituted about the same time, and both seem to have had at one time a bond of sympathy, in the promotion of adequate defence for the kingdom of Scotland. Strange to say, too, the principal emblems of authority were two huge steel pokers, the large and the lesser poker, used perhaps as maces, and certainly of the greatest importance when candidates for admission were elected, as we shall see presently.

Judging from the lists, the members were scarcely of such high intellectual and social importance as the 'Poker' fraternity. Here and there one comes across names of people who afterwards became men of very considerable distinction, but when we know that between 1764 and 1800 six hundred and fifty diplomas had been issued to candidates on their admission, it will be seen how impossible it is to consider even

a quarter of them anything but men of respectability, who perhaps had little else to commend them. One member even was distinctly disreputable—the notorious Deacon Brodie, the hero of Stevenson's play, who, after living a double life for many years, ended his days on the gallows in 1788.

Four volumes of Cape Club papers have been preserved, and in one of them there is a short account of how this social club came into prominence from 1764 onwards. It had apparently had an existence of some kind for a number of years previously, for James Grant, in *Old and New Edinburgh*, draws attention to an advertisement which appeared in the *Herald* in 1793, announcing that the sixty-fifth anniversary of the club was to be celebrated on 15th March, which would fix the year of its first inauguration as 1733, but unfortunately we can only detail its history from 1764.

Chambers tells us that club owed its name to a joke against one member who, living in the suburbs of the Calton, was obliged to bribe the porter of the Netherbow Port to open the gate for him after the regular closing hour. This stormy passage, and the fact that he would sometimes be 'half seas over,' gave rise to the incident being referred to as his 'doubling the Cape,' and from this rather weak joke the members adopted the name of the 'Cape Club.' This explanation must nowadays seem decidedly poor, but there is no accounting for the somewhat trivial wit which amused our ancestors, and Chambers declares that this account had been given him 'by a very aged gentleman,' who guaranteed its authenticity.

The members were all dubbed 'Knights of the Cape,' and 'from 1764 onwards they admitted from time to time by a prescribed form such members as they found agreeable. The purpose and intentions of the Society from the beginning was as follows:—After the business of the day was over to pass the evening socially with a set of select companions in an agreeable, but at the same time a rational and frugal manner;

for this purpose beer and porter were the usual liquors, from fourpence to sixpence each the extent of their usual expense ; conversation and a song their amusement, gaming generally prohibited ; and a freedom to come and go at their pleasure was always considered essential to the constitution of the Society.'

In 1768 regular officers were chosen for conducting the affairs of the club, and such regulations as were necessary for their mutual benefit were agreed to, and have been preserved in printed form.

A seal was constructed and diplomas were ordered to be issued to each member on admission ; without such diplomas signed by the Sovereign (of the Society) and sealed with the seal bearing their motto, 'Concordia Fratrum Decus,' no person was entitled to the privilege of the club.

The management was in the hands of the following officers: A Sovereign, a Deputy Sovereign, Secretary, Treasurer, Recorder, twelve Councillors, a Chaplain, and ex-Sovereigns. Among the rules and regulations we find—

Neither gaming nor smoking tobacco shall be allowed in the Cape.

One penny is to be allowed (? from each member) for the newspapers, and twopence to the waiter out of each night's reckoning.

The usual hours of meeting to be about seven or eight in the evening. (Later on they decided never to break up later than 1 A.M.)

If any Knight shall carry off a newspaper he shall on conviction be fined a green stoup, *i.e.* one shilling and fourpence.

No bett or wager shall be allowed to be taken in the Cape, unless the amount of the wager be instantly tabled, and drank in the same meeting.

In addition to ordinary meetings, two Grand Capes, or Grand Festivals, a year were held, one, in October 1766, being termed a Turtle Feast. On these occasions absentees who resided in Midlothian were fined one shilling each.

For some strange reason, strange because the Club was not essentially a literary institution, the anniversary of the birth

of James Thomson, the poet, author of *The Seasons*, was always specially celebrated ; though a Scot, born at Ednam, he had little connection with Edinburgh, so that he could hardly have been a member of the older society, and he lived mostly in England, dying at Richmond, Surrey, in 1750.

The inauguration of a Knight of the Cape, after having been duly elected, was intended to be impressive. 'The Novice, having made his appearance in Cape Hall, was led up to the Sovereign by the two Knights upon whose recommendation he had been balloted for and admitted, and, having made his obeisance, was made to grasp the large Poker with his left hand, and laying his right hand on his left breast the oath or obligation was administered to him by the Sovereign (the Knights present all standing uncovered) in the following words :—

' I swear devoutly by this light  
To be a true and faithful Knight,  
With all my might, both day and night,  
So help me Poker !!

' Having then reverently kissed the large Poker, the Sovereign raising the lesser Poker with both his royal fists proceeds to club the novice by inflicting (or at least aiming) three several blows at his forehead, pronouncing at each blow, audibly, forcibly, and in their order, one of the initial letters of the motto of the Club—C.F.D., explaining their import to be Concordia Fratrum Decus, or, as interpreted by the Knights—

' Behold how good a thing it is,  
And how becoming well  
Together, such as brethren are,  
In unity to dwell.

' The new Knight was then called upon to recount some adventure or "scrape" which had befallen him ; from some leading incident in which a title was conferred on him, by

which he continued ever after to be designated in the Club.'

This account has been preserved among the Cape Club papers, though it has not the appearance of being so old as the earliest Minutes and Lists of Members.

On desiring to become a member, the intending Knight had to write out a formal petition to the Sovereign, requesting admittance to the fraternity, and this was endorsed by two existing Knights as Sponsors. The petitions are mostly couched in similar terms, and several hundreds of them probably are to be seen among the papers which have been saved.

The Knights held their meetings at various different taverns, and seem to have changed their rendezvous very frequently, but wherever they met, the room was invariably known as 'Cape Hall' for the time being.

The number of 'Cape Halls' is rather bewildering, and it will be noticed that the fashionable Fortune's Tavern seems to have been excluded from their haunts. At different times we find them at—James Mann's 'Isle of Man Arms' in Craig's Close; Dumbrick's at the 'King's Head' in Bridge Street; James Austen's at the 'Crown' in Kennedy Close; John Wood's in Heriot Gardens; Walter Scott's in Geddes Close; John Swanston's in Leith; and many others.

In the Lists of Members, each name has opposite to it the designation by which the owner was known, and from the variety of names we can only regret that the stories told by each novice, which gave rise to his distinctive knighthood, have not been handed down to us. A few may be mentioned, such as Sir Cellar, Sir Scrape, Sir Vote, Sir Finger, Sir Skipper, Sir Toe, Sir Tree, etc., etc.

The first 'Sovereign,' about 1764, was a comedian, Tom Lancashire, who was known as Sir Cape; he was an important member of this association, and it would almost seem from

his designation that the Club may have in some way originated with him. He may have been an elderly man in 1764, for his death is reported as having taken place in April 1772, so that he could quite possibly have been associated with the older institution, prior to 1764.

From the following epitaph, written by Robert Fergusson the poet, it would appear that Lancashire had acted in Hamlet (? first Gravedigger, etc.).

'Alas! poor Tom! how oft with merry heart  
Have we beheld thee play the Sexton's part.  
Each merry heart must now be grieved to see  
The Sexton's dreary part performed on thee!'

In May 1769 we can see in the Club Minutes that 'the Sovereign, attended by several Knights, laid the first stone of Comedy Hutt at the end of Princes Street, belonging to Sir Cape,' *i.e.* Tom Lancashire. No remarkable prominence is given to the laying of this foundation stone, but we can imagine that the occasion would not be allowed to pass without due glorifications!

It is impossible to give a list of the hundreds of members, but a few are worthy of notice here:—

David Herd (Sir Scrape) was the great collector of Scottish ballads, and, latterly, literary adviser of Archibald Constable.

Alexander Runciman (Sir Brimstone) was the celebrated painter. After studying in Italy he returned to Scotland, where he settled for a number of years, dying in 1785.

Donald Smith (Sir Partan) was a private banker in Edinburgh, who filled the office of Lord Provost in 1807 and 1808. He married a Miss Palmer, daughter of an eminent cabinetmaker, by whom he obtained considerable property, and died at his house in West Nicolson Street in 1814, aged seventy-five. His son, Alexander Smith, was killed in 1833 by the collapse of a floor of a house where a sale of the collection of pictures of Mr. John Clerk of Eldin was in progress.

Jacob More (Sir Byre) was another well-known painter. In 1773 he went to Italy, where he principally resided till his death in 1793.

James Cadell (Sir Stark-naked). Whoever he was, one feels that this is a case in which it would have been interesting if the stories related by novices, which gained them their sobriquets, had been preserved.

James Watt (Sir Hermione). Could this possibly have been the celebrated engineer, the improver and patentee of more than one steam-engine? He was born in 1736, and certainly spent some of his life in Scotland. In the Friday Club Memoirs, Henry Cockburn tells us that they used to enjoy the society of 'old James Watt' as a guest.

Gavin Wilson (Sir Macaroni) was a shoemaker of poetical inclinations, and doubtless the same as 'Wilson the shoemaker,' who, we have seen, was instructed by the Wig Club to make a pedestal for 'the' wig. On coming up for election to the Club he was at first rejected, and among the Club papers is an interesting letter from him appealing for reconsideration. In this letter he states that he understands that he is objected to on account of (1) his height, (2) his large hat, (3) his black wig. He apologises for not being able to remedy the first objection, but promises to reduce the size of his hat and to powder his wig, and he was finally admitted in January 1773!

John Rennie (Sir Owlet) was in all probability the celebrated civil engineer, designer of several of the great bridges in London crossing the Thames. His name occurs rather late in the List of Members, which would strengthen the theory, for he was only born in 1761, dying in 1821. In 1784 he had entered into the employment of James Watt (? Sir Hermione).

Henry Raeburn (Sir Discovery), described in his petition as 'painter in Edinburgh,' was, of course, the celebrated artist. One or two authorities have given his Club pseudonym as Sir Toby, but although these two words are written *in pencil* on the back of his petition, 'Sir Discovery' is perfectly distinct in the contemporary List of Members and their Club names.

Robert Fergusson (Sir Precentor) was the poet, mentioned before as the author of Tom Lancashire's epitaph.

William Brodie (Sir Lluyd) was the notorious Deacon Brodie executed in 1788.

In the manuscript List of Members of the Cape Club, various notes have been added, such as 'dead,' 'retired,' 'expelled,' etc., whilst opposite the name of William Brodie has been drawn a gibbet with a body suspended from it, and '1st October 1788, for robbing Excise'; a sufficiently simple obituary notice for such an outrageous member of the Club!

That their merry-makings were not invariably harmonious is evident from several entries in the Minutes at different dates. The members occasionally became obstreperous, and their conviviality was sometimes interrupted by quarrelsome members, who temporarily, let us suppose, forgot their manners. For instance, in March 1775 we find:—

Complaint against Sir Toe for the most aggravated breach, not only of all the laws of good order and society, but of all feelings of humanity, in maintaining in Cape Hall on March 1st a falsehood to the prejudice of Sir Skip, which he endeavoured to prove, but failed therein; in being so brutish as to call his friends one after the other the opprobrious name of LYAR without provocation; in spitting in Sir Skip's face, and afterwards stripping to fight him.

The result of this conduct was that Sir Toe was suspended till next Grand Cape. Sir Toe, the delinquent, was Thomas Hill, whose name appears in the lists as having been elected to the Club in February 1774; otherwise he is apparently unknown to fame, or notoriety. His adversary, Sir Skip, was John Bonnar, who seems to have been equally obscure.

Again, in 1777, we find that—

Sir Waterhole and Sir Care behaved in a riotous and disorderly manner on 13th June, and were called upon to submissively ask pardon of the Sovereign, and were suspended in the meantime.

Sir Waterhole was William Hume, who has not been identified, and Sir Care was Andrew Plummer, who had been elected in March 1770. He replied to the complaint by writing a long letter, dated from Sunderland Hall, resigning his membership.

In dealing with the Poker Club, we have shown that in 1778 leave had been granted for the raising in Scotland of eight regiments of volunteers, or fencible men as they were termed, and with one of these we are particularly interested.

The commencement of the American War, or 'unnatural and unjustifiable revolt,' as it was termed, was the basis from which the Lord Provost, John Dalrymple, petitioned the King to be allowed to levy a regiment of a thousand men, to be employed wherever His Majesty was pleased to command, and to be named the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers.

Leave was granted, subscriptions to defray expenses poured in, and in a short time the regiment was in being. Sir William Erskine was colonel, Major Thomas Dundas lieutenant-colonel, Captain Gordon of Ellon and Sir James Murray majors.

In token of their loyalty, we find that the Cape Club opened a subscription list among their members, with the gratifying result that the sum of one hundred guineas was handed over to the Treasurer of the City for the funds of this regiment. A copy of the receipt is preserved among the Club papers:—

24th February 1778.—Received from the Knights Companions of the Cape, by the hands of Mr. Andrew Cockburn, their Treasurer, ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS paid in by them for raising the regiment of foot called the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers.

(Signed) HUGH BUCHAN,  
for ALEX. MAXWELL,  
Treasurer.

Up to the year 1800, six hundred members had, as mentioned before, joined the Cape Club, but although numerous petitions for enrolment are extant, with Lists of Members, we hear little more of their social meetings, which, however, did not finally come to an end till 1841. It was probably in a moribund condition for many years before, buoyed up, like others, with futile attempts at revival.

The final meeting took place at the Railway Tavern, Hope Street, on 29th March 1841. As there were only twenty-one surviving members, it was decided to dissolve the Club, to hand over the Club papers and effects to the custody of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and to bestow on the Royal Infirmary their surplus funds.

In the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, several of the relics are to be seen, such as a crimson cap worn by the Sovereign *pro tem.*, and the two Pokers mentioned before. The large Poker, which is of very great weight, has only inscribed on it the dates, 1764-1841, while the lesser Poker has 'Made and presented to the Cape by John Richardson, 1768,' engraved on it.

## THE CHROCHALLAN FENCIBLES

This Club seems to have originated with William Smellie, the celebrated printer and antiquary, and to have been instituted about 1778, at the time when bands of citizens came to be formed as Fencible men or Volunteers against dangers arising from invasion during the American War.

The members met at Daniel Douglas's Tavern, near the top of the Anchor Close, which was frequented by many of the principal men of Edinburgh, and particularly by advocates, and from the fact that the landlord was in the habit of entertaining his customers by singing to them an old Gaelic song, 'Chro Challan,' or 'The Cattle of Colin,' an intimate section of his customers formed themselves into a club, taking the name Chrochallan Fencibles. The members bore some pretended military rank, such as colonel, major, etc., etc., William Dunbar, W.S., being colonel, Charles Hay, afterwards Lord Newton, major, William Smellie, recorder, Lord Craig, provost, in imitation of the Volunteers, or Corps of Fencible men, then being formed.

Attempts to find Club Minutes, or Lists of Members, have proved unavailing, and we are obliged to content ourselves with names of a few men, picked out of various published works, who certainly did belong to this convivial fraternity.

When Robert Burns came to Edinburgh in December 1786, to superintend the publishing of his poems, undertaken by Creech, William Smellie, who was engaged in printing the work, introduced him to the Club early in 1787, and this was, no doubt, one of the many merry circles in which he is said to have undermined his constitution by excessive conviviality.

This was his first visit to Edinburgh, at any rate since his fame as a poet had spread, and his introduction into all grades of social company speedily followed. James Dalrymple of Orangefield, near Irvine, had known the ploughman poet in Ayrshire, and was one of the first to take him by the hand and lead him into every variety of life in Edinburgh.

The quantity of his invitations was somewhat embarrassing, and on his receiving one from a lady of title who had only met him once, he thought this 'lionising' was exceeding the limit, and replied that he 'had pleasure in accepting, provided that the Learned Pig was invited also.' Such an animal was then performing in the Grassmarket.

In Kerr's *Memoirs of Smellie* we are told that when 'the members of the Club got Burns and Smellie together at their jovial meetings, they always endeavoured to pit them against each other in a contest of wit and irony. On these occasions Mr. Smellie used to thrash the poet most abominably, which gave occasion to the expression in a poetical effusion by Burns, "His caustic wit was biting rude."'

The following are a few of the names of the members of this Club, gathered from the sources noted :—

From *Works of Robert Burns*, 1877, vol. ii. p. 47 :

Alexander Cunningham, Writer.  
Robert Cleghorn of Saughton Mills.

From Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 25 :

Hon. Henry Erskine.  
Lord Newton.  
Lord Gillies.  
Dr. Gilbert Stuart.

From *Old and New Edinburgh*, vols. i. and ii. :

Captain Matthew Henderson.  
William Dunbar, W.S.  
Hon. Alexander Gordon, Advocate.

From *Reminiscences of the Anchor Close* :

John Dundas, W.S.  
Edward Bruce, W.S.  
Alexander Wight.  
William Dallas, W.S.  
Alexander Smellie.  
Williamson of Cardrona.

This is, numerically, a most disappointing list, seeing that the Club must have numbered many more of the literary and legal fraternity, meeting in a thoroughly convivial way.

The Chrochallan Fencible Club seems to have had a short but a merry life. In the *Reminiscences of the Anchor Close* there is given a copy of the circular issued for the last meeting :—

HEADQUARTERS,  
QUEEN MARY'S COUNCIL CHAMBER,  
ANCHOR CLOSE, 10th December 1795.

A meeting of the Corps of the Chrochallan Fencibles is appointed to be held on Sunday, 13th current.—Sacred to the memory of the late Mustermaster General, Major, and Paymaster.

## RIGHT AND WRONG CLUB

Of the 'Right and Wrong' James Hogg has left us an amusing history in his autobiography. After suggesting that it was perhaps the most ridiculous club that ever was founded in any city, he tells us that 'it was established one night in a frolic, at a jovial dinner-party in the house of a young lawyer, now of some celebrity at the Bar. The chief principle was that whatever any member might assert, the whole were bound to support the same, whether right or wrong. We were so delighted with the novelty of the idea, that we agreed to meet next day at Oman's Hotel and celebrate its anniversary. We were dull and heavy when we met, but did not part so! We dined at five and separated at two in the morning, before which time the Club had risen greatly in our estimation; so we agreed to meet the next day and every successive day for five or six weeks, and during all that time our hours of sitting continued the same.

'No constitution on earth could stand this. Had our meetings been restricted to once a month, or even once a week, the Club might have continued to this day, and would have been a source of pleasure and entertainment to the members, but to meet daily was out of the question.

'The result was that several of the members got quite deranged, and I drank myself into an inflammatory fever. The madness of the members proved no bar to the hilarity of the society; on the contrary, it seemed to add a great deal of zest to it, as a thing quite in character! An inflammatory fever, however, sounded rather strange in the ears of the joyous group, and threw a damper on their spirits. They continued their meetings for some days longer, and regularly sent a deputation at five o'clock to inquire for my health, and I was sometimes favoured with a call from one or more of the members at two or three in the morning when

they separated. The mornings after such visits I was almost sure to have to provide new knockers and bell handles for all the people on the stairs.

'Finding, however, that I grew worse, they had the generosity to discontinue their sittings, and declared that they would not meet until their poet was able to join them. This motion (which was made by a newly initiated member, Mr. John Ballantyne) was hailed with approbation, and from that hour the Right and Wrong Club never more met. It was high time it should be given up, and it proved a dear Club to me. I was three weeks confined to bed, and if it had not been for Dr. Saunders, I believe I should have died.

'Its effect turned out better with regard to several of the other members, as it produced a number of happy marriages. During the period of high excitation the lads wrote flaming love-letters to young ladies of their acquaintance, containing certain proffers which, on returning reflection, they found they could not with propriety retract. It made some of them do the wisest acts they ever did in their lives.'

When we take into account the appalling extent of their intemperance, it is just as well that this Club's career was necessarily brief, and it is strange to think that such a state of things could have existed among decent people less than a century ago. The Club, we gather from Hogg's autobiography, was in being in 1814, and Oman's Hotel, where they met, was in West Register Street. Charles Oman, who, as a lad, had come to Edinburgh from far Caithness, had spent his early days at the Star and Garter in Writers' Court, in the Old Town. Eventually he took over Bayle's Tavern (on that worthy's death) in Shakespeare Square, and later on opened these premises in West Register Street.

It would have been interesting to know who the other members were, but knowledge on that point is not forthcoming. Mr. John Ballantyne, the newly elected member

at whose instigation the Club ceased to meet, may have been the publisher, brother of James Ballantyne, the printer of Sir Walter Scott's works, a surmise which is strengthened by the fact that one of his biographers states that he shattered his health by excess.

## THE GOWKS

Although comparatively little is known of 'The Gowks,' it seems clear, judging from the List of Members printed in 1825, that the Club must have been, socially, one of some importance during the earlier years of last century.

Apparently they dined together only twice annually; on 1st April and on one of the days of the closing year. Dealing, as we are, with a Scottish Club in a volume which will probably only appeal to those of Scottish birth, it is perhaps unnecessary to explain the connection between Gowks and the first of April, but why this coterie should have dubbed themselves 'Gowks,' and why a day in dreary December should have been selected as their second bi-annual meeting after their first, on Fools' day, must remain a mystery.

Only two printed Minutes of the Club's proceedings have been found accessible, and in each case the reason of their being published at all seems to have arisen from the fact that their laureate, old Henry Mackenzie, sent a poetical effusion regretting his inability, from old age, to be present at the dinners.

When the Club was founded, and for how long it lasted, it seems impossible to say; but seeing that in 1825 Henry Mackenzie would be eighty years of age, Sir William Fettes seventy-five, and Sir John Marjoribanks sixty-two, it is improbable that this dining club to which they belonged was of any recent formation, for surely neither they nor any

other elderly men would have joined, in their old age, a club which was evidently for the enjoyment of wines of the choicest vintages at their dinners.

From what Henry Mackenzie says in 1825 and 1826, it would seem that the members vied with one another in bringing to the dinners whatever they considered the best wine, or liquor (alcoholic) of some kind, to be judged by their fellow-members.

In 1825 Henry Mackenzie, in excusing his attendance, says:

The members of that merry board  
 their pic-nic quotas will afford;  
 Their Chairman for himself propine  
 his last year's travelled German wine  
 fresh from the vintage of the Rhine.  
 The brothers Bell, the prize to gain  
 of tasteful trial, choice Champagne  
 or the long treasured wine of Spain.  
 Some Glasgow friend will send his Rum,  
 and some shy member furnish—Mum.'

The other extant Minute of the Club, dated 1st April 1826, is reprinted in full below.

Mr. Rutherford, who was in the chair, was in all probability Andrew, afterwards Lord Advocate, and finally a Lord of Session, whose connection with the Friday Club has already been noticed. 'W. B.,' the secretary, probably identical with William Bell, the croupier on this occasion, was no doubt the third son of Benjamin Bell, the celebrated surgeon, who died in April 1806, the first of a long line of well-known Edinburgh medicos.

Mr. Benjamin Bell, who was admitted a member of the Club at this time, must have been nephew of William Bell, his father having been George Bell, surgeon, eldest son of the first Benjamin.

Who 'Mr. Stuart,' the absent chairman, was, it seems impossible to say.

From the final paragraph of the Minute we can only make a shrewd conjecture that the members had borrowed a leaf or two from the Wagering Club's *raison d'être*, and were in the habit of making bets on coming topical events, the losers being obliged to supply, or pay for, the wines used at their dinners, which, we see, were held at Barry's in Queen Street.

The Minute is as follows :—

BARRY'S, 1st April 1826.

Mr. RUTHERFORD (in absence of Mr. Stuart) in the Chair, Mr. W. BELL, Croupier.

The Secretary read to the meeting a letter which he had received from the Poet Laureate of the Club.

HERIOT ROW,  
Saturday Morning, 1st April 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—

Alas! in vain your card invites  
To share your first of April rites;  
My answer must be still the same  
As when your first kind summons came.  
Half blind, half deaf, and wholly lame!—  
I would not now when turn'd fourscore  
Tax my good friends with such a bore;  
With yard-long stories, often told,  
Of things that passed in times of old,  
When Scotland, now so vain of self,  
Was rich in men, though poor in pelf;  
Or, with my trumpet at my ear,  
Earnest to listen, scarce to hear,  
Speak, still for mutual talk unable,  
Cross-purposes across the table.  
And, therefore, as I am not dumb  
As well as deaf, I must not come.

'Yet, sooth to say, your invitation  
Has for a poor man some temptation;

On Barry's best ragouts to dine,  
To drink your competition wine;  
Besides the mental treat of wit  
In Scott's or Jeffrey's gayest fit,  
And others, whom their jokes inspire  
With jocund sympathetic fire;  
These are the joys that I forego  
But Prudence, peevish jade, says No.

Your April day, if right I quote,  
Could boast of some old friends of note;  
Erasmus, though her greatest foe,  
Spoke all her praises long ago,  
And show'd the learned and the wise,  
That Folly's wisdom is disguise.  
And yet his landed state of folly  
Was not, like yours, so gay and jolly;  
Did not from long-neck'd bottles drain  
High-flavoured Hock, or rich Champagne;  
Or if your brother's cellar spare it,  
Delicious Vintage Fifteen Claret.

Think then, dear Sir, how much I grieve  
To send my answer negative :—  
Yet give, I pray, his kindest greeting  
From your poor Laureate to the meeting;  
And say, that at his humble board,  
With no such precious dainties stor'd,  
He'll not forget the healths of those  
Who wisdom's grave divan oppose,  
Who meet, with Folly's flag unfurl'd,  
To scout the wisdom of the world.

H. M.

The Club receive, with great delight, this farther mark of the kind recollection in which they are held by their most esteemed Laureate; and only regret, that so worthy a Member, and one who shows how properly he appreciates their customs and their doctrines, should be prevented, by any cause, from attending where he would be, as he is everywhere, the ornament and the delight of the meeting.

They hope that at their next Meeting in December, he will not

withhold his company, as they deem no excuse a good one, except a sick certificate; and that, they trust, will long be withheld. And, in proof of their sincerity, they assure him, that if, at any time, whether in Gowk Season, or out of it, he shall be inclined to give one single chirrup, the whole Cuckoos in Scotland, will flock to St. Andrew's Square, or wherever he shall perch, and sing, in chorus, *io triumphe!*

They farther direct their Committee to renew their search for such a 'Largesse' as such a Meeting can offer to such a Laureate.

Mr. Benjamin Bell was admitted Knight Companion, and Mr. Stuart named President of next meeting.

A copy of this Minute was directed to be sent to each member and a dozen copies laid up in the Archives. The Laureate was also requested to accept of some copies.

Multitudes of competitions were repeated against those who had failed to send their wines; and a goodly store of farther betts were hatched.

W. B., *Secretary.*

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE GOWKS CLUB, 1825.

The Hon. Col. Hamilton.	Lord Chief Commissioner.
Sir John Marjoribanks, Bart.	Lord Chief Baron.
Sir William Fettes, Bart.	Messrs. John Cuninghame.
Dr. Hamilton.	Henry Cockburn.
Messrs. George Bell.	Lord Abercrombie.
Alex. Henderson.	Lord Gillies.
Commissioner Osborne.	Messrs. James Moncreiff.
Robert Bell.	Collector M'Nair.
Thomas Cranstoun.	Admiral Adam.
William Bell.	Dr. M'Whirter.
Hugh Mossman.	Messrs. James Mackenzie.
J. W. Brougham.	William Gibson Craig.
W. H. Sands.	T. G. Wright.
Geo. Mercer.	David Carnegie.
J. A. Murray.	Andrew Rutherford.
James Nairn.	James Stuart.
James Bell.	William M'Kenzie.
Geo. S. Elliot.	
Robert Ramsay.	<i>Honorary.</i>
John Bonar.	Henry Mackenzie.
Francis Jeffrey.	

OYSTER CLUB

In 1833 we hear of the 'Oyster Club' from a MS. Diary<sup>1</sup> of an Edinburgh accountant, Mr. Muckersy. In olden days we know that it had been fashionable to entertain in Oyster Cellars (so called) in the Old Town, and Chambers tells us that ladies as well as gentlemen were in the habit of frequenting such places, indulging first in oysters and porter, and subsequently brandy or rum punch, and he mentions that Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, the celebrated Duchess of Gordon, and other persons of distinction were not above enjoying themselves in such a manner, by way of frolic.

Possibly this Oyster Club was the survivor of some such club of former days, but in 1833 we find that they met in a more sedate locality, at Barry's British Hotel in Queen Street.

Their rendezvous, too, was more in keeping with their *fons et origo*, for we find that, when Mr. Muckersy joined, it was a Whist Club, meeting once a fortnight, but probably the serious part of the proceedings did not interfere with a certain amount of conviviality, as the evening drew to a close.

Mr. Muckersy, in his Diary, gives the names of the members present at a meeting on 6th February 1833, as follows:—

John Jardine, Advocate.	Robert Rutherford, W.S.
Walter Cook, W.S.	William Young Herries, W.S.
Patrick Irvine, W.S.	William Cunningham, W.S.
William Robertson, W.S.	Thomas Duncan, M.D.
John Forman, W.S.	— Buchanan, Merchant.
Henry Hill, W.S.	Thomas Addison.
Thomas Patten, W.S.	Thomas Mansfield, Accountant; and
Carlyle Bell, W.S.	Myself.

<sup>1</sup> In the possession of John A. Fairley, Esq.

He adds, 'The other members are, thirty being the full number':—

Guthrie Wright, W.S.	John Kennedy, W.S.
— Sligo.	James Brown, Accountant.
— Chiene.	Major Robertson.
Henry Maxwell.	— Field.
Hugh Watson, W.S.	— Gillespie, Surgeon.
Alex. Lamont, W.S.	Wm. Keith, Accountant.
William Bell, W.S.	

## THE MARROW-BONE CLUB

The Marrow-bone Club, which flourished at a later date than those clubs we have already mentioned, was essentially a political club; political in so far that the members were all Whigs, though politics were practically abolished during their convivial meetings, which took place at Cameron's Tavern in Fleshmarket Close.

When the Club was founded I cannot say, but two Lists of Members have come into my possession, the one made evidently in 1851, the other in 1861-2, and this coterie lasted till about 1877.

Printed cards were issued to members, announcing the forthcoming dinner, headed by the Club crest and motto, the former a marrow-bone, and the latter, in a scroll above, 'Nil Nisi Bonum.' It has been alleged that north of Tweed we 'joke w' deeficulty,' but this pun is assuredly good enough to banish the imputation!

Standing dishes at their dinners were steaks, and, of course, marrow-bones, almost every member having his own marrow scoop, a heavy silver article with his crest or arms, as well as his name and date of membership, engraved on it; the oldest I have heard of belonged to Sheriff Archd. Davidson,

and is dated 1835. The Club glasses had the crest and motto cut on them, and the crockery was similarly adorned.

From 1860 onwards, whisky was the usual liquor, and only one toast was permitted after dinner, short and to the point: 'This side up,' meaning the Whig side.

The two Lists of Members are subjoined—

1851

Robert Ainslie, 39 Great King Street.  
 J. Montgomery Bell, Forres Street.  
 John Brodie, Moray Place.  
 James H. Burnett, 4 Moray Place.  
 Thomas Brown, New Club.  
 Alexander Currie, 43 Heriot Row.  
 James Crawford, Charlotte Square.  
 James T. G. Craig, 24 York Place.  
 Andrew Coventry, 29 Moray Place.  
 Sir W. Gibson Craig, M.P.  
 Archibald Davidson, 24 Rutland Square.  
 John Dalrymple, M.P., Oxenfoord Castle.  
 George Deas, Solicitor-General, Heriot Row.  
 Angus Fletcher of Dunans, 5 Ainslie Place.  
 William Forbes of Echt, 4 Shandwick Place.  
 John Thomson Gordon.  
 Robert Handyside, Great Stuart Street.  
 Cosmo Innes, Inverleith Row.  
 Henry Inglis, Queen Street.  
 James Moncreiff, Lord Advocate, 15 Great Stuart Street.  
 William Murray of Henderland, 11 Great Stuart Street.  
 William Moncreiff, 47 Moray Place.  
 Thomas Mackenzie, 24 Heriot Row.  
 William Mackenzie of Muirtown, Charlotte Square.  
 George Napier, Coates Hall.  
 William Playfair, Great Stuart Street.  
 Patrick Shaw, 40 Heriot Row.  
 John Stewart, 36 India Street.  
 William Waddell, Royal Terrace.

1861-2

*Members to whom Circulars are to be ordinarily sent*

Anderson, James T., 3 Gloucester Place.  
 Ballantine, James, Warrender Lodge.  
 Bell, J. Montgomery, 4 Forres Street.  
 Bell, Dr. George, Rutland Street.  
 Black, Adam, M.P., 38 Drummond Place.  
 Brodie, John C., 26 Moray Place.  
 Brodie, Thomas, 26 Moray Place.  
 Brown, Thomas, 8 Albyn Place.  
 Burnett, Sir James H., 4 Moray Place.  
 Clark, A. R., 17 Great Stuart Street.  
 Craig, Sir William G., Bart., of Riccarton.  
 Currie, Alexander, 43 Heriot Row.  
 Davidson, Archibald, 24 Rutland Square.  
 Dunbar, Sir William, Bart., M.P., 47 Heriot Row.  
 Fletcher, Angus, 5 Ainslie Place.  
 Fordyce, George D., 5 Forres Street.  
 Fraser, Patrick, 5 Heriot Row.  
 Gifford, Adam, 35 Drummond Place.  
 Gordon, John T., 6 Gloucester Place.  
 Inglis, Henry, 29 St. Andrew Square.  
 Innes, Cosmo, 15 Inverleith Row.  
 Ivory, Thomas, 9 Ainslie Place.  
 Ivory, William, 12 Albany Street.  
 Lancaster, Henry H., 22 Albany Street.  
 Logan, A. S., 12 York Place.  
 Lorimer, John, 19 Albany Street.  
 Macfarlane, Robert, 31 Heriot Row.  
 MacLagan, Dr. Douglas, 28 Heriot Row.  
 Mackenzie, Donald, 12 Great Stuart Street.  
 Maitland, E. F. (Solicitor-General), 3 Ainslie Place.  
 Moncreiff, Alexander, 16 Northumberland Street.  
 Moncreiff, The Rt. Hon. James, M.P., 15 Great Stuart Street.  
 Moncreiff, William, 59 George Street.  
 Morton, Charles, Ramsay Lodge.  
 Murray, Andrew, 17 Walker Street.

Russell, Alexander, 2 Ramsay Gardens.  
 Rutherford, Andrew, 47 Albany Street.  
 Shand, A. B., 57 Queen Street.  
 Shand, C. F., 6 St. Colme Street.  
 Shaw, Patrick, 36 Charlotte Square.  
 Swinburne, Major-General, 13 Great Stuart Street.  
 Stewart, 4 North Charlotte Street.  
 Waddell, William, 26 Royal Circus.  
 Young, George, 47 Moray Place.  
 Morrison, Adam, S.S.C., 45 York Place.  
 Hay, James, 3 South Place, Leith.  
 Hunter, John, Advocate, Queen Street.  
 Thorn, David, 18 Hope Crescent.  
 Morton, Hugh, Seacot House, Leith Links.  
 Kinnear, A. S., 41 Heriot Row.  
 Crichton, J. A., 12 Nelson Street.  
 Moncreiff, H. J., 15 Great Stuart Street.  
 Macpherson Grant, Sir George, 12 York Place.  
 Campbell, C. M'Pherson, 12 York Place.  
 J. B. Balfour, 6 India Street.  
 Agnew, Stair A., New Club.  
 Sellar, A. C., 1 Randolph Crescent.  
 Dalhousie, The Rt. Hon. Earl of, New Club.  
 Stair, The Rt. Hon. Earl of, Oxenfoord Castle.

## OTHER CLUBS.

The following list gives the names of a number of other social clubs which have existed in Edinburgh, with references to the works where the available information regarding them may be found:—

The Easy Club, . . . *Memoir of Allan Ramsay.*  
 The Whin Bush Club, . . . *Ramsay's Poems.*  
 The Facers Club, . . . " "  
 The Diversorium, . . . *Carlyle's Autobiography.*  
 The Sweating Club, . . . *Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh.*

The Lawnmarket Club, . . .	Chambers's <i>Traditions of Edinburgh</i> .
The Pious Club, . . .	" " "
The Boar Club, . . .	" " "
The Spendthrift Club, . . .	" " "
The Industrious Club, . . .	" " "
The Bannet Lairds, . . .	" " "
The Skull Club, . . .	" " "
The Dirty Club, . . .	" " "
The Oddfellows, . . .	" " "
The Black Wigs, . . .	" " "
The Antemanum Club, . . .	" and Cockburn's <i>Memorials</i> .
The Hellfire Club, . . .	" and Wodrow's <i>Analecta</i> .
The Horn Order, . . .	" and <i>Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries</i> , 1792.
The Assembly of Birds, . . .	Grant's <i>Old and New Edinburgh</i> .
The Wagering Club, . . .	<i>Book of the Old Edinburgh Club</i> , vol. ii.
The Club, . . .	Lockhart's <i>Life of Scott</i> .

HARRY A. COCKBURN.

## THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH

### III. MISCELLANEOUS<sup>1</sup>

LODGED in obscure nooks on the margin of Edinburgh, whither they have drifted in obedience to some past and partly-forgotten tide of change, are a number of armorial and other sculptured stones that, like travelled boulders, bear on their faces, in more or less clearly-graven characters, the record of their origin and purposes. They are nowhere scattered more plentifully, or more rich in interest, than on the western and south-western outskirts of the city. A few seem to have been carried inward from the country to the town; more have been floated outward from sites that are now in the centre of trade and population to the neighbourhood of green fields and running waters. We have already seen that some of these 'erratic blocks' of local and family history have settled on the banks of the Water of Leith, below Coltbridge. Others, with legends traced on them that also repay decipherment, are to be found near the passages of the stream, on the main roads leading towards Glasgow by Linlithgow, and by Midcalder.

Built over the doorway of the Paip's Charity Cottage that immediately adjoins the public highway and the bridges crossing the Water of Leith at Coltbridge is a seventeenth-century armorial panel, in good preservation, that hands down

<sup>1</sup> The first article on the Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh, 'The Dean Group,' is in the volume of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* for 1908; the second article, 'The West-End and Dalry Groups,' is in the volume for 1909.

to us the memory of a strange and tragic episode in the annals of a noble family that were long the lords of the district lying between this spot and Corstorphine. The bearings on the shield agree generally with a version of those of the Lords Forrester, given in the 'Peers' Arms' MS.<sup>1</sup> These are, 1st and 4th, paly of six, with a canton bearing a gilly-flower, for Livingston; 2nd and 3rd, three hunting-horns, for



FIG. 1.—Arms of Lord Forrester on cottage at Coltbridge.  
(From a sketch by Miss Marie Fraser.)

Forrester; over all, on an 'escutcheon of pretence,' nine stars arranged 3, 3, 2, 1, for Baillie. Above is a coronet. Inscribed over it is the year '1676'; and shield and date are enclosed in an ornamental border. (Fig. 1.) There can be no doubt that the stone records the arms of James, second Lord Forrester, who, three years later than the date it bears, was murdered by Christian Nimmo, his niece by marriage, in his garden at Corstorphine Castle, as tradition has it, under a plane-tree that still flourishes close to the old doocot on the skirts of the village. The founder of the family was Sir Adam Forrester, a wealthy and influential burgher of Edinburgh, and three times Provost, who in 1376 acquired the lands of Corstorphine from William More of Abercorn, and in 1382 those of Wrychtis-housis. By him, and by his son Sir John, the ancient church of St. John the Baptist at Corstorphine was founded and endowed, and a piece of land

<sup>1</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, vol. iv. p. 99.

near the Water of Leith at Coltbridge, still identifiable as the 'Lamp Acre,'<sup>1</sup> was granted for supplying light to the lantern, set in a niche at the east end of the church, for guiding adventurous travellers across the marshes that lay between the stream and the village. The church contains interesting memorials of the Forrester family in the form of altar-tombs, recumbent figures, and heraldic shields, bearing the three hunting-horns, of which, and of their motto, 'Blaw, Hunter, Blaw ye Horne,' they were so proud.

Tenth in succession to the founder was George, created in 1633 first Lord Forrester of Corstorphine. He married Christian, daughter of Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth, and by her had a son, who died without issue after he had come to man's estate and married, and five daughters. In his later years Lord Forrester, who had sat in Parliament for Edinburgh and been Sheriff of the county, executed, under influences that cannot now be traced, certain remarkable dispositions of his property. Passing over his eldest daughters, who were all three married, he resigned his estates and obtained in 1650 a new charter of them in favour of James Baillie—son of Major-General William Baillie of Letham and his wife Janet Bruce, and grandson of Sir William Baillie of Lamington—who had married, in the previous year, his fourth daughter Joanna, with succession to William Baillie (who married his fifth daughter Lilius) and other sons of General Baillie. Next year Lord Forrester resigned his peerage, and obtained a regrant of it, with similar destinations. James Baillie succeeded, as second Lord Forrester, on his father-in-law's death in 1654. He was a stout Royalist, and was heavily fined by Cromwell. His private record is infamous, and arising out of one of its

<sup>1</sup> The Lamp Acre—'ane aiker of land lying bewest the Cowes brigge (Coltbridge), upon the south side of the little house that stands by the wayside, commonly called the Lamp Aiker, within the parochine of St. Cuthbert's'—was gifted by George, first Lord Forrester, as an addition to the emoluments of the schoolmaster of Corstorphine, in days when provisions were conveyed from Coltbridge to that village by boat. This fact may give a key to the history and original location of the Paip's Charity stone.

ugliest incidents, his niece Christian Hamilton, daughter of Christian, the third daughter of the first Lord Forrester, who had married first James Hamilton of Grange and afterwards John Wauch, minister of Bo'ness, visited him at the Castle of Corstorphine, on 26th August 1679. She had married James Nimmo, an Edinburgh burgher, against the wishes of her family. She met Lord Forrester in the garden whither he had been summoned from the 'Black Bull,' where he had been drinking, and after a violent scene, ran him through with his own sword. She was condemned to death for the crime, and after escaping from prison, she was recaptured at Fala and executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on 12th<sup>a</sup> October of the same year.

After the death of Joanna Forrester, 'an exemplary woman, but of too gentle a nature,' Lord Forrester married a second time, and it may be sign of the evil savour he had given to the name that his children (none of whom succeeded him) all took their mother's name of Ruthven, and that his brother, William Baillie, to whom the succession passed, did not assume the title, which was recognised only in 1698, when his nephew, the fourth Lord, produced the regrant of 1651, which until then had been kept secret. The Coltbridge stone appears to show that the 'wicked Lord,' discarding the simple shield of the old Forresters, quartered their arms with those of the mother of his first wife (which resemble also those of his second wife) and surmounted them with his own family coat. The title has descended to the Earl of Verulam, twelfth Lord Forrester.

Other Forrester armorial stones, chiefly from the Church or the Castle of Corstorphine, have got displaced and scattered, but still retain positions on the western outskirts of Edinburgh. A shield bearing the Forrester arms, in company with one having the Ramsay spread-eagle impaled with the Rhynd arms and the initials 'A. R.,' 'M. R.,' is on one of two lintels built into the stables at Corstorphine

House. A boldly-carved mantelpiece, containing the familiar three bugles on two shields, that flank a third having the three unicorns' heads of the Preston family, accompanied by the letters 'H. F.' and 'H. P.,' doubtless commemorates the union of Sir Henry Forrester (succeeded 1589) to Helenor Preston of Craigmillar, and was probably taken from the ruins of the Castle of Corstorphine to its present position over the fireplace of a humble room in the ground story of the eighteenth-century building in the High Street of the village, known as Amulree House. These stones are figured in Selway's *A Midlothian Village*. Other three stones, evidently removed from altar-tombs in the Church, at the time when it was suffering renovation at the hands of Mr. Burn in 1827, are built into the front wall of Long Hermiston House, which was for some time the residence of that merciless 'improver' of our ancient ecclesiastical and domestic architecture. They are circular shield-panels, two of them bearing simply the Forrester bugles, or hunting-horns, while the third has impaled with these an engrailed bend—identical with the arms on several of the shields that adorn the interior and exterior of Corstorphine Church. The panel has a finely-carved oak-leaf border, and its double—evidently completing a set of four shield ornaments—will be found built, with other ecclesiastical fragments, into the outer wall of a house in Juniper Green (Rosemary Cottage) where, I am told, Burn had summer quarters. At Long Hermiston are also a large gargoyle; a dormer bearing the date '1663,' and, above the entrance door, an interesting armorial stone with twelve quarterings (including those of Bethune of Balfour, Kennedy and Macdowell) on a lozenge shield, which, with the initials 'M. K.,' definitely associate it with Marjory Kennedy, daughter of John Kennedy, a wealthy Edinburgh burgher, who married Alexander Bethune, W.S., owner of Longhermiston and Currie, through whose daughter and heiress, Grizel, the lands passed to the Macdowells of Garthland.

The first paper-mills on the Water of Leith are said to have been established about 1675-79, at Dalry Mills. The spot was on the right bank of the stream, a little way above Coltbridge, and adjoining Roseburn House, to which attention must now be directed. This relic of the domestic architecture of the sixteenth century stands between Roseburn Road and the margin of the Water, but so secluded behind its high gate and walls that one might easily pass it by without suspecting that anything of antiquarian note was hidden behind. It is still occupied and kept in good condition, and its present possessor, Mr. Thomson, takes much interest in its preservation.

Roseburn seems to be a name of comparatively late date as applied to the house. At least it does not appear to be marked by that title in the older maps of the locality; for example, in John Adair's 'Map of Midlothian' of 1680, where 'Dary mil' (Dalry Mill?) occupies its position on the river. In the description in Latin of the Province of Edinburgh, copied from the Sibbald MSS. in the Advocates' Library and printed in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, mention is made among the country-houses on the right bank of the river, of 'villa Gorghiensis cum mola cognomini, Dalriæ molæ cum arce cognomini, Ovilia, Amnis Lethæ,' and so forth, together with 'Stenopi-Molæ, Saughtonhallum, Dena' and others on the left bank; these weird-looking names being translated 'Gorgie Town, Gorgie Mill, Dalry Mills with the House thereof, Coats, Water of Leith,' and 'Stenopmills, Saughtonhall, Dean' respectively.<sup>1</sup> One suspects that Roseburn was once known as the 'House' of Dalry Mill at which, according to entries in the *Foulis Account Book*, James Scougal, Lord Whytehills, resided in the reign of Charles II.

The mound between the house and the river, now occupied by a dilapidated doocot and a bowling-green, may have been a prehistoric barrow. At least Wilson mentions that

<sup>1</sup> Macfarlane, vol. ii. p. 618, Scottish History Society.

several cists were found here on trenching the ground, and tradition associates it with a camping-ground of Cromwell, who is said to have slept for a night in the house while conducting his campaign against Lesley.

An account of the architectural features of Roseburn House is given in the first volume of the *Transactions* (p. 115) of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, who visited it in 1891:—

'It appears to have consisted of three sides of a courtyard. The west wing is now ruinous, but otherwise the house is fairly entire. The original entrance was by the doorway in the north-west turret, which also contains the wheel-staircase. A scale and platt stair on the east side has been added in the seventeenth century, with an entrance doorway, and an extension of the east front has been added at the same time. The ground-floor is vaulted, and although greatly altered, it has indications of carefully finished mason-work visible in various details, among which is the lintel over the front door. . . . On one of the doors is a wrought-iron sneck-handle which contains an ingenious concealed device for opening the door.'

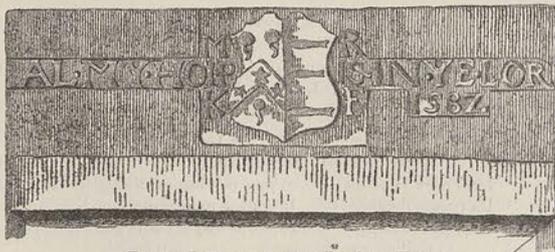


FIG. 2.—Lintel over door at Roseburn House.  
(From a sketch by Miss Marie Fraser.)

The archaeological interest of Roseburn centres mainly in the lintel over what had once been the front door—now opening upon a passage at the back of the house—and in a much more elaborately sculptured stone, 'perhaps one of the finest in

Scotland' of its kind, built, out of its original place, in the south wall, and protected by a pent-house which, if it protects it from the weather, stands in the way of successful photographing. The former of these stones bears the initials 'M. R.' and 'K. F.', with the inscription 'AL · MY · HOIP · IS · IN · YE · LORD,' and the date '1582,' together with a shield on which a chevron, bearing three mullets, between three tadpoles, or 'powits,' is impaled with the device of three fishes fessways. (Fig. 2.)

The other stone, which, it is conjectured, must have formed the lintel of a wide fireplace or of some interior door—as the work is too delicate for the open air, from exposure to which it has already greatly suffered—is not so easy of description. I take the liberty of transcribing that of the writer in the *Transactions*, who gives its length as seven feet eight inches and its height as one foot four inches:—

'In the centre are the royal arms of Scotland with the motto "In Defens," and along the top of the stone runs the inscription which reads, as far as can be made out:—

GVD KEIP OVRE CROVNE AND SEND  
GVD SVCESSIVN,

and at each end two castles, separated by delicately wrought gabled panels, with tracery in the gables, and between, and at either end of the stone, the inscription, in fine raised letters:—

Gyf yov	Gracia dei salvom fac popvlvm tvom domine	Incline
vil enter	quem redimisti precioso sang(vine)	yi eir vn
at Crist	Lord save yi people qvham yov has rede(mit)	to ye pvre
tis dvre	Da pacem domine In diebus nostris qvia	
1562	Lord gyf pece In ovr(e d)ayis yar is non	
	O God on me have revth . . . . i)n trevth.	

'The legend, in alternate Scots and Latin, is taken from the Church service. A rounded moulding which runs along the under side contains letters here and there, but so much worn as to be undecipherable. On the castles there are figures supporting projected windows; and above one of those windows, on the right hand, a figure on the top of the window seems to hold a flag above its head,

and round the parapet of the same castle there are carved five antic-locking figures. The stone is unfortunately broken on the right of the royal arms.' (Fig. 3.)

The occurrence here, at a date a year later than the crisis of the Scottish Reformation, of the royal arms and of a passage from the Roman service (incorrectly given by Grant, who mentions also a date '1526' which is not discoverable on the stone), may encourage curious speculations. Along with the letters 'M. R.' on the smaller lintel, it has apparently suggested 'the unsupported local tradition which associates the house with Mary and Bothwell,' and that points out one of the apartments as 'Queen Mary's room.'<sup>1</sup> The tadpoles



FIG. 3.—Lintel at Roseburn House.

of the shield undergo, in the description of this writer, a droll transformation into 'rose-buds,' reminiscent of 'Roseburn.' The shield, says the Architectural Association *Transactions*, contains 'the Russell and Fisher or Forman arms impaled'; but it is added, 'we have not succeeded in finding any history of these families attached to Roseburn,' a statement not greatly modified by the note that 'there is a William Fisher mentioned in the Retours in 1567, and a Katherina Fisher, whose initials may be those carved here, is mentioned in 1624'—obviously too late a date.

There can be no doubt that the initials 'M. R.' are those of Mungo, or Kentigern, Russell, Treasurer of Edinburgh in 1575-82, son of Thomas Russell, a Burgess of the town in

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 103.

1529-30, who, as stated in Burke's *Peerage*,<sup>1</sup> acquired this property in 1583, and whose will is dated 24th July 1593. Mungo Russell figures frequently in the burghal records of the period. There are, for instance, numerous entries, from 1575 forward, in the *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*,<sup>2</sup> relating to the labours of 'Mongow Russell, theasurer,' in collecting from the various burghs their share of the 'extent of the bullion,' amounting to ten thousand pounds, required by 'the Lord Regent's grace' (the Earl of Morton), his leading auditor being 'Henry Nesbett, bailie,' mentioned in the paper on the Dean Sculptured Stones. In July 1583 he assisted, along with 'Gilbert Primrose, chirurgeane,' and other councillors of Edinburgh, in passing an Act decreeing that a burgess's daughter guilty of immorality should be deprived of the privilege of passing her husband into the guildry or crafts without payment of entry duty.<sup>3</sup>

The Russell arms, according to Burke, are found of earlier date in Stobo Church in Peeblesshire. This is not borne out in the volume on *Stobo Church* by Dr. Gunn, who however, has a good deal to record concerning the Russells of Slipperfield, or Kingseat, an estate lying on the southern slope of the Pentlands, in West Linton parish.<sup>4</sup> James Russell, son or grandson of Mungo Russell, obtained, in 1632, sasine of lands in West Linton, and in 1642 of the Middlethird of Slipperfield, also known as Kingseat, which had belonged to the Pennecuiks of that ilk and afterwards to Lord Holyroodhouse, son of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. His grandson, William Russell, was minister of Stobo from 1688 to 1699, and was

<sup>1</sup> 1910 edition, p. 1571.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Marwick's *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Clement Gunn's *Stobo Church*. The stone referred to is probably that built into the outside of the east wall of Stobo Church, and still in a wonderfully good state of preservation, due to its having been painted. I am indebted to the Rev. J. R. Cruickshank for the inscription: "Hic jacet Jacobus Russell in Dreva qui obiit Aug. 30 Anno 1692, aetatis 67, relinquit ex charissima Coniuge Helena Scot tres filios ac quatuor gnatas. Hoc monumentum posuerunt filii superstes in spem resurrectionis gloriose."

succeeded in that charge by his nephew, another William Russell—eldest son of James Russell of Kingseat—who had previously been minister of Culter and of Morham, and who succeeded to the family property. The Session and Presbytery minutes abound in proceedings arising out of the second William Russell's 'contumacy' in such matters as neglecting to pray for George I. He had been a Jacobite trooper before he was a preacher, and Dr. Pennecuik, in his 'Panegyric upon the Royal Army in Scotland,' writes of him as of one who had fallen away from grace:—

'Young Kingseat was a Tory trooper then,  
Now Stobo stipend makes him Whig again;  
So frequently we see from cloak to gown  
Prelate and Presbyterian turn upside down.'

He died in 1733. His nephew, John Russell of Braidshaw, was the first of four generations of the same name who were 'Clerks to the Signet.'<sup>1</sup> The second of these, John Russell, who died in 1796, is described as 'of Roseburn,' so that the ancestral house on the Water of Leith would appear to have been retained in the family. He was, like his father before him, agent for the Forfeited Estates, as was his son after him—John Russell, the Third, who married Eleanora, daughter of Principal William Robertson. Their son, John Russell, Principal Clerk of Session, born 1780, died 1862, was father of the late Mr. Alexander James Russell, C.S. The '— Russell, Esq.', described in the *Itinerary of Scotland* of 1824 as proprietor of Roseburn, was apparently the third John Russell, C.S. The family is represented by Sir Charles Russell of Charlton Park, Gloucestershire (descended from the second John Russell), who retains the three tadpoles on his arms.

Higher up-stream the next passage of the Water of Leith is at Saughton, where it is crossed by the Old Glasgow Road.

<sup>1</sup> Part of the family record will be found on the tomb in Greyfriars Churchyard.

Here, as at Coltbridge, groups of mills and cottages have been gathered near the bridge-end from time immemorial, and the bridge itself is the latest of a line bestriding the little river at this point. Besides being a centre of the milling craft, Saughton Bridge had several country mansions within hail; and three of these have held their ground, in more or less damaged condition, down to the present day. On the right, or west bank, Gorgie House has always been associated with Gorgie Mills, and in the second half of the seventeenth century was in possession of a family named Brown. 'Went out by Gorgie Milnes, belonging to one Browne; then by Saughton



FIG. 4.—Pediment at Gorgie House.

Hall; then by Bels milne to Stanip-milne Elies,' is an entry of 1668 in Lauder of Fountainhall's *Journals*.<sup>1</sup> The older portion of the house is screened by a more modern front, and contained in it, along with other marks of antiquity, is a hand-wrought plaster ceiling in fine preservation, and of similar design to that in Dalry House, referred to in a previous article. Inserted above a built-up doorway in an adjoining wall is a stone containing a monogram, and the date '1710.'<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 4.)

On the left bank is Saughton Hall, which, with the

<sup>1</sup> Scottish History Society, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> We may identify the entwined initials as those of George Lind and of his wife, Jean Montgomerie. Jean was seized in Gorgie Myles, on disposition of 1711, by her husband, George Lind of Gorgie, merchant in Edinburgh (he was Master of the Merchant Company in 1708), to secure the provisions of their marriage contract, dated 11th May 1694. It is interesting to note that the arms of Lind of Gorgie (registered 1738), viz., two spears in saltire, between a mullet in chief and a crescent in base, within a bordure charged with fleurs-de-lys and annulets, correspond closely with those of Montgomerie of Heselaid, or Hesselheid, in Ayrshire, to which branch of the Eglington stem belonged Alexander Montgomerie, the poet of 'The Cherry and the Slae.' (See

attached lands, has lately become town property. The lands came into possession of a branch of the old family of the Bairds of Auchmeddan, at one time Hereditary Constables of Banff, and of New Byth, in East Lothian, apparently in the time of Sir Robert Baird of Saughton Hall, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1696. His great-great-grandson, Sir William Baird, fifth baronet, married Frances, the daughter of Colonel Gardiner, the commander of the Hanoverian cavalry at Prestonpans, and the family have since taken the name of Gardiner-Baird. The house, apparently early eighteenth century, contains no sculptured work of note. But built into the east gable wall of the adjoining farmhouse of Saughton, still belonging to the Gardiner-Bairds, is a heraldic stone in good preservation, although the scroll containing the motto, which Mr. Ford, the present tenant of the farm, remembers to have seen entire, has been broken away. The shield bears, on the dexter, a wild boar passant, on a canton a sword in pale (the arms of the Bairds of Saughton Hall), and, on the sinister, three keys fessways in pale, wards downward, these impaled arms being those of the Gibsons of Pentland. There is a helmet, with mantling, and over it the Baird crest, a boar's head. (Fig. 5.)

The stone commemorates Sir James Baird, second baronet, and his second wife. He married first, Margaret Hamilton of Mountain Hall, and after her death, in 1694, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Gibson of Pentland and Addiston (Deputy-Clerk Register from 1696 to 1700), who owned Gibson House, formerly the Dower House of the Forrester family, in the adjoining village of Corstorphine, and whose burial-place is in Old Pentland Churchyard. Sir James (who died in 1715) was the eldest son of Sir Robert, the purchaser of the property, and his brother William, bailie

59th vol. of the Scottish Text Society's publications.) It seems a reasonable suggestion that Jean was a member of the Hesselheid family, and that her descendants in Gorgie Myles adopted her family arms.

and city treasurer, who married a daughter of Sir William Binning of Wallyford, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was ancestor of the Bairds of New Byth. Below this armorial stone has been placed a lintel, partly restored, and obviously of older date, bearing the familiar inscription: 'O Lord



FIG. 5.—Armorial Stone and Lintel at Saughton Hall.

in The is al my Trast.' Both stones were removed a few years ago by Sir William Gardiner-Baird from the walls of the adjacent farm buildings—which bear signs of considerable age—to their present position. Their previous history—whether they had ever been incorporated in the existing Saughton Hall, or had been ornaments of an older building on

or near the same site—is unknown to me. Comparison may be made with a large armorial stone of almost contemporary date, at present resting beside the porch at Riccarton House. It was formerly at Addiston House, and was sent by Lord Morton to the late Sir James Gibson-Craig when that old seat of the Gibsons was undergoing alteration. It bears the initials 'S. A. G.,' the date '1688,' and the crest of a pelican, surmounting a shield bearing the three keys fessways. This identifies it with Sir Alexander Gibson (son of Sir John Gibson of Pentland and Addiston), Principal Clerk of Session, who was knighted in 1682 and died 1693, and whose son and successor, Sir John of Pentland, Deputy-Clerk Register, married, in 1687, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lewis Craig of Riccarton. It may be added that, built into the 'restored' tower at Riccarton (the handiwork of Burn), is a remarkable lintel, dated 1621, and having within a roll-and-hollow

'S. L. C.  
moulding the letters D. D. together with the mottoes,  
B.C.M.S.'

'Vive et Vivas,' 'Sit Deus intransibus, solamen praesdum exeuntibus,' and 'By Godlines the Airis is blissit, but Cryeing Sinnes spewis him out of possession.' The initials 'S. L. C.' are those of Sir Lewis Craig of Riccarton, a Lord of Session under the name of Lord Wrightslands, son of Sir Thomas Craig, the great feudal lawyer, and Helen, daughter of Heriot of Lymphoy. He succeeded his father in 1608 and died in 1622, the year after the date on the lintel. The other initials are those of Sir Lewis Craig's two wives, Beatrix Chyrnside and Marie Somerville.<sup>1</sup>

An older and still more interesting edifice than Gorgie House is its forlorn neighbour, on the same side of the stream, Stenhopenmills, or latterly Stenhousemills. A still older name appears to have been Saughton Mills,

<sup>1</sup> For much of the above information I am indebted to Miss Gibson Craig, Long Hermiston House.

and it seems to have once formed part of the lands of Saughton, an appanage of the Abbey of Holyrood. In 1511 the Abbot and convent granted Saughton Mills in tack for a hundred and ten years to a family named Stenhope, from whom the property afterwards took its name. Saughton was acquired from the Abbey in 1537 by Richard Watson, who, it has been conjectured, from a remark of Nisbet the Heraldist on his arms and motto—an oak-tree with the words 'Inseperata Floruit'—resumed ownership of the lands after the family had been dispossessed of them for a hundred years. They long remained in the hands of his descendants, represented by the Earls of Morton. In 1537, Robert, Comendator of Holyrood, granted a charter of feu farm of six oxengates of the town and lands of Saughton, in the Regality of Broughton, in favour of Janet Stenhope (presumably a daughter of the neighbouring laird of Saughton Mills), the relict of Richard Watson, in liferent, and his son James Watson in fee. In 1657, David Watson of Saughton acquired from James Winram of Wiston, the superiority of 'Saughton Milnes, commonly called Stenhope Milnes in the parish of St. Cuthbert.' The Watson line ended in an heiress, Helen, who in 1844 married Sholto John, Lord Aberdour, afterwards twentieth Earl of Morton.

Saughton House contains among other antiquities a curious painted ceiling of astronomical design, and probably of late seventeenth-century date. Inscribed over the old east doorway is a hexameter line from Terence—'Quidquid agas, prudenter agas, et respice finem.' Mr. W. Traquair Dickson writes: 'A good many alterations on the house were made, evidently about the end of the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century. The Watsons of Saughton were then wealthy and prominent people. The old east doorway with the inscription is evidently of that time. The earlier doorway seems to have been at the place of the present one. A

large window of late style was put in its place.' The house is in good hands and admirably preserved. Stenhopemills House, lying on the very border of the extended burgh, has, on the other hand, been parcelled out among poor tenants, and is lapsing into a sad state of neglect. In the Edinburgh Architectural Association's *Transactions*,<sup>1</sup> it is described as a once pleasant residence on the bank of the Water, and until



FIG. 6.—Arms of Patrick Ellis at Stenhouse Mills.

lately of even larger dimensions than the present considerable size:—

'It contains some fifteen apartments, and is extremely simple in its arrangements. It may be regarded as a T plan on a large scale, with an extra wing at one corner. The main block measures about 75 feet long from north to south, by about 22 feet, and is three stories high. Two wings project on the west side. These, after the usual manner of Scottish houses, contain one apartment on each floor. The larger wing comprises also the wheel-staircase, which is reached directly from the entrance in the ordinary way. . . . The entrance

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 116.

door is in the re-entering angle, and there are also two entrance doors in the east front. The main portion of the house is divided near the centre by a thick gable, all to the north of which on the ground-floor is vaulted. In one of the vaults there is a well now covered over.

The vaulted portion contains several recesses and other architectural features of interest, and was evidently used as kitchen with attached brew-houses and bake-houses. Over the entrance doorway (Fig. 6) are the arms and initials of Patrick Ellis, merchant-burgess of Edinburgh, and, like Mungo Russell, the builder of Roseburn, Treasurer of the town. The date is 1623, and on the lintel beneath are the words:—

‘Blisit be God for al His Giftis.’

The house contains two plaster ceilings, the most elaborate of which is that which decorates what is called ‘King Charles’s Room,’ from the fact that the design includes the initials of Charles II., with date and motto and various royal insignia, as at Dalry and Gorgie. Part of the ceiling has been cut away in forming the present comparatively small apartment, and what is left of the design is badly clogged with whitewash. The building evidently had at one time a considerable extension towards the east, and had been approached from the north by a courtyard. It is a melancholy reminder of what had been the comfortable home of a wealthy Edinburgh burgess of nearly three centuries ago.

The arms, a sword in bend, between two helmets, agree with those registered by Ellis of Saughton Milnes, under the Act of 1672. They differ from those of other two Ellis families—those of Elliston and of Southside—whose seventeenth-century houses are still standing within a few miles of Edinburgh, and whose coats, registered about the same time as that of Ellis of Saughton Mills, bear respectively ‘three eels naiant fessways in pale’ and ‘three helmets with beavers open.’ ‘Patrick Heleis, Thesaurer of the brugh of Edinburgh’—the builder of the house, whose initials, ‘P. E.’

are on the lintel—was occupied in 1601 in disbursing the charges incurred in the ‘hamebringing of the strangers’ from Flanders with their ‘wyffis, bayrnis, geir, and wark-lobmes’ for the ‘makin of braid clayth and stuffes within the realm’—the introduction of a new industry into Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Concerned in the same ‘interpryse’ was ‘George Hereott, younger,’ goldsmith, and Thomas Fischer, merchant, the latter of whom (employed by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1598 on an important fiscal mission to the French Court) may have been related to Katherine Fisher, whose initials are on the Roseburn lintel, and who was probably name-father of Fisher’s Close in the Lawnmarket. It has been noticed<sup>2</sup> that Patrick married Isobel, daughter of Seton of Parbroath. But the entry in Lord Fountainhall’s Holograph Notes, giving his maternal great-grandfather’s descent and connections, is sufficiently curious to bear quotation:—

‘I find in 1513 in the end of King James the 4th reign (it being unnecessary to mention any before, tho’ Eleis’ son assured me he could doe it for severall prior generations) one Alexander Elois merchant in Edinr his burgesse ticket of that date designed son to Patrick Elois, Bailzie of Edin. This Alexander Elois had a son called Patrick after his goodsire, and this Patrick was also a merchant and Bailzie in Edinr, and the first lands he acquired was Stanopmilnes, then Plewlands, Southsyde and Mortonhall, which he gave to his several sons, being upwards of twenty thousand pounds in lands and money. He was twice married; his first wife was Marian Inglis, daughter to James Inglis, merchant in Edinr, and predecessor to the present Laird of Cramond. His 2nd wife was Isobel Seton, daughter to John Seton, son to Seton of Parbroath in Fyffe. . . . Which Patrick Elois, among other children, had Mr. Alexander Eleis, so called after his goodsire, Patrick’s father, to whom he gave the lands of Mortonhall. This Mr. Alexander Eleis of Mortonhall married Elizabeth Edward, daughter of Nicol Edward, Dean of Gild of Edinr. . . . Of this marriage was Isobel Eleis borne, which Isobel Eleis was in 1645 married to John

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, vol. ii. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. i. p. 85.

Lauder, merchant in Edinr, afterwards designed Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, who was lineally descended from the Lauder of Lauder of that Ilk, of which marriage and parents by God's appointment I am

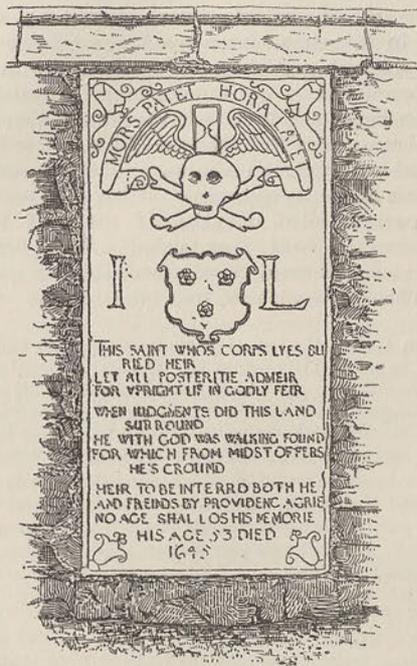


FIG. 7.—Gravestone in garden in Chamberlain Road.

descended and sundry other sons, so, as I have brought forward my Mother's genealogie, so to trace it back. Our maternal coat of arms is Eleis of Mortonhall, which is the same writ Stanopmyle and Southsyde,

being a helmet on a spear (as is to be seen in Sir George Mackenzie's *Book of Heraldrie*, p. 66).'

Saughton Mills, or Stenhope Mills, passed out of the hands of the Stenhopes some time before the end of their tack and the date on the house. Patrick's son James appears to have succeeded to it. He was a bailie of Edinburgh and Commissioner to the Convention of Burghs during the Cromwellian occupation, and was one of the magistrates of the city who, in 1652 subscribed assent to the Union of Scotland with the Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> The Mr. James Eleis of Stenhopenmills, treasurer of St. Cuthbert's, who had, in 1680, the feud with Sir Patrick Nisbet of Dean over the 'West Kirk Poore money,' as detailed in the first Book of the Club (p. 113), was probably a grandson of the builder of the house. In 1684 he sold Sighthill to David Watson of Saughton, and about the same time Stenhopenmills seems to have left the hands of the Ellis family.

Turning to another side of Edinburgh—to the south and to the district once covered by the Burgh Muir—we find several stones, hidden away in obscure corners, that deserve attention. Enclosed within a narrow walled space in a private garden in Chamberlain Road, is a remarkable gravestone which may be a memorial of a former possessor of the lands of Greenhill. A sketch from a photograph is here given of the stone (Fig. 7), which is accurately shown in Dr. Fothergill's *Stones and Curiosities of Edinburgh*. It is ornamented by a shield bearing three cinquefoils, or gillyflowers, flanked by the letters 'I. L.,' and surmounted by a skull and crossbones and winged hour-glass, and by a scroll with the words, 'Mors patet: Hora latet'; and the inscription runs:—

'This Saint whos Corps lyes buried heir  
Let all posteritie admeir  
For vpright lif in Godly feir.

<sup>1</sup> *The Cromwellian Union*, Scottish History Society, p. 72.

When judgments did this land surround  
 He with God was walking found  
 For which from midst of fers he's ground,

Heir to be interrd. Both he  
 And freinds by Providenc agrie  
 No age shal los his memorie.

His age 53. Died 1645.'

'I. L.' and his friends were mistaken; in spite of his saintly qualities, posterity has lost all remembrance of him, apart



FIG. 8.—Ornamental Pediment: Obverse.

from this stone, and the fact that John Livingstone and Elizabeth Rig purchased the lands of Greenhill in 1636. There can be no reasonable doubt that the stone marks John Livingstone's grave; for above the moulded doorway of the enclosure is an ornamental pediment (Fig. 8), bearing on one side the letters 'I. L.' and 'E. R.,' with the same date, 1645, while on the reverse, towards the interior, the shield and the initials of the owner are repeated. (Fig. 9.)

Grant gives an incorrect representation of the Chamberlain Road Stone, with the title attached of 'An Old Tomb in Warrender Park.'

There are in reality two tombstones in the locality, both apparently bearing the date of the 'Year of the Plague,' 1645, and supposed to mark the place of sepulture of victims of the pestilence, as, in the case of the Greenhill Stone, is

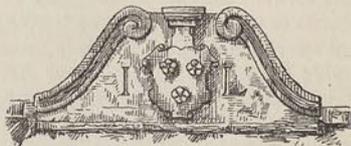


FIG. 9.—Ornamental Pediment: Reverse.

strongly supported by the reference to 'judgments' and 'fears' abroad in the land. The Bruntsfield House Stone is built into the enclosing wall of the park adjacent to Thirlstane Road, and a little way to the east of the mansion-house. It is more time-worn than when Wilson described it in the 1848 edition of his *Memorials*,<sup>1</sup> and only traces remain of the 'skull surrounded by a winged sand-glass and scroll inscribed "Mors Pace . . . Hora Caeli."' The shield, which he and Grant represent as bearing a saltire, looks as if its charge were merely a repetition of the familiar crossbones, while the date and the initials 'M. I. R.' have entirely disappeared. Of Greenhill—'an old gable-ended and gabled manor-house'—no relic now remains outside the enclosure that seems to have been used as a burial-place for successive owners. But the House of Bruntsfield, originally Brounisfield—'the last,' says Miss Warrender in her *Walks near Edinburgh*, 'of the old houses in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh which is still occupied by its owners'—still stands in good condition in the circumscribed park that is supposed to have once formed part of the Burgh Muir. The original building on the site was long the dower-house of the Lauders of Hatton, and was sold in 1603 by Sir Alexander Lauder to John Fairlie of Braid, whose initials, 'I. F.,' with those of his spouse, 'E. W.,' appear repeatedly over the windows. With the date, 1605, they doubtless mark an enlargement, early in the seventeenth century, by the new possessors, whose descendants held it until it was purchased from William Fairlie in 1695 by Sir George Warrender of Lochend, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who 'by degrees also acquired other lands lying contiguous, by purchase from Rigg of Riggsland, Biggar of Whitehouse, and Dick of Grange.'

Part of the ground of the 'Common Mure' appears to have been set aside for the 'Services of the Pest,' which was so frequent and deadly a visitor to the neighbouring city

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 165.

during the Middle Ages. From the 'Statutes for the Baillies of the Mure,' first enacted in 1568, and repeatedly renewed and amended, we know that in time of pestilence it was the duty of the servants of the town, known as the 'Baillies, Clengers, and Bearers of the Deid,' to proceed with all diligence possible 'sa sone as ony houss sall be infectit,' so that 'the hail houshald, with their gudds be depesit toward the Mure, the deid buriet, and the houss clengit.' The graveyard attached to the Chapel of 'St. Roque, the Healer,' received the bodies of many of the victims; but others, it would appear, were buried in isolated spots of the Muir. At the Chapel of St. Roque James IV. paid his devotions on St. Roque's Day (15th August) 1507, and again in September 1513, while the Scottish forces were assembled round the Bore Stone on the Muir. The 'interesting and venerable ruin,' of Hugo Arnot's time, was swept away early in the nineteenth century as 'an unsightly encumbrance.' No fragment belonging to a building which appears to have been in the decorated Gothic of the early sixteenth century has been left on the site, although Grant states that a tombstone from its burying-ground, bearing the date 1600, long remained at the corner of a thatched cottage in the adjacent Grange Loan, the old 'common passage of the Mure.' Mrs. Stewart Smith<sup>1</sup> is authority for the statement that 'Upon the demolition of the ruin, many of the beautiful carved stones were removed, and built up into the walls of an adjacent property, and are still in excellent preservation.'

This evidently refers to the *cache* of carved stones which have found a place in the walls of an outhouse attached to Bloomsbury Laundry, in Grange Loan, near the junction with Canaan Lane, and only a few hundred yards distant from St. Roche's. Three of these pieces of ancient ecclesiastical architecture are richly decorated ogee-shaped arches, enclosing elaborate tracery, and flanked by shields, which

<sup>1</sup> *The Grange of St. Giles*, p. 13.

appear to have formed the canopies of altar-tombs. Two of them are super-imposed (Fig. 10), and the lower one is much more worn than the other, either from greater age or from

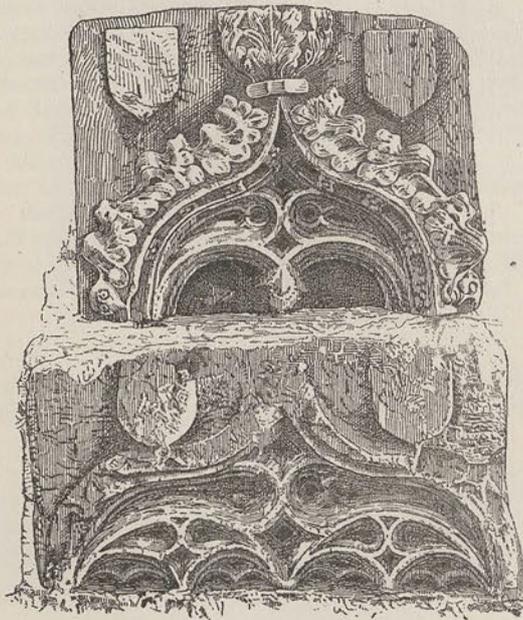


FIG. 10.—Ecclesiastical Canopies at Bloomsbury Laundry, Grange Loan.

softer material and longer exposure to the weather. If the shields on them ever bore any insignia—which, in the case of the upper stone at least, looks more than doubtful—they have been effaced.

The third canopy (Fig. 11) is still in very good condition. The date '1728' incised on the shields is obviously much later

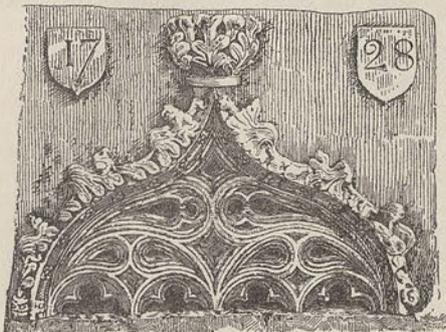


FIG. 11.—Ecclesiastical Canopy at Bloomsbury Laundry, Grange Loan.

—probably two centuries at least—than the piece of sculpture on which it is inscribed. Underneath it has been set a lintel-

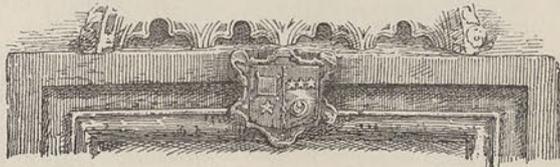


FIG. 12.—Lintel with Heraldic Shield at Bloomsbury Laundry, Grange Loan.

stone, also in fine preservation, and probably of seventeenth century date. A shield occupies the centre, and on it are arms which may be read as those of Marjoribanks—on a chief a cushion between two spur-rowels—impaled with those of Trotter of Mortonhall—a fess, with three mullets in chief and

a crescent in base (Fig. 12). Thomas Marjoribanks of that ilk, Provost of Edinburgh and member for the city in 1541, and afterwards a Lord of Session and Lord Clerk Register, was father of John, ancestor of the elder branch of Marjoribanks of Balbardie, and of James, of Leuchie and Hall-yards, ancestor of a line of Edinburgh merchants and magistrates. A grandson of James, John Marjoribanks of Leuchie, born in 1612, married in 1641 Elizabeth, daughter of John Trotter of Mortonhall, and one of their descendants is the present Lord Tweedmouth. It seems probable that the stone is a record of this pair, although I am unable to say from whence it was removed or what is its history.

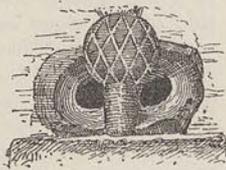


FIG. 13.—Thistle finial at Bloomsbury Laundry, Grange Loan.



FIG. 14.—Canopied Recess at Bloomsbury Laundry, Grange Loan.

The other sculptured fragments collected in this nook include a fine thistle finial (Fig. 13), and a canopied recess that may have been an aumry or a piscina (Fig. 14), and

close beside this, but in too obscure a position to be photographed, is a memorial panel, bearing a long Latin inscription, defaced, and rendered only in part readable through the use to which a strip of two or three inches on the right-hand side of the stone has been put in sharpening a knife. It commemorates 'Thomas Douglasius,' of the Cavers branch of that illustrious family, a man honourable in business, the holder of offices in the city and its suburbs, and the possessor, according to the inscription, of many virtues, who died on the 9th of August 'MDC—'; and it was erected by Richard Douglas, advocate, Robert Bennet, and Robert Blackwood, the lamenting heirs under his testament. The Roman numerals completing the date have been rubbed off.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The 'second ballie' of Edinburgh in 1679 was a Thomas Douglas. According to the Register of Interments in Greyfriars Churchyard, Thomas Douglas, merchant in Edinburgh, was buried 15th August 1686. He was 'second brother to Douglas of Cavers,' and son of Sir William Douglas of Cavers and of his second wife, a daughter of Sir James Macgill. His arms are recorded in the Lyon Office, 1680-87, and are shown in Mr. G. Harvey Johnston's *Heraldry of the Douglasses*, p. 94. It may be noted that the late Mr. J. Russell Walker, in an article on 'Scottish Baptismal Fonts' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries* (vol. ix., New Series, 1887, p. 439), quotes Sir Walter Scott as stating, in his *Provincial Antiquities*, that a font stood beside the ruins of the chapel of St. Roque in the Burgh Muir, and records his own discovery, on the uncovering of the 'Penny Well' in Grange Loan, that 'the basin into which the water ran was without doubt a baptismal font.' He gives the dimensions, and suggests that this may be the St. Roque font mentioned by Scott.

JOHN GEDDIE.

THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT SQUARE: BEING  
AN HISTORICAL NOTICE OF THE SOUTHERN  
PRECINCTS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. GILES,  
EDINBURGH

I. FROM THE EARLIEST CHARTERS TO THE BURIAL  
OF JOHN KNOX

WHILE the origin of the great Kirk of St. Giles is obscure, there is no question that those who founded it selected a most suitable and conspicuous site. Placed on the upper part of the ridge which stretches from the Castle to Holyrood, it dominated the ancient 'Edwinesburch' in only a lesser degree than the *Castrum puellarum* itself. Situated at a height of nearly 290 feet above the sea-level, the Church looked down on its north side upon the 'Nor' Loch' 140 feet below it, while farther north was the ridge along which passed the 'Lang Gait' (now Princes Street), and beyond it a long declivity sloping gradually to the Firth of Forth. On its south side, the precincts of the Church dipped at a somewhat sharp angle to the Cowgate, situated some 70 feet below the Church. From every part of the burgh, and from the shores of Fife on the north to the Pentland and other hills on the south, the ridge crowned by the Church of St. Giles was visible, and formed a central and culminating point in the landscape.

My object in this paper, however, is not in any way to describe the history or architecture of the Church of St. Giles, but simply to attempt to relate the history of its

southern precincts, now occupied by Parliament Square and the ground stretching downwards to the Cowgate.

The first stage of these precincts and their first use, to which they were admirably adapted, from their 'full south' exposure, was horticultural. Curiously enough, as we shall find, this was nearly their last phase too. They formed the garden and orchard attached to the manse occupied by the Vicar, afterwards the Provost, of the Church of St. Giles. Originally the Church was under the charge of a Perpetual Vicar, but when in 1466 James III. erected it into a Collegiate Institution, the Church obtained a Chapter consisting of a Provost, a Curate, 16 Prebendaries, a Minister of the Choir, 4 Choristers, a Sacristan, and a Beadle.

But there was not merely a manse and garden and orchard in the southern precincts of the Church of St. Giles; there was also a burial-ground previous to the granting of the Charter of 1477, to be referred to immediately. At that date, the place of sepulture of the leading citizens of Edinburgh was within the Church of St. Giles itself; but as time wore on, this place of burial became so full that more interments in the Church became impossible.

I have mentioned that in 1466 St. Giles was erected into a Collegiate Church, under a Provost and Chapter. William Forbes, a canon of Aberdeen and the Perpetual Vicar of St. Giles, was the first 'Provost of the Collegiate Church of Saint Giles in the Burgh of Edinburgh and Diocese of St. Andrews.' Eleven years after attaining this dignity, Provost Forbes and his Chapter came to the conclusion that interments in the Church of St. Giles must cease. Accordingly, on 14th January 1477, the Provost, with consent of his Chapter, granted a Charter<sup>1</sup> in which he declared that, having 'considered that my parishioners daily grow and increase, and when they die

<sup>1</sup> The original Latin of these Charters will be found at pages 122 and 179 of *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, published by the Bannatyne Club at Edinburgh in 1859.

have no place of burial within or without the Church in my parish,' therefore he had given to be a cemetery for his parishioners that part of his garden lying contiguous to his manse on the south side of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, and extending 'to the southern street commonly called the Cowgate.'

Nineteen years later, in 1496, Provost Forbes granted another Charter, wherein he conveyed to the Provost and ecclesiastical authorities of St. Giles the northern part of his manse and glebe nearest to the Church, namely, the land and chamber of the Curate and the School underneath, for the purpose of increasing the cemetery granted by his previous Charter of 1477.

In 1910, in digging the foundations for the Chapel of the Knights of the Thistle in Parliament Square, human bones were discovered. Mr. Francis C. Inglis states<sup>1</sup> that these 'had apparently been interred uncoffined, and may have been the bones of criminals executed and ignominiously buried.' As, however, a cemetery existed here from the earliest times, the discovery of bones is not surprising. A portion apparently of a tombstone was found at the same time, being a pilaster capital with the face of a winged angel carved upon it.

As stated in Provost Forbes's Charter of 1477, the manse of the Provost of St. Giles was situated on the south side of the Collegiate Church, a manse occupied after Forbes by a more celebrated Provost of St. Giles, Gavin Douglas, the poet, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld.

The earliest maps of Edinburgh showing the southern precincts of the Church of St. Giles are—(1) a Plan of May 1573, representing the siege of Edinburgh Castle by the English forces under Sir Wm. Drury, the Castle being held by Sir Wm. Kirkaldy of Grange and the latest adherents

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, 1909, vol. ii. p. 225. As the cemetery would be consecrated ground, criminals would not be interred there before the Reformation.

of Mary Queen of Scots; and (2) a Plan of about 1580, published in Braun's *Civitates Orbis*. Neither of these plans shows any buildings between the south of St. Giles' Church and the Cowgate.<sup>1</sup> Both plans, however, give a pronounced southern transept to St. Giles' Church, although that Church was never cruciform; and plans of the Church before the Reformation, and before Mr. Burn's havoc, show no regular transepts.<sup>2</sup>

I mentioned that the first Provost of St. Giles, William Forbes, granted two Charters (1477 and 1496) conveying portions of his garden lying to the south of the Church. No mention is made in either of these Charters of the city wall, which, to use Sir Daniel Wilson's words,<sup>3</sup> passed along 'the whole southern declivity of the Old Town, on which the Closes extending between the High Street and the Cowgate have since been ranged.' This wall was erected by James II. after the battle on the banks of the river Sark near Gretna, in which the Scots, under George Douglas, Earl of Ormond, defeated the English. The date of the battle is variously given,<sup>4</sup> but the wall is usually called the Wall of 1450. That was only twenty-seven years before Provost Forbes's first Charter.

The new burial-ground of St. Giles provided by Provost Forbes's Charter must have been close to this city wall, as is evident from discoveries made in 1844, and which are thus described by Sir Daniel Wilson: <sup>5</sup>—'In making the excavations necessary for the erection of a suite of additional Court rooms for the accommodation of the Lords Ordinary, built to the south of the old Parliament Hall towards the close

<sup>1</sup> *Bannatyne Miscellany*, 1836, vol. ii.; *Wilson's Memorials*, ii. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Cameron Lees, *St. Giles*, 1889, pp. 64, 100, and 262. Gavin Douglas succeeded William Forbes as Provost of St. Giles in 1501.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, Edinburgh, 1891, 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Edition of Piscottie's *History* published by the Scottish Text Society, 1899, vol. ii. p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 151.

of 1844, some curious discoveries were made, tending to illustrate the changes that have been effected on the Cowgate during the last four centuries. In the space cleared by the workmen on the site of the old Parliament Stairs, which ascended from the Cowgate to the back of the Parliament House, 'a considerable fragment of the first city wall,' that of James II. already mentioned, 'was laid bare; a solid and substantial mass of masonry, very different from the hasty superstructure of 1513.' This latter wall (which was a wall of defeat while the other was one of victory) was erected between 1514 and 1518, after the battle of Flodden, and took in a much wider area than the older one, 'the new and fashionable suburb of the Cowgate,'<sup>1</sup> which lay outside the Sark Wall of 1450, being included in the Flodden Wall.<sup>2</sup>

'On the sloping ground to the south' of the Parliament House, 'at about 14 feet below the surface, a range of oaken coffins were (in 1844) found lying close together and containing human remains. In one skull the brain remained so fresh as to show the vermicular form of surface, although the ancient churchyard of St. Giles, of which these were doubtless some of the latest occupants, had ceased to be used as a place of sepulture since the grant of the Greyfriars Gardens for that purpose in 1566,' that is, 278 years before 1844. 'The form of the coffins was curious, being quite straight at the sides, but with their lids rising into a ridge in the centre, and in some degree resembling the stone coffins of an earlier era.'

Near the Parliament (or Back) Stairs, where these coffins were found, was the Chapel of the Holy Rood, wherein, on 12th August 1528, Walter Chepman (the introducer of the art of printing into Scotland) founded a Chaplaincy at the altar of Jesus Christ Crucified, and endowed it with his tenement in

<sup>1</sup> *Wilson's Memorials*, *supra*, vol. i. p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> For an account and photographic reproductions of the Flodden Wall, see Mr. Moir Bryce's article and plan in the *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, 1909, vol. ii. p. 61.

the Cowgate.<sup>1</sup> According to the Charter of Endowment in 1528, this Chapel was erected for 'the welfare of the Soul of our late most serene and illustrious Prince and Lord, James IV., by the Grace of God King of Scots, and the souls of those most noble and faithful followers who with him were slain in defence of the liberty of their Country in conflict with the English at Flodden.'<sup>2</sup>

The destruction and disappearance of this Chapel are variously accounted for by Sir Daniel Wilson. In his *Memorials*<sup>3</sup> he says it 'had most probably been spoiled and broken down during the tumults of 1559' caused by the Reformation. But he adds that 'on 5th March 1562 an order appears for taking the stones of the Chapel in the Nether Kirkyard, and this supplies the date of the utter demolition of the Chapel.' In his *Reminiscences*<sup>4</sup> he tells us that 'in 1562' the materials of the Chapel of the Holy Rood 'were appropriated to the building of the New Tolbooth' along the west wall of St. Giles' Church, but not the Old Tolbooth or 'Heart of Midlothian.'

The destruction of ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland is often ascribed to the fury of the populace at the time of the Reformation, whereas oftener the buildings suffered from a much more prosaic cause, viz. from being used as *quarries* for many years subsequent to the Reformation.

Only eighty-three years were to pass between the date of the Charter by which Provost Forbes gave his garden to be a cemetery for the parishioners of St. Giles and the date when the last Mass was said by a Roman Catholic priest in the Church of St. Giles. The Very Rev. Sir James Cameron Lees gives<sup>5</sup> the probable date of the last Mass as 31st March 1560. That 'same night (says Row) some gentlemen of

<sup>1</sup> Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, 1753, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Laing's *Charters of St. Giles*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's *Memorials*, *cit. supra*, i. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson's *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, 1878, i. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Giles, Edinburgh: Church, College, and Cathedral*, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 117.

the congregation came to St. Giles' Kirk and broke down the altars again, and purged the said Kirk of idolatry with the rest of the Kirks. And so continently the gospell was preached from the first day of Aprill' 1560.<sup>1</sup>

There is, however, only one figure in the moving drama of the Scottish Reformation which I desire to follow in this paper, and that is the greatest figure of all, John Knox. He had preached from the pulpit of St. Giles for the first time on 29th June 1559, and next month he was appointed minister of the Church, but left the city as his life was in danger. He returned to Edinburgh on 23rd April 1560, and made it his chief residence till the date of his death twelve years later.

The records of the burgh of Edinburgh bear abundant testimony to the devotion of the Town Council to John Knox. In this the Council reflected the feeling of the populace towards him, which was one of mingled admiration and pride. From these Burgh Records we learn that the Town Council furnished a house for Knox in May 1560, and found him a better lodging in September of that year, when they turned a tailor out of the house formerly occupied by the Abbot of Dunfermline and gave it to Knox. In November next year the Dean of Guild was ordained to use diligence to make with wood a warm study for Knox, with lights, windows, and all other necessaries. Next month, as Knox was required by the whole Kirk of Scotland to proceed to Angus and the Mearns for the election of a Superintendent there, the Town Council ordered the Dean of Guild to pay his travelling expenses, and further 'to haist the said Minister hame, that the Kirk heir be nocht desolait.'

When Knox's death occurred on 24th November 1572, his funeral was one of the most notable which ever took place in Edinburgh. It was attended by the Earl of Morton, who on the same day had been appointed Regent of Scotland, and likewise by other noblemen who happened to be in

<sup>1</sup> Row's *Miscellany*, p. 73.

Edinburgh at the time.<sup>1</sup> It was followed by a large concourse of people, so that Knox's remains were honoured by the highest as well as by the humblest of the citizens.

Knox was buried in the cemetery, on the south side of the Church of St. Giles, which had been presented to the parishioners by Provost Forbes in 1477; thus the great Scottish Reformer was indebted for his grave to a dignitary of the Roman Church which he overthrew.

John Knox was laid to rest with every symbol of dignity and honour:—Was any memorial stone placed above his grave to mark where he lay? Dr. Laing<sup>2</sup> says: 'Like his great coadjutor Calvin, at Geneva, no stone or memorial appears to have been erected to mark the place of his interment; but there is reason to believe it was . . . a little to the west of the base of Charles the Second's equestrian statue in the Parliament Close.'

## II. FROM THE REIGN OF JAMES VI. TO THE ERECTION OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT HOUSE

The cemetery or churchyard of St. Giles was not, however, in the sixteenth century, merely the scene of interments. It was a rude age, and cemeteries were no more sacred than men's lives. On 17th December 1596, in the reign of James VI., occurred what is known as 'The Tumult of St. Giles.' The Church itself was full of people, including many of the nobility and gentry, when an unknown individual, whom Calderwood<sup>3</sup> designates 'a messenger of Satan,' came to the Church door and shouted, 'Fy! Save your selves!' and

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood MS., 1636. *Works of John Knox*, collected and edited by David Laing, vol. vi. p. 51 (Bannatyne Club, 1864).

<sup>2</sup> Historical Notice prefixed to the *Charters of St. Giles* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1859), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, by David Calderwood, Edinburgh (Wodrow Society, 1844), vol. v. p. 513.

then ran out to the streets shouting 'Armour! Armour!' The people rose with their weapons ready. Some ran one way, some another. Some said that the King had been seized; some that ministers of the Kirk had been slain. The noblemen and gentry left the Church of St. Giles and gathered in the churchyard, where the Earl of Mar and Lord Holyroodhouse<sup>1</sup> went to meet them. Hot words passed between Lord Mar and Lord Lindsey; so much so that they could not be pacified for some time. The King ordered the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh to stop the tumult, which was eventually done; and Calderwood concludes, 'So everie man went home and putt off his armour, for they had no foresett purpose of anie interprise.'

John Spottiswoode, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow and later of St. Andrews, was in the Church of St. Giles when the tumult arose. In a sermon which he delivered in 1597, he states<sup>2</sup> that after he had left the Church, owing to the tumult, the barons and gentlemen courteously put him in his lodging, and afterwards came back to the churchyard, where his lodging was situated. He says he remained in his house, and exonerates himself from taking part in the fray by asking, 'Did I go out of the Kirk or Kirk-yaird? Had I any sort of armour?' He means that he did not go from the Church to the streets, but only to his house, which was within the precincts of the Church, that is, in the churchyard.

From this sermon we get a glimpse of where he resided, and conclude that he possibly occupied the manse which was situated on the south side of St. Giles, and was the residence of William Forbes, Provost of the Church in 1496. The storm of the Reformation expelled every Roman Catholic priest from St. Giles, and the Provost's manse became one of the residences of the Protestant ministers of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> This was John Bothwell (eldest son of the Bishop of Orkney), created Lord Holyroodhouse by James VI. in 1607.

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood, *op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 561.

That there was, however, more than one minister's house in the churchyard is evident from Calderwood's statement<sup>1</sup> that James VI. and his Queen remained, during all the winter of 1597, at Holyrood, but 'came up to the town sundrie tymes,' and 'dined and supped in the Ministers' houses behind the Kirk. For the King,' he adds, 'keepeed their houses in his own hand; howbeit they were restored to their general ministrie in Edinburgh.' In the beginning of January 1597 the Council passed 'an Act ordaining the Ministers' houses in Edinburgh to be appropriated in tyme coming to his Hienesse' use by reason of the treasonable and seditious exploits there devised at sindrie tymes by the former inhabitants.'<sup>2</sup>

Sir Daniel Wilson says:<sup>3</sup> 'One of the latest notices of the ancient churchyard occurs in Calderwood's narrative of the memorable tumult of 1596,' but there are much later historical incidents connected with it than in that year.

In June 1617, after a long absence in England, James VI. revisited the capital of his northern kingdom. With pious steps he climbed to the little room in the Castle of Edinburgh where he had been born. On the 19th of June he celebrated in the Castle his fifty-first birthday by giving a banquet to the English and Scottish nobility, a banquet which lasted from four o'clock in the afternoon till nine o'clock at night. Seven days later, on 26th June 1617, the town of Edinburgh gave a banquet to the King and the nobility in a wooden house, which had been 'erected upon the back of the south side of the Great Kirk'<sup>4</sup> or western division of St. Giles, 'which was decorated with tapestry.' Next day several knights and gentlemen of note were banqueted in the same wooden erection on part of the churchyard, and were made burgesses. After the banquet these newly made burgesses became very merry, danced about the Cross with sound

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 673.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials, cit. supra*, i. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood, *op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 537.

<sup>4</sup> Calderwood, *op. cit.*, vol. vii. p. 257.

of trumpets and other instruments, threw glasses of wine from the Cross upon the people standing about, and ended by drinking the King's health.

A similar reception was accorded Charles I. on Sunday, 23rd June 1633, after attending Episcopalian service in St. Giles. 'Sermon being ended,' says Row, 'the King and all his nobles goes in to the Banqueting housse prepared by the Toune of Edinburgh that there they might feast him. The banquetting-housse was so neare to the Kirk, and so great noyse in it of men, musicall instruments, trumpetts, playing, singing, also shooting of cannons, that no sermon was had in the afternoon either in the greater or lesser Kirk of St. Geill's.'<sup>1</sup> At this time there was a partition between the greater and lesser Kirk, but Charles ordered it to be taken down, so 'that the Kirk of Edinburgh might be one fair spacious Cathedrall Kirk,'<sup>2</sup> for the Bishop of Edinburgh whom he appointed, namely William Forbes, who had been minister of Edinburgh but was then at Aberdeen. He was the first Bishop of Edinburgh. It is curious to note that the first Provost of the Church of St. Giles in 1466, and the first Bishop of the Cathedral of St. Giles in 1633, bore the same name. David Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin, succeeded William Forbes as Bishop of Edinburgh on the latter's death, and Row mentions that the 'Toune of Edinburgh' made a great feast for 'their new Lord Bishop,' probably in the banquetting-house close to St. Giles.<sup>3</sup>

When Oliver Cromwell was in Edinburgh in 1648 and 1650, he was lodged very handsomely in the Earl of Moray's house in the Canongate. He did not attend the Town churches, but had every day sermons in Moray House, 'himself,' says Gordon of Ruthven,<sup>4</sup> 'being the preacher whensoever the

<sup>1</sup> *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, 1558-1639*, by John Row, minister of Carnock (Wodrow Society, 1842), p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Row, p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> Row, p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> *A short abridgment of Britane's Distemper from 1639 to 1649* (Aberdeen: printed for the Spalding Club, 1844), p. 212.

Spirit came upon him; which took him, like the fits of an ague, sometimes twice, sometimes thrice in a day.' Pinkerton informs us<sup>1</sup> that Cromwell even preached in St. Giles' Churchyard, which thus became an extraordinary ecclesiastical and political kaleidoscope—first the Roman Catholic Provost's garden, then the Protestant Reformer's tomb, then the Episcopalian Kings' banqueting-place, then the Puritan General's pulpit, and ultimately the site of a statue of Charles the Second (erected in 1685), which alone remains to testify visibly to the whirligig of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the days of the Protectorate, the Town Council of Edinburgh intended to erect a statue to Cromwell in St. Giles' Churchyard.<sup>2</sup> In the days of the Restoration they erected one to Charles the Second.<sup>3</sup> *Autres temps, autres statues.*

If, however, a statue *had* been erected to Cromwell, it would almost certainly have been demolished at the Restoration, for the Edinburgh public went mad with rejoicing at that event. Nicoll tells us<sup>4</sup> that on 19th June 1660 a public thanksgiving for the Restoration took place in Edinburgh, the spouts of the Cross ran with claret wine, and three hundred dozens of glasses were broken in drinking the King's health. Oliver Cromwell's effigy and that of the devil were set on poles on Edinburgh Castle hill, and fireworks were so arranged, says Nicoll, that 'the devil did chase that traitor till he blew him into the air.'

The churchyard of St. Giles may be said to have existed as a public cemetery until the erection of the Parliament House on a part of the churchyard between 1632 and 1640, during the reign of Charles I. As Queen Mary Stuart had in 1562 conveyed to the Town Council the grounds of the

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Gallery*, by John Pinkerton, London, 1799. Vol. I. 'David Erskine 2nd Lord Cardross.'

<sup>2</sup> *Wilson's Memorials*, vol. i. p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> The City Chamberlain has the account.

<sup>4</sup> *A Diary of Public Transactions from 1650 to 1667*, by John Nicoll, W.S. (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1836), p. 294.

Greyfriars near Heriot's Hospital to be used as a public cemetery, the churchyard of St. Giles had been gradually given up for interments, both because of the Greyfriars Cemetery taking its place, and because the Town Council preferred burials at some distance from the town (as the Greyfriars Cemetery then was), 'so that,' to quote the Burgh Records,<sup>1</sup> 'therethrough the air within our said town may be the mair pure and clean.'

The Burgh Records likewise prove that the Town Council controlled the churchyard of St. Giles from an early date, ordering in 1552 the churchyard wall to be altered, and in 1554 the Song School in the kirkyard to be repaired, so 'that the bairns may enter thereto and inhabit the same.' In this Song School the boy choristers of the Church of St. Giles would be educated and trained in singing. In 1562 the Town Council appointed a curator of the 'Warks of the Toun at Sanct Gelys Kirkyaird,' and in 1562-3 took the stones of the Chapel of the Holy Rood in the Nether Kirkyard and built with them the new Tolbooth, on the west side of the Church of St. Giles.

As for the ministers' houses in the churchyard, they 'were finally confiscated (by the Town Council) for the Town's use in 1632. It was really a confiscation, for though it was agreed (29th June 1632) that £6000 Scots should be laid aside out of the General Subscription to defray the house-rent of the ministers in all time to come, the money never was handed over for the purpose.'<sup>2</sup> Sir Daniel Wilson says<sup>3</sup> that 'in 1632 the ancient Collegiate buildings were at length entirely demolished to make way for the Parliament House, which occupies their site.'

We must not imagine that the Parliament House erected

<sup>1</sup> 27th August 1562.

<sup>2</sup> *The Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*, by Robert Miller, Lord Dean of Guild (Edinburgh: printed by order of the Town Council, 1895), p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 265.

during the reign of Charles I. resembled externally the Parliament House we know to-day, which is buried behind a mass of masonry, and is approached by an obscure entry. Judging from the engraving of F. de Wit of Amsterdam, executed about 1646 from a drawing by the Rev. James Gordon of Rothiemay, the Parliament House of Scotland was originally externally quite worthy of its name. It was an elegant turreted building in the south-west corner of the former churchyard of St. Giles, with a neatly paved 'Place' in front of it, and with decorated windows and a highly ornamental balustrade connecting the various turrets. It closely abutted on the south-west corner of the Church of St. Giles, indeed Gordon's drawing shows a small house occupying the passage between what is now the Signet Library and the Church.

So important was the new building, that all vestiges of the old churchyard soon disappeared. Even the name 'churchyard' was lost. Its tombs were lost. The greatest tomb of all, that of John Knox, was lost. The very dead of the old churchyard were treated cavalierly by posterity, for there is a gruesome story of some of their bones being eventually carted in the earth forming part of the Mound, leading from High Street to Princes Street. Kincaid tells us<sup>1</sup> that 'great numbers of human bones were dug up' when the foundations of the bank of Sir William Forbes, Sir James Hunter and Co. were dug near the Parliament Close, these bones being reinterred near the bank. Other bones, however, which some years previously had been dug up in Parliament Close, 'were carefully put in casks and buried in the Greyfriars Churchyard.' Perhaps John Knox may lie there rather than in Parliament Square.

When the Parliament House invaded and settled on the churchyard, the immediately southern precincts of the Church of St. Giles acquired the name of the 'Parliament

<sup>1</sup> *History of Edinburgh*, by Alexander Kincaid, Edinburgh, 1787, p. 334.



Close,' just as stairs leading down from the Parliament House to the Cowgate were called the 'Parliament Stairs.' But there is no doubt that the old churchyard now contained a much greater possession than it did before; for, instead of the remains of the dead, it held the living heart of Scotland, which throbbed restlessly here till the Union of the Parliaments in 1707.

Previous to the erection of the Parliament House, the Scottish Parliament as well as the Court of Session assembled in the New Tolbooth or Council House, attached to the west wall of St. Giles' Church, and erected in 1562 during the reign of Queen Mary.<sup>1</sup> This is not to be confounded with the Old Tolbooth, where the Parliament and Law Courts had previously met, a building immortalised by Scott under the title of 'The Heart of Midlothian,' and which stood at the north-west corner of the Church of St. Giles. The last Scottish Parliament over which royalty presided in the person of Charles I. was held in the New Tolbooth immediately after the coronation of Charles in July 1633. 'The Hall' of the 'Parliament House' was practically finished in 1639, when Parliament transferred its meetings from the New Tolbooth, and voted here the 'sinews of war' for an army under Sir Alexander Leslie to take the field against Charles I. The entire building was completed in 1640, at a cost of £10,640, of which nearly two-thirds were defrayed from the funds of the burgh of Edinburgh, the remainder being from subscriptions and from legacies.<sup>2</sup>

According to a plan prepared in the Public Works Office, Edinburgh, in 1894, and given in Dean of Guild Miller's work,<sup>3</sup> the only parts of the Parliament House building existing in 1640 and still remaining are—(1) the Great Hall;

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's *Memorials*, vol. i. pp. 238-265.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Robert Miller's *Municipal Buildings*, *cit. supra*, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, plate v. p. 80.

(2) the western half of the First Division's court; (3) the lobby entering from Parliament Square; and (4) the Advocates' Robing-room. The original doorway (now built up) of the old Parliament House was in the centre of the west side of the Parliament Close, so that the Great Hall was entered near the Hall's north-eastern corner. All this is shown in Gordon of Rothiemay's drawing engraved by De Wit in 1646, already referred to, as also the entrance at the south-west corner of Parliament Close to a staircase leading up a tower to the upper rooms of the old Parliament House building. The doorway to the Great Hall, entering from Parliament Close, was richly ornamented, and was surmounted by the Royal Arms of Scotland, flanked by statues of Justice and Mercy. These statues had perhaps also reference to the Court of Session, which from 1639 was accommodated in the inner part of the new Parliament House,<sup>1</sup> and they continued to adorn the entrance when the Parliament House was, in 1707, given over wholly to the lawyers, for we have it on record that when the Hon. Harry Erskine, Dean of Faculty, invited Robertson of Kincraigie, an eccentric Jacobite, to enter the Parliament House and see the Law Courts, the latter declined, adding, 'But I'll tell ye what, Harry: tak in Justice wi' ye, for she has stood lang at the door, and it wad be a treat for her to see the inside like ither strangers.'<sup>2</sup>

It was at this, the principal entrance to the Parliament House, that proclamations of forfeiture of estates were made by the Lyon King. Nicoll tells us<sup>3</sup> that in September 1662 the Lyon King at Arms and his heralds, all clad in their coats of arms, passed to the most public door of the Parliament

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook to the Parliament House*, by Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh, 1884, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Both the statues were discovered by Dr. Thomas Ross, architect, in the back garden of 37 Drummond Place, Edinburgh, and have been purchased by the Faculty of Advocates. See Dr. Ross's article in the *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, 1909, vol. ii. p. 231. They had been removed when the present façade of Parliament Square was first built in 1808.

<sup>3</sup> Nicoll's *Diary* (Bannatyne Club, 1836), p. 377.

House, and proclaimed that forfeiture had been pronounced in open Parliament against James Campbell of Ardinglas and James Campbell of Oronsay, after which the Lyon King repeated the proclamation at the Mercat Cross after three trumpet blasts.

Sir Daniel Wilson says<sup>1</sup> that 'a pulpit was erected for sermons to the Parliament' in the Hall of the Parliament House, and he adds he believes this very pulpit is 'that now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries under the name of *John Knox's pulpit*.' Whether John Knox ever occupied this pulpit may be questioned, but it doubtless proved very useful to General Lambert's troopers, for, while the General appropriated to himself the east end of the Church of St. Giles, being the 'best in the town for his exercise at Sermon,' his troopers held forth in the Parliament House.<sup>2</sup>

Later on, banqueting took the place of sermons, as when, in August 1656, General Monk was feasted in the Hall of the Parliament House, with all the councillors of State and officers of the army; while in 1680 the Duke of York, afterwards James II., received a similar compliment, and was accompanied by his Duchess and his daughter Lady Anne, who afterwards succeeded to the throne.<sup>3</sup>

Maitland in his *History of Edinburgh* says<sup>4</sup> that Edinburgh Town Council, on 15th March 1662, 'demised to John Thomsone, Gardener, for the term of nineteen years the plot of ground at present called the *Parliament Close* with the Brae or side of the Hill inclosed with a stone wall extending from the southern end of the Parliament House a little to the westward of the place where the new Stairs are at present situated,' and that this plot of ground was 'to be laid out in Walks and to be planted with Trees, Herbs, and Flowers, exclusive of Cabbage and other common Garden stuff.'

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

One walk was to be planted with plum and cherry trees, and to be bordered with gooseberry, currant, and rose bushes, while flowers were to decorate the head of the brae. In short, the Parliament Close was to revert to what it was in 1460 at the beginning of this paper. It had been the garden of the Vicar and Provost of St. Giles in pre-Reformation times, and it might have become the garden of the citizens in 1662. Unfortunately, this delightful idea of imparting to Edinburgh the charms of a 'Garden City' was never realised. It proved eventually too æsthetic for the Town Council, which, on 11th June 1662, ordered shops to be erected on the southern side of the Parliament Close, each shop to be let for the term of twenty years at a rent of twenty merks.

Thus the Parliament Close, which by one enactment of the Town Council was destined to be made a 'beauty spot' of Edinburgh, was by another doomed to be surrounded by shops. We shall find, however, that these shops formed an interesting centre of the art of clockmaking, besides being that of the allied artistic trades of gold and silver smiths, jewellers and engravers.

### III. THE UNION WITH ENGLAND (1707) AND THE END OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

The Memoirs<sup>1</sup> of Lockhart of Carnwath (that eminent Jacobite and opponent of the Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland) display the often tumultuous scenes enacted in the Parliament House and Parliament Close ere the Union was consummated in 1707. We read how that

<sup>1</sup> Published in London in 1714. 'For many centuries, and till the Union, the old Parliament of Scotland consisted of a single Chamber, in which, as Andrew Fairservice put it, Lords and Commons used to sit together "cheek by jowl"—an arrangement to his mind of much convenience, since, in the old days, "they didna' need to hae the same bethers twice ower again."—*Edinburgh Review*, April 1910.

Anti-Unionist, the Duke of Hamilton, with seventy-nine dissenting members of Parliament, 'passed in a body from the Parliament House to the Cross Keys Tavern near the Cross, huzza'd by the acclamations of an infinite number of people of all degrees and ranks.' Then we read that 'whilst the Rolls were calling upon this question, there fell the greatest Rain that was ever seen come from the Heavens, which made such a noise upon the Roof of the Parliament House (which was covered with Lead) that no Voice could be heard, and the Clerks were obliged to stop;—whereupon, as soon as it ceased, Sir David Cunninghame of Milncraig took the occasion to tell the House, "It was apparent that the Heavens declared against their Procedure."'

Such was the violence and antagonism of the Anti-Unionists and of the Edinburgh citizens, that 'the Foot Guards were ordered to be in readiness, and several days before this a Guard was set every night upon Netherbow Port; and Lieutenant-General Ramsay was heard to say in his cups, "That ways would be found to make the Parliament calm enough."'

In the Parliament House rose the eloquent voice of Scotland's great patriot, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, declaring that 'the thought of England domineering over Scotland was what his own soul could not away with. The indignities and oppressions Scotland lay under gaul'd him to the heart.' Lockhart himself had no hesitation in saying that from the day the Scottish Parliament agreed to the Act for a Treaty with England, 'may we date the commencement of Scotland's ruin.'

The Duke of Atholl protested against the Union, and his protest was adhered to by 'twenty-one Noblemen, thirty-three Barons, and eighteen Burrows.'

Evidently the populace of Edinburgh were of the same opinion, for 'the Parliament Close and the outer Parliament House were crowded every Day, when Parliament assembled,

with an infinite number of people, all exclaiming against the Union and speaking very free language concerning the promoters of it. The Commissioner (the Duke of Queensberry) as he passed along the street was cursed and reviled to his face, and the Duke of Hamilton huzza'd and conveyed every night with a great number of apprentices and younger sort of people from the Parliament House to the Abbey, exhorting him to stand by the Country, and assuring him of being supported. And upon the 23rd of October 1706 above three or four hundred of them being thus employ'd, did, as soon as they left his Grace, hasten in a body to the House of Sir Patrick Johnston (their late darling Provost, one of the Commissioners of the Treaty, a great promoter of the Union in Parliament, where he sat as one of the representatives of the Town of Edinburgh), threw stones at his windows, broke open his doors, and search'd his house for him, but he, having narrowly made his escape, prevented his being torn in a thousand pieces.'

After this *émeute*, 'Guards of regular forces were placed in the Parliament Close, Weighthouse and Netherbow Port, and the whole Army, both Horse and Foot, was drawn together near Edinburgh and continued so all the Session of Parliament. Nay, the Commissioner (as if he had been led to the gallows) made his Parade every day after this from the Parliament House to the Cross (where his Coaches waited for him, no Coaches, no Person that was not a member of Parliament being suffered to enter the Parliament Close towards the evening of such days as the Parliament was sitting) thro' two Lanes of Musqueteers, and went from thence to the Abbey, the Horse Guards surrounding his Coach, and if it was dark, for the greater security, a part of the Foot Guards also.'

All the efforts of the Anti-Unionists, however, proved unavailing. The English Government controlled the Scottish Parliament both publicly and privately, for Lockhart (in an

Appendix to his Memoirs) gives the names of the thirty members of the Scottish Parliament, nearly all noblemen, who participated in the £20,540, 17s. 7d. sent down from London to remove any scruples they might have in voting for the Union. Nor must we forget the clandestine efforts of English Government agents sent to Edinburgh to promote the Union, among whom Lockhart stigmatises 'that vile Monster and Wretch *Daniel de Foe*, and other mercenary Tools and Trumpeters of Rebellion.'

The day upon which the Union actually commenced, the 1st of May 1707, was, says Lockhart, 'a Day never to be forgot by Scotland, a Day in which the Scots were stripped of what their predecessors had gallantly maintained for many hundred years, I mean their Independency and Sovereignty.'

Although bereft of the Scottish Parliament, neither the Parliament House nor Parliament Square lost the distinctive names which they had derived from it. The Supreme Courts of Scotland had been from 1639 accommodated in the inner part of the Parliament House, but after the Union the Hall in which the members sat was given up to the Advocates as a *salle des pas perdus*.

Edinburgh has always been famous for her goldsmiths and silversmiths, and in 1745 the Goldsmiths' Hall formed a two-storied house immediately to the north of the old entrance to the Parliament House, and where the eastern part of the Signet Library now stands. Near here was once a little dark shop, only about seven feet square, where that celebrated goldsmith, George Heriot, received King James Sixth of Scotland and First of England, and laid upon the fire a bond for £2000 due to him by his royal master, who was as much amazed as gratified.

## IV. THE OLD 'PARLIAMENT CLOSE'

It must always be difficult to reconstruct a locality after the lapse of many years. Its population removes without leaving a trace, and its architectural features are altered without these changes being recorded. We know that the Parliament House was built between 1632 and 1639, and that the statue of Charles II. was erected in 1685, but it is difficult to say what else the old Parliament Yaird or Close contained, a difficulty immensely increased by the fact that the Close was swept successively by four tremendous fires—the first in 1676, the next in 1700 demolishing the eastern side of the Close, the third in June 1824, and the fourth in November 1824. Sir Daniel Wilson refers to the fire of 1700 as the 'Great Fire,' while Robert Chambers<sup>1</sup> reserves that superlative title for the fire of November 1824.<sup>2</sup>

In the absence of detailed particulars of the old Parliament Close, we must be satisfied with three glimpses of it, one in 1753, another in 1773, and a third in 1794. The first glimpse is obtained in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, published in 1753; the second in Williamson's *Directory of Edinburgh*, published in 1773 (the earliest extant); and the last from an engraving which represents the Close as it was about 1794.

Maitland describes the Parliament Close in 1753 as follows: <sup>3</sup>—'Adjoining to the eastern side of the Parliament House is a fine Edifice called *The Treasury*, in the lower western part of which is held the Court of Session and in the upper part formerly the Courts of Privy Council and Exchequer with the

<sup>1</sup> *Notices of the Most Remarkable Fires in Edinburgh from 1385 to 1824*, by Robert Chambers, Edinburgh, 1824. The 'Great Fire of November 1824' is illustrated in a separate volume of etchings by W. H. Lizars.

<sup>2</sup> For the fire of June 1824, see *Edinburgh Courant* of 26th June 1824.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Edinburgh*, 1753, p. 186.

office of Treasury; but the first and last being dissolved by the Union, it now serves to accommodate the Court and Office of Exchequer and the Barons or Judges of said Court. And in the middlemost apartments of the said building are kept the offices of Chancery and Commissary Court, and in the two spacious rooms underneath the Court of Session is the National Archives or Repository, wherein the Records of the Kingdom are kept.'

Maitland also leads us to conclude that the Stamp and Linen Manufacture offices were on the south side of the Parliament Close, 'And a little to the eastward the Post Office is kept in the highest private building, probably upon the earth, the northern front whereof in the Parliament Close is seven storeys in height, and the southern part regarding the Cowgate is twelve storeys high. But,' he reminds us, 'the house which stood here before the conflagration in the year 1700 is said to have been fifteen storeys in height.'

He tells us that, 'in the Eastern row of the said Parliament Close is kept the Custom House; and the Church of St. Giles, which composes the Northern side of this inclosure, has a square and lofty Tower with a stately top representing an Imperial crown which, for beauty, excels everything of its kind I have seen, either at home or abroad. The Parliament Close is entered by two ways, at the Eastern and Western ends of the Church, the former a Coachway and the latter a Footpath.'

Parliament Square has to-day the same entrances as the Parliament Close in 1753. Maitland gives a very poor representation of the Parliament House in a plate which was engraved by F. Fourdrinier, a French engraver settled in London. The view shows merely the south end of the building, and gives a very unattractive appearance to the elegant edifice shown in Gordon of Rothiemay's sketch.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced at page 73 of Mr. Miller's *Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*.

Turning next to the earliest published Directory of Edinburgh, that for 1773-74,<sup>1</sup> we learn who lived in the Parliament Close at that time. Fifty-one addresses in it are given, and these show that it was what is known as a 'business locality,' full of the shops of tradesmen of all kinds, notably of jewellers, goldsmiths, and watchmakers, who together number thirteen out of the fifty-one. There were naturally several residents connected with the Law Courts, now occupying the Parliament House, from Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, a Lord of Session and father of the immortal 'Bozzy,' and James and John Dundas, Advocates, to numerous clerks to advocates. There were a good many 'vintners,' but also several booksellers, and there was likewise a lady who not only let lodgings, but made graveclothes. In 1774 died, at the early age of twenty-four, Robert Fergusson, the poet, who was a clerk in the Commissary Office in Parliament Close. He was a great friend of Thomas Sommers, 'His Majesty's Glazier for Scotland,' whose shop was in the Close. Fergusson called there one day to see Sommers, but finding he had gone out, left for him the following lines:—

'Tom Sommers is a gloomy man,  
His mind is dark with sin,  
O holy —! glaze his soul,  
That light may enter in.'

Sommers's *Life of Robert Fergusson, the Scottish Poet*, was published at Edinburgh in 1803,<sup>2</sup> and defends the poet from the attacks of ignorant biographers.

A third 'glimpse' of the old Parliament Close is familiar to Edinburgh citizens from the engraving by John le Conte, entitled, 'The Parliament Close and Public Characters of

<sup>1</sup> Williamson's *Directory for the City of Edinburgh, etc.* (Reprint published by William Brown, Edinburgh, 1889.)

<sup>2</sup> It is in neither the Advocates' nor Signet Library. I was indebted for its perusal to Mr. John A. Fairley, 3 Barnton Gardens, Davidson's Mains, who possesses nearly every book relating to Fergusson.

Edinburgh fifty years since,' published by Alexander Hill, Edinburgh, in 1844.<sup>1</sup> The figures in this engraving were taken from John Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits*, published collectively in 1837; and I may remark that John Kay, who lived for eighty-four years in or near Edinburgh, and died there in 1826, had a small printshop on the south side of the Parliament Close, near the banking-house of Coutts and Co., founded by John Coutts, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in 1742.

It is to the architectural features of this engraving that we specially turn for a glimpse of the old Close, features which must have been depicted either from memory or from a drawing of the date they represent, viz. 1794.

We see before us the south side of the Church of St. Giles, with shops clinging to it like limpets to a rock. These shops extended along the whole southern side of the Church, and we can tell from their signs what business each carried on. Beginning at the west end, then next the Goldsmiths' Hall, now next the Signet Library, and proceeding eastwards, we observe signboards bearing the names of 'Auld, Goldsmith,' 'Reid, Watchmaker,' 'Mathie, Jeweller,' 'J. Miller,' 'Robertson,' 'Gardner,' 'Green, Watchmaker,' 'Petrie, Engraver,' and at the south-east corner of the Church, 'Dempster.'

In his interesting and valuable *Hand Book and Directory of Old Scottish Clockmakers*, published at Edinburgh in 1903, Mr. John Smith tells us that the Parliament Close was 'the centre of the clockmaking art' during the eighteenth century. He says that that 'eminent horologist,' Thomas Reid, Edinburgh, was admitted a freeman clock and watchmaker in 1782, and was at the head of his craft. In 1806 he adopted William Auld as his partner, and the new firm of Reid and Auld removed from Parliament Close to 33 Princes Street.

<sup>1</sup> The picture is said to be engraved by John Le Conte and etched by Thomas Dobbie. The figures are said to have been painted by Sir David Wilkie, Alexander Fraser, and William Kidd, and the architecture and landscape by David Roberts, John Wilson, etc. Some of these are very famous men, and one is tempted to say that the inscription on the engraving 'protests too much.'

The names of both figure on the shops in Parliament Close clinging to St. Giles' Church, as also that of 'Green,' who must be Robert Green, Edinburgh, 1798, who, Mr. Smith says, 'booked apprentice to James Howden, Edinburgh, 1781—admitted freeman clockmaker E. H. 1793—commenced business at 4 Parliament Square.' The Millers, Robertsons, and Downies were also well-known Edinburgh clockmakers of the eighteenth century. In Williamson's *Directory* for 1773-74, we find 'Patrick Robertson, Jeweller, Parliament Close,' also 'James Cowan, Watchmaker' there. Mr. Smith says he founded the business there afterwards carried on by Thomas Reid, and that 'a magnificent specimen of Cowan's work is now placed in the entrance Hall of the Signet Library, being only a few yards away from where it was originally made.' James Cowan was a clockmaker in the Parliament Close till his death in 1781.

The Dalglishes were also well-known clockmakers in the Parliament Close, John being elected Deacon of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, and dying in 1770 was succeeded by his son Laurence, who was also elected Deacon, and died at Westgrange, Fife, in 1821. In Williamson's *Directory* of 1773-74 the latter's address is given as '— Dalglish, Watchmaker, Parliament Close.' For one year (1804) John Begg kept a shop in Parliament Close as 'Watchmaker to His Majesty in Scotland,' George III. having given him this appointment after seeing a novelty in watches made by him in London. But he did not belong to the Incorporation of Hammermen, and, in spite of his Royal appointment, he was hustled out of the Close by the Brethren of that exclusive corporation.

The original of the picture engraved by John le Conte is now in the Municipal Museum, Edinburgh City Chambers. When the engraving was published in 1844, the picture was in the possession of Mr. Robert Bryson, F.R.S.E. Mr. Smith tells us that Robert Bryson commenced business as a clock-

maker at the Mint, High Street, Edinburgh, in 1810, removing to 8 South Bridge, and then to 66 Princes Street, and died in 1854, after holding several important public appointments. If he was the inspirer of the picture engraved by Le Conte, he would be able, from his business knowledge, to furnish correct details of the shops represented in it as clinging to the south side of St. Giles' Church, for Parliament Close was the headquarters of Mr. Bryson's trade when he was a youth, and the Close must then have been familiar to him.

Yet another clockmaker was James Gray, who commenced business at 20 Parliament Close in 1772, and in 1818 was appointed Clockmaker to His Majesty, an office which he held till his death about 1822. He was succeeded by his son, James Gray, jun., whose business was at 12 Parliament Close, and who was appointed by the King 'His Watch and Clockmaker, and keeper and repairer of Clocks and Watches in His houses and palaces in Scotland.'

We thus see that the old Parliament Close was quite a hive of industry, especially as regards the making of clocks and watches. Mr. Smith says that 'after 1700 the art and craft of Clock and Watch making increased, so that, by the close of the Eighteenth Century, Scotland was enabled to turn out work of the highest class.' The importation of cheap movements and American and other imports 'combined to extinguish an industry and a class of craftsmen who were as necessary in every village and town as the doctor or minister.'

To conclude the description of the picture engraved by Le Conte, I may add that on its left is the original entrance to the old Parliament House, with its statues of Justice and Mercy. Next it, where the Signet Library now stands, is a much humbler building of two stories, the top story having five windows to the Parliament Close, and above them a signboard inscribed 'Goldsmiths' Hall,' being the *forum commune* of all the goldsmiths of Edinburgh, and historic

with memories of that grand old goldsmith, George Heriot. The ground floor of this building was occupied by two shops, one with a signboard marked 'Welsh,' and the other with one marked 'Downie.' Wm. Welsh was a goldsmith and jeweller in Parliament Close, according to Williamson's *Directory* of 1773-74. There were three Downies, clock-makers, between 1745 and 1812, according to Mr. Smith.

Nor was the Parliament Close without its newspaper, the notorious *Beacon*, whose printer, Duncan Stevenson, was on 15th August 1816 publicly horsewhipped in the Close by James Stuart of Dunearn, W.S., who, in March 1822, shot dead Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, Bart., in a duel, for which he was tried in June 1822 and acquitted, his counsel being Francis Jeffrey, James Moncreiff, John A. Murray, Henry Cockburn, and others.<sup>1</sup>

In the engraving the statue of Charles II. is represented surrounded by iron railings and four lamps. The east side of the Parliament Close consists of lofty buildings, and although only its northern half is shown, we can distinguish the sign 'John's Coffee House,' where Defoe says the opponents of the Union met and drank confusion to England. A signboard of an upper story bears the name, 'T. Rankin, Taylor,' while on the ground floor are the signs of that ancient firm of Law publishers, 'Bell and Bradfute,' and of 'N. Stewart,' whose full title, 'Neil Stewart, Music Shop,' is given in Williamson's *Directory* of 1773-74. In 1783 James Sibbald, a bookseller in Parliament Close, who had purchased Allan Ramsay's circulating library, started the *Edinburgh Magazine*.

On Robert Kirkwood's large plan of Edinburgh, published by him at 19 Parliament Square in 1817 (dedicated to Sir John Marjoribanks of Lees, Bart., M.P., late Lord Provost of and a banker in Edinburgh), are indicated at the south-west side of the Square the 'Parliament House, New Court Rooms, and Exchequer,' and a building behind the centre of the

<sup>1</sup> Trial printed at Edinburgh, 1822. Lord Cockburn describes it in his *Memorials*.

Square is entitled, 'Sir William Forbes and Co's Bank, Parliament Square.' This well-known bank occupied a court approached by a passage from the Square, immediately to the east of the Exchequer building aforesaid. Sir William Forbes and Co.'s banking business was ultimately taken over by the Union Bank of Scotland, which, desiring to continue the old connection with Parliament Square, acquired premises at No. 2 in the south-eastern corner. It carried on business there for some time, until Government obtained the premises and established there, in 1885, the Commissary Office, which had formerly occupied rooms at No. 1 on the ground floor of H.M. Exchequer building.

According to Kirkwood's plan of 1817, the 'Advocates' and Writers to the Signet's Libraries' were where the Signet Library now stands.

While the many small industries followed in Parliament Close made it a Scottish trading mart of importance, there was one business founded and carried on there which eventually attained world-wide celebrity. In 1719 John Coutts left his native Montrose for Edinburgh, and commenced, 'on the second floor of the President's Stairs in the Parliament Close,' the business which developed into the great banking house of 'Coutts and Co.' John Coutts was Lord Provost of Edinburgh from October 1742 to October 1744. The President's Stairs, where his bank originally was, descended from the Parliament Close to the Cowgate at a point to the east of the present buildings of the High Court of Justiciary. The history of the famous banking firm was written by the celebrated Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart., an apprentice of the son of Lord Provost Coutts, his fellow-apprentice being Sir James Hunter Blair of Dunskey, Bart., afterwards Lord Provost of and M.P. for the City of Edinburgh. As Sir William Forbes's *Memoirs of a Banking House*<sup>1</sup> stopped at the year 1803, and there was much to tell about it after

<sup>1</sup> Printed for private circulation by W. and R. Chambers, Edinburgh, 1859.

that, the present writer, himself officially a resident of the Parliament Close, and quite near the site of the old President's Stairs, brought out a history of *Coutts & Co., Bankers, Edinburgh and London, being the Memoirs of a Family distinguished for its Public Services in England and Scotland*, of which a revised and enlarged edition was published in 1901. In that volume he endeavoured to concentrate all the information procurable regarding a business and a family which, from humble beginnings, attained historic fame.

The banking house of 'Sir W. Forbes, J. Hunter and Co.' occupied ground at the back of the southern side of Parliament Square. Forbes and Hunter (afterwards Hunter Blair) had carried on the old firm of John Coutts and Co. till the tremendous banking crisis of 1772, after which they formed the new firm of which Sir John Hay of Haystoun, Bart., was ultimately also a partner. Sir William Forbes's son and successor in the banking house, and bearing his father's name, was the intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott, and when his bank figured among the largest of Scott's creditors, of whom he was chairman, Sir Walter recorded in his Journal, under date 26th January 1826, that Forbes 'behaved as he has ever done, with the generosity of ancient faith and early friendship.'

#### V. THE MODERN 'PARLIAMENT SQUARE'

In the beginning of the nineteenth century it was found necessary to obtain increased accommodation for the Supreme Courts of Scotland established in the old Parliament House buildings. The conversion of these buildings to meet the requirements of the Courts was authorised by two Acts of Parliament, viz. 46 Geo. III. c. 154 (1806), and 48 Geo. III. c. 146 (1808). The Government of the day (as there was

then no Office of Works) employed as architect Robert Reid, who was the last Master of the King's Works or King's Architect in Scotland. Born in 1776, Reid had designed in 1806 the head office of the Bank of Scotland in Edinburgh, and in 1808-10 he was architect of buildings required for the new Supreme Courts of Scotland, embracing the western and south-western sides of Parliament Square and the Library of the Society of Writers to H.M. Signet.

The façade drawn by Reid across the western and south-western sides of Parliament Close involved the destruction of the façade of the ancient Parliament House. The heavy character of Reid's façade, with its Greek columns, Egyptian sphinxes, and Italian corridors, aroused universal indignation; more particularly as these foreign and incongruous elements blotted out the Scottish architecture which distinguished and embellished the old Parliament House of Scotland. The national spirit rebelled against this foreign invasion, and at the destruction of a building which proclaimed the independence of Scotland. In addition to this, a modern, artificial and pretentious appearance had been given to the Parliament Close which divested it of all its historic interest. When the new-fangled term 'Square' was substituted for the ancient 'Close,' it was felt that one of the centres of Scottish history had suffered the last indignity.

Every writer of the period who described the work of Reid condemned it, but without mentioning his name, so that I had some difficulty in discovering it. I found it, however, in the *Dictionary of Architecture*, issued by the Architectural Publication Society of London in 1887 (vol. vii.), which states definitely that Reid's work in Parliament Square extended 'over the ancient front of the Parliament House.' The article on Reid in the re-issue of the *Dictionary of National Biography*<sup>1</sup> is evidently based on the information given in the above *Dictionary of Architecture*.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xvi., London, 1909.

A few scathing references to Reid's work, written by his contemporaries, may be given as showing how much they felt and despised his innovations. First, we may turn to the most classic account of Old Edinburgh, that contained in *Lord Cockburn's Memorials of his Time*,<sup>1</sup> which were written between 1821 and 1830. He says:

'When I first knew it, the Parliament House, both outside and in, was a curious and interesting place. No one who remembers the old exterior can see the new one without sorrow and indignation. The picture which recalls the old edifice most distinctly to my mind, is the one in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*.<sup>2</sup> The Parliament Square (as foppery now calls it, but which used and ought to be called the Parliament Close) was then, as now, enclosed on the north by St. Giles' Cathedral, on the west by the Outer House, and on the south partly by courts and partly by shops, above which were very tall houses, and on the east by a line of shops and houses of the same grand height, so that the courts formed the south-west angle of the Close. The old building exhibited some respectable turrets, some ornamental windows and doors, and a handsome balustrade. But the charm that ought to have saved it was its colour and its age, which, however, were the very things that caused its destruction. About 170 years had breathed over it a grave grey hue. The whole aspect was venerable and appropriate, becoming the air and character of a Sanctuary of Justice. But a mason pronounced it to be all "Dead Wall." The officials to whom, at a period when there was no public taste in Edinburgh, this was addressed, believed him; and the two fronts were removed in order to make way for the bright freestone and contemptible decorations that now disgrace us. The model having been laid down, has been copied on all subsequent occasions; till at last the old Parliament Close would not be known by the lawyers or senators who walked through it in the days of the Stuarts or of the first two of the Guelphs. I cannot doubt that King Charles tried to spur his horse against the vandals when he saw the

<sup>1</sup> Page 97 of new edition. Foulis, Edinburgh, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Plate from a drawing by 'The Honble. J. Elphinstone, Engineer,' showing 'A Perspective View of the Parliament House and Exchequer,' opposite p. 293 of Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, written in 1779, and published by William Creech, Edinburgh, in quarto, in 1788.

profanation begin. But there was such an utter absence of public spirit in Edinburgh then, that the building might have been painted scarlet without anybody objecting.'

Hugo Arnot died in 1786, but the work of Reid was condemned in a 'Sketch of the Improvements of the City of Edinburgh from 1780 to 1816,' appended to an edition of Arnot's *History*, published in 1816, in the following terms:

'Some years ago, the buildings for accommodating the Courts of Law, certain public officers, and persons in confinement, being inadequate for their respective purposes, the defect was proposed to be remedied by considerable additions to the Parliament House. Plans and estimates were accordingly prepared, by which it appeared that the whole would amount to £51,000. However, it was about the same time discovered that a fund which had long before been appropriated for the salaries of the Judges, of later years ceased to be directed into that channel, and then amounted by accumulations to about £30,000; therefore about half the expense could at once be defrayed. A Bill was precipitately carried through Parliament, chiefly founded on the opinions of individuals; and this enormous irregular pile of building has now arisen. But, in completing it, the architect has found it necessary to destroy the original front of the Parliament House to make way for a piazza, forming part of the plan. Perhaps this is to be regretted, for it was not only ornamental, but intimately corresponded with the interior, setting aside the expense of that part of the structure from which no material use can be derived.'

Writing about the same period, Sir Walter Scott exclaimed, 'Betwixt building and burning, every ancient monument of the Scottish capital is now likely to be utterly demolished.'<sup>1</sup>

Scott's son-in-law and biographer, John Gibson Lockhart, passed in 1819, in his *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*,<sup>2</sup> a characteristically severe criticism on Reid's work. He says:

'The southern side of the (Parliament) Square and a small part of the eastern side are filled with venerable Gothic buildings, which for

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicles of the Canongate*, chap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh, 1819, vol. ii. p. 13.

many generations have been devoted to the accommodation of the Courts of Law, but which are now entirely shut out from the eye of the public by a very ill-conceived and tasteless front-work of modern device, including a sufficient allowance of staring square windows and Ionic pillars and pilasters. What beauty the front of the structure may have possessed in its original state I have no means of ascertaining, but Mr. Wastle sighs every time we pass through the *Close* as pathetically as could be wished, over "the glory that hath departed." At all events, there can be no question that the present frontispiece is every way detestable. It is heavy and clumsy in itself; and extremely ill-chosen moreover, whether one considers the character and appearance of the Hall to which it gives access, or the aspect of the Cathedral and the old buildings in immediate juxtaposition without.'

In consequence of the great fires which occurred in the eastern side of Parliament Close in 1824, a façade similar to Reid's was given to the entire Close, which then assumed a modern air and also the modern appellation of 'Parliament Square.'

In 1827, when Robert Chambers was a young enthusiastic antiquary, he published in two volumes<sup>1</sup> a work entitled *The Picture of Scotland*, and therein he refers to the modernisation of the Parliament Close as follows:—'The Parliament House and its dependencies usually attract no inconsiderable share of the attention of strangers. The buildings have at present a modern appearance on account of having been faced up (or rather defaced) by a front in the Grecian style of architecture, so late as the year 1808.' Like other critics, Chambers abstains from giving the architect's name. Perhaps in those old days when, according to Lord Cockburn, there was no liberty in Scotland, to have attacked the 'Master of the King's Works, or King's architect in Scotland,' would have exposed a critic to a charge of *lèse majesté*.

Sir Daniel Wilson echoes the complaint of Lord Cockburn.

<sup>1</sup> Published in Edinburgh by William Tait, 78 Princes Street, 1827, vol. ii. p. 89.

He notes<sup>1</sup> how a few years of vandalism 'sufficed to do the work of centuries in the demolition of time-honoured fabrics and the remodelling of others in a fashion too often little less thoroughly effacing every feature of historic significance. The Parliament Close, with its irregular but picturesque façade in the old Scottish baronial style, and the ancient Collegiate Church of St. Giles (which on that side, at least, was ornate and unique), have been remodelled according to the newest fashion; and to complete the change, the good old name of Close, pleasantly associated with the cloistral courts of the cathedrals and abbeys of England, has been replaced by the modern, and in this case inappropriate, one of Square.'

It is but fair to explain, however, in defence of this change of name, that while the term 'Close' is applied in English cathedral cities to the delightful flowery precincts of the cathedrals where the higher clergy reside, the term 'Close' in Edinburgh is usually applied to long, dark, unsavoury lanes branching from the High Street, Canongate, and other very ancient streets—lanes which were once tenanted by the Scottish nobility, but are now occupied by the poorest of the poor, whose dwellings are often in grimy darkness, unrelieved by a single flower.

Sir Daniel Wilson's wrath, however, is not exhausted in a single passage. The peroration of his first volume of *Memorials* is as follows: <sup>2</sup>—

'Previous to the remodelling of the Parliament House, while yet the old Close reared its huge massy piles of stone high above the neighbouring buildings, and the ancient Church retained its venerable, though somewhat dilapidated exterior, the aspect of this Quadrangle must have been peculiarly imposing; and such as we shall look for in vain among the modern erections of the Capital.

'Had, indeed, the southern side of St. Giles' Church been restored, in the true sense of the term, instead of being remodelled and nearly

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials*, 2nd edition, 1891, vol. i. p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

every genuine antique feature effaced, it would have been a singularly interesting memorial of the successive extensions of the Collegiate Church throughout the fifteenth century. But it would be folly, after recording so many changes that have passed over this locality at successive periods, to indulge in the vain regret that our own day has witnessed another revolution as sweeping as any that preceded it, obliterating many features of the past, and resigning it anew to the slow work of Time to restore for other generations the hues of age that best comport with its august and venerable associations.

There is no doubt that the old Parliament Close suffered severely at the hands of Edinburgh architects, for if Robert Reid substituted a tasteless façade for fine old Scottish buildings, William Burn desecrated the adjoining Church of St. Giles by a ruthless 'restoration' which deprived it of dignity and grace.

It is pleasant, however, to recognise that some atonement for the misdeeds of his predecessors has lately been made by Mr. R. S. Lorimer, the architect of the Chapel of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, which, under the auspices of his late Majesty, King Edward VII., has been added to the Church of St. Giles. This Chapel, by the richness of its decoration and the elegance of its form, is not only worthy of its connection with an ancient Scottish Order, but redeems from lifelessness the architectural features of Parliament Square.

RALPH RICHARDSON.

LADY STAIR'S HOUSE<sup>1</sup>

IN early times the land between the houses of the Lawnmarket and the Nor' Loch—a space of about one hundred and fifty yards—was occupied by nursery gardens with small houses attached. There was also a dairy farm, and this was situated on the west side of the ground, nearly opposite the present site of the United Free Church College buildings.

According to Edgar's Map of 1742, a road passed along this land leading from Ramsay Lane eastwards to the Flesh Market, which, till comparatively recently, existed close to the west side of the North Bridge. This road ran more or less parallel to the line of the Castle Hill, Lawnmarket, and High Street, and it was possible to get from Edinburgh's main thoroughfare to this road alongside the Nor' Loch not only through Ramsay Lane, but down several of the closes which separated from one another the tall blocks of houses on the north side of the Lawnmarket and High Street.

Some of these closes were quite obliterated by building operations carried out from time to time in the Old Town; and of the various closes wiped out by the erection of the tall block of buildings on the north side of James' Court—so prominently seen nowadays by any person passing up the Mound—there is little information to be got. But it is probable that the staircase open to the public from the foot of the high tenement on the Mound up into James' Court is all that remains to us of one of these.

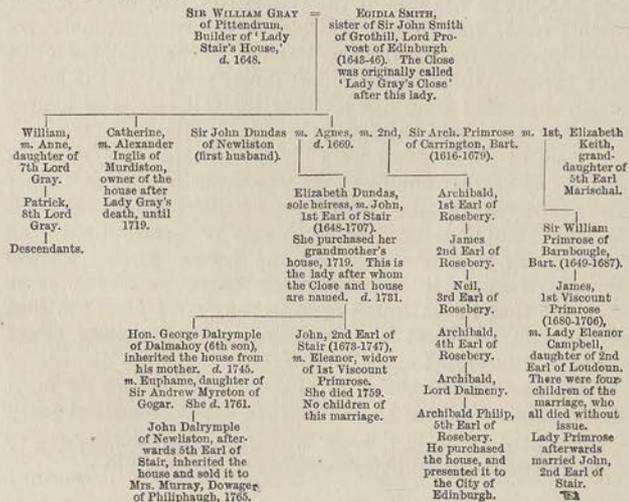
Milne's Close, to the west of James' Court, was an open thoroughfare from the Lawnmarket to the old road, but Lady

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. W. B. Laikie, Mr. Wm. Cowan, and Mr. J. C. Robbie for the historical and genealogical information contained in this paper.—T. B. W.

Stair's Close, to the east of James' Court, ended in a private garden having no public outlet. Between James' Court and the houses on the west side of Lady Stair's Close was a narrow close, at one time called Gladstane's Close, which may have had an opening at its northern end, but which does not seem, unless at a very early period, to have had direct communication with the Lawnmarket. Farther east there was Baxter's Close, now built over, which was open at the foot. Still going eastward, there were nine private closes, and then came Byer's Close, which was a further communication from the High Street northward to the old road.

One of the most interesting houses in this part of the old city is that known as 'Lady Stair's House,' which, having been acquired by the Earl of Rosebery in 1895,<sup>1</sup> was restored by him, and presented to the city in 1907.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Rosebery's family connection with the builder and former owners of the house is shown in this genealogical table.



A lintel above the old doorway of the house (see illustration) bears the letters W. G. and G. S. with the date 1622.



Doorway of Lady Stair's House.

These are the initials of Sir William Gray of Pittendrum, and his wife Egidia or Geida Smith, sister of Sir John Smith

of Grothill, who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1643. It appears, therefore, that the house was built by Sir William Gray in 1622. Sir William was a prosperous merchant burgher of Edinburgh, but having taken the Royalist side in the troubles of the period, he was subjected to heavy fines and also to imprisonment. He died in 1648, his life having been probably shortened by his misfortunes. His widow survived him for some years, and the earlier name of the close was Lady Gray's Close. At her death the house passed into the hands of Alexander Inglis of Murdiston, who had married Catherine, one of the younger daughters of Sir William and Lady Gray; and he probably made some additions to the original building. In 1719 Alexander Inglis sold a part of the house, apparently the lower story to the north, to Bethia Scott, and on 17th February 1719 he disposed the remaining or principal part of the dwelling to 'William Hamilton, Surgeon Major to the Regiment of Dragoons commanded by the Earl of Stair, whom failing to James Pollock, writer in Edinburgh.' This transfer seems to have been merely a temporary expedient, for on 7th April 1719 the property was disposed by William Hamilton, with consent of said James Pollock, to Elizabeth, Countess-Dowager of Stair. This lady, widow of John, first Earl of Stair, was the daughter and sole heiress of Sir John Dundas of Newliston by his marriage with Agnes Gray, eldest daughter of Sir William and Lady Gray. There is not the slightest doubt that it was from this, the first Countess of Stair, and not from her daughter-in-law the second Countess, that the house and close received the name by which they are still known.

The elder lady's life had not been without its romance. Two years previous to her marriage in 1669 to Lord Stair, then Sir John Dalrymple, the young heiress had been the subject of a forcible abduction, in which the principal actor was an advocate, William Dundas, brother of Dundas of Morton. Records of the incident are somewhat obscure, but

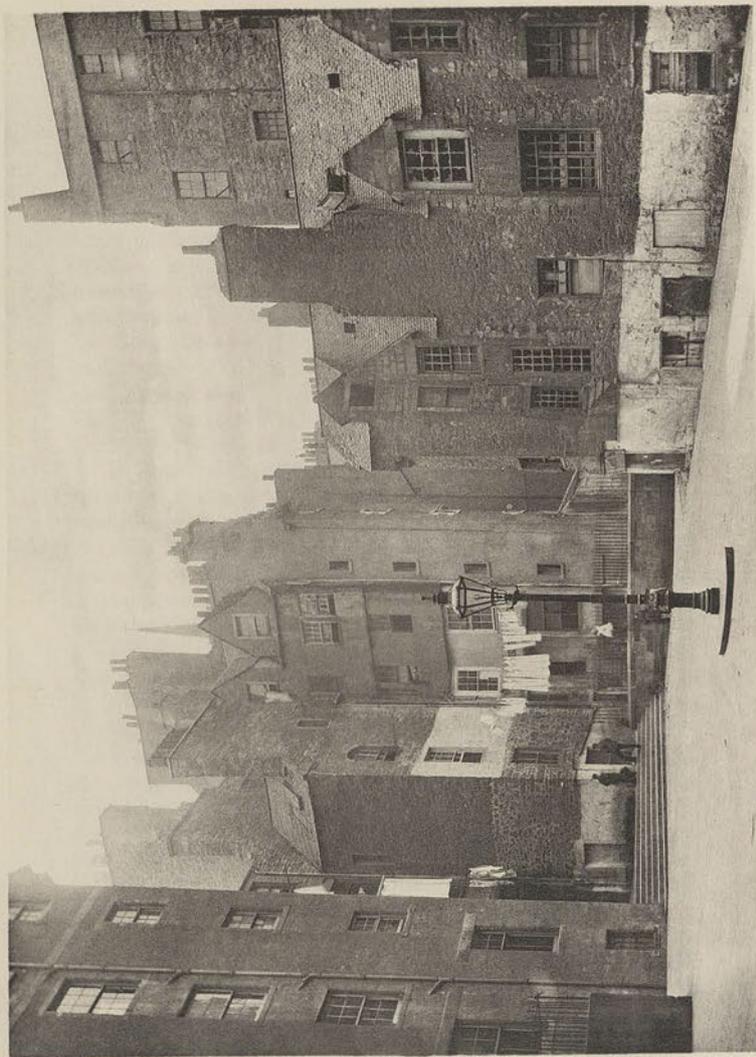
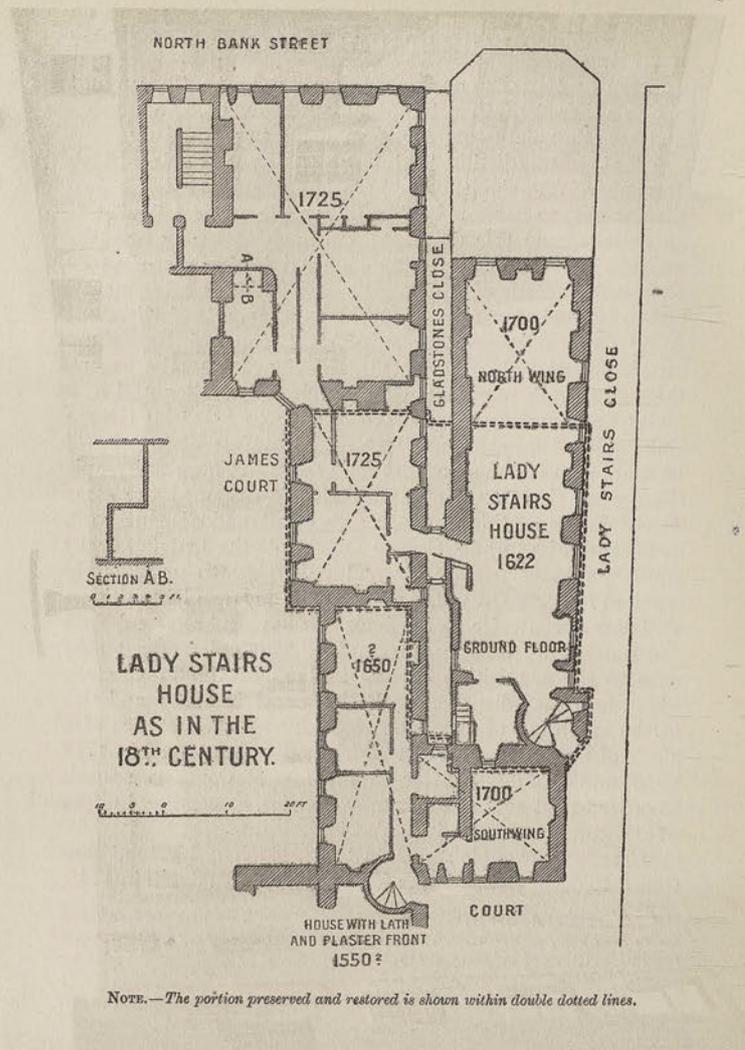
apparently Miss Dundas owed her rescue to the prompt action of her stepfather, Sir Archibald Primrose, and Dundas and her other abductors were committed to prison.<sup>1</sup>

The Countess died in 1731, but by a disposition dated 11th December 1729, she conveyed the house, subject to her own life interest, to her son George Dalrymple. The following is an extract from this deed: 'Forasmuch as we by our Disposition dated 17 Feby. 1728 disposed in favours of y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> John Earle of Stair our Sone y<sup>e</sup> Lodging after ment<sup>d</sup>. and in favours of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Earle Coll. W<sup>m</sup> Dalrymple of Glenmuir & M<sup>r</sup> George Dalrymple ane of y<sup>e</sup> Barons of Exchequer certain other subjects therein mentioned equally among them Reserving our own life interest & power to alter And now for y<sup>e</sup> Love and favour I have & bear to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> George Dalrymple & considering y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lodging after disposed will be more commodious and fitt for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> George Dalrymple than y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Earle to whom we formerly disposed the same Therefore we by thir presents give grant and dispone to & in favours of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> George Dalrymple the Lodging or d<sup>ws</sup> house presently possess by and belonging to us & lately repaired in Lady Grays Closs, reserving our own life interest.'

Later deeds refer to the house as having been 'enlarged and finished by George Dalrymple.' This enlargement may refer to the acquisition by him in 1739 of the lower story which had been disposed to Bethia Scott in 1719; and also to the extension of the house by taking in two stories of a block of houses on the west which had been erected in 1723 by James Brounhill, after whom James' Court is named. In order to get access to these two stories, connecting bridges were thrown across Gladstane's Close.

George Dalrymple's widow, 'Mrs. Euphan Myrton,' continued to occupy the house after her husband's death in 1745,

<sup>1</sup> Some of this lady's letters to her son, the second earl, have been preserved, and show her to have been, as was natural, an ardent Whig. They are very characteristic, a remarkable mixture of business shrewdness and covenanting piety.



LADY STAIRS HOUSE, BEFORE RESTORATION

but the ownership of the property passed to their son John Dalrymple, who, in 1768, succeeded as fifth Earl of Stair. In 1765 the property was disposed by him to Mrs. Eleanor Hamilton or Murray, widow of John Murray of Philiphaugh, and thereafter the successive owners were James Carnegie of Finhaven, 1767 to 1777; Patrick M'Dougall, writer, 1777 to 1787; Alexander M'Dougall, surgeon, 1787 to 1789; and William and Patrick Cunningham, goldsmiths, and their successors, 1789 to 1825. In the latter year the property was exposed for sale, and was thus described: 'That large Dwelling House, some time belonging to the Dowager Countess of Stair, situated at the entry to the earthen Mound. The sunk storey consists of a good Kitchen, Servants' Closets and Cellar. The second storey of a Dining and Bedroom and the third of a Dining Room and five Bedrooms.'

It was purchased by John Russell, brushmaker, and remained in his possession and in that of his heirs till 1895, when it was purchased by the Earl of Rosebery as mentioned above. From the genealogical table it will be seen that Lord Rosebery is a direct descendant of the original owner of the house. Sir William Gray's daughter Agnes, widow of Sir John Dundas, married as her second husband Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington, and their son Archibald was the first Earl of Rosebery.

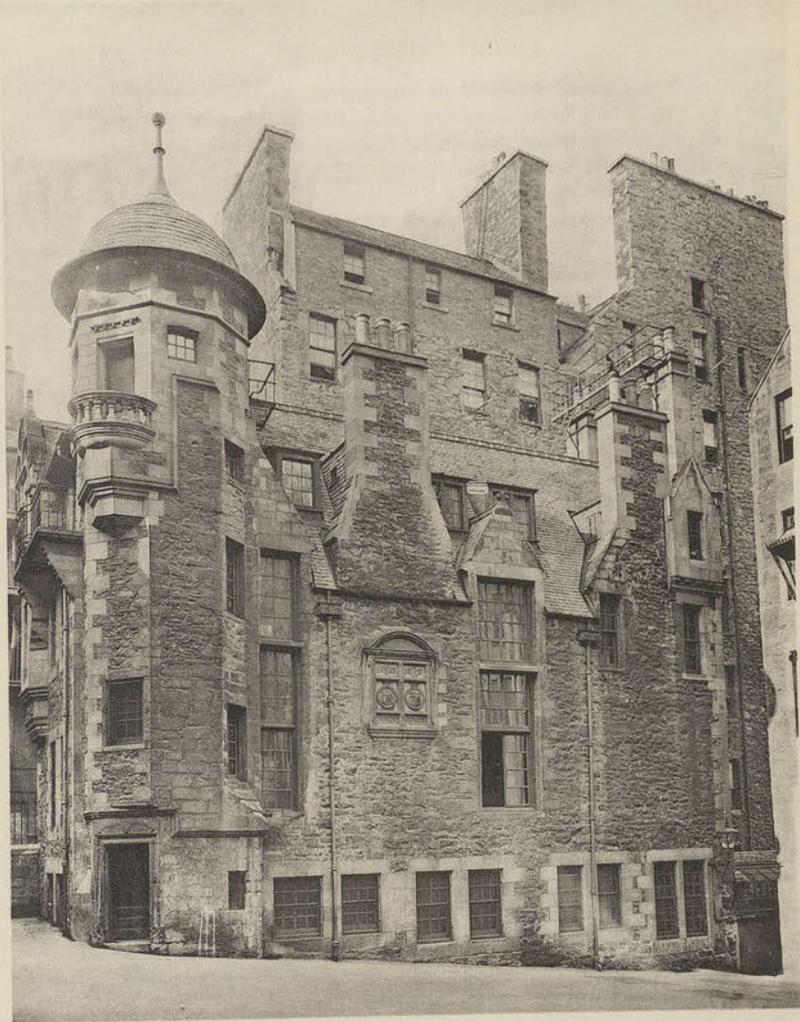
Hitherto the various writers on the antiquities of Edinburgh, beginning with Robert Chambers, have connected the house with Eleanor, widow of the second Earl of Stair, the original of the Lady Forester in Sir Walter Scott's marvellous story 'My Aunt Margaret's Mirror.' Lord Stair was her second husband, for the Countess had made a most unhappy first marriage with James, Viscount Primrose (*d.* 1706), grandson of Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington and his first wife Elizabeth Keith.

In the *Traditions of Edinburgh* (i. 249) Chambers says: 'This lady (widow of John, second Earl of Stair) in 1753 had a house

in the Mint, afterwards occupied by the celebrated Dr. Cullen; but removed that year to a larger tenement at the bottom of the close in the Lawnmarket which still bears her ladyship's name'; and in *Reekiana* (p. 112), referring to the house, he says it 'was occupied by the dowager of the celebrated general and statesman John, second Earl of Stair, who died in 1747. Her ladyship, after long exercising a sway over the *haut-ton* of the Scottish capital, died here November 21, 1759, at a very advanced age. The late Mr. Mackenzie, author of the *Man of Feeling* [b. 1745, d. 1831], informed the author that he recollected her ladyship living in this house. The close takes its name from her ladyship.'

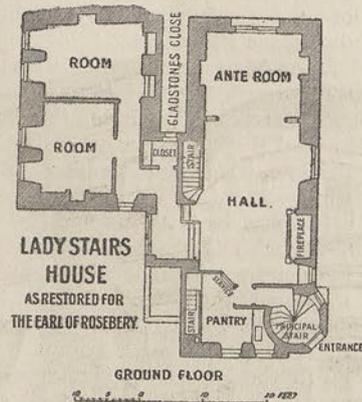
As the close is called 'Lady Stair's Close' in Edgar's map of the city, published in 1742, it is evident that the name could not have been derived from a lady who only removed there (according to Chambers) in 1753. In any case, it is certain, from the successive title-deeds mentioned above, that the house was at no time *owned* by the second Countess, and if the statement made by Chambers, on the authority of Henry Mackenzie, is correct, she must have been merely an occupant of the house during the period when it was the property of her husband's nephew John Dalrymple. But further, the widow of George Dalrymple occupied the house after her husband's death, and if, as is most likely, she continued to live there till her death, which occurred in 1761, then it becomes a question whether the alleged occupancy of the house by the second Countess of Stair, who died in 1759, is not an entire mistake.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The title-deeds describe the house as 'that lodging or dwelling-house, etc., as the same were possessed by and partly altered and repaired by the deceased Elizabeth, Countess-Dowager of Stair, and afterwards enlarged and finished by the deceased George Dalrymple, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, her son, and possessed by him during his lifetime, and after his death possessed [*i.e.* occupied] by Mrs. Euphan Myrton, his widow, thereafter by Mrs. Eleanor Hamilton, relict of John Murray of Philiphaugh, thereafter, etc. There is no mention of the 'possession' or occupation of the house by Eleanor, Countess of Stair.



LADY STAIR'S HOUSE, AS RESTORED FOR THE EARL OF ROSEBERY

When the Town Council, about 1893, undertook the Improvement Scheme, involving the alteration of Wardrop's Court and the demolition of much old property in the neighbourhood, it was Professor Patrick Geddes who suggested to Lord Rosebery that he should acquire the house; and when Lord Rosebery did so, and had determined to restore it, the work was placed in the hands of Mr. G. S. Aitken, architect, to whom the present writer owes much of his information, as well as the plans accompanying this article.



In restoring the house, the Corporation made it a condition that the north and south ends, which formed no part of the original mansion, should be removed, hence the new frontages to these parts.

The turnpike stair, which had, as may be seen from the photograph taken before restoration, an abruptly terminating roof, was raised to its present form, and by arrangement with the authorities a projection was made at the south-west re-entering corner, which allowed communications to be made with the James' Court rooms, and the reinstatement of the original two western internal stairs. The brick transoms, which crossed the tall east windows, were removed, and the hall restored to the condition in which it was in Sir William Gray's time, the original fireplace jambs being surmounted by a stone canopy in place of the one which had been removed during previous changes.

The cellar vaults at the south end were taken down, and the whole basement was made usable and accessible by means of the restored south-west stair and the lower part of the turnpike now lit by the little old window discovered during the alterations.

The Adams' mantelpieces were preserved, and old tiles from a Lawnmarket house introduced into some of the fireplaces.

The relics found during the progress of the work are now in Lord Rosebery's possession. Among them is a heavy lead fireplate, which had been fixed to the top of one of the east windows by the 'Friendly Insurance Society of Edinburgh,' established in 1720. It had the motto 'Deo Juvante' and the number '10.' A pair of clasped hands forming part of the plate was reproduced in stone at the foot of the south-west turret, with the date 1622-1897, the former being the date of the original building, and the latter of the restoration by Lord Rosebery.

In the part of the house which extended into James' Court there was one quaint bit of domestic architecture to which reference may be made, as an example, first of all, of the way in which space was economised in those days, and secondly, of the conditions under which the domestic servants lived.

The partition between the lobby and the kitchen performed a double zig-zag, as it were. The partition zig-zagged along its length to form a recess, and the recess itself zig-zagged horizontally. This made a peculiar bedcloset, which provided accommodation next the lobby on the ground level for the porter or footman—a mere box bed, as it were; while from the kitchen, on the other side of the partition, there was a similar box bed at a higher level for another domestic—the foot of the kitchen bed being the roof of the lobby recess.

THOMAS B. WHITSON.

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## APPENDIX

## THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

Etc.

# Old Edinburgh Club

1910

## *Honorary Patrons*

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL  
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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WILLIAM COWAN, 47 Braid Avenue.  
JOHN GEDDIE, 16 Ann Street.  
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JOHN HOGGEN, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.  
W. FRASER DOBIE, 47 Grange Road.  
JOHN A. FAIRLEY, 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.  
W. MOIR BRYCE, Dunedin, Blackford Road.  
THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., 21 Rutland Street.

## *Auditor*

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., 34 York Place.

## REPORT OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Room, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Monday, 30th January 1911, at 4 o'clock.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T., Honorary President of the Club, presided. There was a large attendance of Members.

Apologies were intimated from the Right Hon. the Lord Provost, Col. Gordon Gilmour, and Prof. Hume Brown.

The Secretary submitted the Third Annual Report, which is in the following terms:—

The Council beg to submit to the Club the Third Annual Report.

During the year there were 8 vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain 50 names on the list of applicants waiting admission.

The following meetings were held.

### 1. WALK :—WEST PORT, GRASSMARKET, GREYFRIARS CHURCHYARD.

The first walk of the season took place on Saturday afternoon, 11th June 1910, in delightful weather. The party, numbering about 100, met at the 'Main Point,' the place where long ago roads forked off to Linlithgow, Glasgow, and Peebles, and the guides were Mr. Bruce J. Home, Dr. Thomas Ross, and Mr. Robert T. Skinner. Amongst the places visited were the Wester Portsburgh, with its Burke and Hare associations, and

its shoemaker and weaver reminiscences of a time when the burgh was the trades suburb; King's Stables Road, a site for tournaments since the reign of King Robert II., and consequently a stabling quarter for more than 500 years; the site of the gallows in the Grassmarket; the gate in the West Bow, built by King James II. of Scotland, the Temple Bar, so to speak, at which sovereigns received addresses of welcome; and Harrow Inn in Candlemaker Row, a hostelry in which the Ettrick Shepherd lodged on his visits to the capital. The party, so far in sections, united under Mr. Skinner at Greyfriars Churchyard, which has been called the Scottish Westminster Abbey. Among the numerous graves of interest were those of the Martyrs; Archibald Pitcairn, physician and poet; James, sixth Earl of Morton, airt and pairt in the murders of Rizzio and Darnley; John Kay, barber and caricaturist; Gilbert Primrose, surgeon, a forebear of Lord Rosebery; Captain Porteous, of 'Heart of Midlothian' fame; Walter Scott, the father of Scotland's greatest son; Lord Provost Creech, the publisher of the Edinburgh edition of Burns; Dr. Hugh Blair, whose cultured sermons received the encomium of George III.; Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, who befriended the Ayrshire bard, and who was the originator of the steamboat; Allan Ramsay, the poet; and Lord President Forbes of Culloden, who opposed the rebels in 1715. The members were permitted to enter the two churches of Greyfriars, and were thereafter able to look with deepened interest upon the 'throughstane' on which the National Covenant was signed after the sermon by Alexander Henderson in Old Greyfriars on a memorable Sunday of 1638. Votes of thanks by Mr. William Baird, J.P., Portobello, concluded a most enjoyable and instructive outing.

2. WALK :—COWGATE, MAGDALENE CHAPEL,  
CANONGATE CHURCHYARD.

The second walk arranged by the Council took place on Saturday afternoon, 25th June 1910. The members met at

Cowgatehead, and proceeded to the Magdalene Chapel, where they were received by Dr. Sargood Fry, who read a paper on the history of the Chapel, stating that for the most of the following information he was indebted to Dr. Fraser Harris :—

'The Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, the property of the Protestant Institute, but now attached to the Livingstone Memorial Medical Mission and Dispensary, at the western end of the Cowgate, is one of the relics of Old Edinburgh that have escaped improvement, restoration, or demolition. Few inhabitants of Edinburgh could direct you to it, few recognise it when they see it, and yet its spire figures prominently in most of the photographs or engravings of the Martyrs' Monument in Greyfriars Churchyard. It rises behind that monument as an embattled tower with quaint gargoyles (cannon with ball issuing) surmounted by an elegant pyramidal steeple with a conspicuous weathercock.

'The Chapel is entered from the Cowgate, which was, in the days of the first six Stuarts, the most aristocratic quarter in Edinburgh.

'It was founded in the reign of James IV., in 1503, by a certain burghess of Edinburgh, Michael Macquhen (or Macquhan), and his wife, Janet Rynd. There had previously existed on this site what was called a *Maison Dieu*, which, having become ruinous, was superseded by a hospital and chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. The details of the endowment, narrated *ad longum* in the deed executed by Janet Rynd, are many, pious, and curious—amongst them being that the funds are to be used for the maintenance of seven poor men, and a chaplain who was to say prayers in the Chapel for the souls of several people, including the souls of the monarch and Janet Rynd.

'The Chapel was left "in trust" to the Corporation of the Hammermen. For a most clear account of this incorporated trade (whose first charter is dated 1483), see Bailie Colston's learned work, *The Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh*. There is no doubt the meetings of the deacons, masters, and members of this guild were held in the Chapel, and two chairs, marked "Clerk" and "Treasurer," still preserved on the platform may have belonged to the Hammermen.

'Over an entrance from the Cowgate (not now used) can be read, cut into the stone, the following :—"He that heth Pitie vpon the Poore lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him that which he heth giuen"—Prov. xix. 17—not quite the rendering of the verse in

our version of 1611. Above this stone is the date 1553, on a square tablet on which is cut a hammer below a crown, and M. M. and I. R. (the initials of founder and foundress), as well as their arms in a united device. To the right of the tablet is the rude figure of a Hammerman; to the left, a figure supposed to be that of the patron saint of the corporation. Above the tablet is a triangular stone with the date 1649; at its apex is a stone ball.

'The Chapel is supposed to have been restored after the almost complete destruction of Edinburgh in 1544, by the Earl of Hereford, 1558 being the date, in all probability, when the renovation was completed. At any rate, we know the steeple was added as late as 1621, for it is so stated on a panel inside the building.

'The bell, believed to be of nearly pure silver, and cast in Flanders, was hung in 1632, and has on it, "Soli Deo gloria Michael Burgerhuys, me fecit, Anno 1632"; and below this in smaller lettering: "God bliss the Hammermen of Magdalene Chapel." In June 1641, for some reason not fully explained, it appears that the bell of the Chapel was rung instead of that in Greyfriars Church. This bell, which is still rung occasionally, has a clear and pleasant note.

'The interior of the Chapel is still more interesting. It has a lofty arched roof, and it is lighted by high windows in the south wall. These windows, not having looked into the street, but into a nobleman's garden in the old days, largely escaped the destructive zeal of the "reforming mob," for they to this day possess at least four panes, pronounced by antiquarians to be not only the oldest, but the only surviving specimens of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical coloured glass in Scotland. The colours are singularly brilliant, especially after a lapse of nearly three and a half centuries. They went in for quality more than quantity in the days of yore. The right upper pane has the Scottish lion, crown, and thistles in rich colours; the left upper pane, the arms of Mary of Guise; the right and left lower panes have the initials and arms of the founder and foundress.

'In the south-east corner of the Chapel is the tomb of Janet Rynd, with an inscription in Gothic characters round the border of the large oblong stone, now flush with the dais. It has this inscription:—

"Heir lyes ane honorabil woman, Janet Rynd, ye spous of umquhill Micel Makquhen, burgess of Ed. founder of yis place and decessit ye iiiii day of Decemr. Ao. dno. M<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>vii<sup>o</sup>."

'In the centre of this flat stone is a shield with the arms and initials M. M. and I. R. as before. The late Sir Daniel Wilson suggested this

stone was but the top of an altar-tomb, whose sides, hidden by the platform erected for the officials of the Hammermen, might be covered with sculpturing. But this seems not to be the case.

'Running along the front of the platform is a semicircular railing of hand-wrought ironwork, with an iron crown over a hammer in the centre of the railing. This symbol is also sculptured in relief high up on both east and west walls. On the north and east walls are a large number of square panels or tablets of wood on which are painted in gilt lettering the benefactors' names and their gifts to the Chapel. The earliest date on a panel is 1555.

'The following is one selected at random: "Andrew Robertson, tobacconist in Edinburgh, gave to ye Poor of this house, 100 Merks, Anno 1722." The merk or mark was equivalent to 1s. 1½d. of our money, so that the philanthropic tobacconist gave £5, 12s. 6d.

'Besides the chairs already alluded to, and an old clock gifted to the Hammermen in 1727, there is still preserved in the premises of the Protestant Institute the table on which lay the headless body of the Marquis of Argyle after his execution by the "Maiden" in 1685 at the Cross in the High Street. The head was fixed on the gate of the Tolbooth, and the body buried in the family vault at Kilmun.

'We have seen how this little Chapel was founded in the Romish days, and how prayers for the dead were to be offered in it, and two candles to be kept burning on the altar. It was certainly in this place that the Assembly met in 1578, for we read: "The Generall Assemblie conveyit at Edinbruche in Apryll 1578, in the Magdalen chapell. Mr. Andro Melville was chosin Moderator, whar was concludit, That Bischopes sould be callit by their awin names, or be the name of *Breither* in all tyme coming, and that the lordlie name and authoritie be banished from the Kirk of God, quihilk has bot a Lord Chryst Jesus." A curious place for such a doctrine to be formulated for the first time! But Janet Rynd was dead, and her long pious deed was a dead letter.

'John Craig, Melville, and Henderson all spoke in this little place; in point of fact, we may say the seeds of the Reformed Religion, which have since grown into the Church of Scotland, with all its offshoots and secessions, were sown in this little Cowgate chapel.

'Strange things are often unearthed when we set about examining their beginnings.

'John Craig—the colleague and successor of Knox in St. Giles—once a Dominican monk, but later a Calvinist, having just escaped the

## 8 REPORT OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

infernal barbarity of an *auto da fé* somewhere in Spain, returned, after many strange adventures, to his native land, and preached in the Latin language (for he had forgotten his own) on behalf of the new religion in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. This was in 1560.

John Craig figured in other scenes in Scottish history. He proclaimed the banns of marriage in St. Giles between the beautiful, injudicious, ill-advised Queen Mary and her husband's murderer, Bothwell; he also drew up the text of the National Covenant of 1589, and was the first minister of the Canongate Parish Church.

An Order of Council, dated Whitehall, 7th November 1687, throws some light on the history of the Chapel at a still more recent date:—

“Whereas by our letter to you bearing date at Whythall the 12th day of Nov. last past, concerning meeting places for those of the presbyterian persuasion in our city of Edinburgh, we did restrict them from making use of St. Magdalen's Chapell ther, upon a supposition that the same did belong to the Decones in generall, and not to any particular corporation; but now understanding that the said St. Magdalen's Chapel doth properly belong to the Corporation of Hammermen (who have been in possession y<sup>r</sup> of past all memory of man), from whom it was some time agoe hyred by those of the presbyterian persuasion aforesaid, who have been at considerable expenses in repairing and furnishing the same with lofts and seats. It is our will and pleasure, and we do heirby authorize and requyre you (notwithstanding the restrictions mentioned in our said letter of the 12th of Nov. last) to allow those of the presbyterian persuasion within the parish of the old Kirk, to be repossessed of St Magdalen's Chapell aforesaid for their meeting house, conform to ther aggriment for the same with the said Corporation of Hammermen, and to continue and protect them in the peaceable and undisturbed enjoyment y<sup>r</sup> of, so long as the preachers and heirars shall behave themselves loyallie and deutfullie to us.” It would seem from this minute that the  *fittings* of the Chapel, which bear the mark of a good old age, were put up by the Presbyterians prior to the Revolution.

It is not a little curious to discover that this very tenement was used as a Dispensary 200 years ago:—

“In the Hammer-mens-land, at the Magdalene 'Chapel' near the head of the Cowgate, lives Anthony Parsons, who, in his travels above 30 years in this and other countreys, has attained to the method of curing many diseases incident to men, women, and children; more especially those of the eyes and according to the best of his knowledge,

## OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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lets the Patient know if curable or not” (From the *Scots Postman*, Sept. 21, 1710).

In our own day the “old, old story” has been told over and over again within these old, old walls to the poor inhabitants of the neighbouring “closes.” This is largely done by the Students of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, who, while attending the regular University Medical Classes, carry on extensive home-missionary efforts in this old Chapel and the adjoining John Lowe Hall.

On the motion of the President (Mr. W. B. Blaikie), a very hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Dr. Fry.

Under the leadership of Mr. Bruce J. Home and Mr. Robert T. Skinner, the party resumed their itinerary by the Cowgate, the chief places commented upon being the Tailors' Hall, associated with the National Covenant, the Cromwell Commission on Forfeited Estates, and early theatrical representations in Edinburgh; the home of ‘Tam o’ the Cowgate,’ the first Earl of Haddington; the house in Guthrie Street of the punctilious Countess of Galloway; Heron's Court, with memories of the Heron ballads by the poet Burns; the St. Cecilia Music Hall, and the Beatons' Palace. The residences in St. John Street of Ballantyne, Lord Monboddie, and Gregory were pointed out. Proceeding to Canongate Churchyard, the members viewed with interest the graves of Ferguson the poet, Lord Provost Drummond, Adam Smith, Keith the historian, Professor Dugald Stewart, Mrs. M'Lehose (‘Clarinda’), Horatius Bonar, Watson Gordon, the portrait painter, and John Irving, ‘the chosen friend’ of Walter Scott. The thanks of the party were awarded to Mr. Home and Mr. Skinner.

### 3. VISIT TO THE CASTLE.

The third meeting under the auspices of the Club took place on Saturday afternoon, 9th July 1910, when, by kind permission of H.M. Office of Works and the officer commanding 2nd Battalion

Royal Scots, the members had the privilege of visiting the Castle. The party, numbering about 150, met at the Castle gateway, and Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, R.S.A., acted as leader. At the entrance gate Mr. Blanc gave an interesting sketch of the architectural history of the Castle. About the seventh century the site seems to have been occupied as a fortified monastery or religious retreat. For a long period it enjoyed the privileges of a sanctuary, being divested of its ecclesiastical right only in 1714. No remains of the monastic buildings are known to exist. Great improvements were introduced by Queen Margaret, who brought from her Saxon home ideals of domestic comfort and architectural beauty unknown in Scotland. Proceeding by the inner barrier, pend of Argyle Tower, and Argyle Battery, the party visited Queen Margaret's Chapel, Mons Meg Battery, Crown Room, Queen Mary's Rooms, and the Banqueting Hall. In his remarks about the chapel, Mr. Blanc stated that it was a typical example of early ecclesiastical building, almost unique in Scotland, its barrel-arched roof over the small nave, the very interesting and beautiful arched opening to the apse, bearing well recognised form and carved details of the eleventh century. The chapel was for a long period lost to knowledge through the sacrilegious misappropriation of it as a powder-store. This was discovered by Robert Mylne, C.E., in 1853, with the result that after representation the chapel was restored at the expense of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. A stained-glass window relating the appreciation of Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria occupies a place in the west gable. Thereafter the party were admitted to the kitchen, vaults, and southern parapets, and inspected with interest the dungeons in which were incarcerated the French prisoners and the Marquis of Argyle. The return journey was made by Foog's Gate and the Argyle Tower. On the motion of the President (Mr. W. B. Laikie), a hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Blanc.

## 4. VISIT TO MOUBRAY HOUSE.

The members visited Moubray House on the afternoon of Saturday, 17th December 1910. After the inspection of the old building, a meeting of the Club was held in the hall of the Moray-Knox Church. Mr. W. B. Laikie presided.

Mr. Andrew E. Murray, secretary of the Cockburn Association, having stated the reasons which had moved the Association to take steps for the preservation of the house, said a certain sum was required to complete the purchase price, and a further sum was necessary to make the place suitable for exhibition purposes. In response to the appeal £442 had been subscribed, and if they did not raise more than £600 or £700, the throwing open of the house might have to be postponed. It was proposed that the house should be held by trustees, and among those who had accepted office as trustees were Lord Guthrie, Councillor Dobie, and representatives of the Old Edinburgh Club, the Social Union, and the Cockburn Association. He wished to make a strong appeal to the citizens at large for support of the scheme.

Mr. William J. Hay, of John Knox's House, read a paper dealing with the history of Moubray House.

Lord Salvesen and Mr. A. F. Whyte, M.P. for Perth, expressed their appreciation of the effort which the Association is making to save the old building, and hoped that the scheme would be heartily supported.

Mr. W. B. Laikie said he did not suppose there was one citizen who did not bewail the disappearance of the ancient monuments in the city. They now had an opportunity of doing something practical, and he hoped the opportunity would not be the last. Edinburgh, no doubt, looked to the Cockburn Association and to the Old Edinburgh Club to keep up interest in the conservation of the ancient places of the city, and what they had to do now was to rouse the enthusiasm of the public,

for whom it was intended to preserve these monuments. Their Club's membership was not wealthy, but he would far rather have a number of small subscriptions—he would rather see one thousand shilling subscriptions than see the amount made up by one subscription. He intimated that Lord Rosebery, the Honorary President of the Old Edinburgh Club, had undertaken to preside at the annual meeting of the Club, and said it would be interesting if they were able to report to Lord Rosebery, whose family had acquired the Moubray lands in Linlithgowshire, that they had been able to take measures to preserve the town house of the Moubray family for the city.

The Editorial Committee have selected the following papers to form the volume for 1910 of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, viz. :—

1. Armorial Bearings of the City of Edinburgh, by Sir James Balfour Paul, LL.D.
2. The Black Friars of Edinburgh, by Mr. W. Moir Bryce.
3. Lord Cockburn's Account of the Friday Club, and Notes on certain other Old Edinburgh Clubs, by Mr. Harry A. Cockburn.
4. Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh, by Mr. John Geddie.
5. Parliament Square, by Mr. Ralph Richardson, W.S.
6. Lady Stair's House, by Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, C.A.

The Council will be glad to know of any unpublished manuscripts relating to Edinburgh, which the owners might be willing to place at the disposal of the Club for publication.

The Treasurer submitted the financial statement, from which it appeared that the balance in hand was £179, 0s. 10d.

LORD ROSEBERY, who was received with applause, said: Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to move the adoption of these reports. I think we shall all agree it is quite impossible for any club, be it young or old, and ours is a young club, to be in a more satisfactory condition, both financially and in every way, than is the Old Edinburgh Club. We have a handsome surplus, swollen as it will

be, I trust, by the unpaid subscriptions for the last year, and we have, what is one of the healthiest signs that any club could have, a very considerable number of candidates who are unable to procure admission. Well, then, I think the report is immensely gratifying to us. There is the acquisition of Moubray House under the auspices of the Club, as to which I can say but little, because I myself have never seen the house, and can only rest on report that it is one of the relics of old Edinburgh most worthy to be preserved. I think there is a slight note of complaint that the inhabitants of Edinburgh themselves have not come forward in any large measure to secure its purchase. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, and therefore I am afraid it has fallen on one or two liberal donors to bear the brunt of this acquisition. There is a project for utilising this house, as to which I can give no practical suggestion, but I have no doubt that those who can will investigate the matter and come to a conclusion as to whether the scheme that Mr. Hay has laid before us can usefully be carried out. Well then, we have the healthy symptom, both physical and moral, of our walks. These walks are unfortunately taken in summer, when some of us who have legislative duties are detained elsewhere, and cannot take a part in them. But as it seems not impossible that some of us may soon be relieved of those duties, we have the prospect of spending a much more enjoyable time in walking about Edinburgh under instructive guidance than we possibly could have in the Palace of Westminster. In fact, I was disposed to recommend that we should have the walks at an earlier period of the year than at present is the case; but I am bound to say in weather like this, with the promise of spring all around us, and the blessed snowdrops coming plentifully through the ground, I am inclined to think that life may be spent more pleasantly in the country than even under experienced guidance in old Edinburgh. Well, gentlemen, so much for the report. I do not think there is anything else that calls for my notice in it.

But the real cause of our pride, the substantial base on which our Club must rest, are our annual publications. I brought here a book, the second report of our Old Edinburgh Club, which I venture to say is one of the best productions of the kind that any Society has ever circulated. I do not think there is a word of that volume that I have not read, and I can truly say that all the articles seem to me, and to those interested in Edinburgh, to be of engrossing interest. I am not going through them one by one to-day, because I trust that every member of the Club has gone through them for himself. But there is

one of which I must make special mention, and it is for that reason that I am in the chair to-day. An Honorary President should never be here at all. People who exercise honorary functions are not disposed to discharge them. But the actual President (Mr. W. B. Blaikie), who is by my side, could not say what I have to say, and therefore I thought it better to come and say it for him. I must say, ladies and gentlemen, and I think you will agree with me, that the crown of this admirable volume is in the exquisite and living monograph written by our President on the residence of Charles Edward at Holyrood. I do not know any monograph of the kind that I have read with so deep an interest as I have that extraordinarily picturesque and vivid narrative. Of course, we all take our impressions of Charles Edward and Holyrood from the legitimate source—I mean the novel of *Waverley*. Sir Walter Scott wrote some seventy or eighty years after the event he recorded, and he touched it with knowledge, with experience of writing narratives of the contemporaries of those times, and, above all, with the exquisite touch of genius which enabled him to enter into the very details of those times, and represent them to us in a manner which we cannot forget. However well Mr. Blaikie, or anybody else, may write of this time, I am afraid the impress of *Waverley* will be one that is most sealed upon our memories and imaginations. After all, fiction is not perhaps the worst place in which to look for history. There is a story of Mr. Disraeli at the time of his extremely bumptious youth, that when he had just returned from his travels in the East, and as a young man much under thirty, he met Lord Melbourne, who was then Prime Minister, at dinner. He proceeded to discourse on the Eastern question, and Lord Melbourne proceeded to discourse on the Eastern question; but instead of listening to the Prime Minister with that respect which he ought, the young Disraeli said, 'It seems to me your Lordship has taken your knowledge of the East from the *Arabian Nights*.' Some Prime Ministers I have known would have snubbed the young man severely, but Lord Melbourne was not of that kind. He rubbed his hands with great cheerfulness, and said, 'And a devilish good place to take it from.' And I think we shall all feel, in the milder language of the twentieth century, that *Waverley* is an uncommonly good place to take your impressions of Prince Charles Edward at Holyrood from. Mr. Blaikie, moreover, takes a little of the guilt off the gingerbread, if I may so express myself. We all know from *Waverley* that Charles Edward led Flora M'Iver out to the dance. Mr. Blaikie tells us that there is nothing so authentic as the fact that

Charles Edward never danced at all; and yet, in spite of Mr. Blaikie, Charles Edward will lead Flora M'Iver out to the dance for centuries to come. Another blow Mr. Blaikie deals to us is this, that Charles Edward never wore the kilt. I hear a groan. I think it may come from a source at my right (indicating Mr. Theodore Napier, who, as usual, was in his picturesque Highland dress). But then we have this consoling reflection, that so terrible was the impression that the Highlanders made not merely on the British soldiers, but on all who came in contact with them, that Lowlanders who were enlisted were also dressed up in Highland costume on that march to inspire terror in the enemy. I am not quite sure that Mr. Blaikie is clear that Highlanders wore kilts at all.

MR. BLAIKIE.—Oh, yes; the real Highlanders wore kilts.

LORD ROSEBERY.—That is some consolation. I imagine their costume was of a mixed kind, a very mixed kind. Besides all this which we may usefully discuss to-day, the anniversary of the great tragedy of the Stuart race, we are given a singularly vivid picture of Edinburgh. Mr. Blaikie tells us exactly what were the leading features of Edinburgh at the time which he depicts, and then he leads us to the arrival of Charles Edward, the summons to the affrighted Town Council—I do not know if we ought to say that in this room; he vindicates Provost Stewart, who has been the subject of unmingled censure I think ever since his reign, and gives us so vivid and picturesque an account of all that then occurred, that we feel as if we were living in the time. Most of all he speaks of the profound melancholy which was noticed on the face of the young Prince by all who approached him. After all, that melancholy was not wonderful. He was enjoying the only six weeks of reign he ever was to know. Had he, perhaps, been less willing to reign in Edinburgh he might have reigned for a time in London. Had he marched South after he first arrived without losing any time on the way, he would have found England absolutely denuded of troops, and no obstacle would have offered itself, according to the testimony of the ministers and statesmen of the time, to his immediate march on London. How long he would have remained there I cannot tell—I think not long; but, at any rate, he preferred, and we cannot criticise or disparage him for doing so, he preferred to reign six weeks for certain in Edinburgh to the possibility of reigning a much longer time in London.

Well, gentlemen, I think I have said as much as Mr. Blaikie's modesty will allow on the subject of his most admirable paper. I went

to the bookseller in the hope that it was published as a separate treatise, but I found that it was not, and perhaps it is best that that should be the case, because its fame, I think, will attract many anxious candidates to our ranks. Now I must say one word which may seem a word of disparagement, but it appears to me almost impossible that anything should be written about Edinburgh in the first half of the eighteenth century, and in a lesser degree of the second half, which is not fascinating and interesting for a Scotsman to read. There are two books of travels in Edinburgh which I think have been somewhat overlooked, I daresay not by the learned audience before me, but by the general public, which give a picture not less striking than Mr. Blaikie's of the condition of our ancient city at the time at which they were written. Perhaps this audience will forgive me if I dwell for a few minutes on those two books, because they may not be familiar to everybody present. The one is a journey to Edinburgh taken in the year 1705, written by a gentleman of whom nothing is known except his name—Joseph Taylor, late of the Inner Temple. That is a pretty broad description of any author. It was two years before the Union that he made his journey here. The other is a journey taken here two years after the Union, which is rather interesting for purposes of comparison, written by Dr. Calamy, a famous Nonconformist divine, who came here in 1709. Dr. Calamy was a much abler and a much more important person than Mr. Taylor, and I am glad to say he gives a much more agreeable account of Edinburgh than does the first traveller I have mentioned. Mr. Taylor has nothing pleasing to say of Edinburgh. He disliked the country; he disliked its inhabitants; he disliked, I think, above all, what I think above all must have been trying to the most sympathetic travellers to Edinburgh—the fragrance of Edinburgh. He was by no means anxious for the corporate or federal union which was then being talked of in the Parliament House opposite. Dr. Calamy, on the other hand, sees everything *couleur de rose*, but then the reception of Dr. Calamy, and the circumstances of Dr. Calamy, were so different from those of Mr. Taylor, that we can well understand how he took a more favourable view. Whenever he went to a University town, the degree of Doctor of Divinity or Doctor of Laws was instantly conferred upon him—on one occasion in a silver box, a practice which, I am sorry to say, has dropped into desuetude. At whatever burgh he stopped, the Provost and Bailies at once waited on him at his lodging to offer him the burgess ticket of the town. It has always been a mystery to me in these travels why persons obscure or famous, whenever they went to

Scotland the Provost and Bailies at once waited on them to offer them the burgess ticket, and I am inclined to suspect that there must be more under it than meets the eye, and that these were taken as occasions for mutual refreshment, and possibly conviviality—because otherwise I can see no inducement for offering this highest of civic honours to every gentleman who passed through the town. More than that, Dr. Calamy was asked to preach everywhere, even in private chapels belonging to the great; he was conducted about Edinburgh by the great Cardinal Carstairs, the intimate friend and confidant of William the Third, and he seems to have made a sort of royal progress. On the other hand, Mr. Taylor paid his own expenses everywhere, which he does not seem to have enjoyed; was received with no particular enthusiasm anywhere, and leapt for joy when he crossed the Border, and had left Scotland for ever. Passing southwards through England, he came on a stony part of Westmoreland, and said that 'if the projected Union with England ever takes place, I should wish that Scotland should be united with Westmoreland as being the only congenial State to which it should be united.' But what is more interesting to us at this moment is this—that Taylor came in and heard the debates in the Parliament House opposite on the projected Union under the presidency of the then Duke of Argyll. He heard Lord Belhaven deliver one of his famous speeches against the Union. I am not sure if it was not the one with the mixed metaphors which was sold for eighty years afterwards as a pamphlet, which shows the extraordinary vogue in which it was held and the admiration it excited. He heard all these speeches, and listened unsympathetically to those who favoured the Union. Calamy comes two years after the Union—four years after Taylor, and is shown round the Parliament House by the janitor or custodian. With sighs and with groans the custodian says: 'There sat so-and-so; here so-and-so took place,' and all with groans for the departed glories of Scotland.

Well, it is not an ill thing, even at this time of day, two hundred years after these travellers came, for us of this Old Edinburgh Club to rub up these old memories and revive them and draw what morals we can from them. I think that Calamy says that the High Street is the noblest street in Christendom. I am afraid it was not altogether the most agreeable street in Christendom, because I have always a dim suspicion that the smell of Edinburgh must have extended for many miles around; but at any rate we have that tribute to the beauty of our city. Well, gentlemen, I think it is because of the very narrow

limits of Edinburgh that it seems to me always so easy to depict in one's imagination what was the aspect of the High Street of Edinburgh—which, after all, was Edinburgh itself—the High Street and the Canongate—at this period of time. I think, from one point of view, it was probably very disagreeable; but at any rate you had this long, narrow street beginning at a Castle and ending at a Palace, with the names of everybody written in large white letters on the doors, the Highland porters, viewed with suspicion, but used as being capable and strong when sober, slouching about; the City Guard with their Lochaber axes, bibulous and inefficient, a subject perhaps of mockery rather than of respect; a much thinner population than we are now accustomed to see, all going about shopping in the luckenbooths opposite; the apprentices and clerks hurrying about with their stoups full of claret drawn from the wood, to supply their master's dinner, and all along those secret closes and passages, apparently so peaceful, but which at any moment could pour out the fiercest and most formidable mob in the world. Then at night you had the Sedan chairs flocking about, and the link boys, with their torches, showing the way; Lady Eglinton with her seven beautiful daughters in eight Sedan chairs—that was later—going to the Assemblies, presided over by Miss Nickey Murray, all vivid and picturesque, all condensed, all ancient, but all characteristic; but to those who could remember the outbreaks of violence which occasionally characterised Edinburgh, it must have seemed sometimes like living on a volcano. I do not know of any mob in history which seems to me so formidable in its silence, in its discipline, in its unexpectedness, and in its ruthlessness as that Porteous mob which dragged Porteous to his death. Well, in those two or three sentences, I have tried to give you, very inefficiently I know, why it is that Edinburgh appeals even to some who do not belong to Edinburgh, and why this old Edinburgh holds on to our hearts with so passionate a tenacity up to this time—and while that feeling is strong among us, and may it never weaken, the Old Edinburgh Club is destined to flourish.

Professor BALDWIN BROWN called attention to the three-gabled house, near Holyrood, which was threatened with destruction in what was known as the King Edward Memorial scheme. The house, he said, was described by Messrs. MacGibbon & Ross as a very good example of the domestic architecture of the period. It had literary associations of a kind. It was also connected with the buildings of Holyrood. It occupied part of the ground which was covered by the old Abbot's

house, and immediately abutted on the site where once stood the old gateway into the precincts of Holyrood. It was quite clear that the removal of this house was not an essential part of the Holyrood memorial to King Edward, and he thought a scheme could be devised which would preserve that charming little bit of domestic architecture as part of the composition. They had just heard from their chairman an eloquent reference to the life of old Edinburgh, and these old Edinburgh buildings were the living and lasting link between them and that picturesque period of the past. He moved that they remit the matter to the Council, with powers to take any action in the future which they thought fit. They wished the Council to keep an eye on the old property which was involved in the working out of this scheme. It was a duty on their part to preserve, as far as in their power, those buildings which their forefathers happily spared.

Mr. A. E. MURRAY, W.S., secretary of the Cockburn Association, seconded, and the motion was adopted.

Mr. W. B. BLAIKIE moved the re-election of Lord Rosebery as Hon. President, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, Professor John Chiene, C.B., and Professor Hume Brown, LL.D., as Hon. Vice-Presidents, and the motion was cordially adopted.

Mr. H. J. BLANC moved the election of Mr. W. B. Blaikie as President. Of Mr. Blaikie's services to this Club, ungrudgingly and most ably rendered, they all knew; they all knew also his genuine ability and charming personality. The Club was very fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Blaikie.

Mr. James B. Sutherland, S.S.C., Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, R.S.A., and Mr. Bruce J. Home were appointed Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Secretary, Mr. Hugh Carbarns as Treasurer, and Mr. John Hamilton, C.A., as Auditor. Mr. William Angus, Mr. Alexander Cargill, Mr. Andrew E. Murray, and Mr. James Steuart were elected members of Council in room of Mr. Robert Cochrane, Mr. J. Cameron Robbie, Mr. James Oliver, and Dr. Thomas Ross, who retire.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to the retiring members of Council.

In terms of Rule III, eight applications for membership provisionally accepted by the Council were submitted and unanimously approved.

Mr. W. B. BLAIKIE moved a vote of thanks to Lord Rosebery for

being present that day and giving them an address, which he was sure all of them felt to be admirable. Personally, he should feel that he was a callous mortal if he could have sat and listened to what his Lordship said about the article he had contributed to the last number of the Club's book unmoved. He could only say that it was to him a source of profound satisfaction that what he had written there, which was the result of a good deal of labour in the way of investigation, should have appealed to one whom he looked upon as, without exception, the best living judge of any piece of local or contemporary history of Edinburgh, or indeed of Scotland. In moving a vote of thanks from the meeting, he particularly desired to ask Lord Rosebery to accept his own personal tribute for the kind words he had addressed to him to-day. He felt the Club could go on with its work when they had the approbation of such an honorary president, and if they found it necessary to take action on the lines Professor Baldwin Brown had suggested, they could do so with a feeling of strength. He felt that they might be proud that this year they had been able to assist in a good piece of work—the preservation of the Moubray House. Of course, they owed far more to Mr. Andrew E. Murray, of the Cockburn Association, and they might congratulate Edinburgh that this old building was going to be preserved. It had been suggested to the Council by Mr. Bruce J. Home that it might be a valuable help in tracing the buildings of Old Edinburgh if the municipality were to pick out with paving stones or cobble stones the outlines of the old historical houses. Whether this would appeal to members or to the Corporation, he did not know; but he mentioned it there—quite out of order—because it was not likely he should be able to get such an audience again to hear him. Perhaps it might come in as a useful auxiliary to guide-books of Edinburgh.

LORD ROSEBERY, in reply, said: I am very grateful to Mr. Blaikie for his cordial words and to you for your appreciation of them. I may reassure Mr. Blaikie on two points. The first is, nothing can be out of order in speaking of the functions of an honorary president; the second is this, that I regard my functions as strictly honorary, and should not have intruded on the presidential chair this afternoon had it not been for the reason I gave, that the president himself could hardly have made the speech I did, for circumstances personal to himself. There is one point on which I should wish to touch before we leave this room, and it is this. I have not looked over the Club list very carefully, but I do see wanting some names which I expected

to find there. I think the day will come, and it is not remote, when any leading citizen of Edinburgh who goes to bed and feels that he is not a member of the Old Edinburgh Club, will do so with a sense of strong compunction.

The meeting then terminated.

**Old Edinburgh Club**  
**ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER**  
 For Year ending 31st December 1910.

RECEIPTS

1. Funds at close of last Account:—		£4 0 6
In Clydesdale Bank—		
On Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£50 0 0	
On Current Account, . . . . .	82 4 7	
	£132 4 7	
In hands of Honorary Treasurer, . . . . .	37 17 3	
	£170 1 10	
2. Subscriptions:—		
Arrears of prior years received:		
For year 1908—		
Member, 1 at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£0 10 6	
Library, 1 at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	0 10 6	
	£1 1 0	
For Year 1909—		
Members, 39 at 10s. 6d., £20 9 6	£20 9 6	
Libraries, 18 at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	9 9 0	
	29 18 6	
	£30 19 6	
3. For Year 1910 falling due—		
299 Members at 10s. 6d., £156 19 6	£156 19 6	
17 Associates at 2s. 6d., . . . . .	2 2 6	
19 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	9 19 6	
	169 1 6	
Interest on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	200 1 0	
	1 17 4	
	£372 0 2	

PAYMENTS

1. Transactions:—		£4 0 6
Volume I.—Balance of Cost of Printing, etc., . . . . .		
Delivery, . . . . .	7 8 3	
	£11 8 9	
Volume II.—Printing, Binding, etc., £149 18 3		
Delivery, . . . . .	6 8 10	
	156 7 1	
	£167 15 10	
2. Expenses of Meetings, . . . . .	10 8 10	
3. Printing and Stationery, . . . . .	7 8 3	
4. Miscellaneous—Postages, etc., . . . . .	7 7 5	
	£192 19 4	
5. Of which applicable to prior year, . . . . .	£20 2 1	
" " to Year 1910, . . . . .	172 17 3	
	£192 19 4	
Funds at 31st December 1910—		
In Clydesdale Bank—		
On Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£50 0 0	
On Current Account, . . . . .	89 14 2	
	£139 14 2	
In hands of Honorary Treasurer, . . . . .	19 13 8	
	£159 7 10	
Arrears of Subscriptions for 1910 outstanding—		
30 Members at 10s. 6d., £15 15 0	£15 15 0	
6 Associates at 2s. 6d., . . . . .	0 15 0	
6 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	3 3 0	
	19 13 0	
	179 0 10	
	£372 0 2	

H. CARBARRNS, *Hon. Treas.*

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

\*  
 EDINBURGH, 28th January 1911.—I have examined the Accounts of the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for year ending 31st December 1910, of which the above is an Abstract, and find them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

**Old Edinburgh Club**  
 LIST OF MEMBERS

1910

- ALEXANDER, JAMES, 45 Cluny Drive.  
 Alexander, Miss M. A., 11 Torphichen Street.  
 Allison, James, 5 Ventnor Terrace.  
 Anderson, David, Advocate, 10 India Street.  
 Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 12 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Anderson, John, 14 Napier Road.  
 Anderson, Walter G., 31 Drummond Place.  
 Angus, William, Historical Dept., H.M. Register House.  
 Armitage, Mrs. H. A., The Grange, North Berwick.  
 Armstrong, John Johnston, Clunie, Broomieknowe.
- BAIRD, WILLIAM, J.P., Clydesdale Bank House, Portobello.  
 Balfour, Prof. Isaac Bayley, Inverleith House.  
 Barbour, James S., 2 Blackford Road.  
 Barclay, Oswald, 17 Gayfield Square.  
 Barker, Charles Mylne, 65 Westbourne Terrace, London.  
 Barnett, David, Corporation Museum.  
 Barrett, J. A. S., M.A., Tayview, 187 Perth Road, Dundee.  
 Barrie, John A., 114 Viewforth.  
 Barton, W. D., Lauriston Castle, Midlothian.  
 Baxendine, Andrew, 10 M'Laren Road.  
 Baxter, David, M.A., Elmhurst, Cramond Bridge.  
 Bell, Mackenzie, 11 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.  
 Berry, Robert, 18 Kilmaurs Terrace.  
 Blaikie, Walter Biggar, 11 Thistle Street.  
 Blair, Mrs. Robert, 12 Clarendon Crescent.  
 Blanc, Hippolyte J., R.S.A., 25 Rutland Square.  
 Bonar, Horatius, W.S., 3 St. Margaret's Road.  
 Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.  
 Boyes, John, 60 Great Western Road, Glasgow.  
 Brims, William, J.P., 7 Merchiston Place.  
 Brotherston, G. M., 23 Jeffrey Street.  
 Brown, Mrs. David, Willowbrae House, Willowbrae Road.  
 Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, 50 George Square.

## THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Brown, James R., 46 Inverleith Place.  
 Brown, Miss Joan, 171 Dalkeith Road.  
 Brown, Prof. P. Hume, LL.D., 20 Corrennie Gardens.  
 Bruce, Alexander, Clyne House, Pollokshields.  
 Bruce, Alexander, M.D., LL.D., 8 Ainslie Place.  
 Bruce, James, W.S., 59 Great King Street.  
 Bryce, P. Ross, F.S.A.Scot., 1 Lady Road.  
 Bryce, Wm. Moir, F.S.A.Scot., Dunedin, Blackford Road.  
 Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.

CALDERWOOD, Rev. R. S., Cambuslang.  
 Cameron, James, 1 So. St. David Street.  
 Cameron, James M., 26 Melville Terrace.  
 Campbell, David, S.S.C., 31 Moray Place.  
 Campbell, J. D. B., The University Club, Princes Street.  
 Carbarns, Hugh, 25 Braidburn Crescent.  
 Cargill, Alexander, J.P., 18 Wester Coates Gardens.  
 Carmichael, James T., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.  
 Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson, Bart., Malleny House, Balerno.  
 Carmichael, Thomas, S.S.C., 2 Strathearn Place.  
 Cassillis, Right Hon. The Earl of, Culzean Castle, Maybole.  
 Chiene, John, C.B., Aithernie, Davidson's Mains.  
 Chrystal, F. M., 5 Belgrave Crescent.  
 Clark, Alexander, Record Office, Register House.  
 Clark, John B., M.A., F.R.S.E., Heriot's Hospital.  
 Clarkson, James Copland, 20 Forth Street.  
 Cochrane, Robert, 52 Morningside Drive.  
 Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Cooper, W. Ross, M.A., 94 George Street.  
 Cormack, D. S., 16 Dalziel Place, London Road.  
 Couper, Rev. W. J., M.A., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow.  
 Cowan, John James, Westerlea, Murrayfield.  
 Cowan, William, 47 Braid Avenue.  
 Craig, Sterling, M.A., 18 Buccleuch Place.  
 Cranston, Sir Robert, K.C.V.O., V.D., Dunard, Grange Loan.  
 Crawford, George, 60 Marchmont Road.  
 Croal, Miss Caroline H., 14 Eyre Crescent.  
 Cumming, David, 32 St. Alban's Road.

DALGLEISH, JOHN J. (of Westgrange), Brankston Grange, Alloa.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

Darling, Alexander, J.P., 23 South Oswald Road.  
 Dawson, Rev. A. C., M.A., Rathillet Manse, Cupar, Fife.  
 Dick, Thomas, S.S.C., 71 East Trinity Road, Leith.  
 Dobbie, Joseph, S.S.C., 26 Charlotte Square.  
 Dobie, W. Fraser, 47 Grange Road.  
 Donald, A. Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 11 Hailes Street.  
 Douglas, R. A., Glenosmond, 1 Wester Coates Road.  
 Dow, James, 53 Princes Street.  
 Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 37 George Street.  
 EADIE, ANDREW, 22 Melville Terrace.  
 Elliot, Andrew, 17 Princes Street.  
 Elliot, Lieut.-Colonel The Hon. Fitzwilliam, 16 Royal Terrace.  
 Elliot, Stuart Douglas, S.S.C., 40 Princes Street.  
 FAIRLEY, John A., 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.  
 Fergus, James A., 27 Braid Road.  
 Ferguson, James Haig, M.D., 7 Coates Crescent.  
 Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 7 Coates Crescent.  
 Findlay, James, 11 Morningside Gardens.  
 Finlay, Rev. W. Russell, Trashurst, Dorking, Surrey.  
 Flint, James, 12 Comiston Terrace.  
 Forbes, Miss Mabel C., 4 Grosvenor Crescent.  
 Forrest, John L., 19 Warrender Park Crescent.  
 Fortune, R., S.S.C., 35 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Fox, Charles Henry, M.D., 35 Heriot Row.  
 Fyfe, William, 1 South Oxford Street.  
 GARVEN, JAMES, Pinkie Pans, Musselburgh.  
 Geddie, John, 16 Ann Street.  
 Gibb, James A. T., I.S.O., 8 Dalkeith Street, Portobello.  
 Gibson, Sir James P., Bart., M.P., 33 Regent Terrace.  
 Gibson, James T., W.S., 14 Regent Terrace.  
 Gibson, Thomas, 7 Glengyle Terrace.  
 Giles, Arthur, F.R.S.G.S., 191 Bruntsfield Place.  
 Gilmour, Col. R. Gordon, of Craigmillar, The Inch, Liberton.  
 Gissing, Algernon, 66 Marchmont Road.  
 Glasse, Rev. John, D.D., 16 Tantallon Place.  
 Goudie, Gilbert, 31 Great King Street.  
 Graham, R. D., M.A., F.R.S.E., 11 Strathearn Road.

## THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Grant, John, 39 George Square.  
 Grant, William, J.P., 22 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Gray, James, 29 Polwarth Gardens.  
 Gray, Robert Collie, S.S.C., 10 Hermitage Drive.  
 Gray, W. Forbes, 11 Lutton Place.  
 Green, Charles E., 4 St. Giles Street.  
 Greig, Thomas B., Woodridge, Dalkeith.  
 Grierson, Andrew, 29 Mayfield Road.  
 Guthrie, Hon. Lord, 13 Royal Circus.  
 Guy, John C., Sheriff-Substitute, 7 Darnaway Street.

HAMILTON, JOHN, C.A., 34 York Place.  
 Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.  
 Hardie, R. S. L., Ashley, Ratho.  
 Harkness, John, 91 Spottiswoode Street.  
 Harrison, John, Rockville, 3 Napier Road.  
 Hay, William J., John Knox's House, High Street.  
 Heron, Alexander, S.S.C., 14 Merchiston Park.  
 Hewat, Archd., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., 13 Eton Terrace.  
 Hogben, John, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.  
 Home, Bruce J., 5 Upper Gray Street.  
 Home, Miss Jessie Wood, 5 Upper Gray Street.  
 Home, Robert, 64 Frederick Street.  
 Hope, Thomas, 129 Paynes Road, Southampton.  
 Hunter, Thomas, W.S., Town Clerk, City Chambers.  
 Hutcheson, Alexander, M.A., 4 Denham Green Avenue.

INGLIS, FRANCIS CAIRD, F.S.A.Scot., Rock House, Calton Hill.  
 Inglis, George, 1 Rillbank Terrace.  
 Inglis, John, 11 Hillside Street.  
 Inman, William, 11 Newbattle Terrace.  
 Innes, W., 5 Danube Street.  
 Irvine, Miss Emily, 65 Morningside Park.

JACK, THOMAS CHATER, 18 Corrennie Gardens.  
 Jameson, James H., W.S., 16 Coates Crescent.  
 Jamieson, James H., 12 Sciennes Gardens.  
 Johnston, George Harvey, 22 Garscube Terrace.  
 Johnstone, David, 75 Hanover Street.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

KAY, Rev. Prof. DAVID MILLER, D.D., The University, St. Andrews.  
 Kay, John Telfer, 20 London Street.  
 Kelly, John G., 3 Whitehouse Loan.  
 Kemp, Alexander, 227 Dalkeith Road.  
 Kerr, Rev. John, M.A., The Manse, Dirleton.  
 King, John A., 35 Morningside Park.  
 King, Miss Margaret P., Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.  
 Kippen, John, M.A., Castlehill School, Lawnmarket.  
 Kirk, Rev. John, 17 Greenhill Gardens.

LANGWILL, H. G., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 4 Hermitage Place, Leith.  
 Latimer, George Brown, 143-7 Lothian Road.  
 Learmont, James, 47 Polwarth Gardens.  
 Leckie, John, Brookfield, 19 South Oswald Road.  
 Lee, George A. J., W.S., Depute-Keeper of Records, Register House.  
 Lindsay, William, 18 St. Andrew Street.  
 Lorimer, George, Durisdeer, Gillsland Road.  
 Low, Rev. George D., 65 Morningside Drive.  
 Lowe, D. F., LL.D., 19 George Square.  
 Lyle, James, Waverley, Queen's Crescent.

M'DONALD, A. MINTO, M.B., 108 Gilmore Place.  
 Macdonald, Wm. Rae, F.F.A., Neidpath, Wester Coates Avenue.  
 Macfarlane-Grieve, W.A., M.A., J.P., Impington Park, Cambridgeshire.  
 Macfarlane, W. W., 10 Tipperlinn Road.  
 Macfie, Daniel, 56 St. Alban's Road.  
 M'Guffie, R. A., 16 St. Andrew Square.  
 MacIntosh, Mrs. Mary Hay, 23a Dick Place.  
 Macintyre, P. M., Advocate, 12 India Street.  
 Mackay, James F., W.S., Whitehouse, Cramond Bridge.  
 Mackay, John, S.S.C., 37 York Place.  
 Mackay, L. M., 13 Windsor Street.  
 Mackay, William, Solicitor, Inverness.  
 Mackay, William, M.A., 3 Danube Street.  
 M'Kenzie, James, 201 Morningside Road.  
 M'Lean, Miss, 19 Coates Crescent.  
 M'Lean, Miss Frances A., 19 Coates Crescent.  
 M'Leod, Alex. N., 6 Sylvan Place.  
 M'Leod, Neil, Abden, 66 Polwarth Terrace.  
 Macphail, J. R. N., 55 Great King Street.

## THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

MacRitchie, Lewis A., 40 Princes Street.  
 M'Taggart, John, 5 Argyle Park Terrace.  
 Maltman, A. J., 61 Brunswick Street.  
 Manson, James A., Savage Club, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C.  
 Manson, William, 18 Esslemont Road.  
 Martin, R. E., 20 Annandale Street.  
 Mears, Frank C., Outlook Tower, Lawnmarket.  
 Melles, J. W., of Gruline, Aros, Isle of Mull.  
 Melven, William, M.A., 7 Jedburgh Gardens, Kelvinside, Glasgow.  
 Menzies, John R., 3 Grosvenor Crescent.  
 Middleton, James Aitken, M.D., Manorhead, Stow.  
 Milne, Archibald, M.A., 108 Comiston Drive.  
 Milne, H. W., National Bank House, 41 St. Andrew Square.  
 Minto, John, M.A., 83 Comiston Drive.  
 Mitchell, Charles, C.E., 23 Hill Street.  
 Mitchell, William, M.A., LL.B., 27 Howe Street.  
 Morris, George, 339 High Street.  
 Moscrip, James, Parsonsgreen House, Meadowbank.  
 Murdoch, James C., M.A., 13 Albert Terrace, Musselburgh.  
 Murdoch, Lieut.-Col. James, V.D., St. Kilda, York Road, Trinity.  
 Murray, Andrew E., W.S., 43 Castle Street.

NAISMITH, MRS. MARY A., 2 Ramsay Garden.  
 Napier, Theodore, F.S.A.Scot., Balmanno, 7 West Castle Road.

OGILVIE, Rev. J. N., M.A., 13 Dryden Place.  
 Oldrieve, W. T., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.Scot., 11 Merchiston Gardens.  
 Oliver, James, 11 Claremont Terrace.  
 Omond, T. S., 14 Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.  
 Orrock, Alexander, 13 Dick Place.

PATON, Rev. HENRY, M.A., Airtnoch, 184 Mayfield Road.  
 Paton, Henry Macleod, 22 West Savile Terrace.  
 Paton, Robert, City Chamberlain, City Chambers.  
 Paul, Sir James Balfour, LL.D., 30 Heriot Row.  
 Peddie, Miss Barbara, Ard-Coille, Blair Atholl.  
 Petrie, James A., 2 Chancelot Terrace, Ferry Road.  
 Plummer, W. R., 8 Huntly Street.  
 Price, Charles E., M.P., 10 Atholl Crescent.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

Profit, Alexander P., Jacob's Land, 55 Calton Road.  
 Proudfoot, George, 68 Spottiswoode Street.  
 Pursell, James, Elmhurst, Cramond Bridge.

REID, ALAN, The Loaning, Merchiston Bank Gardens.  
 Reid, John, 46 Strathearn Road.  
 Reid, Mrs., Lauriston Castle, Midlothian.  
 Richardson, Ralph, W.S., 2 Parliament Square.  
 Robbie, J. Cameron, 22 York Place.  
 Robertson, David, LL.B., S.S.C., 42 Leith Walk, Leith.  
 Robertson, William, 10 Atholl Place.  
 Romanes, Charles S., C.A., 3 Abbotsford Crescent.  
 Rosebery, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.G., K.T., Dalmeny House.  
 Ross, Thomas, 14 Saxe-Cobourg Place.  
 Russell, John, 320 Leith Walk.  
 Rutherford, R. S., 36 Garscube Terrace.

SALVESEN, MISS DOROTHY, Dean Park House.  
 Sanderson, Arthur, 25 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Sanderson, Miss Cecilia, 14 Rothesay Place.  
 Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Abercromby Place.  
 Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street.  
 Scougal, A. E., LL.D., 1 Wester Coates Avenue.  
 Seton, Lieut.-Col., 12 Granton Road.  
 Shennan, James W., Hermitage, Wardie Crescent.  
 Shepherd, Fred. P., M.A., 15 Craiglockhart Terrace.  
 Sime, David, 27 Dundas Street.  
 Sinton, James, Hassendean, Eastfield, Joppa.  
 Skinner, Robert T., M.A., F.R.S.E., Donaldson's Hospital.  
 Smail, Adam, 35 Lauriston Gardens.  
 Smart, John, W.S., 56 Queen Street.  
 Smith, George, M.A., Merchiston Castle.  
 Smith, J. C., 91 Lothian Road.  
 Smith, J. Shanklie, Heriot Hill House, Canonmills.  
 Smith, John, Cabinetmaker, 1 Eastgate, Peebles.  
 Smith, Malcolm, J.P., Provost of Leith, Clifton Lodge, Trinity.  
 Smith, Rev. R. Nimmo, LL.D., 13 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Steedman, James, 72 Morningside Drive.  
 Stephen, William A., M.A., M.D., Loftus-in-Cleveland, Yorkshire.  
 Steuart, James, W.S., 10 Rothesay Terrace.

Stewart, Ian C. L., W.S., 28 India Street.  
 Stewart, John, 88 George Street.  
 Sturrock, John, 8 Trinity Crescent, Leith.  
 Sturrock, Rev. John, 3 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Sutherland, James B., S.S.C., 10 Royal Terrace.

THIN, GEORGE T., 7 Mayfield Terrace.  
 Thin, James, 22 Lauder Road.  
 Thin, James Hay, 2 Chalmers Crescent.  
 Thin, Robert, M.D., 25 Abercromby Place.  
 Thomson, Alexander B., M.A., 22 Lauriston Place.  
 Thomson, Miss Alice, 14 Rothesay Place.  
 Thomson, James W., Braemount, Liberton.  
 Thomson, Spencer C., 10 Eglinton Crescent.  
 Thomson, T. S., 18 Rothesay Place.  
 Thomson, William, W.S., 19 Merchiston Avenue.  
 Tod, Henry, W.S., 45 Castle Street.  
 Torrance, Miss Jessie, 54 Henderson Row.  
 Turnbull, George, Duncutha, Wardie Road.  
 Turnbull, G. Barbour, 43 George Street.  
 Turnbull, William James, 16 Grange Terrace.

USHER, Sir ROBERT, Bart., 37 Drumsheugh Gardens.

VOGE, Mrs., 4 Cluny Avenue.

WADDELL, JAMES, Solicitor, 47 Queen Street.  
 Walker, Alexander, J.P., 1 Tipperlinn Road.  
 Walker, W. Glassford, C.A., 39 George Street.  
 Walkinshaw, Miss Jean Inglis, 11 Scotland Street.  
 Watherston, John, 8 Wester Coates Gardens.  
 Watson, Charles B. Boog, 1 Napier Road.  
 Watson, John, F.R.I.B.A., 27 Rutland Street.  
 Watson, Hon. William, 8 Heriot Row.  
 Watt, Rev. J., B.A., The Manse, Cadder, Bishopbriggs.  
 White, William K., 48 Mayfield Road.  
 Whitson, Thomas B., C.A., 21 Rutland Street.  
 Whittaker, Charles R., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.E., 27 Hatton Place.  
 Wilkie, James, S.S.C., 108 George Street.  
 Williams, Mrs. A., 8 Frederick Street.

Williamson, Rev. Andrew Wallace, D.D., 44 Palmerston Place.  
 Williamson, George, 178 High Street.  
 Williamson, J. A., Holmwood, Corstorphine.  
 Wilson, William Scott, 94 Craighouse Road.  
 Wood, G. M., Junr., W.S., 19 Alva Street.  
 Wright, James, 105 Warrender Park Road.  
 Wright, Johnstone Christie, Northfield, Colinton.

YOUNG, WILLIAM, Donaldson's Hospital.

## ASSOCIATES

CARMICHAEL, Mrs. J. T., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.  
 Craig, Miss, 18 Buccleuch Place.  
 Davis, W. J. H. G., 65 Warrender Park Road.  
 Drummond, Andrew, 17 Gardner's Crescent.  
 Durham, Mrs., Milton Road, Joppa.  
 Ferguson, Miss Jessie, The Lodge, Forbes Road.  
 Geddes, Professor Patrick, Outlook Tower, Lawnmarket.  
 Gibb, John, 24 Nelson Street.  
 Gibson, Miss, 51 Lothian Road.  
 Gibson, Miss, 14 Regent Terrace.  
 Grant, Dr. Hope, Invicta House, Sheerness.  
 Grant, James R., S.S.C., 39 Frederick Street.  
 Harper, George, 15 Oxford Street.  
 Ingram, Alexander, 12 Bright's Crescent.  
 Joss, John, c/o Denholm, 7 Wellington Street.  
 King, David, Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.  
 King, Miss Lottie A., Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.  
 Lownie, James H. W., 7 Admiral Terrace.  
 Middleton, Miss Charlotte Erskine, Manorhead, Stow.  
 Middleton, Miss Harriet Aitken, Manorhead, Stow.  
 Ritchie, Patrick, 31 Comely Bank Road.  
 Sinclair, John, St. Ann's, Queen's Crescent.

## LIBRARIES

Aberdeen Public Library.  
 Aberdeen University Library.  
 Antiquaries, Society of, Edinburgh.  
 Bodleian Library, Oxford.  
 Edinburgh Architectural Association.  
 Edinburgh Public Library.  
 Edinburgh University Library.  
 Episcopal Church Theological College, Edinburgh.  
 Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.  
 John Rylands Library, Manchester.  
 Mitchell Library, Glasgow.  
 New Club, Edinburgh.  
 Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh.  
 Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.  
 Signet Library, Edinburgh.  
 Solicitors before the Supreme Court, Society of, Edinburgh.  
 Speculative Society, Edinburgh.  
 Toronto Public Library, Canada.  
 University Club, Edinburgh.

## Old Edinburgh Club

1911

*Honorary Patrons*

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL  
 OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

*Honorary President*

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., K.T

*Honorary Vice-Presidents*

The Right Hon. THE LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH.  
 SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.  
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*President*

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 BRUCE J. HOME.

*Secretary*

LEWIS A. MACRITCHIE, 40 Princes Street.

*Treasurer*

HUGH CARBARN, 25 Braidburn Crescent.

*Council*

WILLIAM COWAN, 47 Braid Avenue.  
 JOHN GEDDIE, 16 Ann Street.  
 WILLIAM BAIRD, Clydesdale Bank, Portobello.  
 JOHN HOGGEN, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.  
 W. FRASER DOBIE, 47 Grange Road.  
 JOHN A. FAIRLEY, 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.  
 W. MOIR BRYCE, Dunedin, Blackford Road.  
 THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., 21 Rutland Street.  
 WILLIAM ANGUS, H.M. Register House.  
 ALEXANDER CARGILL, 18 Wester Coates Gardens.  
 ANDREW E. MURRAY, W.S., 43 Castle Street.  
 JAMES STEUART, W.S., 10 Rothesay Terrace.

*Auditor.*

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., 34 York Place.

## CONSTITUTION

I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'

II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.

III. The Club shall consist of Members and Associates. The number of Members shall be limited to three hundred. Candidates for membership, either as Members or Associates, must be proposed and seconded by two Members. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, and shall be considered by the Council. These, if approved, shall be submitted to the first meeting of the Club thereafter, election being by a majority of Members present.

Associates shall have no vote or voice in the management of the affairs of the Club, but shall be entitled to free admission to the meetings and to take part in the discussion of any subject under investigation.

IV. The Annual Subscription for Members shall be 10s. 6d., and for Associates, 2s. 6d.

Subscriptions shall be payable at the commencement of each Session. Any Member or Associate whose subscription is not paid within two months after being notified by the Treasurer may then be struck off the roll by the Council.

V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy arising throughout the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint, for special purposes, Committees to which Members and Associates may be added. At all meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and seven at meetings of Council.

VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.

VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.

VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear, until such has been paid.

Associates shall not be entitled to the Publications of the Club.

All papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider as to the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge all debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including all literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. Notice of any proposed alteration on this Constitution must be given in writing to the Secretary, to be intimated at the first meeting of the Club thereafter. Notice, embodying the full terms thereof, shall then be given by circular to each Member, not less than seven days prior to the meeting at which it is to be considered, but such proposed alteration shall not be given effect to unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present, or voting by proxy.

21. 6. 11.

