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SHELF MARK: Per. .9 Edi.

TITLE: The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 8

AUTHOR: Old Edinburgh Club

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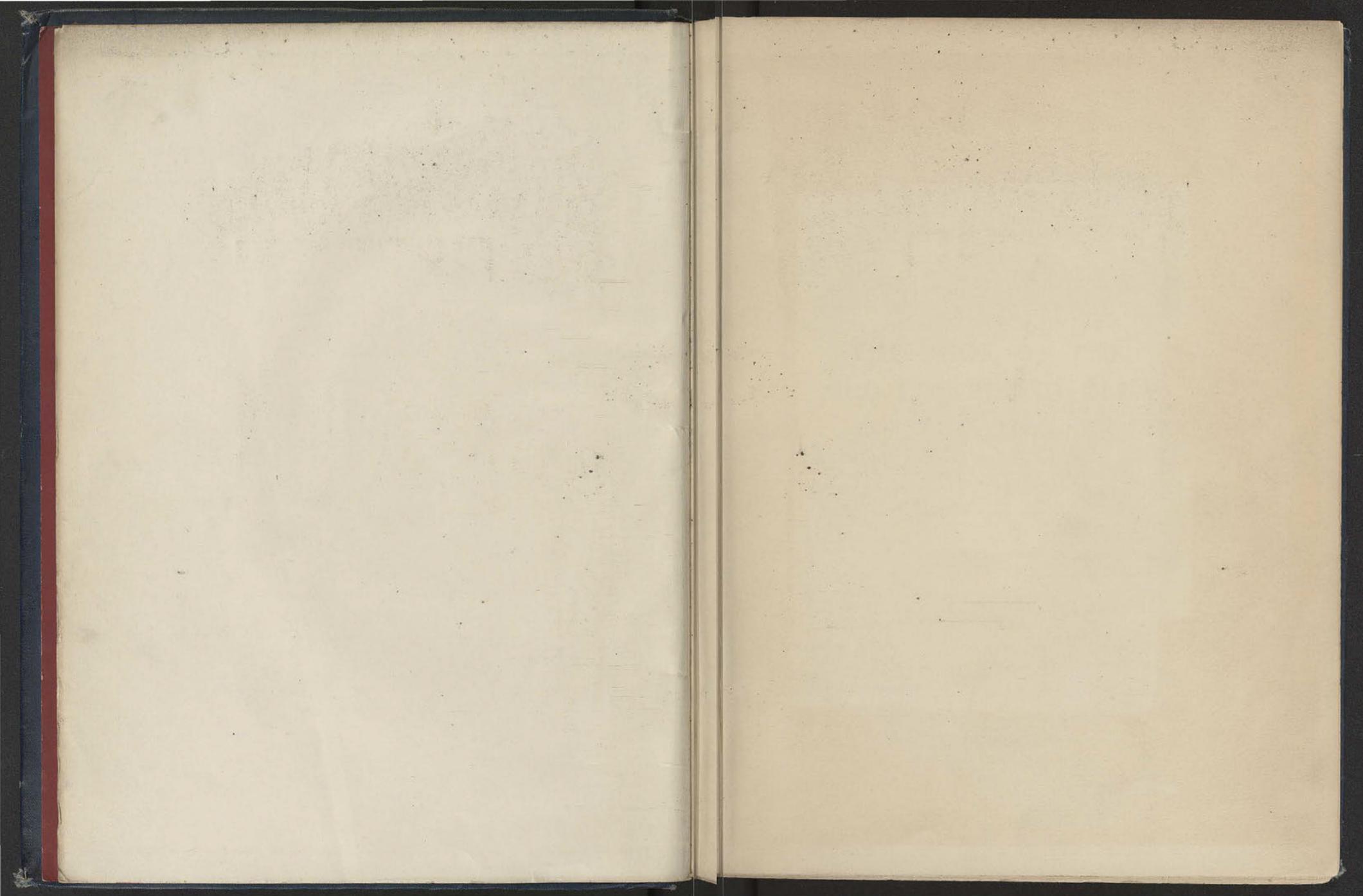
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19 JUL 1993



THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB
FOR THE YEAR 1915

Issued to Members
December 1916

THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

EIGHTH VOLUME



EDINBURGH

PRINTED BY T. AND A. CONSTABLE
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

1916



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THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL, COWGATE, EDINBURGH

THE following account of the Magdalen Chapel has been prepared for publication mainly because no architectural description of the structure and no inventory or discussion of its fittings and furniture exist in print, while, with the exception of a paper on its history in the fourth volume of the *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, and some notices of its stained glass in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, all that has been written about it has been of a vague and inaccurate character. Yet the building is of outstanding interest, and it may even be said that in the whole country there are few buildings of its size and nature more replete with objects of antiquarian and artistic significance. It is pre-eminently worthy of study, and its close connection with the guild life of Edinburgh gives it a historical and a civic interest equal to that it possesses from the standpoint of archæology.

In the preparation of the paper the writers have received valuable aid in the necessary work of photographing from Dr. F. M. Chrystal. Dr. Chrystal, a son of the late Professor Chrystal, who is a medical officer on the vessels of an important shipping company, has devoted a good deal of his off-times on shore to obtaining photographic records of old Edinburgh buildings, and the assistance he is giving in this way to antiquarian and architectural study is worthy of cordial recognition. The illustrative photographs reproduced in this paper were with one exception taken by him, under conditions that were sometimes of no little difficulty, and the results have repaid the labour involved.

A grateful acknowledgement is due to the Protestant Institute of Scotland, the present proprietors of the Chapel, for the kind permission which was freely accorded to make the necessary investigations in and about the building. To Mr. Alfred Bryson, Deacon, and now almost the sole representative, of the Hammermen's Incorporation, the writers of this paper express their warmest thanks for the practical interest he has shown in their work. Due acknowledgements are also paid in the text to expert authorities who have kindly furnished information on special points submitted to them.

The Chapel, to which was attached a hospital or almshouse for the reception of poor pensioners and a chaplain's lodging, was founded in the first half of the 16th century by Michael Macquhen, burghess of Edinburgh, who died in or about the year 1537, and by his wife Janet or Jonet Rynd who survived him and lived till 1553. Of these two something is said in the paper already referred to in the *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv, p. 96. Information as to the circumstances of the foundation is contained in the Confirmation Charter, dated 1547, and in this connection a word may be said on the subject of the Records, printed or in MS., that have relation to the institution. As will presently appear, the Chapel was from the first placed under the patronage of the Hammermen's Incorporation of the burgh of Edinburgh, whose use of it and whose intromissions with its fabric and fittings are recorded in their minutes and accounts. The older and more interesting records are embodied in eleven bound folio volumes, that are in good preservation and contain original entries between the dates 1494 and 1826, and there is a miscellaneous volume, together with one embracing a valuable inventory in a hand of the 18th century of the deeds and other such documents in the custody of the Incorporation. These deeds were evidently always carefully preserved, for in 1635 there is bought 'ane quair of paiper to inventar ye hail writtis

and evidentis of ye chaipell upon,' and at intervals they were taken out of their chest, aired, sorted, and laid by again,¹ so that in despite of time they still exist in considerable numbers. The original of the Charter confirming the Foundation is not now to be found, but there is a copy of it of nearly contemporary date extracted from the records of the Consistorial Court of St. Andrews, in the Archdeaconry of Lothian, and also a 17th century translation of it into Scots. Furthermore, in one of the bound books, marked vol. iii, there is a notarial copy of the Charter in Latin in a hand of the early part of the 17th century that may be taken as a trustworthy reproduction of the original and that has been used as such in what follows. A different translation into Scots of a large portion of the Charter is printed in the Tract by Alexander Pennecuik entitled *An Historical Account of the Blue Blanket*, etc., and published in Edinburgh in 1722. This translation was used by Sir Daniel Wilson and others who have written about the Chapel, but it only gives five-eighths of the document, does not correspond with the other 17th century translation into Scots, and in many places differs from the notarial copies above mentioned, so that it is of very limited value.²

¹ MS. Records, vol. vi, fol. 63 v; vol. viii, fol. 155.

² With regard to the bound volumes of MS. Records, as will easily be understood an enormous percentage of the entries are of a routine character, such as reports on craftsmen's essays, on the admission of freemen and booking of journeymen and prentices, or on the payment of dues, etc., etc., but there is also a good deal of matter that is of interest and value from the historical and antiquarian standpoint. The Records have been used for the purpose of the present notices of the Chapel and its contents, but no claim is made that the search has been carried as far as it could be by any one who had the leisure to pursue it with thoroughness. Besides indications of the dates and character of operations in building and decoration which throw light on existing remains, the volumes contain information of a social and economic kind that might with advantage be made available to the public. Anything like a full publication of their contents is of course out of the question, but extracts made with judgement and accompanied by a commentary would furnish forth many valuable printed pages. The resolutions of the deacon and masters assembled in conference, or as the Records call them the 'acts,' are often of civic and social interest, while the yearly accounts, especially on the Discharge side, have economic value and cast a welcome light on

Such portions of the Charter as are of direct importance for the purposes of the present paper are given below in a transcript of this Latin copy, and thanks are hereby tendered to Mr. R. K. Hannay, M.A., Curator of the Historical and Antiquarian Department of the General Register House, for his kindness in revising the transcript, and collating where needful the two notarial copies.

The Charter runs to some 3500 words. The first 350 here transcribed deal with the circumstances of the foundation. The next 600 words give in due legal form a description of the properties the revenues from which were to provide for the necessary upkeep. There then follow in some 1600 words a series of minute regulations for the conduct of the charity and especially for the religious exercises to be carried out by the inmates under the direction of the chaplain. These exercises are of course prescribed in accordance with the practice of the Roman Church, for the Charter is of pre-Reformation date. No transcript is here given of these sections of the document. What follows is however of the utmost importance and a transcript is given of selected portions of this latter part of the deed, of which no translation was given by Pennecuik in *The Blue Blanket*. The matters dealt with here concern the Hammermen of Edinburgh who were recognized under the Charter as the patrons of the whole institution. From the time of the erection of the buildings before the middle of the 16th century throughout all the succeeding period till the middle of the 19th, the Magdalen Chapel was in their possession and was used by them as their meeting

trade and industry in the past. To make such a publication of substantial value there should be complete and accurate transcripts of those parts of the documents from which instruction is to be derived, with in every case references to the proper volume and date or folio—for the pages of the MSS. are in most cases numbered—so as to facilitate verification by scrutiny of the original. It would be advisable also to include some brief indication of what is omitted, so that a full notice of the whole contents of each volume be furnished.

place and office. The consequence of this has been that most of the decorative fittings of the Chapel and Tower are connected with the Hammermen, whose well-known insignia, a hammer surmounted by an imperial crown, are everywhere in evidence. The fabric of the Chapel itself, with the heraldic glass in its window and the tombstone of the foundress, have no direct reference to the Hammermen, but these last erected the Tower and placed in it its bell, and are responsible for the decoration in paint and carving and iron-work that give the Chapel so much of its artistic and antiquarian interest. Finally the last sentences of the deed have been transcribed as they contain the important item of its date.

The Charter begins as follows:—

CARTA BEATE MARIE MAGDALENE FACTA PER JONETAM RYND
RELICTAM QUONDAM MICHAELIS MAKQHUENE BURGENSIS BURGII
DE EDINBURGH.

Omnibus hanc Cartam visuris vel auditoris Joneta Rynd relicta executrix et sola bonorum Intromissatrix quondam michaelis makquene burgen de Edinbur^t salutem in domino sempiternam. Notum facio per pites quod quum dictus quondam michael gravi morbo laboraret senioque opprimeretur eterne tamen vite non Immemor ad eam capescendam optimum duxit aliquod pium opus perpetuo duraturum sue ultime voluntatis perimplende gratia perficere Legavit summam septingentarum Librarum impendendam in supplementum edificationis cuiusdam capelle et aliorum edificiorum fundationis capellani et sustentationis septem pauperum qui illic perpetuo preces deo optimo Maximo effunderent. Nam fuerant plerique alii qui suas portiones pro perficiendo et absolvendo dicto opere promiserant Ipsi nihilominus a tam sancto et religioso proposito cessim abierunt et suas portiones conferre prorsus recusarunt quam rem Indigne ferebam et cum multum diuque animo penderem quod in re tam ardua agendum foret Tandem de perimplenda sponsi mei voluntate dies noctesque cogitans totius operis perficiendi onus in me suscepi summamque duorum millium Librarum ad dictam summam septingentarum Librarum per dictum quondam meum sponsum Legatam superaddidi Easdemque summas Integre post mortem eiusdem super edificatione capelle

ornamentorum eiusdem constructione edificiorum pro habitatione capellani et septem pauperum atque pro emptione prediorum tam rusticorum quam urbanorum annuorumque reddituum pro nutrimento sustentatione et vestitu eorundem prout Inferius Latius describitur exposui. Noueritis igitur me in Laudem et honorem Dei omnipotentis eiusque genitricis beatissime virginis marie et sancte marie magdalene ac totius curie celestis quamdam capellam ac domum hospitalem jacen. infra burgum de Edinbur⁴ ex parte australi vici regii de Cowgait pro habitatione capellani et pauperum a fundamentis ereximus et edificauius Ipsamque capellam nomini marie magdalene dedicauimus Ac capellanum et septem pauperes Inibi deum pro salute anime serenissime principis Marie dei gratia regine scotorum Illustrissime necnon pro salute anime dicti quondam sponsi mei et mee perpetuo deprecaturus fundauimus Ac etiam pro salute nostrorum patrum et matrum ac pro salute omnium qui manus adiutrices huic operi prestiterint auxerint adiuerint aut quoslibet prouentus dederint Pro animabus insuper patronorum eiusdem capelle preterea etiam pro animabus eorum a quibus quaecumque rem accipimus quam hactenus minime restitimus ac pro eadem plene non satisfacimus dedisse concessisse et hac pñti carta mea in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et ad manum mortuam confirmasse. . . .

The following is a brief summary of the above. Janet Rynd, sole executrix of the deceased Michael Macquhen, puts on record that her husband at a time when he was suffering from severe illness and labouring under the weight of years resolved for his soul's sake to carry out some pious work that would last in perpetuity. He therefore bequeathed the sum of seven hundred pounds to complete the provision for the erection of a certain Chapel and other buildings for the accommodation of a chaplain and seven poor men, who should devote their lives to prayer to the Most High. Certain people had undertaken to help in this work, but had failed to implement their promises. Much concerned at the situation of affairs Janet Rynd finally decided to take upon herself the whole charge of carrying out the work, and added two thousand pounds to the seven hundred left by her husband, after whose death she devoted these sums of money to the erection and

adornment of the Chapel and the building of habitations. She then declares that in praise and honour of God, of the Virgin Mary, and of St. Mary Magdalen, she has erected from the foundations a Chapel and hospital situated in the burgh of Edinburgh on the south side of the king's thoroughfare of the Cowgate for the reception of the chaplain and seven poor men, dedicating it in the name of Mary Magdalen. There would the inmates ever pray for the salvation of the soul of the high and mighty princess Mary by the grace of God queen of Scots, and for those of Michael Macquhen and Janet Rynd, as well as for their forebears, and for all who should help in the work. The benefit of the prayers is also to be shared by the patrons (*i.e.* the Hammermen, see *infra*) and by any persons from whom Janet Rynd had received anything which she has not returned or for which she has not given an equivalent.

The following is a transcript of a portion of the latter part of the document.

Statuendo et firmiter ac Inuiolabiliter In perpetuum concedendo et ordinando quod tribunus sive decanus et magistri artis fabrilis oppidi de Edinbur⁴ pro tempore existen. eorumque successores perpetuis futuris temporibus post nostrum ab hac Luce decessum erunt patroni Indubitati capellanie locorumque omnium et cellarum dicti hospitalis ac Institutio pauperum eiusdem per nos fundat. aut postea fundand. cellarumque assignatio et distributio dum vacare cōtigerint omnimode dispositioni eorundem decani et magistrorum absque ulla collatione ordinaria seu confirmatione habenda per eosdem ut prefertur personis Idoneis iuxta tenorem pñtis fundationis Intra sex dies a tempore vacationis dicte capellanie aut pauperum Libere et plenarie post nostrum decessum conferend. in perpetuum spectabunt et pertinebunt. Volumus tamen et In perpetuum ordinamus quod si dict. tribunus sive decanus Idoneum capellanum Idoneosque pauperes Intra dictos sex dies Juxta tenorem pñtis fundationis ac si capellanum aut pauperes delinquentes aut hujusmodi fundationis Legibus non parentes Intra alios sex dies non amouerint aut alios eorum Locis non instituerint locauerint aut pñtaverint Tunc et illa vice tantum pñtatio et institutio dict. capellani et pauperum seu amotio delinquentium et alios eorum Loco institutio et pñtatio ad

Willelmum Rynd eiusque heredes masculos quibus deficient. heredibus masculis quondam Thome Rynd quibus omnibus deficient. preposito balliis et consulibus burghi de Edinbur¹ spectabunt et pertinebunt et quod tribunus sive decanus et magistri artis predictae pro tempore existen. eorumque successores perpetuis futuris temporibus sustentabunt et reparabunt dictum hospitale in tecto vitro et aliis necessariis sufficienter et honeste sustentare quorum patronorum pro perimptione punctorum pntis foundationis quantum ipsos concernit conscientias oneramus prout coram summo Iudice in die Iudicii respondere voluerint Et pro firmiori persistentia pntis foundationis et securiori sustentatione dicti capellani capelle domus hospitalis et pauperum dicti decanus et magistri dabunt et ad manum mortuam concedent dantque et concedunt per pntes dicto capellano pauperibus et capelle ac domui in feodo et hereditate Inperpetuum et dicte Jonete rynd in libero tenemento pro toto tempore vite sue unam domum sive edificium subtus et supra cum suis pertinent. jacen. in dicto burgo de Edinbur¹ ex parte australi vici regii eiusdem in vinella vocat. *nudryis wynd* ex parte occiden. transitus eiusdem Inter terram Johannis Wicht ex australi et terram Andree Fischear ex boreali partibus, etc., etc., (reservation to the foundress of the life-rent of certain property).

Readers of the above will notice that the 'tribune or deacon and masters of the craft of the Hammermen of the city of Edinburgh' are introduced suddenly without preface as if their position in the matter in hand were well understood. It is provided that after the death of the foundress the above named shall be patrons of the whole establishment, with right of presentation to the office of chaplain and of selecting suitable pensioners. It is further provided however that if the patrons neglect to fill up vacant appointments¹ or otherwise fail to carry out the regulations of the trust, the patronage shall pass to certain named members of the Rynd family, whom failing to the provost, bailies, and councillors of the burgh of Edinburgh. Moreover the patrons are enjoined, not only on pain of these worldly penalties but on their consciences as they shall reply at the Day of Judgement, to keep the buildings

¹ The limit allowed for delay is six days!

in repair and properly supplied, and to carry out in all points the intentions of the trust.

Two points of interest here emerge. In the first place, though the Charter might seem to imply that the trust to the Hammermen would not come into effect till the death of the foundress, which occurred in 1553, yet the records of the Hammermen show that for some years prior to this date they had dealings with the Chapel. In the first bound volume of these Records dating 1494 to 1583, on the verso of fol. 165 four lines from the top there is the entry of a payment 'to ye beidmen of ye magdelyne chapell' in the year 1544. These 'beidmen,' who are referred to under this name in innumerable later records, are the 'pauperes' of the Charter, and were evidently by this time installed in their habitation and under the Hammermen's care, and the Charter only recognizes an existing state of things. It is of course properly speaking not a Foundation Charter but a Charter of Confirmation.

The other point concerns the obligation which under the trust would appear to rest on the Hammermen to carry out the elaborate regulations laid down in the Charter, many of which involved the performance of distinctively Roman religious rites. These no doubt came strictly speaking under the head of the 'leges' that the beneficiaries were bound to obey and which the patrons had to see carried out. A somewhat delicate situation was in this way after the Reformation created, and on the resultant difficulties there are some remarks in the paper in the *Transactions of the Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv., to which reference has already been made.

The last extract from the Charter runs as follows:

In quorum omnium et singulorum robur et fidem sigilla dicte Jonete magistrorum et communitatis dicte artis nec non sigillum commune burghi de Edinbur¹ una cum sigillo officii officialatus Laudonie summa cum Instantia per dictos Jonetam et communitatem predict. procurat. una cum subscriptionibus manualibus notariorum subscribentium in maiorem fidem premissorum apposita et appensa sunt

apud Edinbur^t duodecimo die mensis Februarii anno dni millesimo quingentesimo quadragésimo septimo coram his testibus honorabilibus prouidisque viris adamo otterburn de auldhame milite, venerabili viro magistro abraham creichtoun preposito de dunglas ac officiali sanctiandree infra archidiaconatum Laudonie, michaele Tillo de Hilcarny, andrea blackstock, Johanne ker, Johanne lockkart, Jacobo reid, notariis, dominis Willelmo Ballenden et Thoma William-soun cum diversis aliis. Sic subscribitur.

Jonet Rynd w^t my hand led at the pen be the notar underwrittin, etc. etc., (this last line shows that the foundress could not write, and the same applies to the next signatory).

Other signatures follow, the first of James Johnstoun, Deacon, the others probably of members of the Hammermen's Incorporation, and the document concludes with the declaration of the parties that they will faithfully observe its provisions, under pain of excommunication.

It should be explained that of all the habitations and other structures mentioned in the Charter nothing now exists but the Chapel itself. The chaplain's house and the lodgings of the bedesmen, called the 'cross-house,' see *infra*, p. 26, have completely disappeared and even the situation of them is unknown, but the Records of the 18th century seem to indicate that the buildings had by that time been turned into, or replaced by, private dwelling houses.¹ Extensive modern

¹ Among the 'Gillespie Hospital' drawings in the possession of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh is an indian ink sketch, lettered 'The Front of Magdalen Chappel, Head of the Cowgate, May 1816,' and reproduced in the work entitled *Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, published by T. G. Stevenson in 1880. It appears to show, between the Chapel of which only the Tower is seen and the street, a continuous building about 70 feet long, divided up into a number of houses, with four large dormer windows to the street. These, with the story below them, are of wood, and project in front of the stone wall of the building, being supported below by a row of columns of the Tuscan order, of which five are shown. The stone wall is seen a few feet back behind three of the columns, and in it at the base of the Tower is a round arched doorway with moulded caps to its jambs, on the door of which is inscribed the date 1681. The decorative stone carving presently to be noticed makes its appearance here as well as in an etching of the same date that is reproduced in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. ii, p. 264, but the representations are not sufficiently clear or in agreement with each other to be of use in regard to questions of detail.



(Fig. 1) THE TOWER OF THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST



(FIG. 2) SOUTHERN ELEVATION OF THE CHAPEL WITH THE
TOWER TO THE NORTH

structures to the west of the Chapel are now used for the purposes of the Livingstone medical mission, but there appears to be no record of any old buildings or foundations that may have come to light at the time of this reconstruction. On the other hand the Tower does not belong to the original foundation, but was erected by the Hammermen in the first half of the 17th century.

The aforesaid Tower is the one conspicuous architectural feature in the exterior view of the buildings, and it is partially seen from the viaduct carrying the thoroughfare of George IV Bridge over the Cowgate. From the back windows of premises on the west side of this thoroughfare a very picturesque view is obtained, with the General Assembly Hall spire and the Castle in the background, and this is shown in Fig. 1, while Fig. 2 gives the southern elevation of the Chapel, with the Tower to the north. The first part of the following description notices the architectural features as they at present exist, while the question of their date and the circumstances of their coming into being is also to some extent elucidated from the Records. The second part of this paper is concerned with the Fittings and Furniture.

PART I. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

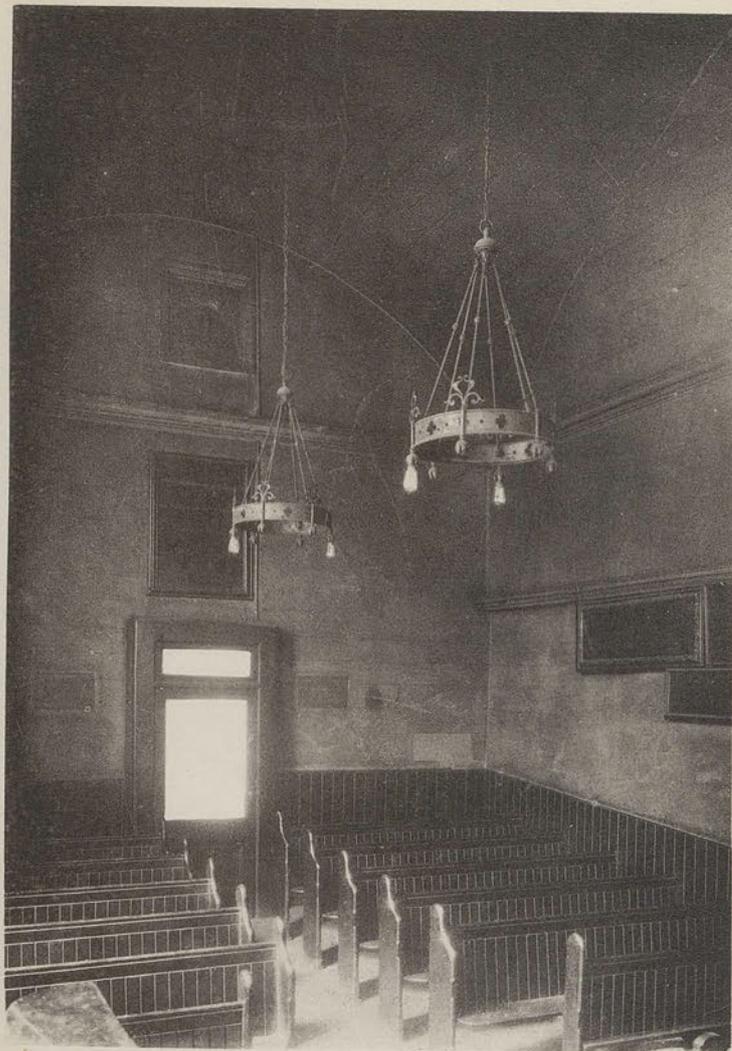
This still remaining Chapel with its residentiary buildings now destroyed, is of peculiar interest as having been built almost within the last decade of the supremacy of the Church of Rome in Scotland, and in accordance with its tenets. Janet Rynd, who erected the Chapel, died in 1553, but although the Reformation supervened only seven years after her death, she having placed the Hospital under the management of the Incorporation of the Hammermen, they succeeded in keeping it afloat, unaltered in its constitution in protestant times down to the 19th century, and in carrying out the precise charitable objects of the foundation omitting, of course, the ceremonial offices of the old church. This is quite a contrast

to the fate of the abbeys and other religious establishments. The Chapel continued to be used for religious purposes, for in connection with the purchase of a Bible and Psalm book in 1610, a transaction referred to on a subsequent page, we learn from the Records that the former was intended 'to serve in all tyme coming for the use of ye sd chapell for divine serveis to be maid yrin.'¹ In a manner and at a time to be noticed later on the Chapel was fitted up as the Hall of the Hammermen to serve as their place of meeting, and in this condition it still remains with the addition of the Tower that was built out of their private funds. The claims of religion were not hereby abrogated, for in the volume, No. v, covering the period 1662-1701, there are given the words of 'the prayer to be said by the Clerk at every meeting of the incorporation' and from its language as well as its sentiments it is worthy of being printed in the note below.²

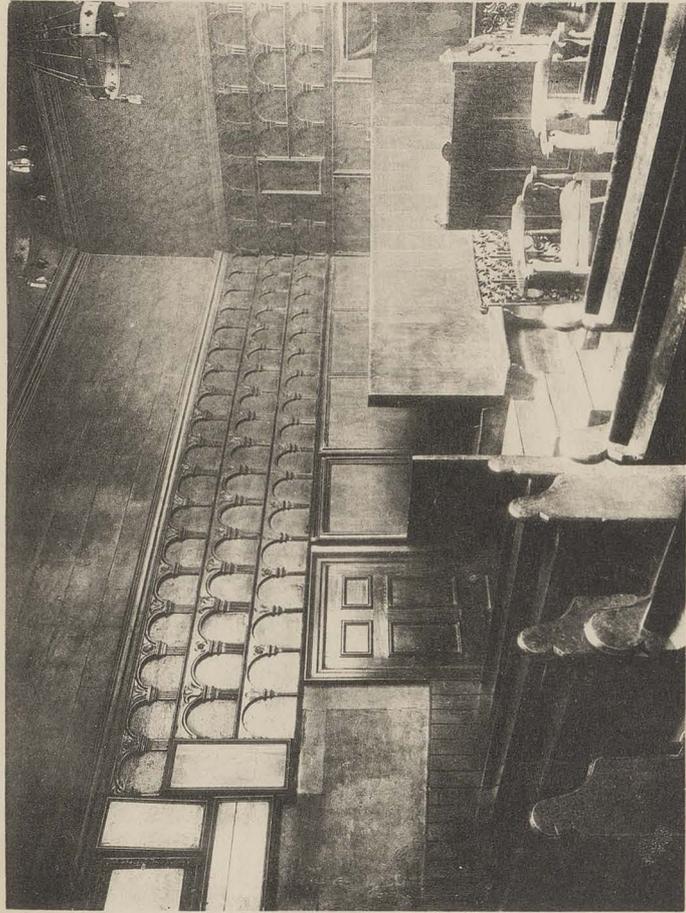
Furthermore, in the same volume, under date August 4, 1687, there is given an 'Act approving the letting of the Magdalen Chapell for a meeting house,' and this resolution provides for the use of the Chapel from time to time for religious services, held primarily 'by ministers of the presbyterian persuasion licensed by his M^{ties} late proclamatione,' so that the building still remained in a measure consecrated to religion. The manner and occasions of its use in this capacity are matters outwith the scope of the present paper.

¹ Hammermen's Incorporation, MS. Records, vol. ii, fol. 197 v.

² Most holy and blessed Lord, Make us thy servants mett together befor the at this tyme, Myndfull that all things are naked and open before thy Majestie, with whom we have to doe, Give us wee beseech thee to eye the in every thing we interpryze, and help and lead us through every difficultie and strait we meet with, Keep our hearts near thyself, Remove from us all partialitie, corrupt affections and Divisione And grant us thy Grace to goe about every thing we (by thy providence) shall happen to meet with, with uprightnesse of heart and singleness of eye as in thy alseing sight and presence, So that the hail fruits of our travell by thy specciall grace and assistance may tend to the praise of thy dreadfull and blessed name, to the weell of every one and the comfort and good of us who are before the, And that for Christ thy sones sake, Blessed for ever, Amen.



(FIG. 3) INTERIOR VIEW OF THE CHAPEL TO THE NORTH-WEST



(FIG. 4)

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE CHAPEL TO THE NORTH-EAST



(FIG. 5) INTERIOR VIEW OF THE CHAPEL SHOWING THE WINDOWS
ON THE SOUTH SIDE

The Chapel, of which interior views are given, to the north-west in Fig. 3 and to the north-east in Fig. 4, is a small building measuring about 33 ft. long from E. to W. by 20 ft. wide, and 22 ft. high to the barrel-shaped ceiling. Although many of the original features of its pre-Reformation period are lost, it contains from that time in continuous succession a series of objects—Inscriptions, Heraldry, Sculpture, Carvings and Records—which no other private Institution in Edinburgh can parallel. Among the early features are the three windows in the south side, they are about 6 ft. wide by 11 ft. 9 in. high with square lintels outside and flat arches inside (see Figs. 5 and 2). They have neither tracery nor cusping such as was frequent in late Gothic buildings having windows of this form, and they are separated by broad splayed mullions built flush with the outside and inside faces of the wall which is about 3 ft. thick. On these jambs and mullions there are masons' marks which will presently be noticed. The centre window is divided into eight compartments, the four central ones being fitted with four roundels 26 in. in diameter which have the distinction of being filled with almost the only ancient stained glass in Scotland, described further on and figured in colour in Fig. 25. The other two windows have wooden frames, the east one being divided into 60 panes by broad astragals, and the west one into 50 panes. The glass here is all plain.

This western window has its sill at a slightly higher level than the other two, and at one time this sill has been much higher so as to accommodate a door beneath it. This doorway, now built up,¹ led out to a Cloister or Courtyard (see plan Fig. 6 and Fig. 2) which is now surrounded by lofty modern buildings, except on the south side where there is a high wall

¹ This doorway is mentioned as the entrance to the Chapel in the letterpress to the work *Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, published in 1880. The editor of the work was probably drawing on his memories of earlier years, for this south doorway must have been closed, and the present entrance in the western wall of the Chapel opened, when the Livingstone Medical Mission buildings were constructed prior to 1878.

MAGDALENE CHAPEL

COWGATE

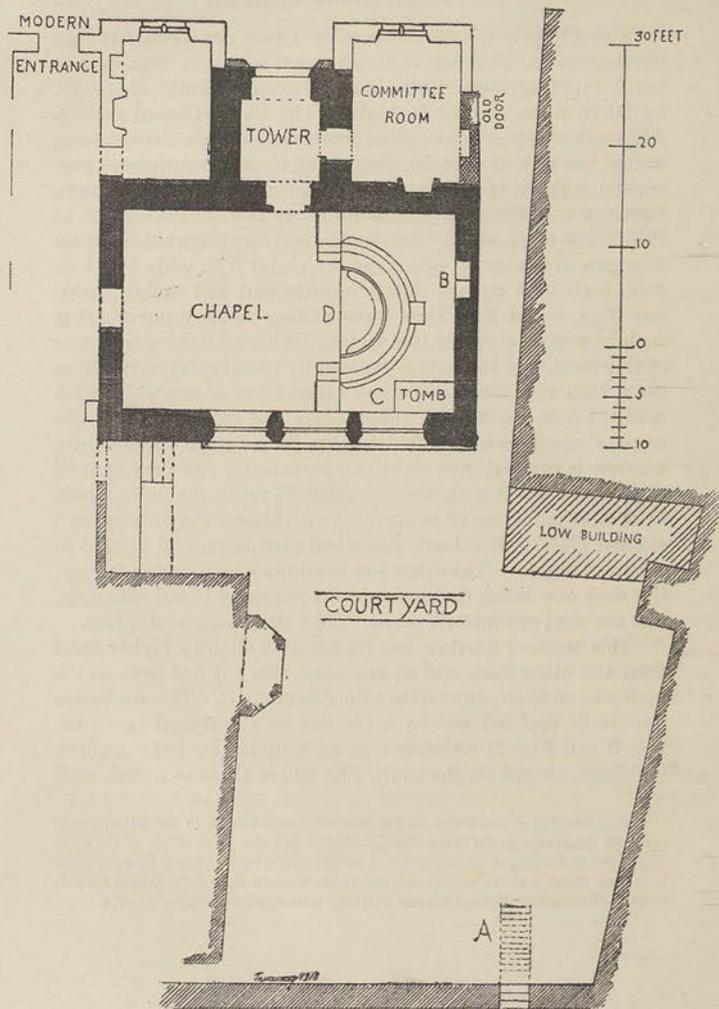


FIG. 6.—Plan of the Magdalen Chapel and its surroundings.

THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL

15

with a door to which steps led up, till recently, so as to reach the higher level of the ground beyond (Fig. 6, A). The sloping base which runs along the south side of the Chapel at the foot of the wall has been a flat step at the doorway under the western window. Under the eaves of the south wall towards the west end (see Fig. 2) there is a small opening into the space between roof and ceiling; it is fitted up as a dovecot with timber nests closed behind. There does not appear to have been any other windows in the Chapel except those three just described.

The original entrance doorway, lintelled, now leading into the Tower from the Chapel, has a large angle filleted bead moulding with a hollow on each face, the lintel about 14 in. deep has three raised shields without arms. The whole doorway is very neatly wrought. See Fig. 7.

The Chapel has been divided into Nave and Chancel by the floor of the latter being raised one step. This step still exists about 9 ft. 4 in. in length (see Section Fig. 8 and Fig. 6 at D), having a large moulding returned down at each end, the division appears to have been continued to each side of the Chapel by a low

perpend wall. There is a wide press in the east wall at the level of the platform concealed by the wood lining, probably this, of less width than now, was a locker or ambry for holding the altar requirements. There would probably be a piscina hereabout behind the lining. See Fig. 6 at B.

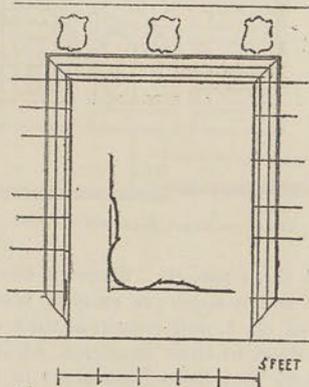


FIG. 7.—Doorway from Tower to Chapel.

We may also include, as in its original position before the Chapel was converted into a Hall, the flat grave-slab of the

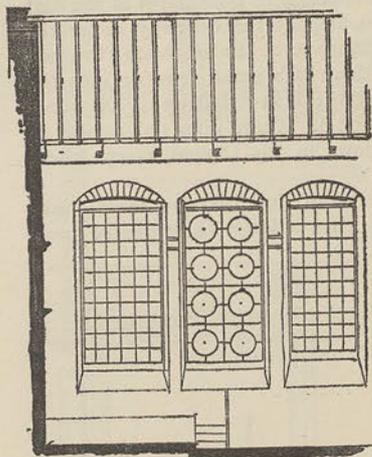


FIG. 8.—Section of Chapel looking south.

Foundress, situated in the south-east corner of the chancel about 2 ft. above its original floor and on the level of the Hammermen's platform (see plan Fig. 6, c). This is noticed later on.

The Chapel is covered internally with a barrel-shaped ceiling consisting in a substantial coating of plaster over wooden boarding nailed to the underside of arched ribs of timber, above which there is a wooden roof the construction of which merits a moment's attention.

There is work here of three periods. Some of the timbers of the earliest roof, of which there are existing traces and which may be called roof no. 1, still remain in their old positions though circumscribed in their functions, while other timbers of the same early roof have been sawn in half longitudinally, and are used with other old pieces for the construction of a later roof (no. 2) that is substantially that at present existing; and, lastly, some of the timbers of the present roof are comparatively modern (period no. 3), the proof of this being that these modern timbers have been cut with a circular saw, an invention of the age of steam, whereas the sawing up of the older timbers for roof no. 2 was effected

with the old fashioned pit saws, and the original timbers that still remain are adze-dressed.

The construction of the present roof is shown in the Sections, Figs. 8 and 9. It consists in ties, rafters, collar-ties, and struts, the trusses being about 18 in. apart. The rafters on the south side extend below the ties to the wall-head, but on the north side they are secured to the wall at the level of the ties. Now by a curious arrangement, about 13 in. or 14 in. below the ties there are suspended from these by iron straps the tie beams of roof no. 1, placed about 4 ft. 6 in. apart; these are logs 6 in. square of Scotch fir roughly squared with the adze. Attached to them below are the timber ribs of the circular ceiling, of the same Scotch fir, with the boarding of similar material nailed on beneath them, and carrying on laths the plaster that forms the visible ceiling of the Chapel. The ties from which all this is suspended are of Baltic timber cut with circular saws and belong to period no. 3, and it appears that, when these were inserted, the original 6 in. square tie beams were cut short at each end so that they no longer reach the walls, but are sustained in the air with the load they carry by the iron straps. Originally no doubt these tie beams were checked into rafters of the same section, thus forming principals 4 ft. 6 in. apart, and these carried the common rafters and the external roof. When roof no. 1 was altered to roof no. 2 these principal rafters were sawn in half, and now form the ordinary rafters, 6 in. by 3 in., that carry the external roof of slate. Their collar-ties, 6 in. by 1½ in., and the sarking-boards, 11 in. by ¾ in., are of the same timber as the original beams and must have formed part of roof no. 1, but the present struts are of Baltic timber similar to the ties.

This examination, which was conducted with the aid of two experienced carpenters, shows accordingly that the material of the first roof has been largely used in the construction of the second, while later work has been introduced

in comparatively modern times. On the question of probable dates a word will be said on a later page (*infra*, p. 41).

The Tower, of which an elevation and section are given in Fig. 9, is 73 ft. high and is divided into four stages by moulded string-courses below the various openings. The belfry windows have plain splayed pointed arches, all the other openings being square headed except a two-light window over the entrance which appears to be a modern enlargement. The crenellated battlement is moulded on sides and top and its projection of about 11 in. is supported by corbels, thus providing a walk round the top of the Tower of 22 in. wide. Fig. 10 gives a view taken at the top of the Tower on the northern side. Two gargoyls on each face throw the rainwater well out from the walls, they are decorated with various designs, but do not, as Sir Daniel Wilson imagined, represent 'ornamental cannons, each with a bullet ready to issue from its mouth.' The spirelet rises to a height of about 26 ft. above the masonry, it is octagonal on plan with 16 rafters having ties between each pair resting on each other, while the feet of the rafters are secured to the upper floor by short iron straps. For all this see Fig. 9, and the view Fig. 1, which shows the globe and vane upon the top.¹

Within the Tower hangs a bell, on which information is furnished on a later page. The Bell is supported on strong framing kept clear of the Belfry walls so as to minimize any danger to the Tower from its swinging. The posts of the frame are not perpendicular and this is rendered necessary in order to avoid touching the walls where there is an offset inside. See the Section of the Tower in Fig. 9.

There is a sundial on the western side of the Tower below the belfry stage, the existence of which has only recently

¹ In the minutes of February 3, 1739, we read, 'The House appoints their Treasurer to mend and gilt the weather cock and Globe that was upon the top of the Steeple of their Chappell and thrown down by the wind, and to replace the same as formerly.' The *Scots Magazine* states that the disaster occurred in the storm of January 13 in that year.



(FIG. 10) VIEW AT THE TOP OF THE TOWER ON THE NORTHERN SIDE



(Fig. 11) SUNDIAL ON SILL OF WEST WINDOW, BELOW THE BELLRY STAGE

become known. It has its gnomon still in position and the well-cut figures and lines are quite distinct. The feature is shown in Fig. 11. This means of marking the time would be useful to the bell-ringer supposing it to have been constructed before the Tower was furnished with a clock, as to which see *infra*, p. 35.

The Tower is of a simple but dignified design, and rises straight from the pavement to the slightly projecting battlement; it is however at present dwarfed by the surrounding buildings and by the stone bridge that carries a street at a level near its summit. The interior condition of the structure is not satisfactory, nor quite safe, especially from fire, and a hope may be expressed that, after the war, the craftsmen of Edinburgh will come to the aid of the Tower, of which, as we shall presently see, their predecessors of more than three hundred years ago were not a little proud.

An interesting feature of the external stonework of the building is supplied by the masons' marks. Mr. Charles S. Johnston, who has devoted much attention to the subject of masons' marks in general, has kindly supplied careful drawings made from rubbings of all the marks he could find on the Chapel and Tower after a diligent search over all the accessible portions of their walling, and has accompanied these with the notes which are summarized below. Thanks are hereby accorded to him for the expert information thus furnished.

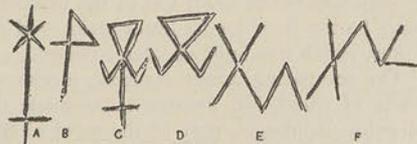


FIG. 12.—Masons' Marks on Window Jambs and Mullions.

There have been found thirty-six masons' marks in all, of eleven or twelve varieties. Twenty-two of them, of six varieties, are on the outside splays and mullions of the three large south windows. The six varieties are shown in Fig. 12,

A to F, reduced to one-third the natural size. There are also two marks of the same kinds on the mouldings of the north entrance door leading from the Tower to the Chapel. One of these is of pattern C, the other may be of pattern F,

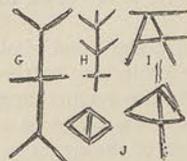


FIG. 13.—Masons' Marks in Bell Chamber of Tower.

but it is so obscured by paint as to be almost invisible. The mark F is similar to mark E with the addition of a horizontal line, which Mr. Johnston says is not quite certain. If it is really present he thinks F may be the mark of the son of the mason of mark E, distinguished by this additional detail. There are also, in the bell chamber of the Tower, ten marks, of four varieties, entirely different from those already mentioned. They are shown, of one-third natural size, in Fig. 13, G to J. One or two other doubtful specimens may be passed over, and it must be understood that, seeing how much of the stonework is either thickly encrusted with sooty dust, or like the northern doorway is covered with oil paint, while large parts of the outside of the Tower are inaccessible, there is every probability that many more marks are in existence. It is not so likely that there are more varieties of them than those which are here shown, for considering the small size of the Chapel, six hewers might easily be the limit for its lower walls, and four or five for the Tower, which was built at a later period.

On comparing these masons' marks with hundreds of others of which Mr. Johnston has made drawings from the following buildings—part of the nave of St. Giles' Cathedral and Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh; Dryburgh Abbey; Kirkwall Cathedral; the West Church, Stirling, and Cambuskenneth Abbey; Dunblane Cathedral; Carlisle Cathedral and adjuncts; Hexham Priory; Newcastle Cathedral and old Castle; and Haltwhistle Church, Northumberland—he finds that there are only two of them that are found similar

in shape and size in any of these buildings, namely, the mark B, which is also on the fourth pillar in the nave from the north-west tower pier of Kirkwall Cathedral, and is therefore probably of much older date, and the mark A, which occurs also on the West Church at Stirling. Out of fully a thousand masons' marks from all parts of the world, that are illustrated in Mr. Godwin's paper in *The Builder* of 27th March 1869, and Mr. W. E. Gawthorp's paper in *The Builder* of 10th July 1914, there is only one—at the Church of St. Michael, Dijon—that corresponds in shape to a Magdalen Chapel mark—that figured at H in Fig. 13.

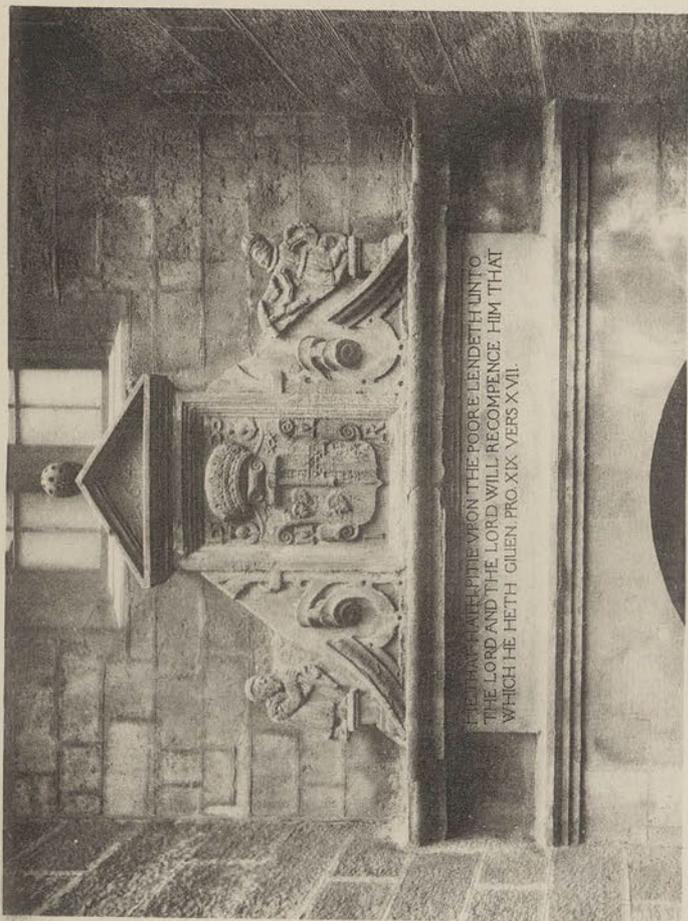
In Mr. J. W. Small's book on Old Stirling, there are three marks given from Mar's Work that resemble the marks G, D, and C, on the Chapel, and the second of these, D, is on the Chapel at Stirling Castle, while the third, C, is said to be found on Penrith Castle, Cumberland. The comparative sizes as well as dates of these four marks, H, G, D, and C, on the buildings indicated would require to be ascertained before one could presume that any had been cut by the same masons as those employed at the Magdalen Chapel. Marks E, F, I, and J appear to be unique.

The last feature to be noticed in connection with the existing architecture of the building is the doorway with its sculptured embellishment on the north side of the Tower facing the Cowgate. It will be remembered that the Chapel itself has on the north a good moulded doorway, shown Fig. 7, that originally opened to the street but now communicates only with the lower story of the Tower that was built on in front of it. See the plan, Fig. 6. The moulded doorway, Fig. 7, has over it three shields, but it is fairly clear that it had no architectural enrichment, such as a pediment or flanking pillars. On the other hand there is evidence of the existence of such embellishment at another part of the group of buildings, and this evidence will be presently discussed.

The present ornamental doorway is shown in Fig. 14,

and in its architectural connections on the elevation of the Tower in Fig. 9. We have here what is undoubtedly the handsomest piece of decorative stone carving to be seen in a similar position anywhere in Edinburgh, but the composition has not come down to us in its original condition, and the occurrence of two dates on the carving, 1553 and 1649, shows that we have to do with work of more than one period. We know from the Records of the Hammermen, see *infra*, p. 30, that there was at one time a pillared porch of entry to the buildings, and if the same arrangement obtained here such pillars may be assumed as standing on each side of the doorway in a position that can be paralleled in many of the contemporary monuments in the adjoining churchyard of the Greyfriars. When however the present projecting buildings on each side of the doorway, see plan Fig. 6 and elevation Fig. 9, were erected in modern times they encroached on the porch, and this may have led to the removal of the pillars. The lower part of the composition below the undermost of the two moulded string-courses was then made up, and a new facing of masonry some 9 in. thick was added as a wide splay round the doorway and continued as a flat surface as far as the two projecting buildings above mentioned. This facing is terminated above by a moulded string-course and surmounting this is a plain tablet inscribed with a text from the book of Proverbs. This tablet is surmounted by a second string-course, the central portion of which projects while it is returned at the sides, and above this is the handsome composition in carved stone.

The extreme width of this is 7 ft. 4 in. and its height 5 ft. To the casual spectator from the level of the street it presents a somewhat dilapidated appearance, as if the stone were in parts freely scaling off. This is however deceptive, for what is peeling away is a thick coating of oil paint, seemingly of a dark red colour, with which the stone work has been smeared. Where the paint has come entirely away, as on the lower



(Fig. 14)

CARVING OVER EXTERNAL DOORWAY FACING THE COWGATE

dexter portion of the shield, the surface of the stone appears in perfect preservation, and this justifies the supposition that, were the paint removed, the stonework would be revealed almost in its pristine sharpness. The work is made up of several distinct pieces. At the top, finished above by an ornament like a perforated ball, that is perhaps reminiscent of the old classical pine-cone, is a pediment on the field of which is worked in raised arabic numerals the date 1649. Below the pediment is an upright panel framed in a moulding rather delicately cut, and measuring over all $41\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height by a width of 30 in. This panel exhibits a date 1553, the arms of Michael Macquhen and Janet Rynd with their initials, and the insignia of the Hammermen, a hammer ensigned by a crown. This same emblazonment of the founders is seen twice in the interior of the Chapel, executed in stained glass on the central window, and carved in low relief on the tombstone of Janet Rynd. The escutcheon is more finished in execution here than in the two examples in the Chapel, though as would necessarily be the case at the period the indication of the heraldic tinctures on the stone is not carried far. The Ermine is indicated by careful carving in relief, and the smoothly dressed surface of the stone may of course stand for Argent, but there is no attempt at marking for the Gules and Or of the two crosses. The following description has been kindly furnished by Mr. W. Rae Macdonald, F.S.A.Scot., Albany Herald:—

‘A panel on which is a carved ornamental shield bearing impaled arms, viz. :—*Dexter* [Arg.] three human heads coupé [Sable]. *Sinister*, Per cross 1st, 3rd, and 4th Ermine, 2nd [Arg.], charged with two stars in chief [Az.], the four quarters surmounted of a cross [Gules] charged at the fess point with a cross crosslet fitché [Or].

‘Dividing the coats, on the line of impalement is a hammer, and ensigning it and the shield a closed crown.

‘At the sides of the panel are also carved the date 15. 53 ; beneath that two thistle heads, flanking the crown, each with two

leaves; then at middle of shield the initials M.M. for Michael Macquhen, and at foot of shield I.R. for Janet Rynd.'

On each side of this upright panel there is a straight joint between it and the sculptures that flank it. On these triangular side-pieces there is scroll work, and the outlines of the stone descend obliquely on each side from the top of the panel to the string-course below, with the projecting central part of which they correspond. Where they come down to the string-course there are on each side low square pedestals with moulded bases and caps. On each of these there is a quaint figure carved in a separate stone, there being straight joints between each figure and the pedestal below and the oblique line of the stone panel at the side. These two figures are interesting both from their actions and their costume. The one on the spectator's left, apparently representing a mason, is dressed in a coarse gabardine and holds in his hands a hinged instrument for taking angles. His bent attitude, his clumsy feet, his coarse rugged face, and his handling of his instrument which exhibits a certain skill, are all excellently rendered. The other figure, that of a Hammerman, in a half-kneeling position, with the instrument of his craft in his right hand, is quaintly dressed in a costume described by Mr. James Caw, of the National Portrait Gallery, as 'late Elizabethan or quite early Jacobean.' It seems to consist in a round pointed cap ribbed and embroidered, a short belted tunic with long sleeves, richly embroidered and trimmed with frilling at the armholes, embroidered hose to the knees, and stockings. Round his neck he wears an unmistakable ruff, and on each side at the shoulders there flies out from the back a curious item of attire that looks like a modern lady's feather boa. He is altogether a very smartly dressed gentleman.

As regards the chronology and probable history of this composite piece, it is certain that the central panel and the two figures are of about the middle of the 16th century. The date 1553 and the excellence of the heraldic carving, with

the delicacy of the mouldings of the frame, prove this in the former case, while the costume of the Hammerman fixes his figure to about the same period. At any rate, if, as Mr. Caw thinks, it be rather late for 1553, it is far too early to correspond with the date 1649 given in the pediment. On the other hand, the scroll work on the triangular side panels would, as similar work in the Greyfriars churchyard indicates, agree well with the 17th century date, and the string-course below is evidently connected with these side panels. The date 1649 may therefore be held to apply to the composition as at present arranged, with the string-course that forms its base, the panel with the inscribed text below, and the lower string-course, below which the new facing begins.

There was of course no Tower in 1553, and the earlier parts of the composite piece must at that time, we have seen, have been displayed elsewhere. In this connection notice must be taken of two sculptured stone fragments that lay in the Tower, and are now to be seen in the north-east corner of the Chapel. They are shown Fig. 24, nos. 2, 3. The pieces have details in common that would suggest that they had formed parts of a single composition and may once have been combined with some of the pieces just discussed. In each case however, as will be seen, a nude figure is shown, and though the attitudes are similar the scale differs markedly and makes it difficult to see how they can have been worked in together. The figure in no. 2 is half as big again as the other. The height of fragment no. 2 is 1 ft. 7 in. that of no. 3 is 2 ft. 4 in. The style of the work is of a kind freely represented in the Greyfriars churchyard, and would suggest a date in the 17th century.

The following information in the matter of dates and circumstances is derived from the Hammermen's Records. The death of Michael Macquhen can be fixed in, or within a few months of, 1537 by two deeds described in the inventory of

documents noticed above, p. 2. One is dated Oct. 14, 1536 (Inventory, p. 25) and is 'in favour of Michael Macquhen and Jonet Rynd his spouse,' while the other (Inventory, p. 9) dated Oct. 21, 1538 describes Jonet Rynd as 'relict of Michael Macquhen.' The entry already referred to in Records, vol. i, fol. 165 *v* (*supra*, p. 9) shows that the Chapel with its bedemen was in working order in 1544, so that the beginning of the actual building may date soon after 1540. A year after Janet Rynd's death Isobel Mauchane mortifies for the benefit of the bedemen an annual rent of £50 Scots on the lands of Cousland (Inventory, p. 17) and an inscribed tablet in the Chapel, copied *infra* p. 51, states that with these funds was built the 'cross-house,' a permanent lodging for the pensioners. The normal place for subsidiary structures of the kind in relation to a chapel would be to the west, and we shall probably be right in locating them on that side. This is in fact practically proved by records of the 18th century noticed on the following page. Unfortunately the records of the 16th century give us no useful indications as to the character or arrangement of these structures, but before the 17th century was far advanced notices of building operations become both abundant and interesting.

The presiding official of the Hammermen's Incorporation was the Deacon who was elected annually at a meeting in the autumn, while the chief executive officer was the Boxmaster by whom all financial transactions were conducted. In the first quarter of the 17th century two names occur with special frequency in the list of deacons, those of James Sibbald and Thomas Weir. The latter had evidently a great deal to do with the building operations of the time and may be considered their guiding genius. In 1598 he was one of the masters of the pewterers (vol. ii, fol. 95 *r*) and was boxmaster in 1601-2-3 (fol. 114 *v*, etc.). For the years of office 1607-8, 1608-9, 1613-14, 1614-15, 1617-18, 1618-19, 1623-24, 1624-25, he was deacon, and we meet with his

name in connection with work done for the Chapel as late as 1634.

From 1613 onwards the minutes of meetings of the deacon and masters of the Incorporation and the Discharge side of the boxmaster's yearly accounts contain abundant evidence that building and decoration were actively in progress, both in regard to the Chapel and to the subsidiary structures and their surroundings. To take the latter first, there was a Yard, corresponding to the present paved court to the south of the Chapel shown in Fig. 6. This had its door (ii. fol. 221 *v*, 1613) and within it we may surmise there was located the Well of which notices occur, *e.g.* in 1614 (ii. fol. 232 *v*) 'Item for ane bucket to ye well—iiij^s' and 'Item for viij faddom of towis to ye said bukhet at xiiij^d y faddom—ix^s 4^d,' also in 1710 (vi, 92 *v*) we hear of 'two new buckets for the Magdalen Chapell well.' At any rate in the latter part of the 17th and in the 18th century this yard was cultivated as a garden, for a gardener draws a yearly wage for its upkeep, with an allowance for seeds and flowers. Trees were brought from Colinton in 1682 (v. 364 *r*) for 'the summerhouse,' and 14^s was paid 'to a Gairdner who brought honeysuckles for the summerhouse per order of the deacon,' while in 1708 (vi, 70 *r*) there is a payment 'to the gardner for naills and two old hats for the tries.' Possibly the hats, of felt, were to be cut up into strips for nailing climbing plants to the summerhouse or even fruit trees to the wall! At this time it was always called 'yard' but later in the 18th century it is termed 'garden' and an entry of Nov. 14, 1761, notifies us that it lay to the south of the Chapel windows, thus identifying it with the area of the present court. As a way of communication between the street and the yard there appears to have been a Close, that we may imagine running to the west of the Chapel and between it and the Hospital. This close evidently formed the chief entrance to the block of buildings, for, as we shall see, in the first quarter of the 17th century it was

furnished with a monumental porch of entry. On the other or eastern side of the Chapel there still exists a close leading into the present paved court and communicating with the flight of steps marked A in Fig. 6, that represent an old thoroughfare prior to the construction of George IV Bridge. In this close, near the Cowgate, in the wall cross-hatched on the plan Fig. 6 that is a continuation of the eastern wall of the Chapel, there is a built-up door, with broad back fillets indicating a period about the end of the 17th century, which evidently opened on a stair lighted by small windows above the doorway, but the fragment cannot now be brought into any intelligible connection with its surroundings. It may be noted however that in 1712 (vol. vi, fol. 109 v) there is a question of 'rebuilding or repairing of the foreland east the Magdalen Chappell and brewery.'

The name 'Cross-house' may refer to plan, suggesting a cruciform arrangement, or merely to location, the building lying at right angles to some marked axis, and the notices give no help towards its restoration. We know however that it possessed an external feature in the form of a spirelet, apparently of masonry with a timber finish, that is referred to in the Records as the 'Prick.' That this was on the Hospital and not on the Chapel we surmise from a notice given in full, *infra*, p. 32, where it is suggested that it be moved to a position on 'the croce west gabill besyd ye kitshin chymnay heid.' In 1613 there are disbursements (ii. 221 v) 'for ane daill to mend ye prick w^t-x^s' and 'gevin to ye sclaitteris and to ye wry^t y^t mendit ye prick—xl^d.'

As regards the Chapel itself, in 1613 a good deal of money was spent on the windows. Thus, (ii, 218 r) 'Item to ye glas-inwry^t for mending ye chapell windois—xlvi^s viij^d,' and (221 v) 'Item debursit for lyme and sand to point ye windois w^t quhen yaj was mendit—xii^s.' At the same time various doors, one 'on ye heid of ye turnepyk in ye chapell,' another 'ye yard duir,' and a third the 'hous duir' are mentioned (all ii, 221 v).

All this and more of the same kind was mere skirmishing in preparation for a campaign of building that appears to have opened in 1614. The Discharge for that year of the boxmaster, Thomas broun, embraces 87 items but only about a dozen of these refer to anything else but building operations, and much the same may be said about the Discharge for the two succeeding years (ii, fol. 232 v to fol. 241 r). The items may be grouped under the following headings:—

I. Purchases of materials, 1st, for building and plastering, in 1614 alone 48 loads of lime, 104 of sand and apparently 195 of stones; 2nd, for stone work of a superior kind, numerous large stones of which dimensions are given, one being xi feet long, and certain 'capeing' stones; 3rd, for timber work, in the form of 'dails' (deals) with, 4th, nails of different sorts bought generally by the hundred.

II. Payments to workmen. These include masons, quarrymen, wrights, sawyers, borowers,¹ painters, and labourers who do the carrying.

The payments are made in specie for wages, and also in kind in the form of wine and ale. Candles are also provided.

A few entries are given as specimens in a footnote.² The work was evidently carried on by the Hammermen themselves, and not let out on any large contracts. We find however an entry referring to a contract on a limited scale in the following terms. The date is 1615 and the reference ii, fol. 237 r.

¹ Labourers who carry material in a hand barrow.

² (ii. fol. 232 v) Item for v Laidis of Lyme—xxxvi^s viij^d; Item for xxvi Laidis of Sand—li^s; Item for ridling of ye Lyme and Sand—vij^s vj^d; Item for ane hundred dails—l^l^l; Item for carieing of ye 100 dailis into ye chapell—vj^s: (233 r) Item to ye sawaris for sawing of xl dailis—v^l^l viij^s; Item payd of drink-silver to ye masonis and wrights working in ye chapell—xxv^s: (233 v) Item for xx laidis of wall stanes to ye wark xvij^d ye laid—xxx^s; Item to ye masonis and borowers working in ye chapell of wages—xj^l viij^s; Item to ye masonis wrights and painter working yair half ane gallon of aile among yame—vij^s; Item for iij hundred (indicated by a sign) fluring naillis for ye chapell fluire at xvj^s ye hundred—iij^l iij^s; Item for ane pund of Candills to ye said wark—iij^s. The date of the entries is 1614.

'Item payit to Alex^r Wat masonn for his tak dewtie for bigging and outredding of ye work on ye foir yet head of ye chapell clois (conforms to ye contract set down between ye Hammermen and him yairanent)—xl^{11b}.'

We come now to the problem of the nature of the operations thus carried on. The only question that presents difficulty is that of the use of the numerous loads of wall stones. The fabric of the Chapel already existed and there was as yet no question of the Tower. About the Hospital we do not know anything, and structural additions to this may have been in progress. We read (233 *r*) of a supply of 24 coping stones 'to ye foir dyke of the chapell clois' costing 3^s 4^d each, and this may imply the construction of a substantial wall separating the Hospital property west of the Chapel from the street. In this wall at the head of the close already mentioned there was a porch or monumental gateway of some considerable pretension, that is referred to in numerous entries of this time. It was for this gateway that the large stones above referred to were cut, and some of the pieces now at the door under the Tower (*supra*, p. 22 *f.*) as well as the two fragments (p. 25) doubtless formed part of the display. The gateway is the 'foir yet heid of ye chapell clois' mentioned in the passage just quoted relating to the contract, and it is constantly mentioned under this name though the word 'clois' is sometimes omitted. The important entry (237 *r*) 'Item to ye quarrie^s for uther tua staneis to be the pillaris—xxii^j' shows that it had pillars on the side facing the street like the later porch that has superseded it (*supra*, p. 22). A 'grit stane,' that is much in evidence in the entries, evidently surmounted the whole. Thus (ii, 233 *r*) 'Item to ye masonnis of wageis for hewing of the grit stane to be set above ye foir yet heid of ye chapell—ij^{11b}.' It was ornamented, for (233 *v*) 'Johne sawer painter' receives ten shillings and a pint of wine 'for drawing of ye croun upone ye stane to be set above ye foir yet heid' and this crown and other enrich-

ments were no doubt carved upon it by masons whom we find (*ibid.*) receiving three pounds for 'hewand ye heid stane to be set upone ye foir yet heid.' 13^s 4^d is paid (234 *r*) 'for ii staneis to be ye table to set under ye grit stane that is to be set above ye said foir yet of ye chapell clois.'

Finally we have the following:—

'At the Magdalen chapell die antedict. [May 18, 1615]

Thomas weir deakin and hail masteris and friemen of the Hammermen pitlie convenit within the said chapell all with ane consent ordains thomas broun yair boxmaster to cause harle over the foir dyke of ye chapell clois with lyme and cause flag and repair the fluring of the porch of the foir yet of the said chapell clois' (ii, fol. 241 *v*).

The destination therefore of the specially cut stones is clear, though that of the abundant wall stones may be uncertain.

The entries about loads of lime and sand present no difficulty, and the material may have been used for plastering the Chapel walls. The lower part of these (see *infra*, p. 55) under the present floor is unplastered and the walls may have been left in the rough.¹ The notices of the work in timber are of special interest, as they point to the construction of the present floor and platform, etc., in the Chapel by which it lost its ecclesiastical character and was transformed into the meeting hall of a guild. The following notices can only be interpreted in the above fashion, and they can be supplemented by some of those given in the footnote on p. 29. 'Item at ye sichtig of ye chapill anent ye fluring spendit in pñs of the deakin w^t david broun wry^t—vs' (ii, 227 *r*) suggests a friendly meeting, with refreshments, to talk over

¹ In connection with this question of plastering, there should be noted an entry in the minutes of July 31, 1813 (vol. xi), 'The Treasurer having produced several estimates for repairing the chapel, the meeting were of opinion that in place of white-washing the ceiling and walls that the same should be lath'd and plaistered in a complete manner, and that the wooden work should be painted.' Unfortunately the accounts for the next year are not extant. This entry can be taken to mean that up to that date, 1813, the walls and ceiling had never been plastered.

matters with the tradesman concerned. It will be remembered that 100 deals are bought and carried into the Chapel (232 v). On fol. 233 v we read 'Item to ye sawares for sawing timber to lay ye fluir of ye chapell with—vi^s,' and 'Item to david broun wricht for laying of ye fluir of ye chapell—x^{lv} iij^s iij^d.' In the Discharge of the boxmaster for 1615 there are entries (ii, 240 r) 'Item payd by him to ye masone for laying of ye Joists above ye toumsybing¹ of ye Magdalen chapell for iij dyis work—xxx^s,' and 'Item for iij hundred (as a sign) fluiring naills for toumsybing ye chapell xvij^s ye hundred—iij^{lv} xii^s.' Altogether twenty-eight hundred nails seem to have been bought at this time, so the work for which they were employed must have been pretty extensive.

A year or two later work of still greater importance is set in hand. In 1618 (ii, fol. 283 r) we read as follows:—

'Thomas weir deakin and ye haill m^{rs} and friemen of the Hammermen with ane consent ordains the stepill of the Magdalen Chapell for monie guid respectis to be alterit and translateit out of ye place quhair it p^{nt}lie stands and biggit upone the croce west gabill besyd ye kitshin chymnay heid and no^matis and appointis Thomas weir deakin James Sibbald Thomas quhyt boxmaster and Thomas duncan to avyse with the King's m^r of work for bigging thair of at ye best and mayst co^modious fassoun.'

This is the beginning of the momentous undertaking of the Tower, and it proceeds as follows. Whatever was the advice of the King's Master of Works, the decision finally adopted was the bolder one of erecting a new steeple altogether, not on the Hospital but to the north of the Chapel between it and the street, and on February 15, 1620 (ii, 302 r), there was a general meeting of the deacon, masters, and all the brethren of the Hammermen to vote whether 'yair sal be ane steipill bigit or not.' As a result 'They have be moniest

¹ There seems little doubt as to the reading of this word in the MS., but its meaning is obscure.

voittis woittit the steipill to be bigit.' Forthwith (302 v) 'the deakin and m^{rs} appoyntit for consideratio on q^t pl^e ye steipill sould be maist comodeouslie bigit the all in ane voce ordin ye samyn to be fundit and bigit befor ye greit doir of ye chappell¹ and to gang up richt w^t ye wall yrof.' In February, 1622 (317 r), Thomas Weir and the boxmaster William Clarkson are entrusted with the care of buying 'stuff and materiall to big the steipill,' and the work was evidently carried on under the personal leadership of the first named for in May, 1625 (334 v), when the mason work appears to have been finished, we read that 'Thomas weir deaken charges him self w^t the hundreth merks ressevit fra his sister to by timber to ye pricket of ye new steipill,' and it is finally reported (336 r) on June 8, 1625, that the persons appointed to supervise the completion of the steeple 'ordine ye haill timber wark of ye steipill to be outred and ye bonnet to be theikit w^t leid and ye cok to be set upon the staff qll forder adwysement and being fund of ane ressonabill vecht to proceed w^t ye rest.'

The 'cok' and the lead-coated timber spire are seen in Fig. 1, and scratched on the lead are innumerable initials and dates. The earliest of the latter look a little suspicious, but there are plenty of genuine ones from about 1750 onwards.

The construction of the Tower has an interest from the side of economic history. In a paper in the *Scottish Historical Review* for January, 1916, Archdeacon Cunningham calls attention to marked differences between English and Scottish burghs, the former being most often military or ecclesiastical in their origin the latter more purely commercial, and he points to the contrast in the architectural expression given in the two countries to the ideas and requirements of trade.

¹ This is the existing northern door which leads now from the Chapel to the basement of the Tower. The western door by which the Chapel is now entered is a subsidiary one.

South of the Tweed the tradition was to supply in the market place a covered loggia with open arcades, that afforded shelter and comparative quiet for buying and selling. In Scotland the conscious pride of the powerful trade corporations found its expression in the municipal tower, few if any specimens of which exist in England, and the Archdeacon calls attention specially to the Magdalen Chapel tower as an outstanding specimen. Other instances in Scotland may be noted. At Glasgow there were two very fine steeples, the Tolbooth and the Merchants' Hall, and examples exist or existed at Renfrew, Hamilton, Maybole, Irvine, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright in the south-western district; at Edinburgh (Canongate Tolbooth), Musselburgh, Dunbar, Queensferry, Dunfermline, Stirling, Culross, Crail, Kinghorn and Perth in the central counties; while in the north there are Elgin, Forres, Tain, Dingwall. The Lerwick Town Hall may be regarded as having what the Hammermen called a 'prick,' and if memory serves, the same was the case formerly at Yester.

The pride of the Hammermen in their Tower finds a characteristic expression in connection not with the structure itself but with its most important fitting, the Bell. In vol. iv of the Records, fol. 30 v, occurs the following minute the length, neatness, and formality of which testify to the importance of the occasion. It is rubricated as follows:—
'Act for contributing to help to by ane bell.'

'Vigesimo quinto februarij 1632

The ylk day ye deakone m^{rs} and hail breithrene of ye hamermen of Edinbur^e being convenit within yair chaipell callit ye Magdalene chaipell and yair efter rype delibera^onne and ressoneing amongst yame selvis considering y^t they have ane fair steipill Bot ane small bell ye sound yrof is not far hard ffor remeid yrof and for ye credit of yair craft decoirment and honnour of ye guid toune and yat yair bell may be hard throw ye hail toune at all oca^onnes and to move others to gif to so guid ane work they all in ane voice have thocht guid yat ewerie airt convene be yame selvis and contribuit and gather amongst yame

selvis that thing y^t it sall pleis god to move ewerie ane of yair hertis to gif to by ane new bell of gritter wecht and ane knock¹ gif it cane be atentit to and this collectionne to be collectit gatherit and givin in To ye deakone and m^{rs} betwixt paische nextocome and for y^t effect hes appoyntit ye personnes of ewerie airt underwritten to be collectors yairof fra yair awin airtis To witt be Thomas Baxter for ye blacksmythis be Alex^r thomsonne for ye cutleris be Richard maxvell for ye saidlers be Thomas broune elder for ye locksmythis be Johne Callender for ye lorimeris be Thomas quhyt for ye airmoureris be Thomas Inglis for ye peudereris be Johne ormistonne for ye scheir-smythis.²

It was evidently the idea of the craftsmen that as their Tower though on low ground was yet conspicuous among the buildings of its part of the city, so the sound of their Bell should strike the ears of the citizens at large and keep them always in evidence. The various occasions public and private on which the Bell has been thus sounded are matters outside the scope of this paper, but from 1634 or 1635 it has hung in the Tower, wherein, through the agency again of Thomas Weir, it was duly installed. The subsequent Discharges show that there was lavish expenditure on oil for its hinges, and it is worth noting that the bell in an entry of 1709 is affectionately described as feminine (vi, 91 r) 'payed for oyle to the bell hinges 2^s 6^d and for new ropes to ring her with 1^{lb} 8^s.' Similar libations of oil were poured upon the works of the Tower Clock which may here have a word. The King's Master of Works above mentioned was at this time James Murray of Kilbaberton. The Lady of Kilbaberton presented to the new Tower a clock. 'Item for towis to ye parts of ye litill knock yat was gyftit by ye Laddy Kilbabertonne—x^s' runs an entry of 1641 (vi, 74 v). Whether or not this is the actual clock,² the rusty works of which are still in the belfry, the presentation shows a friendly relation between the King's Master of Works

¹ Clock.

² In 1696 there is mention of a new clock, perhaps substituted for the 'litill knock' noticed in the text.

and the Hammermen, and it is not improbable that he may have designed the Tower, even although designing was not so much the province of the Master of Works as of the Master Mason.

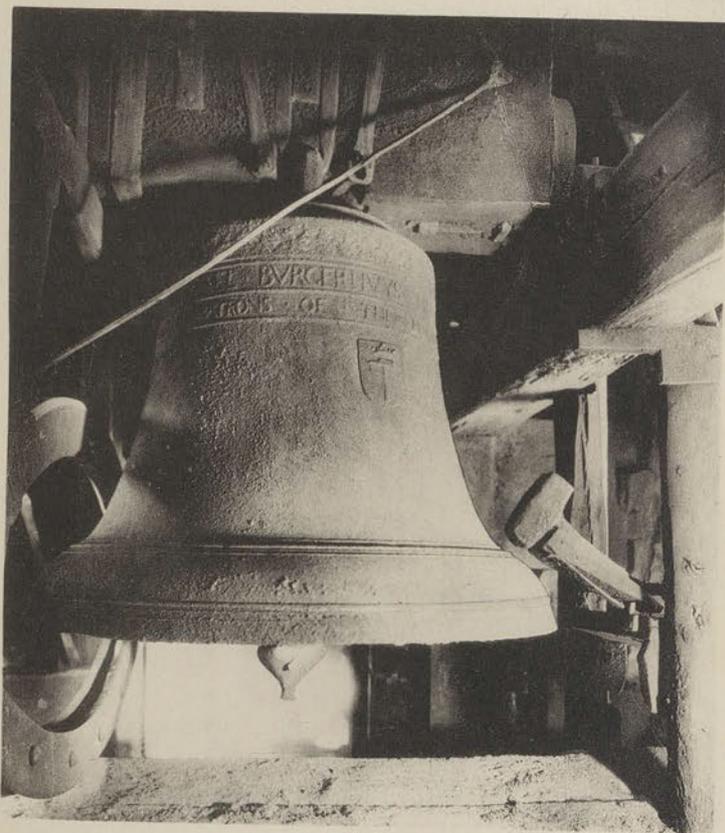
PART II. DECORATIVE DETAILS, FITTINGS, AND FURNITURE

I. IN THE TOWER.

The Bell, shown Fig. 15.

This is an object of some importance and is inscribed and dated. The measurements are, extreme diameter below 3 ft. 1½ in. ; height, excluding canons, 2 ft. 5 in. ; height of canons by which it is held to the stock 5 in. The timber framing in which it is hung and the connection of this with the masonry of the Tower have been already touched on. The wheel over which passes the rope by which it is rung replaces exactly an older one that is preserved in the room on the level of the Chapel opening out of the ground story of the Tower and called the Committee Room, see plan, Fig. 6. The wheel is shown Fig. 24, no. 7. It is constructed of oak with the cross pieces neatly chamfered, and is 7 ft. in diameter. It may be part of the original mounting of the bell and would then date from 1634 or 1635.¹ Round the shoulder of the bell, and starting and ending on the south side of it as it now hangs, are two lines of inscription in Latin majuscules in which the letters of the upper line measure in height 1¾ in. those of the lower barely 1 in. The upper line runs SOLI · DEO · GLORIA · MICHAEL · BURGERHVYS · ME · FECIT · ANNO · 1632. Between the date and the 'S' of SOLI is an ornament consisting in the neck and head of a dragon-like creature between two wings. In the lower line where the letters are smaller there is more room between the end and the beginning and there are two of these ornaments with a space between

¹ In vol. ix of the MS. Records there is a minute of Ap. 4, 1753 about mending the bell wheel. This may have resulted in the substitution. Under proper conditions a well made bell wheel might last a couple of centuries.



(FIG. 15) THE BELL, IN THE BELFRY STAGE OF THE TOWER

them. This line runs GOD · BLIS · THE · HAMERMENE · PATRONS · OF · THE · MAGDALENE · CHEPEL. Above the upper line the bell is encircled with a band of conventional Renaissance ornament in low relief. On the, approximately, north and south sides of the bell as it now hangs are two shields in relief under the words 'GOD' and 'THE' (before MAGDALENE). The shields measure $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width above, and on each is figured in relief the Hammermen's hammer and crown, thus attesting the fact that the bell was made to the order of the Incorporation.

The name 'Burgerhuys' coupled with the known commercial intercourse between Scotland and Holland in the 17th century on which two books have recently been published,¹ make it natural to look to the latter country for its origin, and as a fact the name is in evidence in the annals of Dutch campanology. In the Groote Kerk at Delft is a bell by J. Burgerhuys of 1607 and also one of 1642 at Ouddorp. Michael Burgerhuys signs a bell of 1638 at the village of Schipluiden in the Province of Zuid Holland,² and he is no doubt the maker of the bell in the Magdalen Chapel. This was not his only Edinburgh commission, for on a bell somewhat smaller than the one under notice, now at the Orphan Hospital, Dean, there is a three line inscription recording that Michael Burgerhuys, 'Middelburgi Zelandorum,' cast it in 1621 for St. Giles', at the order of the 'Senatus populusque Edinburgensis' 'publicis sumptibus.' This locates the Burgerhuys foundry at Middelburg, which is only a few miles from Veere, the seat of the Scottish Staple. Jan Burgerhuys made a bell for Holyrood Chapel in 1608.³ From an entry in the Inventory of the documents belonging

¹ J. Davidson and A. Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 1909.

M. Rooseboom, D.Litt. Edin., *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, The Hague, 1909.

² For this information thanks are due to Dr. Matthys Rooseboom of The Hague, author of one of the books mentioned in the footnote above, and Secretary to the Nederlandsche Oudheidkundige Bond. ³ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1883-4, p. 100.

to the Hammermen, p. 38, it appears that these included a 'discharge, Thomas Weir, peutherer, to the Hammermen for 100 pounds Scots as the price of the Chapell Bell brought from Flanders,' dated August 4, 1634, and in this same month in 1634 the Hammermen's Records (iv, 53r) mention a payment 'to Thomas Weir in part of payment of ye pryce of ye bell.'

The following will be of interest to campanologists. Mr. Thos. H. Collinson, Mus.Bac., of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, Organist to the University, has been good enough to investigate and test the musical qualities of the bell, and through his kind introduction the writers have been favoured with some valuable technical information furnished by the well-known campanologist Mr. W. W. Starmer of Tunbridge Wells. Mr. Collinson, who had the bell sounded, reports that it 'has most admirable musical qualities. Its note is A (second space, treble clef) accompanied by a consonant lower octave, and a harmonic minor third above. It is in good preservation owing to the fact that it is rung properly by swinging. There are the ruins of an old clock underneath it, with the clock hammer for striking on the outer surface of the bell, but the tone has not been impaired thereby.' This hammer is seen on the right hand side of the bell in the photograph, Fig. 15. Mr. Starmer, to whom the dimensions of the bell were sent, estimates its weight at about ten hundred-weight, and notices that it is badly encrusted with dirt, which he says should be removed by the agency of a sand blast. It could then be judged whether or not the casting is a fine one. With a bell of these dimensions the notes, he says, would be



or more probably



The clapper is of a foreign form, pear shaped, and not so good for sounding as one more globular with a more pronounced 'flight' (the projection in which the clapper ends) as this has a good deal to do with the proper working of the clapper. It may be noted that the bell of 1621 noticed above has a clapper of a different and more normal form. As regards the hanging of the bell Mr. Starmer considers the structure weak from the engineering point of view, and lacking in a due amount of rigidity to balance the amount of elasticity which is probably present. For a single bell however the scheme would no doubt work well enough. On the wheel there is nothing special to be said.

II. IN THE COMMITTEE ROOM.

1. Here is now preserved the wheel of the bell referred to above.
2. There is also in the room an old-fashioned 'grandfather's' clock inscribed with name of donor and date. It stands 8 ft. 2 in. in height and the dial face is 2 ft. 1 in. across. Above the dial in a pediment is the inscription, that has been renewed but over the same lettering,

Gifted to
S^t MAGDALEN'S
CHAPEL
by ALEX^s BRAND
Clock & Watch-maker in Edin^g

and on the dial below the centre the date 1727.

3. In this room are also preserved two chairs with rounded backs that are introduced into the photograph of the interior of the Chapel shown in Fig. 4, where they stand in front of the modern harmonium in the middle of the Chapel.

4. On the wall above the fireplace is fixed a framed panel, 4 ft. high by 2 ft. wide, with an important inscription that runs as follows:—

THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL

MITCHELL MACQUHANE
 MERCHANT BURGESS of Ed^r
 out of his Godlie zeall & Charity
 founded this CHAPPELL and left
 700 Pounds to complit the same and
 to Mantain, 7 . BEIDMEN in Anno : 1503
 JANET RYND Spouse to the
 said, MITCHELL MACQUHANE
 added the soume of 2000 Pounds,
 and Completed therwith this
 CHAPPELL and placed one
 CHAPLANE & . 7 . BEIDMEN therin
 and Mortified the Remanent of the
 said soume upon GROUND ANWALS
 the RENT wherof Extends to
 42 pounds yearlie in Anno : 1547.

The Gamermen
 PATRONS of this HOSPITAL
 for the better support of the
 BEIDMEN Mortified the soume
 of 500 Merks.

This inscription is discussed later on, p. 76.

III. IN THE CHAPEL.

The arrangement of the Chapel contemplates its use not for its original purpose as a place of worship but for the transaction of the secular business of the guild. The altar, mentioned in the Confirmation Charter, the former presence and position of which may be held attested by the ambry, see *supra*, p. 15, has disappeared and the wooden floor of the eastern portion of the Chapel has been raised to a height of about 2 ft. above the original stone pavement of the chancel. On the two sides, north and south, this raised floor or platform comes as far west as the edge of the low step, *D*, forming the division between nave and chancel (*supra*, p. 15 and plan, Fig. 6) and it is here ascended on each side by a flight of steps. In the central part however a large semicircle, see plan, Fig. 6,



(FIG. 16) THE INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL TO THE EAST, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT AND THE FITTINGS

and Fig. 4, is taken out of it and an apsidal arrangement results that is specially suited for the meetings of a guild. An upright wainscot screen of wood marks the extreme limits of the semicircle, see Fig. 16, and in the centre of this was the presiding deacon's seat, since 1708 in the carved chair illustrated on a subsequent page. Round this screen in the inner face there is a continuous bench, and concentric with it is another semicircular screen, this time of wrought iron, round the inner face of which again is a similar bench. The harmonium seen in Fig. 16 is modern. The floor of the Chapel is lowest to the west of the chancel step at D, Fig. 6, where the height is controlled by the doorway to the north, which as we have seen, *supra*, p. 15, was the main door of the Chapel, and it rises on a gradual slope westwards to the west door by which the Chapel is now entered. This part, the nave, is fitted with pews, seen in Figs. 3 and 4. In 1682 (v. 322r) it was resolved to put up new seats in the Chapel for £20 or £30 Scots. The present pews are evidently modern.

It will have been made sufficiently clear by what has been said above (p. 27 f.) that this internal alteration was the work of the early part of the 17th century about 1614-15. The original pavement of the Chapel, see *infra*, p. 31 f., was then covered with flooring at different levels, though how far the details of the present arrangement go back to that period is uncertain. Whether or not the walls were at the same time plastered is as we have seen (p. 31) uncertain. As regards the roof, the construction of which has been explained (p. 16 f.), there is no certainty about the absolute dates of the arrangements noted as 1, 2, and 3. There are, however, entries of about the middle of the 17th century that are evidence of rather extensive roofing operations, and supply chronological indications of some value.

It will be remembered that the old tie beams of roof no. 1 were once connected with principals of the same section with which they formed trusses about 4 ft. 6 in. apart. The

version, on the north wall at the top of the steps leading up to the platform, under panels 72 to 74. In the spandrels of the arcading are carved ornaments representing alternately open lilies and circular whorls. The work here varies in different parts. Along the uppermost arcade on the northern wall the spandril ornaments are bold and exhibit character, whereas elsewhere, as in general along the lower arcade, it is poor and scratchy, and the lily which above is modelled and shows some elegance is represented below merely in outline by a few grooves. The pilasters are of four different kinds. (1) is a flat pilaster about 3 in. wide with four flutes grooved on its face surmounted by a moulded cap. This is found in the upper row from panel 1 to beyond panel 22, and is accompanied by the well-wrought spandril ornaments just mentioned. (2) is a pilaster about $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide with three projecting reeds each mounted on a flat strip. It occurs from 35 to beyond 44, and again from beyond 23 to 34. (3) Here there are only two projecting reeds on pilasters $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, and this form occurs flanking all the other panels save panels 91 and 92, and panels 67 to 70 where (4) there are pilasters $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide with only one projecting reed. The capitals above (2) (3) and (4) are all of the same pattern and are different from the capitals above (1). There are various joins in the arcading, but it is not possible to work out a chronology of it. The pilasters and ornaments of the first kind, (1), seem however earlier than the rest. All four kinds can be seen on the left hand of Fig. 4. Two plain metal sockets for sconces or holders of some kind for lights are affixed to the spandrels of the uppermost arcade at the eastern end, one on each side of the presidential chair.

The inscribed panels within the arcading contain in letters of gold records of benefactions in the form of gifts and legacies, as a rule to the 'Chapell,' or 'the Magdalen Chapell,' to the 'Hammermen as Patrons of this Chappell,' to 'this house,' to the 'Beidmen,' or to the 'poor of this house.' In

each case a date of the gift or of the death of the testator is added in the lowest line. There are among them a few inscriptions of special interest. The dates on the panels run from 1555 to 1813, a space of time of over two and a half centuries, but the style of the inscriptions and the character of the lettering and signs used are on the whole so uniform that it is probable that for the most part they were written at about the same period. This deprives the earlier inscriptions of any claim to be in the strict sense original records, though they may be more or less accurate copies of earlier inscriptions. A comparison of the dates now legible makes it possible to arrange the panels, at any rate of the two upper rows, in an approximately chronological order. The charts on p. 43, Figs. 17 and 18, show the chronological arrangement of the panels, from 1 to 98, while the rectangular tablets are marked A to E. The series seems to start with the uppermost panel at the western end on the northern wall and to be continued on the same line eastwards to the southern end on the eastern wall. This uppermost row, as is shown in the chart, includes panels nos. 1 to 34. No. 35 comes at the western end of the arcading on the northern wall and this second row ends by the window on the south-east with no. 66. In the lowest row the dates are distributed more irregularly, but in the present scheme of numbering the same order has been observed and the lowest row begins with 67 on the north-west ending finally with 98.

It is time now to take note of a feature in these inscribed panels which it is necessary to understand. Most of the panels with the older dates and some with the later ones are palimpsests, that is to say the inscription which now appears has been written over an older one obliterated for the purpose with a coat of black paint. In the uppermost row, where there are four inscriptions with dates in the 16th century and 27 with dates in the 17th, no fewer than 23 panels are certainly palimpsests and of the 11 others several are doubtful.

In the second row, on the northern wall where the earlier dates occur, out of 17 panels in all 9 are certainly palimpsest and one is doubtful. In the lowest row only a few of the inscriptions seem to have been thus written over others. It may be noted that in this row on the eastern wall all the 15 panels but one, no. 97, and panels 82 and 83 on the northern wall are at present blank, though on 91, 92 and 93, and perhaps on two more, 83 and 85, obliterated inscriptions can be detected.

What is now the explanation of this phenomenon? Conceivably the obliterated inscriptions are different from and older than the present ones, so that the record of earlier benefactions would have been destroyed in the interests of newer ones. This, one would think, would only have been done if the whole number of available panels had been already filled, but this, we have just seen, was not the case for many are still unappropriated. Furthermore, on this hypothesis it would be the later inscriptions rather than the earlier ones that had been forced to intrude on domain already occupied, whereas as a fact it is the earlier inscriptions that are palimpsests. The alternative hypothesis, that the present inscriptions are merely the older ones re-written, has more to commend it from the point of view of general likelihood, and it is fortunate that definite evidence can be adduced to establish it. As a rule the under inscription, though its existence is manifest, cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. Fortunately however in some cases, owing to the thickness of the gold size or similar substance laid on as a ground for the gilding, it is possible to read the letters of the earlier inscription under the superimposed one. Thus, on panel no. 28 appears the inscription given below on the left, but there is plainly legible beneath it, written all in capital letters, the inscription given below on the right:—

THOMAS
INGLIS
Peutherer left to
the *BEIDMEN* of
Magdalen Chapell
100 merks
in Anno 1657

ANDREW
HALYBURTON
BLACKSMITH · LEFT
TO · THE · BEIDMEN
OF THE · MAGDALEN
CHAPELL · 20 · POU
NDS · IN · ANNO · 1658

Now on the next panel, no. 29, this same Halyburton inscription, not in capitals, but in the normal mixture of capitals and minuscules common to the inscriptions as a whole, has been written as a palimpsest over an obliterated inscription of 1659 recording a gift by John Hairvie. Next, panel 30 in its present inscription reproduces the Hairvie information but is written over one mentioning John Goudie, and this same John Goudie is the declared tenant of the next panel no. 31. Similarly at the other end of this short series the name of the Thomas Inglis of panel 28 is legible on panel 27 under an inscription relating to Mr. Jas. Wiseman. In another place also, a bequest by a 'tobacconest' in Edinburgh is still legible under the existing inscription on panel 77, while the self-same tobacconist inscription appears in the visible gold lettering of the adjacent panel 76.

It is clear therefore that the inscriptions, or at any rate most of the older ones, have been renewed, and the following seems to have been the procedure. Suppose there were a series of panels A, B, C, D, E, that needed renewal. The first of the series, A, would be copied on a blank panel or at any rate carefully recorded for subsequent reproduction and then obliterated by a coat of black paint. The neighbouring inscription in panel B would then be copied on A, and B in its turn obliterated. C would then be copied on B, D on C, and so on. Some shifting seems to have taken place, for in two cases an inscription mentions a donor as the son or nephew of 'the above' (mentioning a name—say 'A. B.'). While in one of these cases 'A. B.'s name occurs in a contiguous panel, in the other it is found some distance away, so that one

or other of the inscriptions must have been shifted from its original place.

The following will be sufficient as a report on the content and style of the inscriptions, the vast majority of which are of a uniform type. The calling of the donor or testator is commonly that of a representative of one of the trades embraced in or affiliated to the Hammermen's Incorporation, the shields of eight of which are painted on the semicircular panelling at the eastern end of the Chapel. 'Armourer' or 'Armorer' describes the benefactor in panels 19, 32, 35, 45; 'Sadler,' or more commonly 'Saidler,' that of panels 69, 11, 21, 39 (in 11 it is 'Patrick Smith saidler to y^e Prince' and the date here is 1620); 'Coppersmith' that of 49, 64, 97, 'Whyt iron-smith' that of 52. 'Blacksmith' is the calling in 28, 29, 71; 'Locksmith' in 31 and tablet C; 'Cutler' in 16, 18. 'Peutherers' are mentioned in 17, 28, 33 and tablet D; a 'Lorimer' in 14; a 'Belt maker' in 34. The entries with the names of Pewterers have been found of practical value for the history of their craft. On Scottish pewter the name of the maker often occurs but without note of date. The names on the panels being accompanied by dates have fixed the chronology of signed but undated pieces. A 'deacon of the Goldsmiths' is the donor in tablet A, a 'Watchmaker' in tablet B, 'Clockmakers' occur in 63 and 77, 'Cordiners' in 46, a 'Tobacconest' in 76, a 'Cooper' in 5, a 'Messinger' in 9, a 'heraud Painter and one of his Majestys heraulds' in 54.

Women are recorded as donors or testatrices, thus 'Alisone Wilson Relick of Alex^r Lindsay Merch^t in Edin^r left to this house 300 m^{ks} in Anno 1611'; Mausie Weir gave the Beidmen 500 marks in 1617. Panels 63 and 69 contain the following:—

MARGARET
SINCLAIR
Spous to Will^m Souter
Clock maker in EDIN^R
left to y^e poor of this
house 100 m^{ks}. died
March 31st 1712

JON MORISON
Sadler
& Agnes Spalden his
Spous left to y^e poor of
this House.
38 . lib. Scots
Died April 14 . 1728

panels 71 and 35 respectively:—

The CHILDREN
of the deceist
Nicol Gibson black :smith
out of love to his Memory
gave to y^e poor
of this Chapell
100 . lib Feb^{ry} 9th. 1716

DAV^d MURE
Armorer sum tym Deakon
to y^e hammermen of ED^r
& Marg^t Dougall his spous
left to y^e poor of
this house 100 Pund
in Anno 1674

Personages of some note are mentioned in 46 and 43:—

Will^m
WATSON
Deaken of y^e Cordiners & one
of y^e Comissioners for Edin^r to
y^e 1st Sessioun of Parliment of
King JAMES 7th
gave to y^e poor of y^e house
100 m^{ks} in Anno 1686

ALEX^R WEIR
fum tyme Cap^t of
y^e trades youths of
Ed^r left to y^e poor of
y^e Chapellane 150 m^{ks}
he deceist
7th June 1685 aged 33.

Also in 27 and 22:—

M^r
JAS WISEMAN
one of y^e Regents of
y^e College of Edin^r left to
the BEIDMEN of
Magdalen Chapell
50 pounds
in Anno 1656.

M^r
WILL^M FORRE(S^t)
left to y^e BEIDMEN
ane Portugill DUCAT
in anno 1645

The latter, 22, records a curious gift, and in the corner below the date is a representation of a gold coin $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. In 1695 VMPHRA MILN left to the poor of the Chapel 100 marks and '12 buckits' (53). These buckets were for use at the well, see *supra*, p. 27, gifts of them are more than once mentioned in the accounts, e.g. iv, 138 r, 'ane bucket for the well.' William Armstrong in 1813 gave 'an elegant brass chandelier' (81), to which hangs a story. The chandelier in question was an essay piece offered on October 30, 1813, by Robert Armstrong, and guaranteed as 'begun made and finished in the shop of his father' (Records, vol. xi). At the same meeting 'Deacon Armstrong acquainted the

Incorporation that it was his intention to present the Incorporation with the chandelier made by his son as his essay—which having been accepted of by the Incorporation was ordered to be hung up in the chapel, and the donation recorded on the wall along with the names of the other Benefactors of the Chapel.' The record is in this panel 81. The most important gifts from one point of view are those recorded in panels 10 and 13.

JOHN GILMOR
Writer to y^e Signet
gave & bestowed
100 Esler Stones
to help y^e building
of this Chapell
in anno 1618

JOHN SPENS
Burgess of ED^r bestowed
100 lods of Wesland lime
for Building the
STIPEL
of this Chapell
in Anno 1621

and in the long rectangular tablet A :—

JAMES KER Esq^r MEMBER of PARLIMENT
DEACON of the GOLDSMITHS and
CONVENER of the TRADES of EDINBURGH
Gave to the MAGDALEN CHAPEL £20 ster^s
for Ornamenting the same 26 JAN^{RY} 1756¹

¹ The letter which accompanied Mr. Ker's donation may be found worthy of perusal. It is in vol. ix of the MS. Records, under date 7th Feb. 1756. It is addressed to the Deacon Convener.

SIR

Having had the honour of being several times member of the conveyery, it has led me to observe with regret the poor aspect the Magdalen Chapple makes from the street, have therefore inclosed you my mite to be lent out by your incorporation until such time as some proper fund may be raised for beautifying that ancient building which is used for the place of the stated meetings of the representative body of the trades of this city. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I know some other tradesmen who have the honour of the incorporations at heart, will join in assisting to forward this scheme which persuades myself may be done with advantage to your Incorporation whenever it shall be thought proper to execute this undertaking which I have taken the liberty in some degree to give a sort of beginning to.

I beg with the inclosed you'll present my most respectful compliments to the Incorporation and heartily wishes them and you all success.

I am, Sir, your most ob^d h^{ble} Ser^t.

JAMES KER

Edin^r 26 Jan^{RY} 1756.

Lastly tablet no. 1, dated with the earliest date of any in the inscriptions, 1555, but a palimpsest, runs as follows :—

ISOBELL
MACQUHANE
Spouse of Gilb^t Lauder
Mer^t Burgess of Edin^r
bigged y^e Crofe Houfe
& Mortified 50£ yearly
on y^e Cousland linie (1)¹
Anno 1555

2. The Tombstone of Janet Rynd.

The photograph, Fig. 19, taken by Dr. Chrystal under difficult conditions, shows the inscribed stone slab that occupies in a horizontal position the south-east corner of the Chapel. It purports to be the cover of the grave of Janet Rynd joint foundress with her husband of the Chapel, the Inscription beginning with the words 'Here lies.' A little investigation shows that the stone is *in situ* and still covers what was once the tomb of the lady in question. The position, to the south of the altar, is a very natural one, and the idea that it must have been moved from some other position in the Chapel is only due to the morbid scepticism of some antiquaries who think that every ancient monument must have been shifted, every old edifice rebuilt, and all the Old Masters' pictures repainted. As the stone now lies, the two margins of it that are against the walls are covered by the hot water pipes which were put in some years ago and under which there were strips of planking which on the southern side even covered parts of the letters of the inscription. For the purposes of the photograph the planking along the southern side was removed, and in the print made from the negative, reproduced in Fig. 19, the hot water pipes are painted out, and the margins of the stone shown as they actually exist

¹ No other reading but 'linie' seems possible, but the meaning of the word is unknown to the writers.



accessible to the touch if not to the sight. On the southern side however, the edge of the slab is let into the wall, or, rather, covered by the plaster of the wall, for the space of nearly an inch, but its exact extension in this direction can now be determined, as is also the case with its eastward extension, so it has been possible to obtain its exact measurements, which are, in length 5 ft. 8½ in. and in width 3 ft. 1½ in. It will be seen that the margins of the stone outside the inscription on the two sides turned towards the Chapel, on the left and beneath as the photograph is reproduced in Fig. 19, are very narrow, while on the sides next the walls they are comparatively wide. To the east the margin between the upper, *i.e.*, eastern edge of the line of lettering and the edge of the stone, which here can be distinctly felt, is 7 in. while on the southern side the corresponding width of margin up to the wall is 5 in. but about an inch here is under the plaster. On the east the margin of the stone is free of the wooden panelling which covers the lower part of the wall. By this arrangement the inscription is kept a few inches away from the walls and brought conveniently into view, and this is in itself enough to show that the slab was worked for its present position.¹ A possible theory that the two inner margins have been cut down is precluded by the fact that on these two sides the edge of the stone is carefully moulded.

In the present condition of the stone these mouldings cannot be seen, for the slab lies flush with the floor of the raised eastern section of the Chapel, and is protected from injury, though not from the accumulation of dirt, by a wooden cover hinged to let down over it. Those who penetrate beneath this raised flooring, an excursion not to be recommended

¹ It is of course physically possible that the stone was made to fit not this, the south-eastern corner, but a position diagonally opposite in the north-western angle. It is however inconceivable that the tomb of the foundress was made for the latter situation. The east is of course the place of honour.



(Fig. 19) THE TOMBSTONE OF JANET RYND

save to enthusiasts for antiquity, can see, or feel, a good deal that is of interest and significance but that is hidden from the eye directed only to the exposed upper surface of the tombstone.

As the result of these investigations runs counter to an authoritative statement printed some years ago in the Antiquaries' *Proceedings* the matter deserves some attention.

Questions have been raised not only as to the pristine position of the tomb but also in regard to its original form. Was it a so-called table-tomb or altar-tomb, in which the inscribed or figured tombstone forms the cover of a sarcophagus that contains the body and is raised above the ground so that the sides and ends of it are exposed to view; or was the tombstone a slab let into the pavement of the Chapel and flush with it, the body being interred in the ground below? Sir Daniel Wilson,¹ who rightly believed the monument to be *in situ*, describes it as an 'altar-tomb,' though 'table-tomb' would be a better designation, for Janet Rynd did not die in any special odour of sanctity, and her body would not convey the necessary sacredness without which the structure could not be used as an altar. He suggests that there might be sculpture on the sides of the tomb but evidently had made no personal investigations. Now in a paper published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for 1893-94, p. 9, in which Mr. J. M. Gray, F.S.A. Scot., supplemented some valuable communications he had previously made to the Society² on examples of old heraldic and other glass in Scotland, this accomplished antiquary records certain very laudable operations undertaken by some of the Fellows of the Society with a view to the repair and protection of the priceless mediaeval fittings of the Chapel. In concluding the

¹ *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, Edin., 1891, ii, p. 252.

² *Proceedings*, 1891-92, p. 34. This communication was itself supplementary to an elaborate paper by Mr. George Seton in the *Proceedings* for 1886-87, p. 266, on the heraldic glass and the inscribed tombstone in the Magdalen Chapel. To this paper reference will subsequently be made.

paper he says about the Janet Rynd monument 'the opportunity was taken of ascertaining definitely whether it is merely a slab-tomb, or, as Sir Daniel Wilson, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh*, has surmised, "an altar tomb, the sides of which may also be decorated with sculpture, though so long hidden." On our temporarily removing a portion of the woodwork of the platforms, it was found to be simply a slab-tomb, which had been raised to the level of the platform, when that was erected, in order that it might remain visible.'

The late Mr. Gray's reputation as a careful investigator stands deservedly high but does not depend on any special knowledge he possessed of constructive work, and it is not easy to see how he committed himself to this definite statement about the form of the tomb, when all the evidence available points in the other direction. If any one of the party of antiquaries concerned in the investigation actually made his way under the platform he must have read what he saw there in curious fashion, for practically the whole tomb, in table form, exists beneath the boarding of the platform, though the parts have been a good deal dislocated. In the first place the inscribed tombstone is more than 6 in. thick, and, while it is cut down straight on the eastern and southern sides where it comes against the wall of the Chapel, on the other two sides, where the edges of the slab were exposed to view, these edges are carefully moulded to a profile shown in Fig. 20, A. This moulding is of course original for it never would have been added after the edges of the slab were entirely hidden by the platform, and precludes the idea that the slab was originally sunk in the pavement of the Chapel. Tombstones sunk so as to be level with the ground, either in a churchyard or in the pavement of a cloister walk or an ecclesiastical building, have naturally plain edges and are seldom so thick as six inches. Furthermore, the stone is at present supported along its northern and western margins by two slabs corresponding with the length of these margins,

the one measuring 5 ft. 7½ in. in length by a height of 1 ft. 8 in. and a thickness of c. 7 in., the other 2 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. by c. 7 in. They are dressed smooth on the external faces but there is no decorative carving upon them. Now if the sole object in view had been to raise the tombstone to the required level this would have been done in the readiest and most economical fashion consistent with efficiency, and it is inconceivable that large slabs should have been quarried and brought in for a purpose which would have been served by the roughest of rubble masonry the materials for which could easily have been procured. When to the fact of the correspondence of the size of the upright slabs with the dimensions of the tombstone is added the fact that at the external angle to the north-west where the upright stones met there is in each the remains of an iron clamp that bound them together, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that we have in them the sides of the original table-tomb in which Janet Rynd was laid with the handsome moulded sepulchral slab superimposed above them. It must be added moreover that the three stones, the inscribed slab and the two supporting ones, are pronounced by experts to be of the same material, a mica-schist from Hailes.

The upright slabs are not in their exact original location, and their present positions and the relation to them of the tombstone are shown in the plan and elevations given in Fig. 20. For the sake of convenience the plan is oriented with the south at the top as it is in this direction that the spectator views the actual stone. The legends will explain the drawings, but certain peculiarities in the existing pieces as assembled must have a word of elucidation. It must be understood that there is no plastering below the level of the platform, only the rough face of the rubble walling, while the original paving, in slabs about 3 in. thick, has been taken up in the vicinity of the tomb though there are substantial remains of it further to the west. Exceptionally one pavement slab remains

given *supra*, p. 23 applies here. Above the shield is a puzzling device that may be read as a monogram of M for Macquhen and JR for his wife; below it a cross and an anchor.

The memorial inscription runs round the four sides of the slab beginning at the north-east corner, the left hand side of the uppermost line in the photograph, and ending at the top of the northern side. The letters are in an elegant and somewhat fanciful decorated Gothic style and save in one or two places are well preserved and clearly to be read. The inscription, which seems never to have been accurately transcribed, runs as follows:—

Heir · lyis · ane · hon . . . bil ·
 Wo . . n janet · rynd · ye · spous · of · umquhil · micel · makquhen ·
 burges · of · ed · founder · of · yis ·
 place · and · deceffit · ye · iiij · day · of · decēber · a^o · dñi · m^o · v^o · liii^o ·

The last word of the first line and the first of the second have apparently always been read 'honorabil woman' and though the stone here is more damaged than in any other part enough is left to justify the reading. 'Janet Rynd' though the first letters are damaged is clear, and it will be noticed that the 'r' throughout the inscription is of a curious form with an oblique stem resembling a roman z. The words that follow are all quite clear till we come to the last side, where 'decessit' is written with the long form of 's' that also begins the word 'spous.' 'Ye iiij day of' is quite legible, but from here to the end the words and symbols expressing the date of Janet's death have been read in all sorts of different ways or given up as unintelligible. Thus Sir Daniel Wilson,¹ who remarks in a note 'the date on the tomb is difficult to decipher, being much worn,' reads 'Decemr · A^o · dn^o · m^o · d^o . . . ' and Mr. George Seton² gives the passage as 'Decem · An · Dni · M · Ve ' In Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*³

¹ *Memorials*, ii, 251.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1886-87, p. 273.

³ London, Cassell and Co., n.d., ii, 262.

the reading is 'Decemr., Ao dno Mc · d · vii.' There is really only one point of difficulty here, and the inscription itself supplies in another part the means for removing it. In the word that stands for 'December' the letters are 'd' 'e' 'c' 'e' 'b' 'e' with a small 'r' at the top of the line, but over the 'c' and the 'e' is a horizontal trait that stands for 'm.' 'A^o' is clear, and the next combination of letters is probably 'dni' with a line above for the 'm', etc. Then follows the actual date of which the initial 'm^o' and the final 'liii^o' need never have been for a moment mistaken. In the middle however comes a sign that has the superficial appearance of an 'r' followed by a 'v' and betokening 'rv,' so that the date

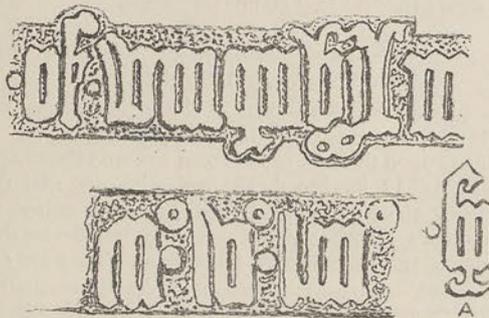


FIG. 21.—Lettering on Janet Rynd's Tombstone.

would read one thousand four hundred and fifty three. This is a hundred years too early, and a mistake on the part of the carver has been suggested as an explanation. A comparison with the initial 'u' in 'umquhil' however makes everything clear. This word is one of the best preserved in the inscription and the initial letter is curiously formed with an extra stroke at the beginning, so as to make it appear a 'w.' The 'v' of the date is similarly treated, and so the proper date 1553 is

satisfactorily established. To make clear this point, which has presented much difficulty, a tracing from an enlarged photograph of the date and of the word 'umquhil' has been added here, Fig. 21. The fact that in the curiously formed initial letter of 'umquhil' the extra stroke on the left is joined below to the rest of the letter whereas in the date it is separate, is not a stumbling-block because the inscription shows elsewhere the same want of strict consistency in details. For instance, in the word 'spous,' the 's,' a long one, is actually joined below to the 'p' though it ought to be quite separate. See Fig. 21, A. In the date, as will be seen, a small 'o' at the top of the line is placed in each case above the numeral sign, as it is above the 'A' that stands for 'anno.'

3. The Painted Armorial Shields on the semi-circular screen of wainscot round the platform.

The position of this screen is shown in the photograph Fig. 16 and has been explained, *supra*, p. 41.

Painted upon the face of it turned towards the Chapel are eight shields, 12 in. broad, charged with armorial devices representing the eight chief trades that were united in the Hammermen's Incorporation,¹ and a central device showing the badge of the Hammermen themselves. They are exceed-

¹ In the Records of the 17th and 18th century, as a rule a yearly entry gives the names of the masters of eight trades, Blacksmiths, Cutlers, Saddlers, Locksmiths, Lorimers, Armourers, Pewterers, and Shearsmiths. Maitland in his *History of Edinburgh*, published in 1753, p. 300, states that these trades form the Corporation, but that to some of them 'other Trades are united, viz. to the Locksmiths, the Watchmakers, Gunsmiths, Hookmakers, and Pinmakers; to the Lorimers, the Beltmakers, Founders, Braziers, and Coppermiths; and to the Pewterers, the White-iron Smiths or Timmen: Whereby it appears, that the Companies of Arts belonging to this Incorporation (the Hammermen) are no less than seventeen in number.' The question of the exact grouping of the Trades at different times is of course a difficult one and cannot be entered on here. It is an instructive comment on Maitland's statement, which ought to be trusted for c. 1753, to find that by a resolution of the Hammermen of Feb. 3, 1757 the Beltmakers are conjoined not with the Lorimers but with the Sadlers. There is no question however about the position of the eight Trades above mentioned as the normal constituents of the Hammermen's Incorporation.



ONE OF THE PAINTED SHIELDS ON THE SEMICIRCULAR SCREEN

(Fig. 22)

ingly difficult to photograph, but Mr. McConnachie of Mr. Baird's, Lothian Street, ultimately succeeded in securing the negative from which Fig. 22 is reproduced. The other shields correspond in form and arrangement, though of course their charges are different, and these are indicated in the following description.

The decorative scheme is carefully worked out. A chain of iron with links about 4 in. long is figured as if festooned along the upper margin of the wainscot screen. It starts at each end from an old fashioned massive padlock shaped like the quadrant of a circle and is represented as caught up at intervals of 2 ft. 7 in. by being passed through rings fastened to staples driven into the wood, the shields hanging from rings in each intermediate bight. As the photograph shows, the painting of the links of the chain is careful and good, the shadow of each on the ground being punctiliously indicated. The shields are of fanciful design bordered with conventional leafage scrolls, and on them, generally combined with a chevron, are the insignia of the various trades concerned.

Mr. Rae Macdonald has had the goodness to describe the heraldic insignia as they appear now upon the screen. Some slight corrections have to be made owing to the fact that the woodwork has been heavily varnished, with the result that the yellow lacquer has turned the blue to green and the silver to gold. Hence the Azure and Argent of the shields when freshly painted now appear Vert and Or. Starting from the north-west corner of the screen, we find first the insignia of the PEWTERERS, or, as spelled in the inscriptions of the Chapel, 'Peutherers.'

On an ornamental shield Azure (now Vert) on a Chevron Argent (now Or) between three Portcullises Or as many Thistles slipped and leaved proper.

Next come the LORIMERS

(On a similar shield) Azure a Chevron between three Horsebits Argent.

The SADDLERS (see Fig. 22)

Azure a chevron between three Saddles, with stirrups, Or.

The BLACKSMITHS

Azure on a Chevron between three Hammers each ensigned with an open crown Or of the first as many horse shoes Sable.

This brings us to the middle of the screen just under the seat of the presiding Deacon on the platform, and here there is pendant in the bight of the chain an imperial crown, below which is suspended a hammer.

Next to the centre on the South,

The CUTLERS

On an ornamental shield Gules three pairs of daggers in saltire proper pomelled Or.

The LOCKSMITHS

(On a similar shield) Azure a Key erect Or.

The ARMOURERS

Argent on a Chevron Gules a gauntlet between two Swords pointing upwards.

On a chief a roundel Azure charged with a Saltire Or between two Helmets of the last.

Lastly the SHEAR-SMITHS

Gules a Pair of Shears erect Azure.

It is to be noted that the insignia on this part of the screen which is turned away from the windows can only be seen by artificial light.

These painted shields may be taken in connection with other painted and inscribed panels which are a feature of the internal decoration of the Chapel. As was noticed above, the early part of the 18th century seems to have been a time

for the fitting and adornment of the buildings which had been structurally transformed half a century before. The painted and inscribed panel was in vogue, and this applies to an earlier epoch, for in a Record of 1635 (vol. iv, 63 *r*) we read:— 'Item mair for tuintie daillis in Leith to lyne ye gabill of ye chaipell and muller ye same to ye effect y^t ye kingis airmes my^t be paintit yairupon—x^{lib}.' The reading of the word 'muller' is clear but the meaning obscure. In 1708 a purchase for £4 sterling (£48 Scots) was made of two boards, one with the Ten Commandments and the other with the Royal Oak, under which curious term we may perhaps discern a Tree of Jesse. So much store was set by these that more than £9 Scots were spent on curtains for them (vol. vi, 63 *r* and *v*, 80 *v*). There is no trace of these now, but a rather large and elaborate painted panel hangs now, in a very bad light, over the western door of the Chapel. It measures 4 ft. 2 in. in height by a width of 3 ft. 2 in., and is charged with the insignia of the City of Edinburgh. In a scroll at the top is *NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA* and then follows the Castle with its supporters. Below the arms is some elaborate but ungrammatical cartouche-work in connection with which are displayed a cherub with extended wings and the legend *INSIGNIA CIVITATIS EDINENSIS*, while at the bottom of all are a sword and mace crossed saltire fashion. Underneath these can be discerned with some difficulty the name 'Brownlee,' and the date '1720.' Now one of the arched inscribed panels, no. 67, records a gift in 1725 by Alex^r Brounlie then Boxmaster, and the same person no doubt gave this dated panel with the Edinburgh arms.

Inscribed panels with the names of benefactors, sometimes called in the entries 'mortifications,' are often mentioned about this time, and the names can still be read in the gold lettering of the panels in the wooden arcading. A special permission was given in 1710 for a wife's name to be added below that of her husband on the double panel marked E

(vi, 89 r), and it is interesting to note that in 1730, as a special favour on account of a large donation (324 v), directions were given for a second double panel to be put up on the other side of the chair to correspond with this double panel E. This does not appear however to have materialized.

In 1700 a panel records a gift by Walter Melville 'herald painter & one of his Majesty's heralds,' and his name occurs after that date more than once as writing up 'mortifications' in letters of gold (vi, 31 v, 57 r) and receiving for each panel £4 Scots. Now this same 'herald painter' in 1708 (71 r) and in 1709 (81 v) is paid in the one case 26^{lb} 18^s, in the other 20^{lb} for work done the nature of which is not specified, and as the ornamental parts of the heraldic shields point to a date early in the 18th century, it is perhaps not too venturesome to suggest that the shields were his work. It should at the same time be mentioned that a little later, in 1732, Alexander Boswall painter receives 'to accompt' 45^{lb} 12^s, but Melville's experience in heraldry makes him a far more likely author of the meritorious work.

A date early in the 18th century is from the point of view of style the most likely one for the next piece of work to be noticed, that is so closely connected with the wooden painted screen that the two would be very likely to be contemporary.

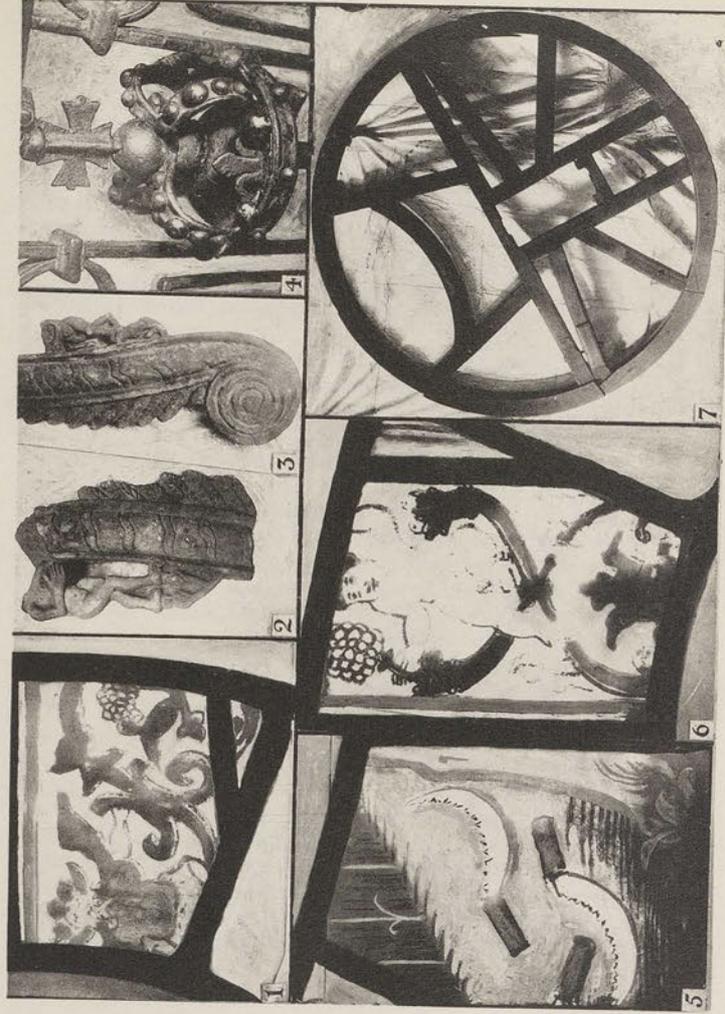
4. The semi-circular Railing of Iron Work.

In front of the wainscot screen there is a bench seat following its curve, and again in front of and concentric with this is a railing of wrought iron seen in the view Fig. 16, and shown on a suitable scale in Fig. 23. Round the railing is another bench seat fitted to its curve, a portion of which was removed to enable the photograph Fig. 23 to be taken. In the centre of the semicircle and under the President's seat on the platform we see wrought in iron the cognizance of the Hammermen of which there are so many examples in and about the Chapel, a crown surmounted by a cross with a hammer below.



(Fig. 23)

WROUGHT-IRON RAILING IN THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL



(Fig. 24)

DETAILS OF MAGDALEN CHAPEL FITTINGS

The crown is quite an interesting piece of smithing and a more detailed view of it is given Fig. 24 no. 4. It is $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. in extreme diameter and is partly welded partly fitted together mortice-and-tenon fashion and riveted. It has the form of an inverted cup with rim turned up all round, from which four arches rise to meet in the centre over a sort of central pillar. Above their point of junction is a ball surmounted by a cross, and the rim and the arches are set with balls of different sizes and diamonds. There are six fleurs-de-lis erect on the rim, one at the base of each arch and a pair back and front.

On each side of this centre piece there are seven panels filled in with scroll work each measuring 2 ft. 6 in. in height by a width of 1 ft. The uprights that divide the panels are about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. from side to side and $\frac{7}{8}$ in. from front to back, and are sunk into the pavement of the raised eastern portion of the Chapel just under the present boarded floor. For the scroll work of the fillings flat strips are used of a width of $\frac{7}{8}$ in. from front to back and a thickness varying from $\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{3}{16}$ in. at the end of the scrolls. Within each panel bounded by two uprights a strip on each side, about 1 in. from the upright, rises plain for the middle 14 in. of the height of the panel, but above and below, after right angled bends in the form of a step, it is worked round into scrolls turned from within outwards and bound with the corresponding scroll in the next panel to the main upright by a moulded collar. A similar collar unites to a central upright strip the two scrolls of a panel on their inner convolution. This central upright strip is interrupted below the middle of the panel by an open circle, 6 in. in diameter, into which its ends are mortised, while the round is similarly attached by short straps on each side to the upright strips that end on the scrolls just described. The spaces above and below between the open round and the upper and lower scrolls are filled in by smaller scrolls, one pair below and two pairs above that are welded on to the central upright.

The whole railing is heavily covered with dark paint and beneath this a thick coating of white paint is in places visible. It appears however that originally the colouring was sky blue, for this tint appears in many parts where the upper coatings of oil paint have been knocked away. A moulded strip of wood forms the top of the railing, overlying the horizontal strip of iron into which the tops of the uprights are mortised.

5. Stone and Plaster Panels on the western and eastern walls.

High up on the western wall above the door is an admirably executed inscribed and decorated panel of stone work. This is surrounded by a stone moulding, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and within the moulding the panel measures 2 ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in width by a height of 2 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. It contains at the top in bold relief a crown with on the dexter side the word ANNO and on the sinister the date 1624. Below the crown comes the usual hammer, with the words of an inscription in well-cut raised letters distributed at its sides and below it as follows:—

LORD	BLES .
THE	HAMMER
MEN . PA	TRONS OF
THIS HOSPITAL	

The position of the panel is shown in Fig. 3.

In a corresponding position on the eastern wall seen in Fig. 16 is an oval panel 4 ft. high by a width of 2 ft. 10 in. containing within a moulded rim a shield on which is a hammer in relief, 1 ft. 1 in. high, while above the shield is a crown. This is all executed in plaster. The shield and crown and moulded rim are gilt, while the hammer head is painted iron colour and the handle the colour of wood.

6. The Heraldic Windows.

The central of the three windows in the southern wall of

the Chapel contains in four roundels if not the only yet by far the most important pre-Reformation stained glass in Scotland. It has formed the subject of three papers in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, one by Mr. George Seton, F.S.A.Scot., entitled 'Notice of four Stained Glass Shields of Arms and a Monumental Slab in St. Magdalene's Chapel, Cowgate' and accompanied by representations of the glass in colour, published in the volume for 1886-87, p. 266 f. A second and third were from the pen of Mr. J. M. Gray, F.S.A.Scot., Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and appeared in the volumes for 1891-92 and 1893-94, at pages 34 and 9 respectively. In these three papers a notice is given of all the specimens of old stained glass known at the time to exist in Scotland, and to these must now be added certain fragments of pre-Reformation date discovered during the repairs at Holyrood Abbey Church a few years ago, and now mounted in a decorative scheme by Mr. Douglas Strachan in the east window of the long gallery in Holyrood Palace.

Of all the specimens here referred to the Magdalen Chapel glass stands easily first and Mr. Gray called it 'the only example of any importance of pre-Reformation stained glass in Scotland.' The date of the roundels, about the middle of the 16th century, is well attested, and the design of them, almost purely heraldic, has been fully elucidated, while from the technical standpoint the glass was carefully examined in 1893 by Mr. Graham Boss, at the time that he executed the work necessary for the continued preservation of the glass by re-leading it and by applying two protective sheets of clear glass between which it is now enclosed.¹ The glass is now in

¹ The wire grating on the exterior was at the same time renewed and rendered closer in the mesh to protect the glass against possible injury from missiles. This praiseworthy work was set on foot by a committee of members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who in collaboration with the Protestant Institute of Scotland, the present proprietors of the Chapel, superintended the operations and provided one half of the cost. See *Proceedings*, 1893-94, p. 12, and this article, *supra*, p. 53 f.

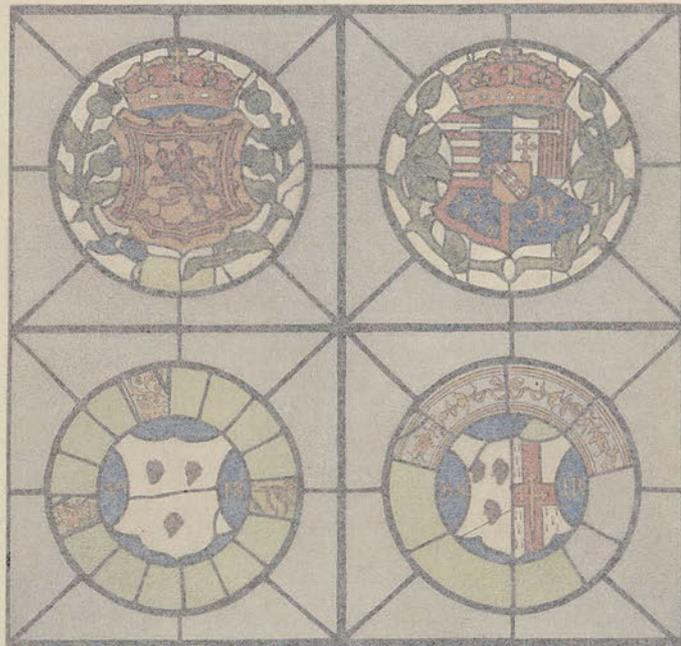
excellent condition, the only parts imperfect being the (non-heraldic) borders to the two lower roundels.

The coloured illustration, Fig. 25, reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries from the plate in Mr. George Seton's paper renders unnecessary any detailed general description. It must however be pointed out that when the glass was re-leaded in 1893, subsequent to the preparation of Mr. Seton's plate, the position of the two upper roundels was reversed, and the royal arms were placed in their heraldically correct position on the dexter side. Fig. 25 shows them in their present correct placing, but of their *original* position it is impossible to be certain. The diameter of the roundels is 2 ft. 2 in. That on the dexter side in the upper row contains a shield surmounted by a crown and encircled by a wreath of thistles slipped and flowered proper, charged with the Royal Arms of Scotland,—Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered Gules. The roundel on the sinister side exhibits the escutcheon of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise or of Lorraine,¹ surmounted by a crown and placed within a wreath of laurel. The blazon is described heraldically with great minuteness by Mr. George Seton in the article referred to above,² and the reader interested in the subject will find there full information.

Of the two lower roundels that on the dexter side exhibits, within a decorative border subsequently to be noticed, between the initial letters MM, IR., a shield charged with the arms of Michael Macquhen, Argent, three Savages' Heads erased proper, and that on the sinister side the arms of Janet Rynd impaled with those of her husband. Here between the same

¹ 'Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise and widow of the Duke of Longueville, was married to James v in 1538. She became a widow for the second time in 1542; was appointed Regent, in succession to Arran, in 1554 and died in 1560.'—*Proceedings*, 1886-87, p. 268, note. The date of the windows would be earlier of course than the date of the Regent's death in 1560.

² *Proceedings*, 1886-87, p. 269 f.



(FIG. 25)

THE HERALDIC STAINED GLASS IN THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL,
EDINBURGH

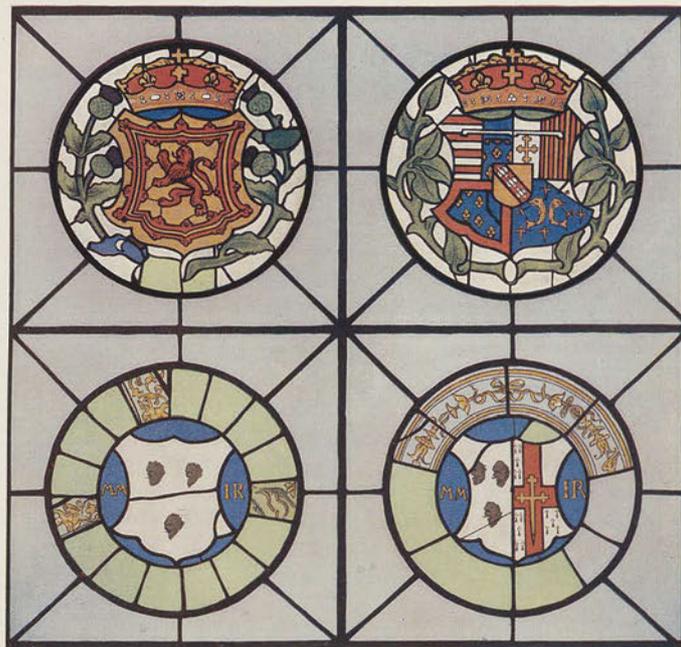
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¹ Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise and widow of the Duke of Longueville, was married to James V in 1538. She became a widow for the second time in 1542; was appointed Regent, in succession to Arran, in 1560 and died in 1560.—*Proceedings*, 1886-87, p. 288, note. The date of the windows would be earlier of course than the date of the Regent's death in 1560.

² *Proceedings*, 1886-87, p. 269 l.



(FIG. 25)

THE HERALDIC STAINED GLASS IN THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL,
EDINBURGH

initial letters, as before in gold on a blue field, is a shield charged like the shield in the exterior carving already noticed, *supra*, p. 23, with the exception that the two stars do not appear in the sinister chief quarter. The Rynd coat is ermine, on a cross Gules, a cross-crosslet fitché Or, the sinister chief quarter being Argent.

The borders of the two lower roundels must now be noticed. In each case what appears is a portion or portions of a strip or band of Renaissance ornament of a normal kind painted in silver stain and brown enamel on clear glass. The classic examples of work of the kind are the windows in the Laurentian Library at Florence ascribed, though on doubtful authority, to Giovanni da Udine, and here can be found exemplars for all that appears in the Magdalen Chapel borders. The border of the roundel with the two coats impaled, so far as it is preserved, shows only conventional ornament, though on the sinister side at the bottom there is a wing proving the presence here of a classical genius. This border appears to have been designed for the position it now occupies, though only a portion of it is preserved. This is not the case however with the fragments that are placed in the outer ring surrounding the roundel with the arms of Macquhen. These are of considerable interest, and for this reason they have been figured separately as nos. 1, 5, 6, in Fig. 24. It will be noted that the pieces never formed part of a circular band for they are rectangular in shape, and in order to give them the necessary wedge-form to fit them for the places they now occupy pieces were added at the side to widen them. No. 1 was once part of a horizontal strip or panel, nos. 5 and 6 of an upright strip, and their presence where they are shows that when the four roundels were mounted as we have them now there was other glass in the Chapel, or at any rate accessible, fragments of which could be used for the purpose of 'making up.' When this putting together was done cannot be said, but the glass has certainly been to some extent restored or altered, and the

wonder is not that the glass has been to some extent tinkered but that it has come down to us in such a remarkable state of preservation.

Of the three fragments themselves, no. 1, Fig. 24, is a simple bit of Renaissance ornament showing a terminal figure and conventional scrolls, similar in style to the border round the other lower roundel. No. 5 is a curious piece and seems to be a portion of a landscape scene, such as we find in the Laurentian Library windows and in other examples of painted glass of this style and period. Three sickles with toothed edges are seen lying on what is apparently a stubble field, of which an unreaped portion, with standing stems indicated, is visible above on the left. What looks like a tree-trunk with a tufted plant at its foot can be made out on the right, but the stem of the plant is made to look curiously like the neck and head of a swan. The painting is in silver stain and brown enamel over clear glass.

The third fragment, no. 6, on the dexter side of the roundel, exhibits above two cornucopias crossed and preserved only in the brown outline, a nude classical genius that as he holds in his right hand a bunch of grapes may be meant for an infant Bacchus. On this hangs a tale. All the older notices of the Chapel windows, and popular compilations such as Grant's *Edinburgh*, state that a figure of St. Bartholomew is to be seen in the painted glass. It needs hardly to be pointed out that there is no possible place for a Christian saint in a scheme that is partly heraldic and so secular, and partly in the pagan style of the Italian Renaissance. It is of course conceivable that there was at one time other glass in the window where religious objects may have had a place, but Sir Daniel Wilson writes as if he had seen the St. Bartholomew, and certainly nothing has been lost from the window since his time. It may be suggested that the St. Bartholomew legend can have arisen in the following way. This Saint is supposed to have gone so far in the simple life as to make

his appearance not only without his clothes but divested of his skin, and he appears flourishing his integument in the face of the Judge in Michelangelo's dreadful 'Last Judgement.' It is quite possible that this nude figure in the window, indistinctly discerned, recalled to the memory of some travelled person in the 18th century a picture of St. Bartholomew he had seen abroad and led to the curious confusion.

The following notes on the technique and artistic quality of the glass embody criticism and information derived partly from Mr. Douglas Strachan and partly from Mr. Graham Boss, who was able to examine the glass carefully when he had it unmounted in his studio prior to the process of re-leading. The colouring is very good, especially in regard to the ruby and to the blue, but the actual quality of the material is rather poor, the glass being smooth and thin—about $\frac{1}{8}$ in.—and lacking the juiciness of the rough uneven mediaeval glass with its varying thicknesses. Both pot-metal and flashed glass are used. The ruby, and all the blue save a piece introduced at the bottom of the thistle stem on the dexter side of the royal arms, are flashed, and the parts taken out, *e.g.*, for the golden crosslet on the red cross in Janet Rynd's arms, or for the fleurs-de-lis on the blue in the lower dexter portion of the Lorraine achievement, are removed by abrasion, the modern use of acid not being at the time in vogue. The fragment of blue at the base of the thistle Mr. Graham Boss considers to be much older glass. It is pot-metal, and has had the white crescent inlaid into it at the cost of considerable trouble. The green glass of the wreaths and the purple of the thistle flowers are pot-metal. The same is the case with the orange of the ground of the shield in the Scottish Arms, and that of the pales and the inescutcheon of the Lorraine blazon. In the case of the crowns, pot-metal is used for the arches, fleurs-de-lis and crosses, but in the bands of the crowns, where there are introduced white ornaments, the orange is silver-stain painted

over clear glass, the ornaments being left the colour of the white ground. Mr. Boss suggests that the blue under the Scottish crown and the green under that of Lorraine may be intended for the lining of the crowns.

7. Movable Furniture of the Chapel.

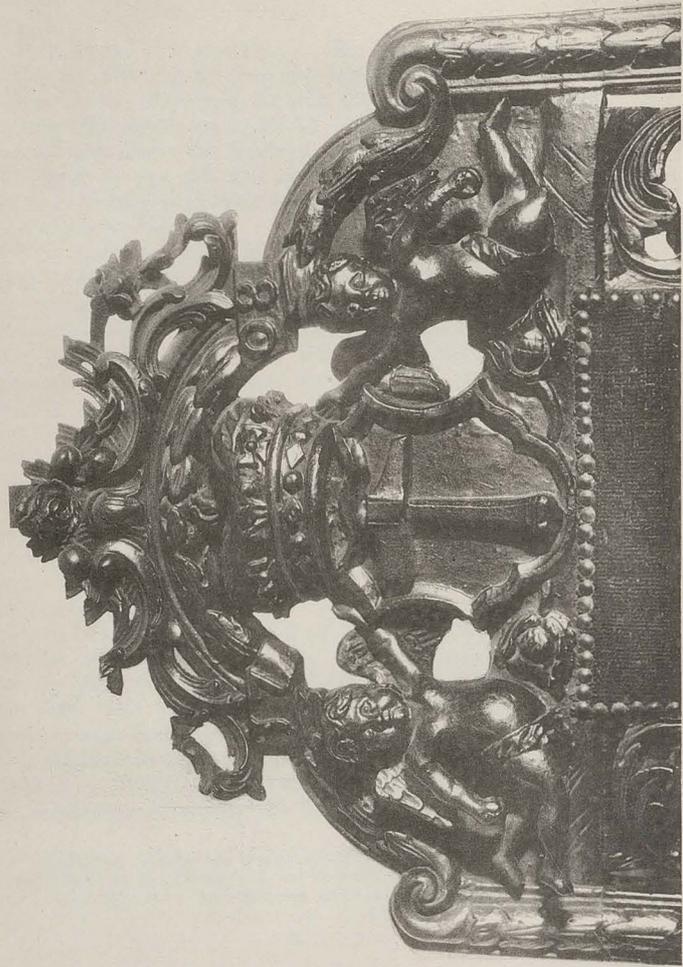
1. Three dilapidated chairs with arms, of a somewhat elegant 18th century design, may be seen on the platform of the Chapel, but the best piece of furniture that the building can have contained is now preserved elsewhere. This is

2. The official chair of the Deacon, the presiding officer, at the meetings of the Hammermen's Incorporation.

This handsome chair is figured in Figs. 26 and 27. The whole height of it from the ground to the top of the back is 6 ft. 6 in. The width of the seat is in front 2 ft. 4 in., at the back 2 ft. 1 in. and it is 1 ft. 9 in. in depth. The height of the seat is 2 ft. 1½ in., including the castors, which are probably not original. It is of carved wood, the material being oak, but its artistic value is a good deal impaired by the fact that the grain of the material is nowhere seen, for the surface has been coated with white gesso over which is a layer of dark brown paint finished with gilding. The historical importance of the piece is greatly enhanced by the fact that it has an assured history and carries upon it the date of its fabrication and the evidence of the purpose for which it was made, while as will presently be seen a contemporary record attests it as of Edinburgh origin. When in 1863 the Magdalen Chapel passed from the possession of the Hammermen to that of the Protestant Institute of Scotland, an appraisalment was made of certain movable effects in the Chapel and the Committee Room, and '1 antique Chair,' the piece in question, was valued at a couple of guineas and with other items shared the destination of the property generally. It was however repurchased in 1890 and has been carefully preserved, though



(FIG. 26) CHAIR OF THE DEACON OF THE HAMMERMEN'S INCORPORATION



(Fig. 27)

DETAIL OF UPPER PART OF THE HAMMERMEN'S CHAIR

in a somewhat frail condition.¹ Fig. 26 exhibits the chair as a whole, and Fig. 27 gives the detail of the upper part on a larger scale. Here is to be seen the inevitable crown and hammer, the latter on a shield. The supporters are two cherubs, and above the heads of these comes the date 1708, two figures on one side and two on the other of the crown. The upholstery is in dark green, and is evidently of some age though not original.

The style of the ornamentation is Louis Quatorze and agrees with the date, but this does not apply to the uppermost part above the wreath that surmounts the crown. The free rococo curves here are in the Louis Quinze style so well known from its use by Chippendale and Grinling Gibbons, and a glance at the back of the chair shows that this piece is a later addition, joined on to what was the original top of the chair. The two carved cherubs at one time held something in their hands.

On May 8, 1708, as we read (vi, 61 v) 'The House grants warrand to the Boxmaster to pay for the new chair made for the Deacon att as easy a rate as he can and to cause provide a Cower for keeping the samen from Stower which shall also be allowed him in his accompts.' It is unfortunate that in the accounts for the next two years there is no record of the price finally paid for the chair, but it is obvious that the mention of bargaining is strong, even conclusive, evidence that the piece was made in Edinburgh. Had it been ordered elsewhere, from England or the Continent, the price would certainly have been a matter of definite contract, and not left to be adjusted in this vague fashion. In the Discharge of the accounts for 1709 there is an entry (vi, 82 r) 'To Deacon Lein for mounting and stuffing the Deacons chair,' and this is an

¹ The chair has recently been handed over in very liberal fashion to the Royal Scottish Museum by Mr. Alfred Bryson, now Deacon of the Hammermen's Incorporation. It was published in the *Edinburgh Architectural Association's Sketch-Book*, 1887-94, Pl. 35.

additional proof that we have to do with a local product. There is a very human touch in a minute of Sept. 26, 1710 (vi, 86r) which betrays the natural pride felt by the Deacon when installed in his new seat of honour. There was some dispute in progress, and an offender is reported as 'publicly disobeying the Deacon in the very chair att the Magdallen Chappell.'

8. The Hammermen's Bible.

The Bible belonging to the Incorporation is still in the possession of its surviving representatives, and is in good preservation though disfigured by harshly wrought modern mountings and clasps. Fly leaves at the beginning and end contain the form of prayer already given, *supra*, p. 12 note, and the oath of admission to the Incorporation the terms of which include a promise to 'maintain the Hospital of the Magdalen Chappell in so far as Law will.' The Bible is that printed in Edinburgh by Andro Hart in 1610. The title page is wanting, but has been added in MS.

The fact that we are told that the Hammermen's Bible was chained to a standard in the Chapel gives it a claim to be regarded as a permanent fitting. It is unfortunately not possible to decide with any confidence how the present volume can have been attached to such a standard. There are marks of corner plates on all the four corners of each of the boards, and marks too where two centre plates of an oval shape were once riveted in the middle of the boards. None of these mounts seems suitable for the attachment in the normal fashion of a chain. In the case of chained books in general¹ the attachment was always at one point, the particular place of this on the book varying according to the arrangement of the volumes on the presses or shelves of the library. The chain was of iron and so was the attachment which took the form of a plate

¹ John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books*, Cambridge, 1901.
William Blades, *Books in Chains*, London, 1892.

bent over the edge of the board and strongly riveted through. It might be on the upper or lower edge or the fore-edge of the board, and nearer to the back or to the front, but it is never in the middle of the board, where the projection of the attachment and the chain would prevent the cover lying flat when the book was laid open. There is no one place on the present covers of the Bible where such an attachment plate can have been bent over and fastened, but it is of course quite possible that the chains were fixed to the volume by some other method.

So far as the entries in the Records are concerned the present book may be the one referred to, for the purchase was carried through in August 1610, and the Bible may have been published early in the same year. The entries are worth recording.

(ii. fol. 197 v) 'x July 1610

The qlk day the deakin and m^{rs} ordanis Thomas Duncan thair box-ma^{str} to by on y^r expenss the best bybill togidder with the best psalme buik of grit prent to be delyverit to the collector to read and exerceis the prayeris upone in the Magdalen Chapell and that the said collectors mak the samyn furthcumand to the deakin and m^{rs} to serve in all tyme cuming to the use of the chapell for divyne serveis to be maid yrin.'

(198 v) 'ottavo auth 1610

The qlk day ye bybill of great prent was p^{ntit} before ye deakin and haill m^{rs} on ye chapell buird and yaj ordanit ye boxm^r to by ye same and pay for it.'

(201 r) '21 Nov^r 1610

Item for ane bybill of grit prent to ye chapell—viiijth vi^s viij^d.'

(252 r) '6 febr. 1616

Item for ane covering to ye Bybill—xxiiij^s.'

'Item for ye turnert standart in the chapell that ye bybill lis on—xlviij^s.'

(252 v). 'Item to him for ye chainzis and uyer irne wark to fastin ye bybill to ye standart—xl^s.'

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHAPEL

The earliest date we have had before us occurs on the Tablet in the Committee Room where it is said that 'Mitchell Macquhane' 'founded' the Chapel in 1503. This date has been taken in printed notices of the Chapel¹ as that of the actual foundation, but it is far too early and cannot be reconciled with the known facts as they have been given in this paper. It is conceivable that a mistake was made by the painter and allowed to remain uncorrected, and it may be suggested that the proper reading should be 1530, which would give a reasonably probable date for the first inception of the scheme. This would work in with the other dates as follows:—

- c. 1530 First inception of the scheme by Michael Macquhen.
- c. 1540 The beginning of the work by Janet Rynd.
- 1544 Bedemen in the Chapel and Hammermen exercising patronage.
- 1547 The Charter of Confirmation.
- 1553 Death of Janet Rynd and approximate date of her tombstone.
Date of the central panel and of the figures above the doorway to the Cowgate.
- before 1560 The Heraldic Windows.
- 1610 Purchase of the Bible.
- 1613-15 Much work going on at the Chapel and its adjuncts. Probable date of the transformation of the Chapel for the purposes of the Hammermen's meetings.
- 1618 First inception of the project of a Tower.
- 1620 Resolution to build the Tower where it now stands.
- 1624 Date of stone panel over west door of Chapel.
- 1625 Mason work finished and spire and vane, etc., set in hand.
- 1632 Resolution to purchase a bell.
- 1634-5 The bell installed and paid for.
- 1649 Completion of the decorative stone carving on the door to the Cowgate.
- c. 1651 Payments connected with extensive operations on the roof of the Chapel.

¹ e.g. by Sir Daniel Wilson, *Memorials*, ii, 252.

- 1708 Date of the Deacon's Chair.
- c. 1710 Probable date of the painted shields on the semicircular wooden screen and also of the screen of wrought iron.
- 1756 Proposal to improve the external appearance of the Chapel.
- 1863 Sale of the Chapel to the Protestant Institute of Scotland.
- 1878 Dedication of the present buildings of the Livingstone Memorial Medical Mission (*supra*, p. 11).

POSTSCRIPT

The following entries in the last Volume of the Records possess at the present time actuality to such a startling degree that their quotation is excusable, although they have no direct bearing on the Chapel or its fittings.

On March 16, 1797,

'The meeting being constituted by prayer and the roll called . . . the Deacon informed that he had called the meeting in consequence of a recommendation from the Conventry of the trades relative to giving their assistance in completing the second Battalion of the Second Regiment of the Royal Edinburgh as soon as possible, which being considered, Resolved that the several members recommend their Journeymen and apprentices at least such of them as may be proper to enroll themselves as Volunteers in that Corps.'

A few days afterwards, on April 6, 1797, at a meeting specially summoned, it was resolved by a narrow majority to petition the Crown 'with a just confidence in your majestie's paternal regard to the prayers and complaints of your afflicted subjects, that, as the first, and most essential step towards peace, your present ministers to whose pernicious measures we ascribe all our calamities, may be dismissed from your councils and presence forway.'

On the second of December, 1803,

'The Deacon informed the Incorporation that he had called them together to intimate that it had been resolved to raise two Battalions of Spearmen in the city for the defence thereof in the event of the other troops being called out to oppose a foreign Enemy, the first Battalion of which was to be commanded by the Deacon Convener and officered

by the heads of the Incorporations. He therefore recommended to the members of the Incorporation to enrol themselves, which a great number who were not already engaged in the Volunteer Service accordingly did.'

Finally on May 14, 1814, in an outburst of somewhat premature jubilation at the conclusion of the long war, the Incorporation addresses the Prince Regent with congratulations on the overthrow of 'that race whose sole aim was the subversion of all liberty,' and after a comparison much to the credit of the first between Britons and ancient Romans, claiming that the former 'direct their energies not to the purposes of national aggrandisement but to the establishment of liberty and independence in the other states,' they conclude by engaging 'that as we have long been ready to yield our blood and treasure in defence of our Sovereign we will now return to our homes resolved under your Royal Highness to lead quiet and peaceable lives in the prosecution of our callings and the enjoyment of our families, but ready at the call of our Country to come forth again for the support of its honour and independence.'

THOMAS ROSS.
G. BALDWIN BROWN.

THE VISITATION OF THE COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH
IN 1690

IN the summer of the year 1690 a Commission was appointed to visit the Universities of Scotland and also to inquire regarding the schoolmasters who were teaching Latin throughout the country, in order that the youth might be instructed in strict accordance with the new settlement in church and state which followed the Revolution. It was desirable that all preceptors should be 'of a pious, loyal, and peaceable conversation, and of good and sufficient literature and abilities for their respective employments, and submitting to the government of the Church now established by law.' The Commission subdivided itself into a number of committees, one of which dealt with the College of Edinburgh and the schoolmasters in the south-eastern district.¹ The papers relating to the proceedings of this committee, preserved with the rest in the Register House, contain much curious and piquant information. In the existing state of political and religious controversy, the visitation was the signal for an immediate uprising of all who bore a grudge; and every purveyor of gossip had an opportunity to contribute his quota to the general fund of accusation. The deprivation of the Principal, Dr. Alexander Monro, and the Professor of Divinity, Dr. John Strachan, and the proceedings which led up to it, have been briefly recorded by Dalzel and Sir Alexander Grant. Monro himself published in 1691 an anonymous pamphlet, entitled 'Presbyterian Inquisition,' in which he recounted the story. But the cases of these two divines

¹ For the names see Dalzel's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, ii. 228.

turned mainly upon political and ecclesiastical questions; and the charges levelled against them, though interesting enough, may still be read in Monro's tract. The object of the present paper is to give an account of some of the accusations made against other members of the College, and the strange things which were reported to have been said and done. The visiting committee accepted all the charges which came to hand, without sufficient effort to find out if they could be substantiated by satisfactory testimony, had them numbered and written out, and finally launched them at the supposed offenders, who did the best they could with them—and sometimes even better than was quite judicious or wholly convincing.

It has been said that the committee was empowered to deal with schoolmasters as well as university teachers. The Minutes contain the names of a good many pedagogues, rural and urban, who were subjected to inspection; but no case is referred to at any length in the existing papers save that of Mr. George Burnet, schoolmaster in the Canongate. It was alleged against this instructor of youth that 'commonlie upon Saturdayes night he did play at cairds with those that did nothing all the time of ther playing bott mock at the present government, and that untill twelve of the clock at night.' He 'taught his son Alexander that when any speaks of King James to clap his hands for joy, bott when they speak of King William to boast [threaten] and frown and not to hear his name.' On one occasion, immediately after the battle of Killiecrankie, he happened to be in the shop of Walter Porterfeild, and one Cockburn asked what they thought of the news of Claverhouse's death. To which Mr. Burnet 'answered with regrait, God forbid,' and, when warned to be careful how he expressed displeasure at the death of an enemy to the government and the country, burst into a passion and called Cockburn 'rascal,' 'villain,' and the like; with the result that he was brought up before the Bailies and reprimanded. In

school he was so indiscreet as to 'discouradge' children of Presbyterian parentage by calling them 'phanaticks,' so that people had been compelled to remove their injured offspring and put them prematurely to trades.

'No persone,' said Mr. Burnet, 'can pretend that he is an usuall player at cairds, and if at any tyme he did play (yet never so untymously or on Saturdayes night) it is at the earnest desyre of his betters and only for recreation, and nowayes for gain; and as to any thing that is laid to the charge of persones with whom he wes playing, he first knowes nothing herof, and albeit it were true, yet these persones who wer alleadged to have mocked the government ought to have been cited.' And how could any reasonable man base a charge upon the conduct of young Alexander? 'The child cannot speake, and at the utmost it might be bot a conjecture, and that most uncertaine, which is founded upon any externall act and behaviour of a child, whose actiones can be nothing bot childish.' In any case 'Mr. George is innocent of teaching of him.' He never 'discouradged' youthful Presbyterians, but 'did actuallie most effectually suppress the very first beginnings and appearances of any divisione or distinction among the children of presbyterian or episcopal partie.'

The committee of visitation, in dealing with members of the College staff, was actuated chiefly by ecclesiastical and political considerations; and the inquiries into character and attainment had in some cases little bearing on the ultimate decision. Others, again, seem to have passed muster not because of their patent virtue, but because their views on matters of church and state were more adaptable. Dalzel remarks,¹ 'It is plain that the only true reasons for ejecting both Dr. Monro and Dr. Strachan were that they were Episcopal and nonjurors. And it would have been more for the credit of the visitors, if they had rested their procedure entirely on this ground, and had not brought into the account

¹ *History of the University of Edinburgh*, ii. 232.

articles of accusation against them without producing either accusers or proof.' For similar reasons there were also removed Mr. Alexander Douglas, Professor of Hebrew, Mr. John Drummond, regent of Humanity, and Mr. Thomas Burnet, regent of Philosophy. In Drummond's case, besides his refusal to take the required oaths, the legality of his admission as regent was contested. He replied that he had been duly examined according to statute, and that three Lords of Session, one advocate, one writer, and two members of Town Council were present. He was tried both in Latin and in Greek, and the Town Clerk had the warrants. As Mr. Drummond was evidently satisfied, it would be indelicate to discuss the question of sufficiency, which really had no influence upon his fate. Mr. Burnet had published theses at Aberdeen in 1686, dedicated to the Duke of Gordon, in which he described the Reformation as a 'villanous rebellione,' and maintained that the Scots king himself, without consent of Parliament, can make and abrogate laws and impose what taxes he pleases. His object was notoriously the abrogation of the penal laws against popery; and the Court was so well pleased with the performance that he obtained a pension from King James of £25 sterling. Moreover, by letters from the Earl of Melfort, which none durst then oppose, he was obtruded upon and made a master of the College of Edinburgh, against the inclinations of the magistrates as patrons and of the other masters. He gave ground for his sinister reputation by omitting in his lecture notes to refute the opinion of the popish philosophers, who maintain 'that acidents such as collour, taste, figure, etc., of bread may remaine without bread—an opinion invented to uphold transubstantiatione.'

It is well known that Mr. David Gregory, who became Professor of Mathematics in 1683, at the tender age of twenty-two, was a very distinguished person. He introduced Newton's *Principia* to the notice of Edinburgh students, and was the first to give public lectures on the Newtonian philo-

sophy. Very shortly after the present inquisition, and partly through the influence of Newton himself, he was promoted to the Savilian chair of Astronomy at Oxford. Of his distinction the visitors could hardly be expected to be aware, and there is no trace in the evidence of any appreciation of his merits as a mathematician. He was a young man whose character was open to attack, and his easy contempt for some of the work which fell to his lot was interpreted as inefficiency.

Mr. Gregory does not seem to have been rendered vulnerable or immune by any very ardent affection in ecclesiastical affairs. 'He spairs not to declair that he is not concerned in religione.' As they could not charge him with Episcopalian tendencies, his enemies were compelled to resort to the accusation of 'atheism.' 'Lett him instruct wher and from whome he ever took the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for he says he thanks God he never took it.' This reference to the Almighty was therefore, we may suppose, a mere manner of speaking. He was also 'a contemner of the Sabbath day.' It was his lamentable practice—which he was probably not the first to adopt and certainly not the last—to put in an appearance at service the first Sunday after the 'downsitting' of the College; and, this amiable-concession once made to religious respectability in the interests of the youth, 'to be seen no more that year in the colledge loaft.' He might, of course, be in attendance elsewhere: if so, let him instruct the name of the church! Besides, he was 'ane habitual swearer.' Experimenting on one occasion with the air-pump, he inserted an unfortunate pigeon to illustrate his point. When the bird 'begane to fent' as the air was exhausted, 'See ye not?' he cried, 'God! She is dieing.' Of this unedifying incident Thomas Dalzel, John Patersone, the bishop's son, John Kytte, and Thomas Boner, all students, might be cited as witnesses.

It is not surprising to learn from the accusation that Mr. Gregory was intemperate in other directions. 'Once

in his chamber, having some bottles of strong ale, he drunk himself and Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Cuninghame (who were with him) so full that they did not goe to their own chambers that night.' One feature of this unseemly orgy does not appear to have struck the informants. Messrs. Kennedy and Cuninghame seem always to have been aware of what they were doing and where they were—or were not—since they are invoked as witnesses of the fact, along with Mr. John Yeaman, late student, who, it may be hoped, was the merest spectator. Another unfortunate incident Mr. Gregory's accusers put on record. Some months before the visitation he went to visit a man named Yeaman—brother, apparently, of Mr. John—a prisoner in the Canongate Tolbooth. There he not only spoke very freely against the present government, but 'drank to a shameless excess.' A modern, unfamiliar with conduct of this sort, will prefer to reflect upon the pleasant break afforded in the dull round of a prisoner's life. Mr. Kennedy, one regrets to hear, was present, with Dr. Pitcairn to give an unfortunate Episcopalian flavour to the carousal; and though these two were 'partakers of his guilt,' and seem to have shared the elevation of the hour, the prosecution had no delicacy in appealing to them to confirm the fact. To these social gifts Mr. Gregory added, according to his enemies, an irresistible attraction for the other sex. On this topic it is sufficient to say that the College janitor was suggested as a suitable witness: Messrs. Kennedy and Cuninghame, too, were not ignorant: while Dr. Monro himself, the Principal, and his lady might be induced to speak.

Though relations between Mr. Gregory and Mr. Kennedy were normally amiable, and erred, if anything, in the direction of conviviality, there were times when Mr. Gregory displayed pugnacity to the verge of truculence. It is well known—so the accusers state—that 'combatting' is condemned both by God's law and the law of the nation; and yet Mr. Gregory, being offended at some expressions used by Mr. Kennedy,

appealed to the combat 'and swore many great oaths that if he would not goe to the park and fight him he would box him and cugill him lyk a cullione.' The silence of the prosecution regarding developments seems to be convincing proof that this very promising breach of law, human and divine, was never actually perpetrated.

Turning to the somewhat pedestrian subject of Mr. Gregory's strictly academical activities, his detractors conceived him to be 'superficial in his private teaching, for betwixt four and six in the afternoon he will prescribe and dispatch 40 or 50 students, tho most of them bee in different lessons; quhilk were not possible if he explained and examined as he ought to doe. His method is to demonstrat a propositione once and againe, and enquyres if the boys understand it; and they for shames saik must say yes, and then there is no more of it.' From which it appears that history repeats itself in the experience of mathematical students, and that there were elements of the business man in Mr. Gregory. The other charge under this head clearly did not emanate from the students—assuming the student nature to be a constant factor—but from some colleague who mistook his own timidity for a sense of duty. At Christmas the custom of the College permitted but one day of 'feriation'—or 'holiday,' as it is styled by a coarser age. Mr. Gregory, however, took upon himself to cease from public and private instruction for eight full days. Whatever degree of reliance was at first placed upon this accusation, we hear no more of it.

Appearing before the committee on August 29, Mr. Gregory denied the charges 'one after ane other,' and received a copy of them for more mature consideration. Whether it was owing to tumultuous wrath, wealth of defensive material, or some hesitation as to the precise line which it might be wise to take, the answers which he produced on September 2 were 'all scored and vitiat'; so he 'craved tyme to wreat them over clean.' The fair copy, unfortunately, does not appear

In Gregory MSS.
EVL.

to survive. When it came to proof, the witnesses so freely quoted did not respond to expectation, and some of them did not venture upon testimony. Thomas and Cornelius Kennedy, sons of Sir Thomas Kennedy, lately Provost, 'deponed negative' and 'knew nothing'; John Kyle could not recollect even the unhappy incident of the exhausted pigeon; the janitor and his servant professed an ignorance as complete as it was diplomatic. Gregory's answers were remitted to the consideration of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, who was a member of committee, and the College of Edinburgh did not succeed in depriving itself of so eminent a mathematician. If his conduct laid him open to attack, he had now received a warning; and though his religious views were not impeccable, they were at worst not those which the visitors were commissioned to eradicate. Mathematicians, too, are not as other men.

And what of Mr. Herbert Kennedy, regent in Philosophy, who has already flitted across the stage? We regret to hear that he was 'ane habituall frequenter of taverns,' often observed to be indisposed in the morning: a 'contemner of the Sabbath, lying in his bed when he should be att church, and is seen sumtymes drunck on the same day.' On one occasion 'about midnight he came to the colledge gates, and because the janitor's servant, being asleep, did not open the gate so very soon he boxed him to the effusion of his blood and throwing him down beat him with his feet.' Mr. Gregory, emerging from his chamber upon this scene of rough retribution, and rapidly grasping the fact that the affair should not be allowed to come under the Principal's notice, took the servant in and tenderly bathed his wounds. Ever a fighter himself, Mr. Kennedy gave an unhappy stimulus to the spirited element in his scholars. March 10 was the great day of 'anniversary tumult,' when it was customary for the Semi class to throw a football into the Bejan class—the occasion of much disorder and confusion.' In 1688, it was

said, the invasion would not have been made, had not the Semies been 'out-hounded' by their regent, Mr. Kennedy. With his scholars he 'uses to rable' those against whom he bears a grudge, witness the 'abuses' done to the Bailies and the College treasurer when they came down to inspect the damage suffered by the Bejan class-room.

Mr. Kennedy was also 'a great persecutor by his tongue and otherwayes of godliness and good people.' He desired the Principal to extrude Mr. John Paisley and Mr. John Fergusone from the College 'because he suspected they corresponded with the phanaticks in the west'; and, when these gentlemen sought to clear themselves, he remarked that 'ther was no more whigish holl out of hell than the place they came from.' 'Ane habituall swearer,' he 'calls the boys *scurrae damnati* [which the accusers could not spell], and that he would beat the putrified souls out of ther bodies.'

At home, Mr. Kennedy's carriage was most unchristian. He never bowed his knee to God either in public or in private. Once, when he lived 'in John Nicoll's land'—Nicoll had been janitor—he came home very late and used most regrettable language to Mrs. Kennedy, who was at last compelled by his violence to occupy her servant's bed. He always treated her vilely; and at the end she charged him with her approaching death, whereat he 'fell out in oaths and passione.' Nor were his formal appearances at the ordinances of the church always marked by appropriate behaviour. He and the other regents once attended a communion service at Greyfriars. They had been drunk on the Saturday night, and on the Sabbath they had not made a complete recovery.

Mr. Kennedy, filled with indignation at these unseemly allegations, proceeded to array his defences under the headings 'general' and 'particular'—the former too general and the latter not sufficiently particular to be quite cogent. On the somewhat fallacious ground that admirable beginnings could not lead to an unsatisfactory end, he entered upon a detailed

biographical study of himself, expecting to 'convince anie ingenious and unbyassed persones' that his distinguished patrons would never have employed a man capable of these atrocities.

Kennedy, who was a man of forty at the time of the visitation, had graduated at Edinburgh in 1668, and was subsequently tutor for five years to the son and heir of Linplum. Would Sir James Hay have entrusted 'his darling eldest son' to a ruffian? The Duke of Queensberry, hearing excellent accounts of the preceptor, hired him as tutor to his sons the Earl of Drumlanrig and Lord William at the University of Glasgow, till they went on their travels abroad. The third son, Lord George, was then put under his care. Meantime Kennedy was appointed schoolmaster at Haddington; and so well satisfied was the duke that he sent Lord George with the Earl of Galloway and his brothers (his nephews) to learn their 'Grammar and Greek' there. No rational creature could suppose the Duke of Queensberry to be 'a persone so waik and inconsiderat' as to mistake his man. The school, too, flourished exceedingly, as scholars and parents alike could testify. Mr. Kennedy then passed on to contend, with considerable justification, that it was not fair to confront him with a collection of charges and no accusers whom he could bring to book for their malicious allegations.

In spite of conscious virtue and the iniquity of this tittle-tattle, Mr. Kennedy thought well to condescend upon some answers to the particular accusations. As to taverns, he had now no family of his own, and there was 'noe settled table' in the College. He was therefore 'necessitat to goe abroad to change-houses.' Any indisposition of a morning was due to a constitutional weakness, and the fact that he was frequently in the doctor's hands. He was a 'constant keeper of the church' when his health permitted. Regarding the alleged assault on the janitor's boy, Mr. Kennedy was coming from 'visiting his dying coligue': found the boy inebriated: re-

buked him: was assailed with a torrent of 'most opprobrious languidge'; and administered what was obviously justice. Far from inciting, he always sought to pacify the rude spirits of his scholars. If there was a destructive outburst in 1688, he himself was not present, and knew nothing about it. And for enmity to 'godliness and good people,' it was ungrateful to a man of Mr. Kennedy's innate modesty to boast of works of charity; but he always encouraged the virtuous and supported the necessitous poor as far as his worldly circumstances would allow. 'As to that Pasly he knew noe more of him bot that he was informed that from a thresher in a barme he was receaved a schooler by Mr. Massy. His ignorance and incapacity for anything taught in Universityes removed him fare from the notice of any persone tho bot very little versed in exercises relating to schoolls'—a heavy back-hander for Mr. Massie, who had the reputation of gathering students without proper inquiry as to their preliminary education. Paisley's deficiencies were pointed out to the Principal and masters by Mr. Godfrey M'Culloch through Mr. James Miller. They were assured 'that the Earle of Perth, then chancellour, designed proseedng against the colledge upon his accompt; and the defender had no more accession to it then any other master, but only indevoured to warde that blow the colledge then was daily threatened with.' As to Fergusone, one of Mr. Kennedy's own scholars had told him that he was trying to 'deboach' him from his class to that of the hospitable Mr. Massie; and he regarded Fergusone as one of Massie's decoys. But nothing he had said about Paisley or Fergusone was due to any ecclesiastical or religious animus. 'To load people of that persuasione with ignominious names it was never his custome.' To popery, on the other hand, he had always been a foe; and he had taught against it in the first year of King James, when it seemed likely to obtain a footing.

'Scolding' of the boys in Plautus' Latin Mr. Kennedy freely admitted, 'judgeing it more aggricable to reasone to

oblidge them to duty by bigg words then by heavie blows.' Very likely he called them *scurrae damnati*; but *damnati*—as any but an ignoramus would see—did not mean *ad Tartarum* but *ad supplicium aliquod*. And to cavil at the expression 'putrified soulls' was to confuse amazingly the literal and the metaphorical. Had the accuser never read of *putridae animae* and *exulceratae mentes*? 'This is,' added Mr. Kennedy, 'lyke the other sallies of unthinking impudence.'

The allegations about his treatment of the late Mrs. Kennedy were scandalous to a degree. He had actually spent so much of his substance on physicians and surgeons that his fortune was exhausted, and her demise found him in debt. To the story about his violent conduct towards her Mr. Kennedy found it necessary to refer; but the reply fell somewhat short of cogency. She could not, he said, have been compelled on that occasion to seek refuge in her servant's bed, 'it being notor that Mr. Kennedy hade ane spare chamber and bed in it.'

The last article touching the communion service at Greyfriars and Mr. Kennedy's unsuitable condition was a 'true product of ther hellish villany and malice.' He always sought 'to prepare himself' for receiving the sacrament, and 'to deporte himself' thereafter as became a devout Christian and a faithful communicant.

Mr. Kennedy's answers were handed over to Mr. John Law for consideration and report. The witnesses, while more numerous than in Mr. Gregory's case, were not much more communicative. Dr. Monro, the Principal, and Gregory himself 'knew nothing': others, students or servants, were equally discreet: Mr. James Kennedy, son to Mr. Hugh Kennedy, minister, admitted that the accused came ordinarily to his class at the late hour of 7.30 A.M.: John M'Clurge, who, it is only fair to remember, had been castigated by Mr. Kennedy for disrespect, had seen him violently ill in the morning; and Mr. William Burnet, also a student, had

observed him once 'overtaken with drink, quhich he perceaved by the gestures of his body and his speitch': Charles Cuninghame, his servant during six months, had occasionally noticed a lack of certainty in his walk: Mr. Kennedy remained in bed on Sabbath forenoons and attended Greyfriars in the afternoon: Cuninghame had heard his master swear by his conscience, but recollected nothing stronger: John Brown, janitor, had also known Mr. Kennedy to swear by his conscience—'when he was in passion,' he thought—and 'saw him once or twice in his chamber' when he seemed to have 'drunk more than ordinar': John Nicoll, ex-janitor, had never heard him swear or take the Lord's name in vain, and never saw him drunk. One or two witnesses were so friendly and courageous as to 'depone negative'; but the majority professed a remarkable ignorance. Patrick Caldcleuch, the janitor's assistant, 'knew nothing.' If he was the victim on the occasion of Mr. Kennedy's midnight return from his colleague's death-bed, his restraint may have been due to pecuniary and diplomatic considerations more than to a genius for forgiveness. Some students certainly remembered being called *scurrae damnati*. M'Clurge, who, besides suffering correction at the defendant's hands, belonged to Mr. Massie's class, had been among those addressed by Mr. Kennedy in these forcible terms: 'By the eternall God I will ding your putrified soulls out of your bodies.' But Andrew Mitchell explained that this humane utterance, amplified with the word 'rotten,' had been hurled after Mr. Massie's scholars at the close of a full-blooded battle between the rival flocks.

The committee, after consideration and a vote, were of opinion that the 'immoralities' with which Mr. Kennedy was charged were 'not proven by two concurring testimonies.' It seemed, however, that he was implicated in an illicit modification of the graduand's oath in the year 1687. This was a more serious business. Certain graduates had sworn fidelity to the Christian religion without specification of the particular form

they proposed to support. It was undoubtedly a case for reference to the whole body of Commissioners. That body, however, absolved him from blame, and Mr. Kennedy pursued his career of instruction till 1698, when death put an end to it.

Mr. Andrew Massie, regent in Philosophy, could not plausibly be charged with drinking or swearing. Yet there were joints in his armour. When regent in King's College, Aberdeen, 'during the whole vaccance he used to travell up and doun the country, and wherever he heard ther wer any young boyes, without any introduction he would impudently addresse himselfe to ther parents and freinds and assure them that the boyes were fitt for the colledge, albeit very often they did not understand a word of Latine.' Promises to make up for deficiencies of elementary knowledge 'by extraordinary pains and care' were of the emptiest, he 'being the most superficial and unconcerned master that ever was in ane universitie.' To which Mr. Massie replied that these commercial rounds were legitimate and even necessary. In fact parents in the Aberdeen district had got into the habit of expecting such visits, and positively took offence if they were not paid. At Edinburgh, the traducers said, this plan was not so practicable; and Mr. Massie adopted the expedient of announcing—each regent took his own year right through to graduation—that no course which preceded the one he happened to be teaching was really necessary, 'so that he never failed to have semies, bauchalours, and magistrands who wer never at any colledge before, and he admitted them to be scholars without offering them to be examined by the principall or masters.' This abuse had come up before the Town Council in 1689; and Mr. Massie asserted that he had been cleared.

He was in the habit, it was said, of reading out his notes rapidly without comment or explanation: many students were never questioned or examined at all in the course of a year: absences were ignored, and some people would cease attendance for weeks on end without incurring fine or punish-

ment. 'The effect of this, the time he taught his last course, was that the traffecquing preists and jesuites did debauch more of his scholars then of all the other students in Scotland besid.' Mr. Kennedy had extruded James Petrie from his Semi class for 'debauching away some young gentlemen out of the colledge to be papists.' Two of these unfortunates were Robert Dalmahoy, son to the laird of Dalmahoy, and John Pringle, son to Mr. Walter Pringle of the south country. Dalmahoy was found by his sorrowing relatives at Aberdeen and brought back: Pringle 'is yett in the colledge of Douie and cannot winn home.' James Petrie was actually sent by the papists to compass these nefarious ends, and was now at 'Douie.' Yet Mr. Massie received him into his class with open arms and facilitated his fell work.

These accusations the defendant thought it would be 'tedious' to answer in detail: taken 'in general,' they were false. Pringle was the only scholar he had lost; and Petrie had been a student in Mr. Kennedy's class, as was also Dalmahoy. It was a case of two to one against Mr. Kennedy. As a matter of fact Mr. Massie had refused to receive Petrie, and it was then that he went down to the Abbey and 'turned popishe.' The true reason for his extrusion by Mr. Kennedy was not a healthy zeal for the Protestant faith, but because he offered to 'lible the said Mr. Kennedy befor the primare for drinking and swearing when in his classe, and for instigating his schollars to boxe and fight and keepe up all those barbarous customs which the other masters were labouring to extinguish.'

Undoubtedly there was some lack of disciplinary power in Mr. Massie. It was alleged that in a numerous class some eight or ten would be paying any attention: the rest were 'talkeing, tossing, and feighting together,' and there was more glass smashed in his room than in any other. He was habitually late; and his pupils did not fail to seize the opportunity of rendering the prelections of the other masters inaudible.

On the Lord's day his meetings with his scholars were very intermittent; and then only eight or ten out of seventy or eighty would put in an appearance. He was a miserable Hebdomadar—an office 'most useful for preventing tumults'—and those youths who desired to wreak any vengeance awaited 'Massie's weeke' with marked impatience.

There was a story that in 1680 or 1681 he took £20 sterling out of the Library funds which he did not repay. The fact was, however, as Mr. Massie explained, that the students had 'burned the pope' in 1680 and were banished from the town for some six weeks. The Principal and masters consulted Sir William Paterson—Clerk of Council and formerly a regent—who, they thought, might be of service to them in the crisis. Sir William refused to take their money; and they ordered James Cockburn, goldsmith, to make a pair of silver candlesticks, with snuffers and a snuffing-dish, at a cost of £150 Scots. The Provost ordered Bailie Bruce, the College treasurer, to defray the cost, and that worthy magistrate not being 'in caise' to do so, Cockburn sued the Principal and masters for his money. It was the late Dr. Cant, then Principal, who resorted to the Library box, considerably leaving a note behind so that the treasurer might know what had to be refunded.

Mr. Massie had been the pupil of Mr. John Strachan, regent in Aberdeen, and afterwards a Jesuit. Relying overmuch on the lecture notes of his master for purposes of instruction at Edinburgh, he propagated unsuitable doctrines, into the discussion of which it is not necessary to follow the prosecution. At the Saturday disputations, over and above the questionable character of certain dicta, Mr. Massie was apt to lose his temper and had been hissed by the students. But the worst of it was that he courted popish priests, and at a public laureation in 1687, when he was president of the act, he had Father Reid, a Dominican, seated with him in the pulpit. In any case his views could not be sound, since he had

been heard to describe the Scots Episcopalian clergy as 'the honestest men in the world.'

Mr. Massie did not think much of the imputation regarding his use of Strachan's notes. He did not hesitate to admit by implication that he cherished a copy of these useful prelections; but he said that any one who compared the two sets of lectures would find them to differ. As to Father Reid, he was no friend of his. It had been suggested to him that year that he might dedicate his graduation theses to the Chancellor and see that the prerogative was suitably extolled. On his refusal the Principal next urged him to give some copies of the theses to the Chancellor and certain Jesuits, and personally conducted him to the Abbey to see that he did it. Father Reid received a copy for himself and one or two in addition for 'a German prior and some other outlandish churchmen,' who being in Edinburgh had informed the principal that they 'would impugne, if so bee they should gett theses and bee invited.' It was all done for the honour of the University and the Protestant religion, 'the preists being att that hight of daring and boldnes as by publique placards to challeng all of the protestant persuasione to dispute.' Father Reid came alone and late into the common school, which was thronged, and as he was not a robust person it was thought courteous to offer him the only available seat, on the presidential bench beside Mr. Massie himself.

Though he was not a disciplinarian or a born teacher, Mr. Massie's personal character could not well be condemned if Mr. Kennedy's were approved; and he was perfectly ready to take the required oaths. In the end the visitors seem to have decided that he was comparatively satisfactory. A week or two later he was actually invited by them to join a committee which was considering the Latin grammars used in the schools.

This issue, satisfactory enough to Mr. Massie's self-esteem, was not without unfortunate results. It is to be feared that the ordeal through which he had passed remained in his

memory as a testimony to merit rather than as a warning and an incentive. The Town Council evidently thought that the visitors had treated him with an excess of consideration; and in August 1694 they found that 'the said Mr. Andrew Massie had transgressed against his duty, as also that he had been supinely negligent in the attending and instructing of his class and schollars; as lykewayes that he had made irreverent interruptions in his prayers; and that he had not been diligent as he ought to prevent tumults, but on the contrair had been the occasion therof.' They therefore removed him, and in 1695 appointed Mr. John Row, regent of St Andrews. Mr. Massie took the matter before the Court of Session, where it was maintained that the Town Council, though patrons, had no right of deprivation in the first instance, and that in any case the royal Commission of visitation, which was still current, was the proper authority. Incidentally it appears that the 'interruptions' in Mr. Massie's prayers were due to the undevotional bearing of the class, to which in the course of intercession he found it necessary to address parenthetical rebukes calculated 'to compose his students to reverence.'¹ Restored to his position on technical rather than educational grounds, Mr. Massie seems to have pursued his ineffectual career as regent till his resignation in 1703.

It will be remembered that a Mr. Cuninghame was present with Mr. Kennedy in Mr. Gregory's room on the occasion when the 'strong aile' was said to have overcome the whole company. A reference to the incident in the charges levelled against him proves that the third member of this cheerful party was Mr. Alexander Cuninghame, who became regent of Humanity in 1679 through the influence of Lord Stair, and was promoted to be regent in Philosophy shortly before the crown of Scotland was offered to William and Mary. The first article against him was that in the summer of 1688 he had printed and distributed a poem 'wherein he promises a great

¹ *Decrets* (Dal.), January 29, 1697.

blissing to the nation that the penall lawes (which he terms sanguinarie and bloodie) should eternally perish.' There were other accusations of a miscellaneous character. No regent could be absent for a day without the Principal's leave or for two days without permission of the Town Council; yet Mr. Cuninghame had the temerity to leave his teaching for almost a week. He had been observed 'diverse times' in the popish chapel; was a frequenter of taverns, and often drunk; habitually defamed his colleagues, calling them 'papists' to one party and 'puretons' to the other, according to the tastes of his audience. He had been locked up by the Canongate guard for being found in an unlawful place and in very unsuitable company. One night 'in a coffee-house in the Cannongate he drank att the claret, with bass and trewble violl,' and finally behaved so to the mistress of the house that the goodman her husband drew his sword to run him through. The irate landlord handed the offender to the guard about eleven or twelve and 'wes to convene him before the Privy Council, had not Mr Lidderdall and Mr. Kennedy drunk him upon the morrow and prevailed with him to forbear.' This Mr. Lidderdall, it may be noted, was probably the regent from whose death-bed Mr. Kennedy returned to conquer the janitor's servant. After an allusion to the 'strong aile' incident, the accusers proceeded to assert that Mr. Cuninghame 'hounds out' his scholars, not merely against other classes but against their very masters. His conduct towards his own pupils was positively 'ridiculous': 'boxing some in the face to the effusion of bloode and caining others to that hight that complaints wer manie times intended against him before the privie councill, and for his sake all the masters wer discharged the having of staves, though it wes the constant custome befor.'

Regarding his Latin verses, Mr. Cuninghame had two explanations to make. 'A Scots jesuite in the abbay having wreat a poem on the birth of the pretendit prince of Wailles

and upbraided the college that they could not make such, the primar and Mr. Cockburn did urge and sollicite Mr. Cuninghame to wreat lynes anent it, quhich he wes persuaded to doe, and gave them to the primar bot gave no directions for printing therof.' Secondly, the couplet :

Te duce pax musae pietas Astraea vigeant
Juraque perpetuum sanguinolenta cadent :

from which the trouble arose, was in imitation of Virgil's fourth Eclogue and Ovid's description of the golden age, and meant no more than that under a government where peace, learning, piety, and justice flourish there will be no use for bloody laws. Mr. Cuninghame's academic methods, it may be noticed in passing, did not quite correspond to his poetic dream.

He was not aware of the rule about absence; nor was any other master. He had gone to greet his patron Lord Stair, returning to Scotland after long 'recess' in Holland and other places; and he went at the express desire of the Principal and most of the masters, who undertook to do his work for him. The remaining accusations he denied; and, like Mr. Kennedy, he desired to know who were the authors of a libel 'patched and made up by some malicious invidious persons.'

When evidence was taken, Mr. Alexander Craufurd, advocate, gave a quite fresh account of the brawl in the coffee-house from his own and Mr. Cuninghame's point of view. The defendant behaved himself throughout with the utmost discretion. 'The goodman of the hous being drunk and without any provocation having struck the deponent, Mr. Cuninghame interposing, the goodman of the hous fell to the ground, and Mr. Cuninghame and the deponent, having withdrawne the goodman, called for the guard: upon which the deponent and Mr. Cuninghame caused bring the guard, who carried the goodman prisoner with them; and they went and acquainted the captaine of the guard, who told that the goodman was often brought prisoner for abuses; and that the

mistres, having gon down to the captaine of the guard, prevailed with the deponent and Mr. Cuninghame to interpose with the captaine of the guard for her husbands liberatione, which they did.' But this narrative, however creditable to every one but 'the goodman,' fails to explain the trouble and expense Messrs. Lidderdall and Kennedy were put to on the morrow in reducing him to a mellow condition and averting a complaint to the Privy Council.

In his defence Mr. Cuninghame had the friendly assistance of both Mr. Gregory and Mr. Kennedy, who 'deponed negative.' The janitor and his servant were equally staunch. A number of witnesses, including Sir Thomas Kennedy, late Provost, adopted that attitude of complete ignorance which, when it came to the point, was so surprising and so common in this curious tribunal. Patrick Steill, vintner, said that he had two sons in Mr. Cuninghame's class and had entertained him at his house on several occasions—as he appears also to have entertained Mr. Kennedy. Mr. Cuninghame, like his colleague, had always passed from this supreme test in a state of complete sobriety. John Gordon, the vintner's servant, was not so hearty; but he achieved the necessary effect by having nothing to communicate about either Mr. Kennedy or Mr. Cuninghame.

Dalzel records that Mr. Cuninghame resigned his regency in 1695; but it appears from the proceedings in the Court of Session in Mr. Massie's case that the Town Council dealt with both of these gentlemen, and that Mr. Cuninghame was sufficiently prudent, according to the Council, to appreciate the hopelessness of defence and to bow to the inevitable. Sir Alexander Grant identifies Cuninghame with a person of some distinction in the study of Law, who projected an important work in that department, published *Animadversiones* on Bentley's *Horace*, issued editions of *Horace* and *Virgil* on his own account, and lived for years at The Hague, where he enjoyed a reputation as the best chess-player in Europe. But

this, alas, is not our Alexander Cuninghame. The couplet quoted above does not suggest the likelihood of animadversions on Bentley; and as a matter of fact the regent, who was the son of a minister at Monkton in Ayrshire, died at Edinburgh, shortly after his dismissal, in April of 1696.¹

There is very little to indicate what actually happened in committee when these worthies, Messrs. Kennedy, Massie, and Cuninghame, were being examined; but there is one humorous touch. Mr. Massie, who judged that his moral character was sufficiently vindicated, took the tests with alacrity; but Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Cuninghame were evidently not very sure whether they could place reliance either upon the moral or the political aspect of their careers. They therefore stood before the visitors, moving uneasily from one foot to the other. They did not wish to take the oaths unnecessarily, that is to say if they were to be ejected for defects of character and conduct; but if avowal of readiness to take them would relieve any unpleasant stress upon their manner of life, that was a different matter. And so they escaped.

R. K. HANNAY.

¹ Edinburgh Testaments.

THE OLD TOLBOOTH

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS

[Continued from Volume VI. p. 157]

THE following extracts are from the

Reliefe Book, July 24, 1679, to August 4, 1688.

Warding Book, October 1, 1680, to October 3, 1687.

The Pentland Rising, Bothwell Brig, the Rye House Plot, and other incidents all more or less closely related from a political point of view, produced an aftermath that explains the presence of many notable names.

On December 13th, 1682, the lairds of Craigintinie, Harden, Mackerstoun, and Ensigne James Dalziel found themselves within the grey walls of the Tolbooth as the result of a duel between Craigintinie and Mackerstoun.

Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, the Scottish patriot, was with others imprisoned on November 14th, 1683, and his name recurs frequently in the succeeding pages, which throw fresh light on a dark chapter in our national history.

March 7th 1681

forsameikle as we ar informed that Margaret Taite servitrix to Margaret
David Robertsons in Coats hes comitted ane crewell horrid & un-
naturall Murder vpon hir oune infant child by throwing it over ye
window of ye roume qr shee wes And sieing the sd David Robertsons
hes becom caū^r for insisting agt ye sd Marg^t betuixt and ye [blank]
day of [blank] And for alieumenting of hir till shee be put to tryall
These therfor requyre and command the shiref prinll of hadingtoun &
his deputs to transport ye persone of ye sd Margaret Taite with ane
Margaret
Taite
warded.

suire gaurd furth of yr jurisdiction And delyver hir to ye shiref of the nixt shyre who or his deputs ar heirby commandit to transport hir prisoner to ye tolbooth of Edr the Magistrats grof and keiper of yr tolbooth ar heirby commandit to accept hir of yr hands and to detain hir in suire firmance till shee be put to a tryall or be liberat by order . . .

Sic Sub

R Maitland
Nairne
David Balfour
Da falconnar

[Warrant is dated March 5th. Margaret was executed on April 13th—see under that date.]

March 11th 1681

Mr Vans

Sir

Marie
Lausone and
marie
gordone
warded.

You are to receive unto yo^r custodie the persones of Marie Lausone¹ and marie gordone as being aledged gultie of the murther of a chylde brought furth be the said marie lausone in regaird we heave not a prisone for secureing of them and is adwysed by his Mäties advocatt to send them to the tolbuith of Edr this is from yo^r freinds

Sic Sub Thomas Douglas John Marioribanks
ballies

[1. See October 21st, 1682—probably the same woman.]

March 15th 1681

Alexr
Robertsons
of Strewan
warded.

Alexander Robertsons of Strewan wairdit by order of the Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell

John Shaw meassr

[See March 19th.]

March 19th 1681

Robert Steills Liberation

Mr Vans

Robert Steill
liberated.

The Criminall court recomends to you to let out this poore man without jaylor fies for charity And becaus it is a burdein on you to keep him And he is ye Kings prisoner

Sic Sub Geo: MacKenzie

March 19th 1681

Alexr Robertson of Strowan his Liberation

At Hollieroodhous the 9 day of March 1681 Annet a petition presented by Alexr Robertsons of Strowan shewing that during the dependance of ye proces at his instance agst ye Lord privie Seall Mr John fleyming on of his servants ingadged him in some discours vpon that subject whyll he wes attending his bussiones with ye clerks of Counsell in w^{ch} ye petitioner did utter some expresiones w^{ch} as he is informed did give ye counsell & the Lord privie seall ofence for w^{ch} he is very sorie And craving the Counsell & Lord privie seall pardon And being prisoner still since by the Counsells order Humble suplicating that his Royall hienes And the lords of Counsell might accept of this his humble acknowledgement And ordean him to be set at libertie The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell having heard & considered the forsd petition bearing ye acknowledgement above writin And in regard the Marques of Atholl Lord privie seall did interceid for the suplicant with his Royall hienes And the Counsell They ordean the Magistrats of Edr And keeper of ye tolbooth yrof to set ye suplicant at libertie bot doe ordean him to keip his loadgeing vntill Monday nixt in the foornon (sic) At qch tyme he is apoynted to atend his Royall heighnes & ye Counsell ther to receive such commands as they shall think fit

Robertson
of Strowan
liberated.

Sic Sub Will: paterson

[See April 13th 1682.]

March 21st 1681

James Muirehead smith in Lanerk
William Wallace portiouner off Mainehill
John Marchell Maltman & uxter¹ in Hamiltoun
John Scot elder portiouner of Wdingstoun

James
Muirehead
William
Wallace
John
Marchell &
John Scot
set at
liberty.

[Each set at liberty having been found 'clean' or innocent by an assize. The 'cryme' in the case of Muirehead and Wallace is not stated. In the case of the other two men it was treason. They had been 'wairdit' on March 19th.]

March 28th 1681

. . . set Jonnet Brone prisoner . . . for the Murder of hir owne child at liberty . . . in respect shee hes become acted bound & obleidged

Jonnet
Brone
banished.

¹ Huckster or hawkker.

to banish and remove himself furth of this kingdome of Scotland never to returne therto under the paine of death . . .

March 28th 1681

John Logan
liberated.

. . . set John Logan prisoner at liberty . . . in respect he has found sufficient cautione and soverty . . . that he shall compeir . . . to underly the law for the murder aledged comited vpon the persone of Robert Reid officer to the Earle of Wintoun . . .

April 6th 1681

James
Whytfoord
set at
liberty.

Ye shall imediatlie vpon sight heirof set James Whytfoord sone to Sr John Whytfoord of Milnetoun who was imprisoned by our order at liberty . . .

Sic Sub R. Maitland I:P:D.

[Liberated the same day on which he was incarcerated—no charge is mentioned.]

April 12th 1681

James Gray
to serve in
Holland.

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell ordeanes ye Magistrats of Edr To set at liberty James Gray prisoner vpon ye accompt of casual slaughter In regard he hes enacted himself in the books of Counsell to depairt furth of this kingdome And serve in ye warrs of Holland And never returne yrto without the King or Counsells licence vpon paine of death

Sic Sub Pa: Menzeis

April 12th 1681

David
Balcanquhall
set at
liberty.

David Balcanquhall of that ilk haveing satisfied me for the fyne of fyve hundreth pounds Scots as ye fyne imposed on him for being absent from his Mäties Host in 1679 for w^{ch} he was comitted prisoner to ye tolbooth of Edr by l^res of caption therfor at my instance He is now vpon sight of this to be set at liberty for any diligence vssed agt him

Sic Sub William Sharp

[Balcanquhall was warded on Feby 22nd.]

April 13th 1681

Margaret
Tait
executed.

Margaret Tait execut in the Grasmecat for murdering hir chyld by sentence of the Lords of his Mäties Justiciarie

April 13th 1681

Att Edr ye 8 day of Apryll 1681 yeires Annent a ne petition pre-^{David} sented by David Cathcart prisoner Shewing that wher the petitionner Cathcart of Glendusk^{liberated.} being unhapiely drawn furth & deceitfully brought out by the treacherie & misinformation of persones of thes unlauffull and unchristian principles unto ther rebellion at Bothuell Whois principles the petitionner as befor so yet nausiats, abhores & detests as being repugnant both to the scripters of God and the constitution of the church and destructive not only to Monarchie bot to all Magistracie and inconsistent with all humane society as evedently apeares by ther declaration & proclamation and the petitioner in testimonie of his abhorance of the sd principles does owne & mantein the Kings Mätie to be the laū^d Magistrat and his Counsell a laū^d judicatorie And being heartiely greived for his ignorance he is willing to enact himselfe never to apear in armes agt the King or his authority And therfor humblie suplicating the Counsell wold out of ther mercy and clemencie comiserat the deplorable condition of the poore old decreeped petitioner near seventy yeires of age now one and twenty yeires a prisoner And not only ordean that he may be set at liberty vpon bond to compeir when called Bot be graciously pleased to recomend the petitioner to his Mätie for a remission to preserve his miserable lyfe Who is depryved of his Mäties indemnity by eight pound sterling p anum of heritadge The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell having hard and considerit the forsaid petition Doe recomend ye petitionner to his Mätie for a remission and order that his bill be transmitted to the secretary to be adressed to ye King And in the meantyme does ordean the Magistrats of Edr to set him at liberty In regard he hath found caution acted in the books of privie Counsell to compeir when called for under ye penalty of ane thousand merks Scots.

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis

April 15th 1681

At Edr ye 8 of Apryll 1681 annent a petition presented be James^{James} Semple Maltman in Hamiltonne at present prisoner in the Tolbooth^{Semple set at liberty.} of Edr shewing that ye petitionner being conveyed befor the Lords Justice Generall Justice clerk and comissioners of justiciarie vpon ye 6 of this instant to underly ye law for his ryssing in armes and joyning with the rebels in the laite horrid rebellion of w^{ch} he had & hes such

a deep sence as imboldned him to make compeirance & to acknowledge his cryme and come in the Kings mercy as ye extract of ane petition and judicial declaration in pñce of the commissioners of justiciary and assys produced beares And therfor humbly suplicating that his cais might be recomendit to the King for a pardone and warrand granted for his liberty in the meane tyme The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell haveing heard and considered the forsd petition with ye act of adjournall w^{ch} beares ye humble confession of ye petitioner of his cryme off rebelion and great sorrow therfor And that he renunes all legall defences and casts himselfe vpon ye Kings mercy And is content to tack such tests of his futur loyaltie as God and the law and faithfull subjects Doe in regard of ye petitioners great penitence recomend him to his Mätie for a remission And in the mean tyme ordeanes ye Magistrats of Edr to set him at liberty In regard he hes found caution to compeir when he shall be called under ye paine of ane thousand merks

Sic Sub Will: Patersons

April 16th 1681

Frances
Rait yo^r.
warded.

frances Rait younger of Canonsyth wairdit be vertew of lrēs of caption at the instance of Zacharias Milenus? Goldsmith burges of Edr for not finding caution acted in ye books of Adjurnall for his apearance before ye lords comissioners of justiciary within the Tolbooth of Edr ye 7 day of Junij then nixtocome in the houre of caūs To underly the law for his assaulting & asasinating ye sd compl^r for his lyfe blooding and wounding him in most dangerous manner As is at lenth (sic) mentionat in ye sd criminall lrēs As ye samyen signet ye 22 of May 1680 more fullie beares Be vertew qrof William Govane Illa pursivant charged Bailzie Broune to grant concurrence David Hay officer

April 19th 1681

Robert Scott
warded.

Robert Scott being aprehendit as a theife and ther being many presumptiones of scäll thifts agt him I desyre ye may receive him from the bearer on of ye shiref officers and put him in suire prisone till he be put to tryall

Sic Sub J: Suintoun

[See June 24th.]

April 25th 1681

Mr John Alexander precentor of South leith reliev by vertew of Mr John lrēs of suspension relaxation and charge to put at liberty . . . Mr John Alexander relieved.

[Imprisoned for debt at the instance of Dorman Newman bookseller in London. He was incarcerated on March 14th.]

April 28th 1681

Att Edr the 8 day of Apryll 1681 Annet a petition presented be Robert Robert Hamiltone prisouner in the Tolbooth of Edr Shewing that Hamiltone set at liberty. wher the petitiouner hath bein a long tyme imprisoned And as he conceaves vpon the suspicion of bad and disloyall principalls Wheras he declaires that he disounes the excommunication vssed be Mr Donald Cargile agt his Mätie and Counsellors And the peapers found on Henry Hall called the new covenant the declaration at Sanquhare and the band of combination As being agt & distructive to religion and goverment And he detests the doctrine principalls & practices of murder And ounes his Mätie as Supream Magistrat in all things civell And therfor humblie suplicating the Counsell wold tack to consideration the premisses And grant order to set ye petitoiuner at libertie The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell have[ing] heard and considered the forsd pētion And haveing called the petitiouner to the barr and he haveing ouned the sd petition Doe ordean the Magistrats of Edr to set the sd Robert Hamiltone petitiouner at liberty in regard he hath found sufficient caution acted in ye books of privie Counsell to apear when called for under the penalty of Ane thousand merks Scots

Sic Sub Will: Patersons

May 4th 1681

James Park Goodman of the tolbooth off the Cannongait wairdit The Goodman of the tolbooth of the Canongate by order of the Lords of his Maties privie Counsell warded.

May 14th 1681

Edr 5 May 1681

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell haveing considered a petition Robert Bowman set at liberty. presented by Robert Bowman sadler burges of Edr prisouner in the tolbooth of Edr ffor ane aledgit chalange given be him to Henry frazer painter suplicating that in regard that he is heartiely sorrie for ye offence given and that he hade received scäll provocatiounes from the

sd henry frazer by being assassinat by him in his hous and otherwayes That ye Counsell wold grant order for his libertie The saids Lords doe heirby grant order and warrand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd Robert Bowman at libertie in regaird he hath found sufficient caution acted in ye books of privie counsell for ye sd Hendrie frazer his in demnitie under ye penaltie of ane thousand merks in caice of failzie

Sic Sub Will: Paterson

June 2nd 1681

Order for
Mr Thomas
Howiesone,
Mr Wm
Alieson,
George
Dickson,
Mr James
pringle,
Mr Daniell
Ross,
Mr James
pringell &
Mr Robert
Wilson
scholmrs ther
liberty.

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell haveing considered a petition presented be Thomas Howieson Mr William Alieson George Dickson Mr James pringle and Mr Daniell Ross scholmrs prisoners in ye Tolbooth of Edr Doe ordean the Magistrats of Edr to set ye sds prisoners at libertie in regaird they have found sufficient caun acted in ye books of privie counsell That heirefter they shall not keip aney scholl within the cittie or suburps yrof without licence of ye Bischoep of Edr in wreat ilk ane of them under ye penalty of fyve hundreth merks Scots And farder that during ye said licence they shall teach no lattin books or authors except ye rudiements and voccables under ye forsd penaltie Grants warrand for setting Mr Ro: Wilsone at libertie he haveing found caun to ye efect forsd

Sic Sub Will: paterson

[See note to next entry.]

June 2nd 1681

Mr Wm
Grinlaws &
Mr John
Bonnor
scholmasters
set at
liberty.

Mr Wm Grinlaws . . . scholmaster
Mr John Bonnor . . . scholmaster

[Separate entries are recorded for Grinlaws and Bonnor, who were set at liberty under the conditions applicable to Mr Thomas Howiesone, etc. All eight schoolmasters were warded on June 2nd by order of the 'Lords of Secret Counsell.']

June 4th 1681

Archibald
Edmieston
of Duntreith
warded.

The Lords of ye Comittie of Counsell for publict afares having called befor them Archibald Edmiestoun of Duntreith as haveing given bond under ye paine of ane thousand li sterling to compeir this day And ye comittie haveing proposed seall speciall interrogators to him annent keeping of conventickles and reset of rebels to w^{ch} he refused

to make ansyr The sds Lords doe ordean him to be comitted prisouner to ye tolbooth of Edr till the counsell consider his cais and ordeans ye band given for his appearance to be delyvered up to him.

Sic Sub Ch: Maitland
Elphinston
Geo: M^cKenzie
R. Maitland

[Liberated December 6th.]

June 23rd 1681

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell doe heirby give order and warrand to the Magistrats of Edr and keiper off ye Tolbooth therof to set at libertie Cristian Cunynghame & Elspeth Lockhart prisoners in ye saide Tolbooth for adhering to thes called ye Sueit Singers in regaird they have renunced and abjured ther principalls

Sic Sub Will: patterson

[Warded the same day. The 'Sweet Singers of Borrowstouness' represented a small sect of religious enthusiasts.]

June 24th 1681

Wheras Robert Stott alias Scot hes bein detained prisouner in ye Tolbooth of Edr for some considerable tyme as being alled^t guiltie of stealing of horssees and sorning and sieing ther is non that doe persew him or insists agt him Nor hes he bein intertaind by them that did incarcerat him And sieing he is in ane starving condition And that he hes ofered himselfe to tryall and non haveing insisted ag^t him as said is Thes are therfor to give warrand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set him at libertie in regaird he hath enacted himselfe to be banished this kingdome

Sic Sub Ch: Maitland

July 5th 1681

His Royall Highnes and lords of his Mäties privie Counsell doe heirby give order to the Magistrats of Edr to set at liberty furth of ther Tolbooth John Craigie of Dunbarny prisoner yr by yr sentence of ye 21 of Junij last In regaird he hath made payt of ye soume of 5000 merks wherein he wes fyned by the Counsell & made payt of ye witness expens in ye proces persewed agt him and found cautn for ye peace &

securitie of ye country heirefter under ye penaltie of fyve hundreth pound sterling

Sic Sub Will: Paterson

[Warded on June 21st.]

July 5th 1681

Walter
purdie set at
liberty.

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell having considered a petition presented to them be Walter purdie customer at ye west port of Edr for his alledged accession or conivance to ye inbring of some English cloth contrair to ye laite proclamation suplicating for libertie in regard of his inocence and finding by the report of a Comittie annent him and by the declaration of W^m ffulertoun mert who imported ye sd cloth That ye petitionner hes not bein vpon the contryvance or received money for importing the sd cloth The Lords doe heirby give order and warrant to the Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd Walter purdie petitionner at libertie furth of ther tolbooth

Sic Sub Pat: Meinzeis

[Purdie was warded on June 9th.]

July 8th 1681

Mr Archi-
bald Riddell
transported
to the Bass.

I John Oliphant ane of his Mäties gaurd of hors be thir pñts grant me to have received from Mr John vans goodman of ye Tolbooth of Edr the persone of Mr Archibald Riddell minister for to be transported from ye sd Tolbooth of Edr to ye Bass and that conforme to ane order of Generall Dalziell for that efect daited ye 8 of July 1681

Sic Sub Jo: Oliphant

[Riddell was warded on June 9th ' by order off ye lords of his Mäties secreit counsell.' For interesting particulars regarding him see Scott's *Fasti.*]

July 13th 1681

Andrew
Pitiloch &
Lourance
Hay
executed.

Andro Pitiloch & Lourance Hay execut ffor denying his Mätie & auctie in ye Grassmercat

[Pitiloch was warded on July 7th. Both are included in the list of martyrs of the Covenant. In Cupar churchyard there is a stone marking where their hands and Hackston's head were buried.]

July 13th 1681

James Duke of Albanie and York etc His Maties High Comis- Adam Philp's
sionner in Scotland sentence
I desyre ye will caus the execution of the sentance against Adam
philpe to be suspedit till furdur order Given at Hollieroodhous ye
13 day of July 1681

Sic Sub James

To the Magistrats of the Cittie
of Edr

By Command of His Royall High^{esse}

Sic Sub Jo Werden

July 26th 1681

Mr Donald Cargill¹ Mr Waltir Smith² & Mr William [should be Mr Donald
James] Boge³ werdit by ordor of the Lords off justiciarie Cargill
Mr Walter
Smith &
Mr James
Boge warded.

[1. Minister of the Barony, Glasgow; famous conventicle preacher; wounded at Bothwell Brig; declared Charles II. excommunicated 1680. See reference under August 10th 1680. 2. Born St. Ninians and educated at Utrecht; conventicle preacher and confidant of Cargill. 3. James Boig is described elsewhere as a student.

Executed 27th July 1681 and their heads placed on the Netherbow Port.]

August 2nd 1681

fforsameikle as vpon information and evedents given in to ye William
Lords of ye articles of William Riddell laite proveist of Rutherglen Riddell
his accession to ye laite rebellion at Bothwell bridge in hounding out late provost
persones yrto and reseting them order wes granted for comitting the sd of Rutherglen
William Riddell prisouner within ye tolbooth of Edr And sieing the set at
sd W^m is a persone very aged & infirme and that his contineuance liberty.
in prisone might hadzeit his lyfe Thes ar giving order and warand
to ye magistrats of Edr to set ye sd W^m Riddell at liberty out of yr
tolbooth he finding suficient cauñ under ye paine of 5000 merks Scots
That he shall compeir when he shall be called at ye instance of his
Mäties Advocate and ansr to any charge or indictment he shall receive
for his accession to ye said rebellion and shall appear at all ye dyets of

that proces & underly ye law under ye paine afoirsd w^{ch} caution he hes found accordinglie

Sic Sub James

[Warded on July 30th 'by order of the Lords of Articles.' See also November 18th—probably the same person.]

August 2nd 1681

Mr Andro
Semple
Alexr
Bothwell &
John Binie
set at
liberty.

Mr Andro Semple of Revelrige Alex^r Bothwell of Glencors and John Binie vintiner in Edr releived by scäll orders of ye lords of his Mäties privie Counsell qrof ye tennor followes

His Royall Highnes his Mäties high Comissioner and Lords of his mäties privy Counsell having considered a petition presented be ye sds Mr Andro Semple Alexr Bothuell and John Binie prisoners in ye Tolbooth of Edr vpon ye accompt of ane assize of error suplicating yt in regard they have submitted themselves in the Kings will for any the said error without abyding the sentance of the justices vpon the verdict of ye great assize therfor they might be set at libertie. . . .

[Liberated on finding caution to appear when called, under the penalty of two thousand merks. They were warded on July 25th.]

August 6th 1681

Thomas
Lourie
liberated.

His Royall Highnes his Mäties High Comissioner and Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell having considered a petition presented be Thomas Lourie mer^t burges of Edr prisoner in ye tolbooth yrof vpon ye accompt of his being present at a conventicle keiped in ye hous of Heugh Mossman couper in Leith ¹ vpon Sunday the last of July last bypast suplicating for libertie vpon ye considerationes yrin contained Doe ordean ye Magistrats of Edr to set the sd Thomas Lourie at libertie in regard he hath found sufficient caution acted in ye books of privie Counsell to appear personallie befor ye counsell vpon ye 9 of August instant to ansyr to ye complaint raised at ye instance of his Mäties advocate agt him vpon ye accompt forsd and at ye haill dyets of ye proces vntill ye same be discussed And that under ye penaltie of ane thousand merks Scots money in caice of failzie

Sic Sub Will: paterson

[1. See August 7th 1681 and February 20th 1682.]

August 6th 1681

James Gray of Wariestoune Captaine James Bailzie & Alex^r Blaire James Gray
Merts in Edr relived by thrie scäll orders from ye Lords of Counsell. . . . Captaine
& Alex^r James Bailzie & James Blaire set at
liberty.

[Same case as that of Semple of Revelrige &c under August 2nd; the penalty here however being 'fyve thousand merks.' All were warded on July 25th.]

August 7th 1681

His Royall Highnes his Mäties high Comissioner and lords of his Mäties privie counsell doe heirby give order & warrand to ye Magistrats W^m Cath-
of Edr to set at libertie furth of ther Tolbooth W^m Cathcart Thomas cart Thomas
Hendersone and James Watte in regard they have found sufficient Hendersone
& James Watt liber-
at-ed.
canⁿ acted in ye books of privie counsell To compeir befor ye Counsell at ye haill dyets of ye proces raised agt them for ther being at a conventicle keiped in ye hous of Hugh Mossman in Leith ¹ vpon ye last of July last bypast And untill the same be discust ilk ane of them under ye paine of tuo hundreth merks scots money in caice of failzie

Sic Sub Will: patersone

[1. See February 20th 1682.]

August 11th 1681

His Royall Highnes his Mäties High Comissioner and lords of his William
Mäties privie counsell haveing heard & considered a petition presented Murray
by William Murray shirefe deput of Selkirk vpon ye accompt of ane shirefe deput
of Selkirk
complaint at ye instance of his Mäties advocat agt ye petitionner for his liberated.
all^t reseting & corresponding with rebels . . .

[Liberated on finding caution to appear when called upon under a penalty of 'fyve thousand merks scots money.' He had lain in the tolbooth since 21st July when he was warded.]

August 12th 1681

Ther is ane begger fellow comitted by my Lord Arolls [? Errols] 'ane begger
bailzie for abusing ye tennents of Trinitie hospitall and if his wyfe comitted.'
come to sie him detainie hir till shee be heard befor any of ye bailzies
Sic Sub Fyffe Bailzie

August 14th 1681

Eleven
persons
warded for
conventicles.

Mr William fforsyth ¹
 Robert Nisbet jurnieman wright in Leith ²
 James Rae brewer in Edr
 Thomas Boige merchant ther
 John Smith shoemaker ³
 William Ker tailzier
 William Cairnes chapman ⁴
 James Weir chapman
 John Blaikie shoemaker in Leith
 George fleyming in Bristo ⁵

And Thomas Gilgoure meason all wairdit by Major Johnstoun for
 Conventicles

Edr 14 of August 1681

You [are] heirby requyred to retaine in prison the persones above
 named till they be judged in ye Constable court ffor the ryot comited by
 them vpon Major Johnstoun and his servants and till they be set at
 libertie by order of the lord High Constable or his depute as ye will be
 ansyvable at yo^r perrill

Sic Sub Jo: Hay Const deput

[1. Liberated February 24th 1683. 2. Liberated August 19th
 1681. 3. Liberated August 27th 1681. 4. Warded July 29th 1681.
 5. Liberated August 25th 1681.]

August 16th 1681

John Spreull
& W^m Lin
transported
to the Bass.

I Robert Johnstoun major to ye good toune of Edr grant me to
 have received fra ye hands of Mr John vans goodman of ye tolbooth
 of Edr the persones of John Spreull ¹ & W^m Lin ² prisoners wⁱⁿ ye sd
 Tolbooth who ar ordered to be transported from ye sd tolbooth to the
 Bass and that conforme to ane order of his M^{ties} privie counsell granted
 for that efect

Sic Sub Rob^t Johnstoun

[1. The Glasgow apothecary, Bass John. 2. A writer in Edinburgh.
 Spreull and Lin were sent to the Bass by Act of the Privy Council dated
 14th July 1681. Spreull was liberated in terms of an Act dated
 12th May 1687. He was the last to be released from the Bass. The
 date of Lin's liberation is not known.]

August 19th 1681

Set at libertie the persone of Robert Nisbet jurneyman wright in Robert
 Leith who wes lailtie fyned for a ryot by ye Lord heigh constable & Nisbet set at
 his deput And this is ane order from liberty.

Jo: Hay Constable dept

August 25th 1681

Ye shall set at libertie ye persone of George fleyming gairdner to George
 James Scot of Bristow now prisoner in ye Tolbooth of Edr in respect fleyming set
 efter exam[in]ing both his M^r and him he wes sent by his M^r to disipat at liberty.
 ye conventicle kept in Bristo vpon Sunday ye 14 of this instant ffor
 doeing grof this shall ye yor warrand

Sic Sub Geo: Mackenzie

August 25th 1681

The lords of ye Thesaurerie vpon surtie given by Alex^r Hendersone Alex^r
 mairiner in Leith who wes by yr order imprisoned for baiting and Hendersone
 abusing of ye kings waitters comitted to prisone hes apoynted him to liberated.
 be set at libertie I doe by thes certifie that he hes found suertie con-
 forme to ye lords order w^{ch} I have rece^d And yrfor be pleased to put
 him to libertie for qch this shall be ane sufficient exoneraⁿ to you

Sic Sub Tho: Moncreife

August 26th 1681

Wheras John Broune waitter is imprisoned within the Tolbooth of John Broune
 Edr for his alle^t accession to ye import of some prohibit cloth And set at liberty.
 sieing I am not yet in radienes to insist and have ye sd proces advyssed
 And that I am informed he is in a dangerous & seiklie conditione Thes
 ar therfor givinge order to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd John
 Broune at libertie in regard he hes found sufficient cauⁿ acted in ye
 books of privie counsell To compeir befor the Counsell qⁿ called for by
 them or at my instance to ansyr & underly the law for ye sd cryme under
 ye penaltie of ane thousand merks scots money

Sic Sub Geo: Mackenzie

[Broune was warded on June 9th.]

August 27th 1681

Johne Smith
set at liberty. His Royall Highnes his māties high comissioner and Lords of his ma/ privie counsell haveing heard and considered a petitione presented by Johne Smith shoemaker in leith wynd prisoner in the Tolbuith of Edr upone the accompt of being present at a conventicle kept in Bristow the 14 day of August instant supplicating for libertie. . . .

[Liberated on finding caution ' heirefter to live orderlie and keep his paroch kirk & not goe to conventicles,' and to appear when called.]

August 31st 1681

Thomas
Donaldsone
set at liberty. These ar ordering you to set at libertie the persone of Thomas Donaldsone prisoner in your Tolbuith with this guard wher he may be judged for the ryot committed be him agt Hendreta Bruntfeild . . .

Sic Sub Jo: Hay Constable Dept.

August 31st 1681

Lady
Gilchers-
clowgh set
at liberty. His Royall hignes his māties high comissioner & Lords of his Ma/ privie counsell doe heirby give order & warrand to the magistrats of Edr to set Margaret Hamiltonn Lady Gilchersclowgh elder at present prisoner in ther tolbuith at libertie in regaird she hath found sufficient cautione acted in the books of privie counsell that heirefter she shall live orderlie & compeir befor his ma/ privie counsell when called for vnder the penaltie of 2000 m̄ks scots in caice of failzie

Sic Sub Will: paterstone

[See February 22nd and May 16th both of 1683.]

September 24th 1681

Thomas
Bining and
John Hay
warded. Thomas Bining Constable oficer and John Hay constable oficer wairdit by ane written order from ye Constable depute.

September 30th 1681

'William
Gordone
vnder keeper
of ye
Cannogait
tolbuith' set
at liberty. Wheras Williame Gordone vnder keeper of ye Cannogait tolbuith hes bein prisoner in the Tolbuith of Edr for a long tyme upone suspicione of his negligence or connivance at the escape of a prisoner And being certanlie informed of his sicklie condition These ar ordering the keeper of the Tolbuith of Edr to set him at libertie upone cautione

under the penaltie of 2000 m̄ks to reenter in prisone when he shall be called by the counsell in regaird ther is no present probatione brought in against him

Sic Sub Geo: Mackenzie

October 17th 1681

Patrick forman Robert Garnock Alexander Russell David fferies Five men
and James Stewart all hanged at the Gallowlee for high treasone and hanged.
denying the Kings authoritie

[Five martyrs of the covenant. This was the first execution of covenanters at the Gallowlee. Wodrow (*History*, iii. 287) gives the reason. Patrick Walker, Fountainhall, Wodrow, and *Cloud of Witnesses* all give October 10th as the date of execution.]

November 10th 1681

His Royall highnes his māties high comissioner is graciouslie w^m ffyfe
pleased to give order to the magistrats of Edr to set William ffyfe and & Robert
Robert fork prisoners at libertie . . . fork set at
liberty.

Sic Sub James

[Warded on November 8th by ' ye lords of privie counsell.']

November 13th 1681

These are to give order to macers off councill, or messengers att Robert
arnes to seize upon the person off Robert Wright servant to John Wright
Warding formerly yeoman off the wyne cellar to his Royall Highness, warded.
ay & whyle he find sufficient surety to make just compt, reckoning, & payment to the said John Warding of what he can justly lay to his charge, & in case the sd Robert doe not find sufficient bayle, to putt the person of the said Robert in safe & sure custodij as you will be answerable upon yo^r highest perill

Sic Sub Geo Mackenzie

This I doe because the sd Robert was
in *meditatione fugae*

November 17th 1681

W^m Cunyngham laite provest of Air
W^m Reid

Four persons
warded.

Adam Hunter
Ralph Holland all wairdit by order of ye lords of his Maties privie
Counsell

[See also November 24th and December 15th.]

November 18th 1681

'provost'
Riddell 'to
goe out.'

Ye may allow provest Riddell to goe out upone sufficient cautione
such as ye will be answerable for to present him personallie befor the
justice court on Monday nixt

Sic Sub Geo: mackenzie

[Warded on November 8th by ' ye lords of justiciarie.]

November 24th 1681

Wm Reid
& Adam
Hunter set
at liberty.

His royall hienes his māties high commissioner and Lords of counsell
having considered the petition of William Reid & Adam Hunter mer-
chant in Air prisoners in the tolbuith of Edr doe ordain the magistrats
therof to sett them at liberty in regard they have found sufficient
caution for ther futur good behaviour

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis

December 6th 1681

Halyrudhous 18 day of october 1681

Arch^d.
Edmondston
set at liberty.

His royall highnes his māties high commissioner and Lords of his
māties privy counsell having heard and considered the petition of
Archibald Edmondston of Duntreth supplicatting for liberty doe give
warrand for that effect he first paying or giving security to pay within
a short space to his māties cash keiper the fyne off fyve hundreth
pounds sterling imposed vpon him by the counccills sentence

Sic Sub Will: paterson

December 6th 1681

I have this day signed a discharge to Ar^d Edmondstoun of Duntreth
of his fyne of fyve hundreth punds ster: conform to act of counccill of
18 Octo^r 1681

Sic Sub William Sharp

December 15th 1681

His royall highnes his māties high commissioner and Lords of privy W^m Cunig-
counccill having considered the petition of William Cuningham late ham 'late
provost of Air prisoner in the tolbuith of Edr by sentence of counccill provest of
upon ane complaint at the instance of his māties advocat against him Air' set at
for the reasons & causses yrin contentit supplicatting for liberty doe liberty.
heirby give order and warrant to the m^rats of Edr to sett the supplicant
at liberty vpon payment of his fyne of Two hundreth punds sterl: to
his māties cash keiper & finding caution acted in the books of privy
counccill vnder the penalty of fyve hundreth punds sterl: to reenter his
person in prison in the tolbuith of Edr whenever he shall be requyred
which fyne the petitioner hath accordingly payed & found caution to
the efect forsaid

Sic Sub Will: paterson

December 21st 1681

The Lords of the committie of counccill appoynted to examine Robert
some persons imprisoned as suspect to be in accession to or vpon the Andro, John
knowledge of the Earle of Argylls escape doe give warrant to the magis- Campbell,
trats of Edr to sett at liberty Robert Andro, John Campbell wryter John John Binnie
Binnie and William Johnston prisoners vpon that accompt in regard W^m Johnston
they have deponed vpon oath they know nothing therof set at liberty.

Sic Sub Strathmore I.P.D.

February 1st 1682

Sir William Ker director of ye Chancellarie relived by consent of Sir W^m Ker
James Dobie mert in Edr for himself and tackand burdein vpon him relieved.
for Thomas Young mer^t in Edr his assignay At whois instances he
wes incarcerat and areisted for not payt making to them of seall soumes
of money prills arents & penalties contained in ye tuo severall bands
granted yrfor & lres of captiones & vyr diligence raised yrvpon As
ye sd consent more fullie bears this don by ye goodman

[Warded same day.]

February 2nd 1682

Recēd the Laird of Braes from Mr John Vans Goodman of ye the Laird of
Tolbooth of Edr according to ane order granted for that efect be Braes
General Daziell As wites my hand at Edr day & daite forsd liberated.

Sic Sub Rollo

February 11th 1682

David Bruce
of Kennet set
at liberty.

The Lords haveing at length heard read sein & considered ane supplication presented to them be David Bruce of Kennet and desyre yrof with ye instructiones produced for verifeing ye samyen And they therwith being weill & reaplie advysed The saids lords have ordeaned and Ordeanes the Magistrats of Edr and ye keiper of yr tolbooth pntlie to set ye petitionner at libertie furth yrof And grants warrant for diligence to be direct at ye petitioners instance for ceiting the pairtie at whois instance he wes put in And messrs who put ye caption in execution To compeir befor ye Lord Reidfoord vpon 24 houres warning To whom they recomendit to tack such meanes for the reparaone of ye pairtie And vindicatione of ye lords auctie as he thinks fit and ordeanes ane act to be extracted pntlie for that effect

Sic Sub Geo: M^cKenzie Cler: Reg:

[Warded on February 10th at the instance of 'George Hallieday lau¹¹ youngest sone to ye deceist John Hallieday some tyme bailzie of Culross.']

February 20th 1682

Hew
Mossman
relieved.

Hew Mossman couper in Leith relived by consent of Mr James falconner of phaesodo advocat James Hall mert in Leith & Capt John Binny vintiner burges of Edr . . . and also by consent of George ffairbairne locksmith . . . in portsbrugh . . . for not payt making to them of ye soumes off money . . . contained in his bands . . .

[Warded on December 3rd 1681. ? He in whose house the conventicle was held, see August 6th and 7th 1681.]

February 22nd 1682

Mr Pat.
Verner &
Mr W^m
Livingstoun
warded.

Mr Patrick Verner and Mr W^m Livingstoun wairdit by order of ye Lords of his M^{at}ies privie Counsell

[See June $\frac{7}{4}$ th. Verner was Wodrow's father-in-law.]

March 3rd 1682

Sr John
Kirkaldie of
Grange set at
liberty.

The Lords of the Comittie for publict affaires haveing considered the petition of Sr John Kirkaldie of Grange prisoner vpon ye accompt of conventickles doe grant warand to the Magistrats of Edr to set him

at liberty in regaird he hes found cauⁿ to apear when ever he shall be citted and ansyr to any thing can be laid to his charge

Sic Sub Will: paterson

March 15th 1682

His Royall Highnes his M^{at}ies heigh Comissioner and lords of Alexr Counsell haveing considered the petition off Alexr fergusson of Kilkeran prisiouner in ye tolbooth off Edr doe in regaird of his age & infirmittie & long imprisonment And that no persones insists agt him vpon ye grounds of his imprissonment Ordean ye Magistrats of Edr or Keiper of ye tolbooth of Edr to sett him at libertie for qch thes pntis shall be a warrant

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis

March 16th 1682

John Mackinlay sone to finlay M^cKinlay of Glensaidell in Kintyre John who wes sent for to come heir to Edr for his M^{at}ies speciall service Mackinlay And tacken on by Livtennent Cunyngham & by him imprisoned relived by ane written order under ye hand of his M^{at}ies advocat

March 16th 1682

James Borthwick ¹
James Andersone ²
John Darling ³
Agnes Wilsone ⁴
Catherin Peat ⁵
Isobell Griersone ⁶
Elizabeth Haige ⁷
Bessie Craige ⁸ &
Cristian Andersone ⁹ all wairdit by order of the Lords of his Maties privie Counsell.

Nine persons
warded.

[1 and 4. Liberated March 17th. 2. Liberated March 24th,
3. Liberated March 29th. 5, 7, 8, and 9. Liberated March 31st.
6. Liberated April 14th.]

March 17th 1682

James Meinzieis in Dalvine relived by ane order from ye lords of his James M^{at}ies privie Counsell qrof the tennor followes Meinzieis relived.

Q

they wer found guiltie Doe heirby give order and warand to the Magistrats of Edr and keiper of ye Tolbooth therof to sett ye petitioners at libertie in regaird of ther acknowledgement of ye sd fault and that they have found cauⁿ to live peaceable heirefter as becomes dewtiefull & lóyall subjects And to compeir befor the counsell when called for ilk ane of them under ye penaltie of fyve hundreth merks And farder to compeir and present themselves befor the Magistrats and Counsell of ye said brugh of peibles vpon Wedinsday ye 12 of Apryll nixt And yr in ther presence and in face of court to acknowledge ther sd fault And crave pardon for ye same under ye forsd penaltie

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis

[Warded on March 23rd 'by order of the Lords of his Máties privie Counsell.']

March 31st 1682

Catherin
peat Bessie
Craigie
Cristian
Anderson
Elspeth
Haige
set at
liberty.

The lords of ye Comittee for publict afaires vpon examinaⁿ of Catherin peat daughter to Robert peat in Gourlaw Bessie Craigie daughter to umqll patrick Craigie in Tempell Cristian Anderson his relict and Elspeth Haige daughter to ye deceist Robert Haige colman in Tempell prisoners in ye Tolbooth of Edr for the alleit accession to ye tumult in ye paroch kirk of Tempell doe ordean the Magistrats of Edr and keiper of ye Tolbooth yrof To sett them at libertie in regaird they have found sufficient cauⁿ to compeir when called for to ansyr to anything can be laid to ther charge ilk ane of them under ye penaltie of ane hundreth punds Scots

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis

April 1st 1682

Sixteen
persons
relieved.

Andro Baigbie Tho: Broun Thomas Thomsone Jo: Burtoun Robert paintland pat: Condie Robert Walker W^m Chalmer John Davies Alex^r Laigne David Crawford James Scot James Burtoun Alex^r Darling Walter Lithgow & Ja: McKie tennents & servants to S^r W^m Primros of Elphingstoun who wer wairdet for yr alleit accession to ye deforcement of a p^rtie of dragouns relived by ane order of ye lords of counsell daited ye last of March 1682

Sic Sub pa: Menzieis

April 7th 1682

Majore Learmonth¹

The Laird of Barscobe²

Robert fleyming

Heugh Mackilwraith wairdit by order of the Lords of his Máties Justiciarie haveing received ther sentences of Death for the rebelione of paintland hills and Bothuel bridge

Majore
Learmonth
The Laird of
Barscobe
Robert
fleyming &
Heugh
Mackil-
wraith
warded.

[1. Major Joseph Learmonth of Newholm was present at Pentland Hills and Bothwell Bridge. Sentence of death was commuted to perpetual imprisonment in the Bass to which he was removed on 13th May. Five years later he was released on account of his health. He died in his 88th year. 2. See August 19th.]

April 10th 1682

Andro Walker smith in Douglas wairdit by ane gaurd of countrie Andro men from Douglas for ye alleit Murder off William McClelan Cowan in Douglas for whois aliement & payt of hous dewes to Mr & servants during yr tyme of his imprisonment W^m Lourie tutor of Blackwood is obleist by ticket of ye dait ye sd 10 day of Apryll 1682

Andro
Walker
warded.

[Hanged in the Grassmarket, see July 21st.]

April 13th 1682

Alexander Rótsone off Struan relived by consent of John Marques of Atholl at whose instance he was incarcerat The tenor of qch consent is as efter follows Wee John Marques of Atholl doe heirby out of our awn goodwill give full power & warrand to Mr John Vans keiper of the Tolbuith of Edr to sett alexr Rótsone of Struan at libertie furth yrof qrin now he is incarcerat be vertewe of ane caption at our instance agt him and for doing qroff yir pñts shall be ane sufficient warrand

Robertsons
of Struan
relieved.

Sic Sub Atholl

April 14th 1682

James Mitchell relived by ane order from the advocat qch is as James follows Mr Vans ye shall delyver up the persone of James Mitchell now prisoner for dryving ovr a chyld & killing of hir upon the Canogait street to Collonell James Douglas to be takine owt by him to holland

James
Mitchell
banished.

and yt in respect the sd James is content to take banishment upon him and that I as Kings advocat cannot find sufficient p̄bation yt the crym was committed wilfullie qch being represented to the counsell they wer of oppinion that the sd James should be carried [out] of the kingdome for doing groff this shall be yor warrand

Sic Sub Geo Mackenzie

April 14th 1682

David
Cunningham
relieved.

David Cunningham relieved by my l̄d Justice clerks order qch is as follows Wheras David Cunghame prisoner in the Tolbuith of Edr for theft & vyr crymes having taken Captane Cuninghames money as on of his sojers to serve in holland and haveing heard & examined the condition of the prisoner doe give warrand & order to you to delyver the sd David Cuninghame to the sd Captaine Cuninghame or to any having his order to the effect forsd Given at Leith the 10th of Apl 1682

Sic Sub Maitland

April 14th 1682

Issobell
Greive
relieved.

Issobell Greive relieved by ane order of privie counsell qch is as follows The lords of his m̄aties privie counsell having considered the petition of Issobell Greive in temple prisoner in the tolbuith of Edr doe ordaine the magistrats yrof to set hir at libertie in regard she hes fund sufficient caution to appeir on thursday nixt and at the hail dyets of the proces vntill the same be discust vnder the penaltie of ane thousand m̄kes

Sic Sub pat Menzies

April 14th 1682

Thomas
McKie &
Wm Strang
relieved.

Thomas McKie Wm Strang servants to Sir Wm primrose prisoners in the tolbuith of Edr relieved by ane order of counsell qch [is] as follows the Lords of his m̄aties privie counsell having considered the petition of thomas Mackie Wm Strang servants to S^r Wm primrose for alledged accession to a deforcement committed upon some of his m̄aties dragoons doe ordaine the magistrats of Edr to sett them at libertie in regard they found cation to appeir qnever they shall be called each of them under the paine of a thousand m̄ks

Sic Sub pat Menzies

April 15th 1682

Maister Henry Cockburne relieved by consent of Mr Wm Skeine Maister lait master off the Grammar Scol off Hadingtoun and now M^r of the Henry Cockburne high Scoolle of Edr for not payt making to him off the soume of eight relieved. scoir punds scotts money resting of the soume of 300 mkes. . . .

May 10th 1682

William Broun wryter in Edr relived by . . . consent of Mr John William Somervail minister of Crawmond [and others] . . . for not payt Broun relieved. making to them of seall debts . . .

May 20th 1682

John Maxwell lait bailzie of paislie relived by ane order from my John Lord heigh Chancellor qrof ye tenor followes Maxwell relieved.

I haveing considered ye forsd petition & ye suplicants expressions yrin contained of ye great sense he hes of his fault and of his restitlon for his good beheaveour doe ordean ye Magistrats of Edr to set him at libertie in regaird also he hes found cauⁿ of Lawborrowes to Andro Aitchieson shirefe deput of Ranfrew acted in ye books of Counsell under the penaltie of ane thousand merks The sd Andro haveing befor ye counsell declared he dreadit him bodiely harme

Sic Sub G Gordon Cancell

May 24th 1682

The Lords of his M̄aties privie Counsell doe heirby give order and Ewine warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set at libertie Ewine McGillespect McGillespect set at liberty. in Annat prisoner for his alled^d accession to a laite deforcement & violence comited vpon a pairtie of his M̄aties forces who wer ingathering his M̄aties dewes in Lochaber in regaird he hath found sufficient cauⁿ to compeir befor ye counsell or comissioners of justiciarie to ansyr yrfor the first thursday of n̄o^r nixt under ye penalty of thrie thousand merks scotts money in caice of failzie

Sic Sub Pa: Menzies

May 31st 1682

Robert Mackie maison relived by consent of John Hamiltoun Robert wryter to his M̄aties signet as haveing full power from ye minister & Mackie relieved. kirk session of Crawmond for that efect at whois instance he wes

incarcerat for not siting in ye pillar as ye sd consent more fullie beares.

June 1st 1682

Edr 13 May 1682

Seven
gipsies.

His Royall Highnes his Mäties heigh Comisioner and lords of privie counsell being informed by the Erle off Dumfreis Shiref prinll of ye shyre of Aire that there are severall persones aprehendit within ye sd shyre as gipsies & vagabonds doe ordean ye sd seven persones to be transported from shiref to shiref to ye tolbooth of Edr . . . to be put in suire firmance till course be taiken for yr tryall

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis

[See October 21st.]

June 8th 1682

Seven
persons
warded.

Alex^r Rankein of pottie

David Arnot of Capledrae

Mr W^m Gedd ¹

John Carmichaell of Baglae ²

James Couper indweller in Axmagirdell

James Ratray indweller in Dron ³

Lourance Gibson in Blairstream all wairdit by order of ye Lords of privie counsell

[1. Relieved on June 9th. 2. Relieved June 23rd. 3. Relieved July 14th.]

June 9th 1682

William Ged
set at liberty.

The lords of his Mäties privie counsell haveing sein the receipt of David Edgar servant to his Maties cashkeiper bearing that Mr William Ged prisoner hes payed his fyne of two thousand merks imposed vpon him ffor his accession to ye ryott in ye paroch of Dron doe give warrant to ye Magistrats of Edr to set him at libertie

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis

June 9th 1682

Mr John
Lithgow set
at liberty.

The Lords of his Maties privie counsell haveing considerit the petition of Mr John Lithgow in Reidpeth at present prisouner within the tolbuith of Edr for his alled keiping of conventicles & being guiltie of seäll other disorders And under sentance of counsell vpon that

accompt suplicating for libertie and ofering to remove of ye kingdome and not to returne yrto without his Mäties speciall licence or licence of ye counsell doe heirby give order and warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye pet[iti]onner at libertie in regaird he hath found sufficient cauⁿ acted in ye books of privie counsell to remove furth of this kingdome within fyftein dayes nixt etter he shall be liberat and never returne yrto without his Mäties speäll licence or licence of his Mäties privie counsell under ye penaltie of fyve thousand merks scots money in caice of failzie

Sic Sub Pa: menzies

[Warded along with Mr Henry Erskine on June 6th ' by order of ye Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell.' Linlithgow or Lithgow was m. of Ewes in the presb. of Langholm. He was ordered to be confined in the Bass but was banished instead on petitioning to be allowed to leave the kingdom.]

June $\frac{7}{14}$ 1682

Mr patrick Vernour set at liberty ¹

Mr patrick
Vernour set
at liberty.

[Warded along with Mr W^m Livingstoun on February 22nd ' by order of ye Lords of his Mäties privie counsell.']

June $\frac{6}{14}$ 1682

Mr Henry Erskine set at liberty ¹

Mr Henry
Erskine
relieved.

[Warded along with Mr John Lithgow on June 6th. Erskine had been consigned to the Bass by Act of Privy Council dated June 6th, but this was altered to banishment on his undertaking to leave the country.

Erskine was m. of Whitsome and afterwards of Chirnside, where a pillar was erected to his memory by six hundred contributors of one shilling each.]

June 22nd 1682

Charles Allan werdit by ane wryttin order under my Lord bishop off Edr his hand till he fynd sufficient cautione & surtie to maik just compt and rackening ffor the poors money in humbie pairich amounting

¹ The order is almost word for word the same as in the case of Mr. John Lithgow, see June 9th.

by his owen confessione to the soume of ffour thousand marks Scots & upwards as the said order bears

Sic Sub Jo: Edinburgen

June 23rd 1682

John
Carmichall
set at liberty.

Whereas I have sein a certifficatt of John Carmichall off Bagleys valloud rent under the hand of two of ye comissioners off excyse off the shyre of perth and the Colectour hand beareing the same to be on hundreth and twintie ane pund scots And sein a dischaige under the cash keepers hand beareing that John Carmichall hes payed him the said on hundreth and twentie one ff scots as the ffyne imposed upon him by the Councell ffor his accessione to the rayot committed vpon the minister in the parich of Dron These are giveing order to the magistrats off Edr to sett at libertie the perssone of the said John Carmichall

Sic Sub Go: Gordon chanceller

June 27th 1682

Alexr
Andirson set
at liberty.

Alex^r Andirson Candlemaker in Mussellbrugh being brought in prisoner to the tolbuith of Edr and examined befor a Commitie of counsell as suspect to have hade some knowledge of the draweing up and disperseing of a seditious paper subscrivyt by one James nicollson and ffound in the house of Margratt pattoune in dalkeith vpon consideratione of his depositione upon oath These are giveing order and warand . . .

[Set at liberty on finding caution under a penalty of 500 merks. He was 'werdit' on June 25th by order of the Bishop of Edinburgh.]

July 7th 1682

George
Wilson
liberated.

Upon sight heirof be pleased to liberat & set at friedome the person of George Wilson travelling chapman who wes reced̄ into yor prison by yor order and this shall be your sufficient warand

Sic Sub T. Skene

July 10th 1682

Mr John
Hutchieson
relieved.

Mr John Hutchieson relived be ane warrand from ye Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell grof ye tennor followes

Edr 8 July 1682

The lords of his Mäties privie counsell haveing considered ane petition presented by Mr John Hutchiesone prisoner in ye Tolbooth of Edr by sentance of counsell fyning him in ye soume of 5000 merks and ordeaning him to remaine prisoner untill payt yrof And that he fand cauⁿ under ye lyk soume not to be guiltie of any disorders Bearing that vpon ane adress made by the petitionner the last counsell day The Counsell wer pleased to ordean him to be liberat vpon cauⁿ to depart furth of ye isle of Britaine And not to returne yrto without licence And if he should repaire to Holland he should act nothing contraire to his Mäties government And if he did otherwayes he should be obleidged to apeir vpon thrie score dayes to ansyr yrefter conforme to ye law To qch he humble suplicats & acquesses And becaus by reasone of ye petitioners valetudinary condition And that it wold tacke some tyme to yor petitioner to use meanes for his health & put his afares in order befor his departer Humble suplicating that order might be granted for ye petitionners liberty and a competent tyme allowed him to depart furth of ye kingdome And that ye counsell wold discharge any execution for ye fyne of 5000 merks decerned agt him by ther dect in all tyme coming The sds Lords of Counsell doe heirby give order & warand to the Magistrats of Edr to set ye petitionner at liberty furth of yr Tolbooth And doe discharge any execution for ye sd fyne of 5000 merks decerned agt ye petitionner in all tyme coming In regaird he hath found sufficient cauⁿ that betuixt & ye first of Octōr nixt he shall remove himselfe furth of ye isle of Britaine And not returne yrto without his Mäties Counsells speäll licence under ye penalty of 5000 merks in caice of failzie And if that he shall repaire to Holland and ther act anything contraire to his Mäties government he shall appear befor ye counsell whensoever he shall be cited at ye mercat cross of Edr & peir and shoir of Leith vpon 60 days under ye forsd penalty And that cauⁿ is found for him that in ye meintyme that he shall not preach nor exerce any vyr function of ye ministry under ye lyk penalty

Sic Sub pa: Menzies

[Mr John Hutchieson minister 'werdit' by order off his Mäties privie Counsell' July 4th. He died in a small boat as he and others were being taken to land on arrival at Sandy Hook, 1684.]

July 14th 1682

James Ratray
liberated.

The Lords of his Mäties privie counsell having heard and considered the petition of James Ratray prisoner in ye tolbooth of Edr for his allēd accession to ane ryot & violence comitted at ye kirk of Dron vpon ye persone of Mr George Drumond minister with ye report of ye Bischop of Edr annent his condition doe heirby give order and warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd James Ratray at libertie in regaird he hath found sufficient caūn acted in ye books of privie counsell to compeir befor ye counsell upon ye first day of August nixt or that day to exhibit & produce befor them Cristian Dron his spous to ansyr & underly the law for hir allēd accession to ye sd ryot & violence vnder ye penaltie of fyve hundreth merks Scots money

Sic Sub pa: Menzies

July 19th 1682

Alexr Clerk
relieved.

Alexr Clerk of pitinereif relived by order of ye Lords of his Mäties Justiciarie grof ye tennor followes

You shall imediatly vpon sight heirof set Alex^r Clerk of pitinereif at libertie in respect he hes found sufficient cauⁿ of lawborrowes for indemnifying and securing Darray & his famiellie conforme to the lords Comissioners of justiciarie yr ordinance yrannent

Sic Sub T. Skene

July 19th 1682

William
Mirrie
executed.

William Mirrie execut in ye grassmercat for Murder.

[Warded (March 22nd) by order of ' the Magistrats of Edr ' . . . and ordered to be detained by ' ane written order from his Mäties advocat.]

July 21st 1682

Andrew
Walker
hanged.

Andrew Walker hanged in the Grassmercat for murdering his good brother by sentance of ye Lords of justiciarie

July 21st 1682

Thomas
Davies
relieved.

Ye shall imediatlie vpon sight heirof set Thomas Davies prisoner at libertie in respect he hes acted himself in ye bookes of adjurnall to remove out of this kingdome betuixt & ye tenth of August nixt never to

returne therto in tyme coming under the paine of death conforme to ye lords comissioners of justiciarie ther ordinance yrannent

Sic Sub T. Skene

July 27th 1682

Thomas Scot mert in Edr brother german to the Erle of Tarras relived by consent of ye sd Alex^r Borthwick at whois instance he wes incarcerated be vertew of lres of caption for not payt making to him of ye soumes of money princ^l a^rents & expenss therin contained as ye consent more fullie beares

Thomas Scot
relieved.

[Warded on June 24th.]

July 28th 1682

Robert fergusone of Litterpin ¹John Gibson of Auchinshein ²Alex^r Home ³

Thomas Lauchlane

John Scot

John Marshall

Robert Broune

Alex^r GrayMungo Dyks ⁵Alex^r Wedell ⁶Robert Bruce ⁴

John Gray

James Lemburne

James Thomsone

John Smith ⁷John Young ⁸William Smith ⁹Seventeen
persons
warded
from the
Canongate
tolbooth.

who wer transported from the tolbooth of ye Cannongait wairdit in ye tolbooth off Edr by ane order from ye lord High Chancellor

[1. Liberated March 6th 1683. 2. Liberated February 26th 1683. 3. Hanged December 29th 1682. 4. Liberated December 25th 1682. 5. Liberated December 21st 1682. 6. Liberated August 7th 1682. 7 & 9. Liberated September 29th 1682. 8. Liberated February 17th 1683.]

August 3rd 1682

Richard Storie wairdit by ane order from ye lords of his Mäties privie counsell grof ye tennor followes

Richard
Storie
warded.

Edr 5 of July 1682

The lords of his Mäties privie counsell haveing considered a presentation made to them by the Magistrats of Drumfreis that ther is one

Richard Storie prisoner in ther tolbooth vpon ye accompt of murder And that they are put to great trouble and expenss in keiping and gaurding of him seall of his frinds from ye borders dayllie threatening to force them and make his escaipe if he shall remaine any longer ther The saids lords have therfor thought fit that he be transported prisoner to ye tolbooth of Edr And for that efect apoynts ye Magistrats of Drumfreis to delyver the said Richard Storie prisoner to the shirefe of ye shyre of Drumfreis or his deputs who are ordered to receave him And by a sufficient gaurde to convoy and delyver him to ye nixt shirefe vpon ye road to Edr And so furth to be transported from shiref to shiref untill he be delyvered to the Magistrats of Edr who ar heirby ordered to receave & detaine him prisoner in suire firmance until furder order

Sic Sub pa Menzeis

August 7th 1682

Alexr
Weddell set
at liberty.

The lords of his Mäties privie Counsell haveing considered a petition of Alexr Weddell prisoner in ye Tolbooth of Edr suplicating for libertie in regard he is a poore indigent persone and that he is only ane prisoner as a witnes agt some rebells And hes deponed agt them with ye report of ye Lord Advocat bearing that ye petitionner hath bein accordinglie examined & deponed Doe grant order & warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd Alex^r Weddell at libertie

Sic Sub Will: paterson

[Warded on July 28th.]

August 7th 1682

Walter Brock
John Stewart
Rob^t Blaik-
wood Rob^t
Stewart &
W^m Geddie
warded.

Walter Brock ¹
Robert Blaikwood
William Geddie

John Stewart
Robert Stewart

All wairdit by order of the lords of Counsell and transported from Glasgow by ane gaurd of my lord Linlithgowes Regiment.

[1. See November 30th.]

August 16th 1682

James
Douglas
beheaded.

James Douglas Beheaded at ye cross of Edr by ane sentence of ye Lords of his Mäties justiciarie for ye murder of [blank] Lindsay sone to ye Laird of Evelock.

August 19th 1682

Edr 8 of July 1682

forsameikle as Robert McClellan of Barscobe defaulted for his Robert being in rebellion at Bothwellbridge being called befor the Counsell McClellan set and requyred to suear and signe the test befor he should have the at liberty. benifyte of his Mäties remission and that ye same should pas the sealls, And he haveing judicialle suorne & signed ye test And his remission being past the sealls The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell doe heirby give order & warand to the Magistrats of Edr To set ye sd Robert McClelland at libertie furth of the sd tolbooth

Sic Sub pa: Menzeis cls: sh: Con

September 29th 1682

Edr the 28 of Sepr 1682

The Lords of his Mäties privie counsell haveing considered a petition presented by John & William Smiths in Allerstocks prisoners in the tolbooth of Edr for ther allēt reset of on john Nisbet of Hardhill who John & William Smiths relieved. is allēt to have killed Cap^t Inglis his sone at Loudon hill suplicating that in regard they ar innocent therof and of rebeliones & crymes agt the government And have hitherto lived peaceable they might be set at libertie Doe heirby grant order and warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye saids John and William Smiths at libertie in regard ther is no informaⁿ given in agt them of any allēt crymes and that they have found sufficient caūn acted in ye books of privie counsell to appear befor the counsell when called to ansyr to anything can be laid to ther charge and in ye meantyme to live peaceable & orderlie ilk ane of them under the penaltie of One thousand merks scots money

Sic Sub Will: paterson

September 29th 1682

James Robertson ¹	Agnes Dredan ⁶	Ten persons warded.
William Dredan ²	Margaret Pringle ⁷	
William Lauson ³	Cristian Porteous ⁸	
Marie Wood ⁴	Jonnet Crawford ⁹ and	
Isobell Rae ⁵	Cristian Davidson ¹⁰	

All wairdit by ane order of ye Lords of his Maties privie Counsell with

ane gaird of ye Erle of Linlithgows souldiers vnder ye command of serjent [blank] serjent to the Erle of Murray

[1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. See October 4th, second entry. 2 and 5. See October 4th, first entry. 4. Liberated September 29th.]

September 29th 1682

Marion
Wood set at
liberty.

The lords of the Comittie of ye Counsell for publict afaires doe heirby grant order & warrand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set at libertie Marion Wood prisoner by ye counsells sentence of ye daite heir of in regard of hir miserable condition and that shee hes fyve fatherles childrein and on of them on hir breast and nothing to mantein them with and that both pairties have earnestly petitioned for hir libertie

Sic Sub Linlithgow
Geo: M^cKenzie
Ja: Foulis

October 4th 1682

Edr 29 day of Sepr 1682

Wm Dredan
& Isobell
Rae 'to be
tacken to ye
corection
house & ther
whiped.'

fforsameikle as the lords of his Mäties privie Counsell have by ther dect of ye daite heir of found W^m Dredan tailzier in Edmiestoun and Isobell Rae colbearer in Wolmet at present prisoners within ye tolbooth of Edr guiltie of and active in a tumultuous convocation & ryot comitted at Wolmet vpon ye 14 of Sepr instant in oposition to his Mäties aūtötie The saids Lords doe therfor ordeane the sds William Dredan & Isobell Rae to be instantly comited prisoners to ye tolbooth of Edr untill Wednesday nixt at ten of ye clock in ye efternon at qch tyme they ordean them to be tacken from ye said tolbooth publicklye throw ye streets of Edr by the common executioner to ye corection hous & ther to be whiped by the sd executioner for ther accession to ye sd tumult & ryot and thereafter to be dismissed and ordeans the Magistrats of Edr to sie this sentence punctuallie put in execution

Sic Sub Will: paterson

October 4th 1682

Edr 3^d Octr 1682

Jennet
Crawfoord
Agnes
Dreden
Marg^t
pringle

The lords of the comittie of his Mäties privie Counsell for publict afaires haveing considered the petition of W^m Biger now off Wolmet in behalfe of Jennet Crawfoord Agnes Dreden Marg^t pringle James Robertson Cristian porteous Cristian Davieson & W^m Lawsons prisoners

in the tolbooth of Edr by sentence of Counsell vpon the accompt of ane tumult & ryot comitted by ym at Wolmet doe conforme to the pouer given them by the counsell heirby give order and warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd Jennet Crawfoord & haill other persones forsd at libertie furth of the said tolbooth in regard they have found cauⁿ & W^m Lawsons liberated. to keip ye kings peace & for ye petitioners indemnitie and to appear when cited ilk ane of them vnder ye penaltie of ane hundreth m^ks scots money

Sic Sub Will: paterson

October 11th 1682

. . . James Lylburne in Greinhead in the paroch of Kilmarnock James Lylburne liberated. . . suplicating that . . . he is altogether innocent off being in rebellion and abhores the thoughts of rebellion and that he hath lyne a long tyme under a dangerous disceas q^{ch} will certainele terminat his lyfe if he conteinew any longer in prisone . . . the Lords . . . give order . . . to set ye sd James Lylburne petitioner at libertie . . .

[Set at liberty on finding caution to live peaceably and to appear when called under a penalty of 500 merks.]

October 21st 1682

The sex (*sic*) Gipsies & other persones relived & sent to New york conforme to the receipt following

Receaved be me Samuell Muire ane of ye Corporalls of Captaine Grahames companie the persons of John Hamiltoun Heugh Bailzie John Bailzie James Bailzie younger Gilbert Bailzie Margaret Bailzie Margaret Robertson Gipsies, Jonnet Campbell Marion Lawsons Jonnet Mackie Alexr Keith Andro Hooge Marion Buchanan Jonnet Bruntoun Jonnet Moriesone David Milne Alexr Broune Andro Miller & Alieson Bell prisoners in the tolbooth of Edr from Mr John Vans goodman of ye said tolbooth who ar ordained to be transported from ye sd tolbooth to Greinock in order to yr transportaⁿ for new York I say receed by me

Seven Gipsies
& 12 others
transported
to New York.

Sic Sub Sa: Moor

[On August 29th 1682 the keeper of the Tolbooth addressed a supplication to the Privy Council in which he stated that seven gipsies were brought from the West and have lain in prison these eleven weeks 'without any subsistence but what they have had from

the petitioner, and they being destitute as well of food as rayment are a very great burden to the petitioner, and their wives and children night and day lying in the open streets at the prison door which does not only grieve the petitioner but all the neighbours; and, although William Johnston got warrand from the Council to transport them, yet now he altogether refuses.' The petitioner therefore craves that the Council may take course 'to frie the prison of Edinburgh of such vagabonds and either ordaine them to be sent to the plantationes or forraigne service.' See *Reg. of Priv. Coun.*, Third Series, vol. vii., 1681-82, pp. 427, 537, 538.]

October 26th 1682

Alex^r Miller
John Young
Jas. Robertson & Fergus
McKey
warded.

Alex^r Miller }
John Young } both in Egilsham paroch
James Robertson in Stainhous paroch²
Fergus McKey of Kerne in Gallaway³ All wairdit by Walter Abercrombie ane of ye serjents of ye Erle of Linlithgowes regiment

[1. See February 17th 1683—probably the same. 2. Covenanter; hanged in the Grassmarket on December 15th. 3. Relieved on November 28th on finding caution to underly the law for 'thift.']

October 30th 1682

Wm Cocheran
& John Finlay
warded.

William Cocheran & John Finlay wairdit by ane gaird sent from ye Abay of Holieroodhous by ane order from Major James Murray & delyvered prisoners by serjent Gordoun to whom a receipt of them wes given by the goodman

[Both covenanters; hanged in the Grassmarket on December 15th. Cochrane belonged to Strathaven.]

November 3rd 1682

John
Stewart
warded.

The Comissioners of justiciarie for securing ye peace of ye heighlands within ye shyres of Argyll Dunbartoun Stirling & Perth doe heirby requyre the goodman & keepers of ye tolbooth of Edr to receive ye persone of John Stewart of Calzeniore prisoner within ye sd tolbooth therin to remaine till furdur order Given at Creife the threttie day of Apryll 1682

Sic Sub Perth I:P:D:

November 10th 1682

The Lords of ye Comittie of ye Counsell to whom the consideraⁿ Allan Cameron of Lochyeoll & some of his frinds is comitted doe ordean Allan Cameron of Lindally and Donald Cameron of Teirlundy to be comitted prisoners to ye tolbooth of Edr till furdur order

Sic Sub Alex St And: I:P:D:

[See under February 14th 1683.]

November 13th 1682

The Lords of Counsell ordeanes the persones of Donald Cameron Archibald Cameron Allan Ewin and Donald Camerons and John Cameron of [blank] and Donald Ross to be comitted prisoners to the tolbooth of Edr till furdur order

Sic Sub G Gordon Cancel: I:P:D:

November 20th 1682

The Ladie Cavers relived and sent to Stirling castell conforme to ye receipt underwrytin

I David Murray ane of ye Gentlemen of his Mäties gaurd of hors grant me to have receaved from Mr John Vans goodman of ye tolbooth of Edr the person of the Ladie Cavers in order to hir transportation to ye castell off Stirling by ane order of Generall Dalziel as witnes my hand at Edr ye 20 of No^r 1682

Sic Sub D Murray

[Lady Douglas of Cavers was one of the Women of the Covenant. She had ultimately to leave the country.]

November 23rd 1682

The Tutor of Blaikwood wairdit be order of Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell

[See February 17th 1684.]

November 23rd 1682

John Adam Bailzie of paislie wairdit by order of ye Lord[s] of his Mäties privie Counsell

November 28th 1682

Fergus
McKey
relieved.

Fergus McKey of Cairne relieved . . .

[Warded with three others on October 26th. Relieved on finding caution 'to underly the law for the cryme of thift allēd comitted be him.']

November 30th 1682

Walter
Brock
warded.

Walter Brock returned prisoner to the tolbooth conforme to ane band granted be him & his caūrs to Bailzie Charles Murray

December 4th 1682

William
Gairdner
liberated.

Wheras I have sein a testificat under ye hand off S^r W^m Patersons clerk of Counsell bearing that William Gairdner in Nemphler now prisoner in ye tolbooth of Edr for being at ye laite rebellion did in July 1679 being prisoner then in ye south gray friers yeard of Edr for his accesion to ye laite rebellion bind & obleidge and inact himselve that thereafter he should not tack armes agt his Mäties nor his aūctie and that he wes thervpon in obedience to his Mäties commands by order of Counsell set at libertie Thes ar therfor giving order and warand to the Mtrats of Edr and keiper of ye tolbooth therof to set the said William Gairdner at libertie

Sic Sub G. Gordon Cancell

December 13th 1682

Lairds of
Craigintinie,
Hardin,
Mackerstoun,
& Ensigne
Dalziell
warded.

The Lairds of Craigintinie, Hardin, Mackerstoun, and Ensigne James Dalziell all wairdit by order of the Lords of his Maties privie Counsell

[See also under December 15th and 16th.]

December 15th 1682

W^m. Cochran
John finlay
& Jas.
Robertsons
hanged.

William Cochran John finlay & James Robertsons sett at libertie by being taikin out to the gressmarket and hanged ffor tresone

December 15th 1682

Sir W^m
Scot of
Hardin &
Ensign
Dalziell
liberated.

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell haveing recēd ane accompt from the comittie apoynted to examine S^r W^m Scot of Hardin¹ & Ensigne James Dalziell prisoners in ye tolbooth of Edr of ther depositions annent the dewell laitlie past betuixt the lairds of Craigintinie and Mackerstoun doe heirby give order and warand to ye Magistrats of

Edr to set the said S^r W^m Scot and Ensigne James Dalziell at libertie they haveing found cauⁿ ilk ane of them to compeir befor the counsell vpon ane charg of tuentie foure houres to ansyr to what shall be laid to ther charge in ye forsaid matter under ye penaltie of two hundreth & fyftie pound sterling each of them in caice of failzie

Sic Sub Will: Paterson

[1. See January 18th 1684.]

December 16th 1682

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell haveing considered ane Alexr Nisbet & Thomas
& Thomas
McDowgall
liberated.
humble adres made be Alexr Nisbet of Craigintinie and Thomas McDowgall yor of McKerstoun prisoners in ye tolbooth of Edr vpon informaⁿ of a comittie past betuixt them doe heirby give order and warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set ye saids two persones at libertie in regaird they have found cauⁿ acted in ye books of privie Counsell to compeir befor the Counsell to ansyr for ye sd cryme under ye penalty of fyve hundreth pounds sterling for ilk ane of them in caice of failzie and that vpon a charge of tventie foure houres

Sic Sub Will: patersons

December 19th 1682

The Lords of his Mäties privie counsell doe heirby give order & Anthonie
McKey
liberated.
warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set Anthonie McKey laitly of Cloncaird at libertie in regaird he came to this toune & compeired befor ye justices under saife conduct from ye laird of Claverhous who had comission for that efect

Sic Sub Will: paterson

[Antonie McKey & W^m McCleallan warded by order of the Lords of Justiciary. 'This done by the late major Johnstoun—11 of Decem^r 1682.']

December 21st 1682

Edr 14 day of Dec^r 1682

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell haveing considered a Mungo Dyks
liberated.
petition presented by Mungo Dyks of Kirkwood present prisoner in ye tolbooth of Edr for allēt accesion to ye laite rebelion and as being guiltie of disorders with a report of the comittie for publict affaires annent his

caice doe heirby give order and warand to the Magistrats of Edr to set the sd Mungo Dyks at libertie . . .

[Having found caution under a penalty of 1000 merks.]

December 25th 1682

Robert Bruce
liberated.

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell having considered the petition presented by Robert Bruce son to Robert Bruce fermer in Nemphler prisoner in ye tolbooth of Edr for seäll alle^t disorders and suplicating for libertie in regaird yr wes nothing made appear agt him with a report of a comittie annent the caice doe heirby give order & warand to the Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd Robert Bruce petitioner at liberty . . .

[Having found caution 'under ye penaltie of ye band granted yrannt.']

December 29th 1682

Alexr Home
hanged.

Alexr Home portiouner of Home hanged at the cross of Edr for treason & rebellion

[Covenanter. His death has been described as a judicial murder.]

January 6th 1683

W^m Haistie
& Daniell
Bryce &
W^m Beattie
'put in ye
iron hous.'

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell ordeanes the Magistrats of Edr to receave & keip in suire firmance in ye iron hous of ye prison of ye sd brugh ye persones of W^m Haistie now in ye theifs holl & Daniell Bryce & W^m Beattie till they (are) procesed by the Kings advocat for ye crymes layed to yr charge & brought to ane legall tryall.

Sic Sub Aberdein Can: I:P:D:

[Beattie & Bryce were 'wardit by order of ye Erle of Linlithgow' on December 26th 1682.]

January 24th 1683

Mr. John
Philp
warded.

Mr John Philp of philpstoun wairdit by Major Johnstoun conforme to ane order of my Lord Chancellor wherof ye tennor followes

Captaine Patrick Grahame

You shall vpon sight heirof seiz vpon ye persone off Mr John philpe of philpstoune and comit him prisoner to ye tolbooth of Edr to remaine

till furder order qrannt thir pñts shall be to you & to ye Magistrats of Edr ane suficient warant . . .

Sic Sub Aberdein Chan^r

This warand was tacken away by Major Johnstoun

[See August 1st. In March 1683 Philp or Philip was libelled before the Privy Council, for having said 'that the Duke of York was a bloody and cruel man, and a great tyrant, and was detestable to the subjects; and that the Bishop of Edinburgh and the King's Advocate, were bloody and cruel men, and he hoped ere long to see them suffer for it &c.' Being convicted he was fined £2000 stg. to be paid within fourteen days, declared infamous, and sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass during his lifetime; and the Council farther declared, that if he did not pay the said fine within the time specified, he should be pursued before the Justiciary Court for his life. M'Crie's *The Bass Rock*, pp. 381-2.]

January 25th 1683

Mr John Hay of Woodcockdail wairdit by order of ye lords of his Mäties privie Counsell. John Shaw macer

Mr. John
Hay warded.

[Relieved January 26th.]

January 25th 1683

Andro Johnstoun of Lokerbie and Ro^t Johnston his brother wairdit by order of the Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell. John Shaw macer.

Andro
Johnstoun
& Ro^t
Johnston
warded.

[See February 16th.]

January 26th 1683

Captaine James Hamiltoun mer^r burges of Edr entered prisoner within the Tolbooth conform to order of the lords of his Mäties privie Counsell

Capt. James
Hamiltoun
warded.

January 26th 1683

Collonell James Menzies of Culdaire wairdit by order of the lords of his Maties Excheq^r

Collonell
James
Menzies
warded.

[Relieved on February 1st.]

January 26th 1683

Mr John Sprewll elder wairdit by order of the lord High Chancellor prof ye tennor followes

Mr. John
Sprewll elder
warded.

Edr 26 Janry 1683

Thes ar giveing order and warand to the Magistrats of Edr to receave into the Tolbooth of the sd brugh the person of Mr John Sprewell elder and to keip him in closs prison till further order

Sic Sub Aberdein Cance^{rs}

[Town Clerk of Glasgow. See August 1st.]

January 26th 1683

Mr. John Hay relieved. Mr John Hay of Woodcockdail relived by order of my lord heigh Chancellor grof ye tennor followes

Edr 26 Janry 1683

Having considered the forsd petition and ye suplicants expresiones of ye sense of his fault Thes ar ordering ye Magistrats of Edr to set him at libertie

Sic Sub Aberdein Cance^{ll}

[Again warded—see under February 16th.]

February 1st 1683

Colonell James Menzies relieved. Colonell James Menzies relived by order of my lord High thesaurer direct to Hew Wallace his Mäties Cashkeiper grof the tennor followes

Edr 1 Febyr 1683

Mr John Vans

Sir I am ordered be my lord heigh thesaurer to receave securitie from Collonell James Menzies for ye soume dew be him to his Mätie for qch he wes incarcerat and sieing I have receaved securitie I desyre you may set him at libertie for qch thes in my lord thesaurers name shall be yo^r sificient warand from S^r

Sic Sub your humble servant
Hew Wallace

February 2nd 1683

Mr George Rowe & James Collin warded. Mr George Rowe & James Collin wairdit by ane warand from his Mäties Advocat grof the tennor followes

Edr 2 Febyer 1683

Mr Vans

You ar heirby ordered to receave the persones of M^r George Rowe

& James Coline and detaine them suire prisoners till they be liberat by order for qch this shall be yor warand

Sic Sub Geo: Mackenzie

For the keiper of ye tolbooth of Edr

February 2nd 1683

Mr William Dick of Braid wairdit be vertew of lres of caption at the instance of Elizabeth Arthure relict of vmqll John Somervall of Cam- busnethen for not delyvering up to hir the two bonds qch he hes in his hands on grof is granted be ye Lord Collingtoun and the other by the Erle of Galloway each of them containing ye soume of floure thousand merks with ye assigna^{nes} made be ye sd Elizabeth Arthure and intimat to ye debtors yrof and that vpon hir sificient receipt of ye samyen As ye sd lres of caption more fullie beares.

[See March 6th.]

February 9th 1683

William Thomson Writer in Carlouk wairdit by ane partie of the Erle of Balcaras troupe with ane order from Generall Dalziell grof ye tennor followes

Cannongait 7 febyer 1683

Patrick Hay you shall vpon sight heirof goe with ane partie of tuentie hors and aprehend ye persones of Michaell Lamb & William Thomson & bring them in & comit them prisoners in ye tolbooth of Edr and this shall be your warand

Sic Sub

Dalziell

This warand wes tacken away be patrick hay in regard he could not leive [it] vpon ye accompt of M^r Lamb who wes not yet aprehendit

February 9th 1683

James Brand Baxter burges of the Cannongaite
Harie Saltoun servitor to Widow Hanna
Alex^r Johnson servitor to William Clerk
William Gib servitor to Widow elder
Thomas Birell servitor to George Rentoun
James Mccalein servitor [to] James Guthrie
Alex^r Williamson servitor to Mungo Malloch

Nine Baxters
relieved.

Thomas Ninians servitor to George Chrystie
John Aitchison servitor to John Sinclair

all Baxters in ye Cannongait who wer wairdit by order of ye Magistrats of Edr relived by ane act of liberation of ye lord of Counsell & Sesion of ye daite ye sd 9 of febrej 1683

February 14th 1683

Allan
Cameron
Ewine &
Donald
Camerons set
at liberty.

Allan Cameron of Lendally
Ewine and Donald Camerons
sones to Inuerlochie relived by ane order
of the lords of his Mäties privie Counsell
grof the tennor followes

The Lords of his Mäties privie Counsell doe heirby give order & warand to the Magistrats of Edr to set at libertie Allan Cameron of Lindally Ewin & Donald Camerons sones to Inuerlochie prisoners in ye said Tolbooth vpon the accompt of ane ryot & violence comitted vpon a pairtie of his Mäties forces who went to Lochaber in febrej 1682 for ingathering off publict dewes in regard they have made payment of the fyne imposed vpon them for ye sd cryme and found cauⁿ for ye peace of the heighlands

Sic Sub Pa: Menzies

February 16th 1683

Mr John
Hay warded.

Mr John Hay of Woodcockdaill wairdited (*sic*) by order of the lords of his Mäties privie Counsell

[See under February 20th.]

February 16th 1683

Andro
Johnstoun
& Ro^t
Johnstoun
relieved.

Andro Johnstoun of Lockerbie and Robert Johnstoun of Roberthill relived by ane warand of ye lords of Counsell grof ye tennor followes

Edr 25 Janry 1683

The Lords of his Maties privie counsell doe heirby give order and warand to ye Magistrats of Edr to set at libertie Andro Johnstoun of Lockerbie & Robert Johnstoun of Roberthill prisoners in ther tolbooth vpon ye accompt of ane wrongous poynding & deforcement comitted vpon the laird of Apelgirth & his vnclie in regard the[y] have made pay^t of the soume of Two Thousand merks imposed vpon them by

sentance of Counsell of ye daite of thes presents vpon ye accompt forsd

Sic Sub Will: Paterson

February 17th 1683

Edr 15 of febrej 1683

The lords of his Maties privie Counsell haveing considered the petition of John Young in Lanerk prisoner in the tolbooth of Edr vpon ye delation of on witnes that his hors wes made us[e] of by on of ye rebels & efter ye rebelion receaved back by him suplicating for libertie And the saids lords finding efter tryall ther is no farder probation agst him doe heirby give order . . . to set ye said John Young at libertie in regard he hath tacken the test and found cauⁿ to ansyr when called to ansyr to anything cane be laid to his charge vnder ye penaltie of Thrie Thousand merks Scots

Sic Sub Pa: Menzeis

February 19th 1683

Gawin Maxwell toun thesaurer of paislie & Hew Snodgrass toun clerk relived by ane warant of ye lords of his Mäties privie Counsell grof ye tennor followes

Edr 15 febrej 1683

The lords of his Mäties privie Counsell doe heirby give order and warand to the Magistrats of Edr to set at libertie Gavin Maxuell toun thesaurer [and Hew Snodgrass] ther prisoners within the tolbooth of Edr in regard they have made pay^t to his Mäties cash keiper of ye soume of two hundreth & fyftie merks of fyne imposed vpon them by dec^t off Counsell And of the soume of vyr two hundreth & fyftie merks to George Ogilvie persewer & hes satisfied and payed the witnesses expences conforme to ye sd decret

Sic Sub Will: Paterson

[Maxwell and Snodgrass were warded on February 15th.]

[February 15th to April 9th 1683

Fifteen leaves covering above period have been torn out of the 'Wairding' Book]

[15 leaves
missing.]

February 20th 1683

Mr John
Hay relieved.

Mr John Hay of Woodcockdaill relived . . . he 'humble acknowledges ye fault & rashness in that peaper written to ye shiref officer & ye justice of ye Counsell's procedor agst him . . . humble craves ye Counsell's pardone,' is freed from the allegation of being concerned in the rebellion and liberated on finding caution to appear when called under a penalty of two thousand merks

February 22nd 1683

Edr 8 febrej 1683

John
Hamiltoun of
Gilkerscleuch
set at liberty.

The lords of his Mäties privie Counsell doe heirby give order & warand to the Magistrats of Edr to set at libertie John Hamiltoun of Gilkerscleuch prisoner in ther tolbooth by sentance of Counsell of ye daite heirof in regard he hath maid payt to his mäties cash keiper of ye soume of Two Thousand merks incured be him throw not presenting his mother befor the counsell this day conforme to his band & a charge given to him for that efect

Sic Sub Will: paterson

February 23rd 1683

Sir Adam
Blaire of
Carberie
relieved.

Sr Adam Blaire of Carberie relived be vertew of lres of suspension relaxaⁿ & charge to put at libertie purchast be him agt Christian Wyllie relict of vmqll Robert Anderson mer^t burges of Edr & Thomas Wyllie mer^t yr hir father & assignay for not payt making to them of ye soume of Two hundreth & eleven pound seven shillings scots money of prin^l twentie pounds of expenses . . .

[See June 25th 1684.]

February 24th 1683

Edr ye 15 of febrej 1683

Mr. William
fforsyth
set at liberty.

The lords of his Maties privie counsell haveing considered the petition of Mr William fforsyth prisoner in ye tolbooth of Edr vpon ye accompt of ane hous conventicle suplicating for libertie in regard of his povertie and that he is content to find cauⁿ that he shall not keip conventicles heirefter with a report of a comittie anent his condition doe heirby ordean the Magistrats of Edr to set ye sd Mr W^m fforsyth at libertie in regard he hath found cauⁿ acted in the books of privie

counsell That he shall not keip nor be present at any conventicles heirefter and that he shall compear personally befor his Mäties privie Counsell when called for to ansyr to any thing cane be laid to his charge and that under ye penaltie of one thousand merks Scots money in caice of failzie in either of ye premisses

Sic Sub Will: paterson

February 26th 1683

The Lords justice generall & comissioners of justiciarie having con- sidered the remision & rehabilitaⁿ under ye great seall in favours of John Gibsone John Gibsone laite of Auchinshein q^rby he is pardoned & indemnified of the crymes of rebellion & treason for qch he is imprisoned with a petition given in be him craveing the same to be recordit & him to be set at libertie The saids lords have ordeaned the sd remission to be recorded in ther bookes And lykwayes have ordeaned & heirby ordeanes the Magistrats of Edr & keiper of ther tolbooth to set him at libertie

Sic Sub Tho: Gordon

March 6th 1683

The said day anent ane petition given in to ye Lords Comissioners of Justiciarie be Robert fergusone of Letterpin prisioner shewing that he being unhapelie engaged in ye rebellion 1679 he testified his greife & sorrow & sorrow (*sic*) for the same to such a height & degrie as hes prevailed with his gracious soveraigne to grant him his pardon & indemnitie for ye samyn as his remission under ye great seall discharging ther lōps & all vyr judges from all furdur troubling him for ye sd cryme produced in presence of ye sds lords beares and therfor craving his remission might be recorded & he set at libertie . . .

[Set at liberty accordingly.]

March 6th 1683

Mr William Dick of Braid relived be vertew of lres of suspension relaxaⁿ & charge to put at libertie purchast be him agst Elizabeth Arthure Laidie Camnethen at whois instance he wes incarcerat . . . for not exhibiting & delyvering to hir two bands ane therof granted be ye lord Collingtoun & ye vyr be the laite Erle of Galloway with two

assigna^ones & the intima^ones therof ffor ye reasones & causs contained in the sd lres of suspension relaxa^on & charge to put at libertie be vertew q^rof as also relived be ye sd suspension of ye areistment laid on be hellen Ker for payt to hir of certaine soumes of money aleit be him to hir . . .

March 6th 1683

James
Devener
Ar^d Stewart
& John
Bowie^t for
foraigne
service.^t

The lords of his M^{ties} privie Counsell haveing considered ye petition of Captaine W^m Douglas in Collonnell James Douglas his regiement in Holland Desyring that James Devener Ar^d Stewart & John Bowie prisoners in ye tolbooth of Edr for some disorders might be given to him to serve in his companie abrod with the sds thrie persones consent signified befor a Comittee who have also enacted themselves [not to return] to this kingdome vpon paine of death doe [grant] warand to the Magistrats of Edr to delyver the saids thrie persones to Cap^t Douglas for foraigne service

Sic Sub Will: paterson

March 21st 1683

Sir Arch^d
Kennedie
of Colean
liberated.

Thes ar giving order and warand to ye Magistrats of Edr and keipers of the Tolbooth yrof conforme to a warand under the lord heigh Chancellor his hand to set at libertie S^r Archbald Kennedie of Colean prisoner vpon ye accompt of ane conflict betuixt him & ye laird of Thorniedyks in the parli^a closs he haveing found cauⁿ to apear befor the Counsell vpon a citaⁿ of sex houres under ye penaltie of Two Thousand pound sterling money

Sic Sub Pa: Menzies

March 21st 1683

Mr Alex^r
Brown
liberated.

Thes ar giving order & warand to ye Magistrats of Edr & keiper of ye tolbooth yrof conform to ane warand under the lord high Chancellor his hand to set at libertie Mr Alex^r Brown of Thorniedyks prisoner vpon ye accompt of ane conflict betuixt him & ye laird of Colean in ye parli^a closs he haveing found cauⁿ to apear befor ye Counsell vpon ane citaⁿ of sex houres under ye penaltie of Two Thousand pounds sterling money

Sic Sub Pa: Menzies

April 27th 1683

The Lords of the Comittee for publict afaires having called befor them Thomas Paterson sent in prisoner from Cumernald for not keeping ye church and finding him a boy about 13 or 14 yeires who declaires yt except 5 or 6 sondayes he hes alwayes kept & still resolves to keip his paroch church therfor ye Lords doe heirby give order & warand to ye Magistrats of Edr & keipers of ye Tolbooth of Edr to set ye sd litle boy Thomas paterson at libertie

Sic Sub Linlithgow
Strathmore
Jo: Edinburgen

May 4th 1683

Robert Tivedaill wairdit by ye Magistrats of Edr and under ye sentence of death by them for ane murder comitted by him in Leith

Robert
Tivedaill
warded for
murder.

May 4th 1683

David Mackmillan wairdit by order off ye Lords of Justiciarie and under sentence of death for rebellion & Treason

David
Mackmillan
warded for
treason.

May 16th 1683

fforasmuch as William Cleiland of Kinneblehill and Archibald of Edr for there alea^t harbouring and resetting of the Lady Gilkers-cleugh and having had accession to the escape of the said Lady from a partie of his Ma/ forces sent to apprehend her and they being examined by a Commitie of Councell there vpon and having befor them taken & signed the test and there examinaⁿ having been reported to the Lo/ high Chancellor These are therfor by order of the Lord high Chancellor giving warrand to the Magistrats of Edinburgh to sett the saids William and Archibald Cleveland at libertie . . .

W^m Cleiland
& Arch^d
Cleveland set
at liberty.

[To appear when called under a penalty of 5000 merks Scots. They were incarcerated on May 13th.]

May 30th 1683

Margrat Duncan & Dorafie Drummond wairdet by ane writen order vnder ye hand of David Kennedy baly of portsburgh and that for alea^t selling of money day and daite forsd

Margrat
Duncan &
Dorafie
Drummond
warded.

June 14th 1683

Andrew
gullian
warded for
the murder of
Archbishop
Sharpe.

You are upon sight heirof to receive the body of Andrew gullian one of the murthers of the late Archbishops of St antandrosse (*sic*) and to keep him closse prissoner in the tolbuith of Edr in irons ffor doeing which this shall be yōr warrand

Sic Sub Aberdein

[Executed—see July 13th.]

June 16th 1683

Alexr
Gordone &
Edward
Aitkin
warded.

Alex^r Gordone of Erlstoun & Edward Aitkin wardit by Cap^t Alex^r Livingstoun who wer transported from Newcastle to ye tolbooth of Edr conforme to ane order from his Mātie qch warand wes never sein nor delyvered

[1. See January 31st 1684. Sir A. Gordon of Earlston (1650-1726) after Bothwell Brig escaped to Holland; arrested at Newcastle, 1683, and examined at Edinburgh concerning the Rye House plot; imprisoned till 1689; estates restored at Revolution. Sir Alexander m. Janet Hamilton, daughter of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston, 30th Nov. 1676. His imprisonment in Blackness was voluntarily shared by his wife, and some of their children were born there. The 'Covenant Engagements' of Janet Hamilton formed the subject of a Scottish chap book which enjoyed a wide popularity for over a century.]

June 26th 1683

John Bell
bellman
warded.

John Bell belman wardit be vertew of ane deēt & act of warding at ye instance of Marion Dalrymple widow in Edr for not pay^t making to hir of ye soume of tuelfe pounds Scots for ye Mertimas termes last of ane duelling hous, Item vyr tuelfe pounds for ye whitsondayes termes rent therof, Item more nyne pounds tuelfe shilling Scots as the remaines of ane former termes rent & for some mert waire . . .

[Relieved June 28th by consent of 'Marion Halieburton relict of patrick Conquergood at whois instance he wes incarcerat.']

July 12th 1683

John Nimo
warded.

John Nimo wardit by order of ye Lords of Justiciarie

[Set at liberty on July 14th.]

July 13th 1683

Androw Guillen execute at the cross of Edr by sentence of the Lo/ of Androw Guillen Justiciary as being accessory to the late Bishop of St andrews death Guillen executed.

July 13th 1683

Mr John Lourie [blank] Hamiltoun of Monkland Mr Patrick Inglis Mr John Lourie [blank] Hamiltoun of East barnes David Oswald of Daldas & M^r Ja: Mitchelsone all wardit by order of ye lords of his Māties Justiciarie

Mr John
Lourie
[blank]
Hamiltoun
Mr Patrick
Inglis David
Oswald &
Mr Ja:
Mitchelsone
warded.

[Inglis and Oswald were set at liberty on July 14th and Mitchelsone on July 17th.]

July 13th 1683

You ar ordered by my Lord Chancellour to receive and detain in suire firmance the persones of William Yule George Condie and James Storie prisoners sent in from England untill furdur [order] as witness my hand at Holieroodhous 13 July 1683

William Yule
George
Condie James
Storie
warded.*Sic Sub* Will: Paterson

July 14th 1683

John flint John Young George Dundas John Wallace Jo: Thortoun all wardit by order of the Lords of his Māties Justiciarie

John flint
John Young
George
Dundas John
Wallace &
Jo: Thortoun
all warded.

[flint, Dundas, & Wallace relieved same day—see later entry.]

July 14th 1683

You ar to receive & keip in suire firmeance the person of James Dewar till furdur order

James Dewar
warded.*Sic Sub* Aberdein Chan:

July 14th 1683

Margaret Bryson wardit by ane Comittie of his Māties privie Counsell John Henderson meacer

Margaret
Bryson
warded.

[Set at liberty July 26 on finding caution to appear when called.]

July 14th 1683

John Wallace of Riglomhead John flint in Burngrainge John Thomsone in Leivingstoun John Nimmo in Maines of Booghall David Oswald of Eastbarnes Mr Patrick Ingles portioner yōf & George Dundass late Balyie of Dundas all sett at liberty by order of the Lo/ Justiciarie by me

John Wallace
John flint
John
Thomsone
John Nimmo
David Oswald
Mr. Patrick
Ingles &
George
Dundass set
at liberty.*Sic Sub* Tho: Gordoune

U

July 17th 1683

James Michelsonne of Watsone relived by order of the Lo/: of Justiciarie by me

Sic Sub Tho: Gordone

[Warded again—see July 27th ?]

July 21st 1683

James Law in Bigger sett at liberty conforme to the Lo/: of Justiciaries ordinance by Mr Thomas Gordone clerk

[Warded again on July 24th.]

July 24th 1683

James Dunlape Receave to prisone the persones of James Dunlape of Houshill John Porterfeild of Douchill James Hamiltoun of Aikinhead Mr John Banantyn of Cowhous

Sic Sub Tho: Gordone

July 24th 1683

George Houstoun of Johnstoun Receave to prisone the persone of George Houstoun of Johnstoun George Muirehead of Steinstoun and Gabriall Hamiltoun of Westburne and detaine them till furdur order

Sic Sub Tho: Gordone

July 24th 1683

Mr Andro Hay of Craignethin George Brydon of Whelphill & John Gilchrist Maisson at Biger wairdit by order of the Lords of his Mäties Justiciarie John M^cKenzie meacer

July 24th 1683

James Law heritor in Biger wairdit by order of ye lords of his Mäties justiciarie John M^cKenzie meacer

July 24th 1683

Sixteen persons warded. George Bryden of Whelphill James Muirhead of Breadholme ¹ James Murray yo^r of Auchinreoch John Murray ther Patrick Park wryter in Glasgow

Marcus Mershell Mer^t ther James Sheills Apothecarie ther ² James Paterson in Sheills John Perie in Newk Allan Wat in Kirktoun John Simpson stationer in Lanerk James Thomsone in park of Mauldslic Alex^r Marshall servitor to S^r Daniell Carmichaell John Whytfoord also his servant David Gilkerson in Bonnerhist William frame in Mauldslic all wairdit by order of the lords of His Mäties Justiciarie

Sic Sub Tho: Gordon

[For being concerned in the rebellion of Bothwell Bridge. 1. Liberated July 25th. 2. Liberated July 26th.]

July 25th 1683

James Muirehead of Breadisholme having supplicat the Lo/: of Justiciarie as to his innocence of the rebellione of Bothwell Bridge the saids Lo/: finding him innocent They by there act of adjurnall gives warrand for his libera^one as the sd act of the daite forsd more fully beares

Sic Sub Tho: Gordone

July 26th 1683

Keipers of the Tolbooth of Edr receive and detaine in custodie James Young Chalmerland of Evandaill James Stewart of Hartwood Alex^r Cunyngham of Craigend William Muire of Glanderstoun John Anderson of Dowhill

Five persons warded.

Sic Sub Tho: Gordoun

July 27th 1683

Alexander Cunynghame of Craigends William Muire of Glanderstoun James Sheilles apothecary in Glasgow all of these set at liberty by order of the Lo/: of Justiciarie in regard they have found cautione to compeir

Alex^r. Cunynghame William Muire James Sheilles liberated.*Sic Sub Tho: Gordone*

July 27th 1683

Eighteen
persons
warded.

Keipers of the Tolbooth of Edr receive and detaine in prisone

John Cheislie of Carswell
 Gavin Muirheade of Lachope
 Sr Alexander Hamiltoun of Haggs
 James Chancelour of Sheilhill
 Mr John Hamiltoun of Halcraige ¹
 W^m Forrest of Masockmilne
 Sr John Maxwell of Pollock ²
 Sr Robert Sinclair of Stinstoun ³
 W^m Bailzie of Lamingtoun ⁴
 Alexr Durhame of Duntervie
 Mr W^m Douglas of Badds
 David Oswald of Eastbarnes
 Sr Patrick Hepburne of Blackcastell ⁵
 Adam Cockburne of Driniestoun
 Mr Ja: Mitchelson of Howlatstoun
 Andro Rob in Wailsley
 W^m Young alias Babelon
 Mr W^m Rusell

Sic Sub Tho: Gordone

[1. Liberated on August 1st on finding caution. 2, 3, 4, and 5.
 Removed to Edinburgh Castle on July 28th.]

July 28th 1683

Six persons
'transported
to the Castell
of Edr.'

Received furth of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh by ane order of the Lo/ high Chancellor of Scotland the persons of

Sir John Shaw of Greinock
 Sir John Maxwell of Pollock
 William Bally of Lamingtoune
 Sir Robert S^t clare of Steinsone
 [Blank] Dundas of Ormestoune
 Sir Patrick Hepburne of Blackcastell

who were committed prisoners by the Lo/: of Justiciary transported
 to the Castell of Edr by order of the Lo/: of Council by me

Sic Sub G. Sinclair Balyie

July 31st 1683

[blank] Crawford of Auchinham
 John Bege of Ardwall
 Mr W^m Rankein laite scholm^r at Air
 James Gallaway in Sheills
 Thomas Macknelie in Ocheltrie
 John Speir ther
 [blank] Dunlape of that ilk
 fergus M^cgiben
 William ffulertoun of that ilk
 David Boswell of Afleck
 [blank] ffulertoun of Corsbie

Eleven
persons
warded.

August 1st 1683

Walter Lochart of Kirktoun wardit by order of the Lords of his Maties Justiciarie

Walter
Lochart
warded.

August 1st 1683

Received by me Hewgh Murray ane of ye gentlmen of his Maties troupe of gaurd from Mr John Vans goodman of the Tolbooth of Edr the persones of M^r John M^cKillieken ¹ M^r John Sprewll & M^r John Philpe in order to ther transportaⁿ to the Bass conform to ane act of ye Lords of his Maties privie counsell as witness my hand at Edr the first day of August 1683

Mr John
M^cKillieken
Mr John
Sprewll
Mr John
Philpe
transported
to the Bass.*Sic Sub Hew Murray*

[1. Mr John M^cGilligen m. of Fodderty in the presb. of Dingwall—
 a strict nonconformist.]

November 14th 1683

The eleven prisoners underwrytin delyvered by the Magistrats of Edr who wer transported from London by his Maties order and received at Leith by the sds Magistrats conforme to ane order of the lords of his Maties privie [Counsell] qrof the tennor followes

Sir Hew
Campbell of
Canrook Sir
George
Campbell his
son Sir
WilliamEdr first of Nov^r 1683

The lords of his Maties privie Counsell in persewance of his Maties commands signified in his letter under his royall hand of the threttie of Octo^r last doe ordean the Magistrats of Edr to atend at Leith vpon

Muire of
Rowalland
William
Muire his
sone John
Crawford of

Crawford-land William fairlie of Bruntsfeild Alex^r Monro of Bearcrofts William Spence Robert Murray William Carstairs & Robert Bailzie of Jeriswood warded.

ye coming of on of his Mäties yeauchts sent doune with the prisoners efternamed viz S^r Hew Campbell of Cesnock ¹ S^r George Campbell his son ² S^r William Muire of Rowalland William Muire his sone ³ John Craufoord of Craufoordland ⁴ William fairlie of Bruntsfeild ⁵ Alex^r Monro of Bearcrofts ⁶ William Spence ⁷ Robert Murray William Carstairs ⁸ and Robert Bailzie of Jeriswood ⁹ and to receave the saids prisoners from Captain [blank] Crow comander of ye yeaucht called the Kitchine and to convoy them saiflie to the Tolbooth of Edr with sufficient gaurds and to imprisone them in clos prisone till furder order and if the saids Magistrats desyre concurance of any of the forces the saids Lords doe recomend to ye lord Chancellor to order a pairtie as he shall think fitt

Sic Sub Will: Paterson

[1 and 2. See January 24th 1684. 3. See January 31st 1684. 4, 5, and 6. See April 18th 1684; Crawford was the paternal grandfather of the notorious John Ker of Kersland. 7. See November 16th 1683; for William Spence see Wodrow's *History*, 8vo edit., iv. 95, 96, 285, 319, 320. 8. See January 22nd 1684; the famous Principal Carstairs. 9. See January 22nd 1684; the eminent Scottish patriot.]

November 16th 1683

Mr W^m Spence to be put in irons.

The lords of his Mäties privie Counsell doe give order to the Magistrats & keipers of ye Tolbooth of Edr to put Mr W^m Spence prisoner in a rounge in the prison apairt be himselfe from the rest and that he be put in irons and kept therein for his further securitie till further order

Sic Sub Will: Paterson

November 21st 1683

John Weir made close prisoner.

The lords of his Mäties privie Counsell finding John Weir to be slandered with accession to ye laite rebellion doe ordean him to be kept clos prisoner in the tolbooth of Edr and to have no comunication with any of ye prisoners from London or any vyr persone till furder order .And this in regard of ye depositiones taken agt him read in Counsell given in be his Mäties advocat

Sic Sub Aberdein Cance^{ll}

JOHN A. FAIRLEY.

JOHN WESLEY IN EDINBURGH

SCOTTISH historians have been strangely neglectful of John Wesley's *Journal*,¹ a work that depicts the ecclesiastical and social state of the northern kingdom in the eighteenth century with a graphic clearness, a force and vivacity, and a homely wisdom seldom equalled and hardly surpassed by any contemporary writer. View it as we may—as a lifelike portrait of one of the greatest religious personalities the world has ever known, or as a wonderfully minute and vivid record of the toiling population of these islands in days when industrialism and reform were still a great way off—Wesley's *Journal* is incontestably one of the very foremost books of the eighteenth century.

Wesley had unique opportunities of studying the social conditions of the period. He was among the best-travelled and best-informed men of his time. For sixty long years he constantly traversed the king's highway in pursuance of his apostolic mission. There are few corners of the United Kingdom he did not visit again and again. Moreover, his interest in the human comedy was boundless, for he was without a trace of the mental exclusiveness of the professional

¹ The issue of a standard edition, enlarged from original MSS., with notes from unpublished diaries, annotations, maps, and illustrations, was begun in 1909 under the editorship of the Rev. N. Curnock, assisted by experts. Eight of the projected volumes have been published. These chronicle, however, only the earlier visits of Wesley to Scotland. The extracts in this paper are from the condensed edition in two volumes, with introduction by Rev. W. L. Watkinson, issued by the Methodist Publishing House in 1903. Readers interested may also consult a small volume entitled *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland*, by the Rev. Dr. Butler, minister of Galashiels (Blackwood, 1898), a work to which I am to some extent indebted.

evangelist. He went about with his eyes and his ears wide open; and in his *Journal* we have indubitable evidence of the width of his sympathies and the keenness of his observation.

I

John Wesley made no secret of the fact that he found Scotland a very tough part of the vineyard to cultivate. When he travelled northwards, as he did on no fewer than twenty-two occasions, he became quickly conscious that he was in a strange land, although not among a people aggressively hostile, such as he often encountered in England. The Scots received him with respect, but there was more than a suggestion of frigidity about the welcome. The enthusiasm and emotional excitement characteristic of English revivals were absent, and Wesley came to the conclusion that the Scottish people were not only cold-blooded but cursed with a surfeit of knowledge. 'There is seldom fear,' he querulously remarks, 'of wanting a congregation in Scotland, but the misfortune is they know everything, so they learn nothing.'

Wesley, shrewd man as he was, failed to read the national character in the light of its historical setting. He hardly appreciated the elementary facts of the religious situation. In England the masses had everything to learn: in Scotland they had much to unlearn, especially in an ecclesiastical sense. South of the Tweed the great body of the people were creedless: in the north they were creed-ridden. That Wesley found himself up against the most cherished prepossessions of the Scottish race is not surprising. He came to Scotland as a Methodist proselytiser as well as a preacher. Doubtless he believed there were many roads to heaven, but he certainly regarded it as a proof of superior wisdom that a man should enter the New Jerusalem through the portals of Methodism. He professed a dislike of theological controversy, yet he did not scruple to attempt to

convince the most theological and argumentative people in the world of the error of their ways.

So little in fact was Wesley in harmony with the religious mood of Scotland, that his constant fear was that his followers would commit the unpardonable sin of uniting with the Church of John Knox. 'As soon as I am dead,' he once lamented, 'the Methodists will be a regular Presbyterian Church.' As a disciple of Arminius he was, of course, no friend of Calvinism; and he unfeignedly believed that its Scottish adherents were bigots 'beyond all others.' In the forefront he placed the Seceders. 'I have not yet met a Papist in this kingdom who would tell me to my face, all but themselves must be damned; but I have seen Seceders enough who make no scruple to affirm, none but themselves could be saved.'¹

The causes of Wesley's failure to impose his ecclesiastical system on Scotland are sufficiently obvious. He but suffered the fate of those who try to proselytise without mastering the conditions under which proselytisation is possible. He did not understand the genius of Presbyterianism, did not perceive that Scotland was inextricably bound up with a system of worship and belief indigenous to the race. It must not be supposed, however, that because Wesley ventured among a people whose theological combativeness was proverbial, and who showed no disposition to acknowledge the *jus divinum* of Methodism, his labours were an unqualified failure. Far from it. The Scottish people may have plainly indicated that Methodism was not wanted, but they did not, nay, could not, despise the man whose preaching had not only rallied the moral forces of the British people, but had effected a religious revolution even more important, according to so untrammelled a critic as Lecky, than those splendid victories by land and sea, won during the Ministry of the elder Pitt. Crowds flocked to hear Wesley as they flocked

¹ Southey's *Life of Wesley*, 1858, ii. 98.

to hear Whitefield, a preacher, theologically at all events, after their own hearts. Nothing impressed him more than the eagerness of the Scots to listen to the Gospel. And with good reason, judging from such an entry in the *Journal* as this: 'We had such a congregation at five in the morning as I never saw at Edinburgh before.' Whitefield told Wesley that, being an Arminian, he (Wesley) had 'no business in Scotland,' while Charles Wesley confided to his brother that he might 'just as well preach to the stones as to the Scots.' Both were wrong. Methodism did not make headway in Scotland, but undoubtedly Wesley's preaching was accompanied by important ethical results.

Having briefly narrated the circumstances of Wesley's coming to Scotland, and the conditions under which his work was done, I proceed to my main purpose, *i.e.*, to chronicle his impressions of Edinburgh and its inhabitants, to detail some of his experiences, to tell the story of his friendship with Lady Glenorchy and Lady Maxwell, and to comment upon his famous controversy with Dr. John Erskine, one of the ministers of Old Greyfriars'.

II

Wesley was certainly as well acquainted with eighteenth-century Edinburgh as any English traveller of whom we have any record, not excepting Defoe. He visited the Scottish capital a score of times betwixt the years 1751 and 1790, usually staying about a week, sometimes longer, on each occasion. He preached daily to immense crowds, many prominent citizens were personally known to him, and he was familiar with all the controversies which split the Edinburgh of that day into hostile ecclesiastical camps. Further, he was led captive by the glamour of the city. Its beauty enthralled him, while its venerable associations appealed strongly to his historical imagination. The quaint houses and dark wynds of Edinburgh were all known to him. With

wistful eyes he would behold the noble prospect from the Calton Hill (where he most loved to preach) and Arthur's Seat, and often he would betake himself to Holyrood, for, surprising to relate, Mary Queen of Scots never had a more ardent admirer, never a more convinced believer in her innocence than this great apostle of evangelical Protestantism. I can imagine, too, though there is no mention of it in the *Journal*, that Wesley would sometimes stroll to Craigmillar Castle, and, sitting in the shadow of its massive walls, muse of her who was once its most illustrious inmate, his eye meanwhile resting on the far-stretching landscape and perchance descrying the smoke rising slowly from the tall 'lands' of Auld Reekie.

Eighteenth-century travellers in Scotland, with embarrassing unanimity, fastened on Edinburgh's vulnerable point—its uncleanness. Boswell tells of a baronet who observed that 'walking the streets of Edinburgh at night was pretty perilous, and a good deal odoriferous.'¹ One remembers, too, that when the valetudinarian, Matthew Bramble, in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (he for whom the atmosphere of the Bath Pump-room proved too much), came to Edinburgh, and took up his abode in the house of a 'widow gentlewoman of the name of Lockhart' on the fourth storey of a High Street 'land,' he inveighed against the odours of the place. Dr. Johnson's first impressions of the city were akin to those of Mr. Bramble. As he walked up the High Street on that hot summer night in 1773, Boswell, powerless to prevent him 'being assailed by the evening effluvia of Edinburgh,' fervently wished that his distinguished guest could have been deprived of one of his five senses. But it was of no avail, since Johnson had not proceeded far on his way to Boswell's house in James's Court when he muttered to his host the unpleasant, but by no means unexpected, remark, 'I smell you in the dark.'²

¹ *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides.*

² *Ibid.*

Wesley's first visit to Edinburgh (April 1751) lasted only a few hours, but it was long enough to satisfy him on one point. The entry in his *Journal* merely sums up, in a single pungent remark, the first impressions of Mr. Bramble (who was none other than Smollett grown petulant), Dr. Johnson, and other travellers who walked the streets and closes of our city in the eighteenth century. 'We rode to Edinburgh;¹ one of the dirtiest cities I had ever seen, not excepting Cologne in Germany.' Wesley would doubtless have agreed with Mr. Bramble that Edinburgh was a 'hotbed of genius,' but the tortures of the Inquisition would not have drawn from him the admission that the city had even a remote pretension to cleanliness. The memory of that first visit never seems to have been effaced. Exactly ten years later, in 1761, he returns to the charge, and, in a torrent of invective, upbraids the citizens for the unsavoury condition of their streets.

How can it be suffered that all manner of filth should still be thrown even into the main street continually? Where are the magistracy, the gentry, the nobility of the land? Have they no concern for the honour of their nation? How long shall the capital city of Scotland, yea, and the chief street of it, stink worse than a common sewer? Will no lover of his country, or of decency and common sense, find a remedy for this?

In Wesley the æsthetic sense was strongly developed, and it is pleasant to think that he was as convinced of the surpassing beauty of Edinburgh as he was of its chronic uncleanliness. 'The situation of the city, on a hill shelving down on both sides, as well as to the east, with the stately castle upon a craggy rock on the west,' he considered 'inexpressibly fine.' The High Street, too, filled him with admiration. 'The main street, so broad and finely paved, with the lofty houses on either hand (many of them seven or eight

¹ Wesley's first sermon on Scottish soil had been preached the previous day at Musselburgh.

storeys high), is far beyond any in Great Britain,' an opinion which, it is interesting to note, coincides with that of Dr. Edmund Calamy (1671-1732), a famous Nonconformist divine who visited Edinburgh in 1709. 'The principal street,' writes Calamy, 'I must own to be the finest (of a single street) that I ever saw.'¹

The South Bridge, completed before his visits to Edinburgh had ceased, Wesley evidently thought one of the marvels of a marvellous city. In May 1788, having occasion to cross the recently opened bridge spanning the deep ravine of Pease-Dean in Berwickshire, he wrote in his *Journal*:

One of the noblest works in Great Britain; unless you would except the bridge at Edinburgh, which lies directly across the Cowgate; so that one street (a thing not heard of before) runs under another.

With an insatiable curiosity, Wesley combined an ardent love of nature, and a taste for the romantic and the picturesque. He would go miles out of his way to view a far-famed landscape or to inspect a hoary ruin. A man who climbed to the top of the Bass, who penetrated so remote a region as the Leadhills to see the mines, who paced the Abbey of Aberbrothwick to find out its length, was not likely to forgo the pleasure of a scramble on Arthur's Seat. Accordingly, under date June 16, 1766, we find this entry:

I took a view of one of the greatest natural curiosities in the kingdom; what is called Arthur's Seat, a small, rocky eminence, six or seven yards across, on the top of an exceeding high mountain, not far from Edinburgh. The prospect from the top of the Castle is large, but it is nothing in comparison of this.

We may perhaps smile at Wesley's sense of proportion, but an Englishman who regards Ludgate Hill as an eminence may well be forgiven for describing Arthur's Seat as 'an exceeding high mountain.'

¹ *Life and Times*, 1829, ii. 173.

III

Enamoured of the beauty of Edinburgh, Wesley could also be appreciative of its citizens. 'I still find,' he writes on May 19, 1788, 'a frankness and openness in the people of Edinburgh, which I find in few other parts of the kingdom.' And with this testimonial our forefathers might well rest content, for nothing so flattering was uttered by Wesley about Glasgow, where the people 'hear much, know everything, and feel nothing,' or about Greenock, which is noted for 'cursing, swearing, drunkenness, and all manner of wickedness.' But while Wesley's opinion of the people of Edinburgh was on the whole distinctly favourable, his preaching experiences often caused him to modify it. He complains of their apathy and reserve, notwithstanding that he 'did not shun to declare the whole counsel of God.' On April 25, 1784, we have this entry: 'I am amazed at this people. Use the most cutting words, and apply them in the most pointed manner, still they *hear*, but *feel* no more than the seats they sit upon!' Again: 'I spake as plain as ever I did in my life. But I never knew any in Scotland offended at plain dealing. In this respect, the North Britons are a pattern to all mankind.'

But if in Edinburgh Wesley marked the absence of religious hysteria to which he was so accustomed in England, he rejoiced that his audiences were large, representative, and exemplary in their behaviour. He assuredly made exacting demands on their time, attention, and particularly on their health, for he was happiest when, as Dean Farrar remarks, 'the green grass was his pulpit and the blue heavens his sounding board.' Occasionally he would preach in the Episcopal chapel or the Methodist meeting-house, but as a rule he set up his pulpit either on the Calton Hill or the Castle Hill, resorting to the lower altitude of the High School Yards when the weather was stormy.

Most of the entries in the *Journal* refer to the Calton Hill as his favourite rostrum. On May 26, 1764, he notes:

On Saturday evening I preached on the Calton Hill at Edinburgh. It being the time of the General Assembly, many of the ministers were there. The wind was high and sharp, and blew away a few delicate ones. But most of the congregation did not stir till I had concluded.

On the evening of the following day Wesley again took up his position on the summit, and, like Paul standing 'in the midst of Mars' hill,' told the Modern Athenians that he perceived that in all things they were too superstitious.

In the evening it blew a storm. However, having appointed to be on the Calton Hill, I began there to a huge congregation. At first, the wind was a little troublesome; but I soon forgot it; and so did the people for an hour and a half, in which I fully delivered my own soul.

A fortnight later Wesley again preached on the Calton Hill to 'a very large congregation,' which seems, however, to have been exceeded next day. 'The evening congregation on the hill was far the largest I have seen in the kingdom and the most deeply affected, many were in tears, more seemed cut to the heart.'

Wesley usually preached twice, occasionally three times, daily, the services being held at uncanonical hours. Edinburgh people had then an appetite for sermons which, it is to be feared, has since become much attenuated. It is true they could not listen to a Wesley every day; but the greatest preacher alive at this hour would indeed be a sanguine man who expected large audiences at almost any hour of the day or night. Yet this was Wesley's good fortune. The directness, practicality, good sense, and intense spirituality of his preaching, likewise his commanding and magnetic personality, made him irresistible. Consequently, as we have seen, he had large congregations at five in the morning. And if the crowds came early, they also stayed late. Under date

August 3, 1767, we have this startling entry:—'In the evening I preached at seven, and again at nine. *We concluded about twelve.*'

Not only were Wesley's congregations very large, numbering frequently five or six thousand, but they were drawn from all classes of society. In 1763, during the sittings of the General Assembly, he preached one morning at seven in the High School Yards, the service bringing together 'not the ministers only, but abundance of the nobility and gentry.' One of his auditors was Lady Frances Gardiner,¹ the widow of the gallant Colonel who fell at the battle of Prestonpans. A month later Lady Frances wrote Wesley, and congratulated him on sending two of his preachers to Edinburgh.

I have never, I own, been at the preaching in the morning yet, as they preach so early; but I ventured to the High School Yard the morning you left Edinburgh; and it pleased God, even after I got home, to follow part of your sermon with a blessing to me.²

When Wesley preached his first sermon in Edinburgh (April 29, 1761), 'some of the reputable hearers cried out in amaze, "Why, this is sound doctrine! Is this he of whom Mr. Whitefield used to talk so?"' Subsequent visits, unhappily, confirmed Wesley in the belief that however much the people of Edinburgh might pride themselves in their

¹ She was a daughter of the fourth Earl of Buchan, and was married to Colonel Gardiner in 1726. A 'lively little woman, with a very numerous progeny,' she was the *Francissa* of an elegy on her husband. Of his wife, Colonel Gardiner said 'that the greatest imperfection he knew in her character was, that she valued and loved him much more than he deserved.' Lady Frances was the patroness of Robert Blair, minister of Athelstaneford, author of *The Grave*; a correspondent of Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge; and a warm supporter, as were all the Buchan family, of George Whitefield. She was the authoress of *Anna and Edgar; or Love and Ambition: A Tale* (Edinburgh, 1781). See Fergusson's *Life of Henry Erskine*, pp. 39-40. Her daughter, Richmond, was the 'Fanny Fair' of the song 'Twas at the Hour of Dark Midnight,' written in commemoration of her father, by Sir Gilbert Elliot, third Baronet. Wesley was chaplain to the Countess-Dowager of Buchan.

² *Methodist Magazine*, 1782, p. 443.

orthodoxy, they were incurably phlegmatic. He looked in vain for the usual concomitants of religious remorse. His preaching therefore became more fiery and impetuous. 'I can now leave Edinburgh with comfort,' he writes on June 17, 1766, 'for I have fully delivered my own soul.' This was a favourite phrase with Wesley when in Edinburgh. On June 4, 1774, he found 'uncommon liberty in applying Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones.' In later years he was inclined to take a despondent view of his influence. Edinburgh people seemed to care more about the pure milk of Calvinism than about vital and practical religion. We are therefore not unprepared for the bitter cry of disillusionment contained in the following entry:—'May 21, 1780. I am not a preacher for the people of Edinburgh. Hugh Saunderson and Michael Fenwick¹ are more to their taste.' The greatest religious force of the eighteenth century found himself baffled by what he took to be the Laodiceanism and bigotry of Edinburgh!

IV

Wesley was fond of saying that the Seceders were always condemning others whereas the Methodists condemned themselves. But he was frequently contemptuous of his own maxim. Probably he would have been more successful in Edinburgh had he been less captious, less partisan in his criticisms of the Kirk, its ministers, its people, and its sermons. Pursuing a course so tactless, it was inevitable that he should find himself in trouble. Calamy was surprised that the Edinburgh ministers 'preached with neckcloths and coloured cloaks.'² Wesley wondered how they could preach such poor sermons. Once he attended a service in the Tolbooth Church, but the sermon 'having no application, was no way likely to awaken drowsy hearers.' On another occasion

¹ Two of Wesley's local preachers.

² *Life and Times of Edmund Calamy*, ii. 177.

he complains of the 'dull minister' keeping him 'in the kirk till past one.' But when Wesley chanced to attend the Episcopal service the criticism was more amiable.

May 10, 1772. I attended the Church of England service in the morning, and that of the kirk in the afternoon. Truly 'no man having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new.' How dull and dry did the latter (*i.e.*, the kirk service) appear to me, who had been accustomed to the former!

Again:

April 17, 1772. Being Good Friday I went to the Episcopal chapel,¹ and was agreeably surprised: not only the prayers were read well, seriously and distinctly, but the sermon, upon the sufferings of Christ, was sound and unexceptionable. Above all, the behaviour of the whole congregation, rich and poor, was solemn and serious.

He was also 'agreeably surprised' at the singing in the evening. 'I have not heard such female voices, so strong and clear, anywhere in England.'

Wesley's visits to Edinburgh synchronised with the uprising of Moderatism. The Secession movement, it is true, had begun to make itself felt, but the leavening influences flowed strongly from Moderatism, which Chalmers, with penitential sadness, declared to be 'a morality without godliness.' Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk was hailed as 'the preserver of the Church from fanaticism,' heretical teaching was condoned or lightly spoken of, drunkenness was only an indecorum, and theatre-going was a ministerial pastime. Indeed there had come about quite a *rapprochement* between Church and stage, for when Mrs. Siddons visited Edinburgh in 1784, the General Assembly was compelled to arrange its business with reference to her performance in the Theatre Royal. Wesley happened to be in Edinburgh when this unprecedented event in the history of the Scottish Church occurred, and, in his *Journal*, he laments the fact that the distinguished actress should have

¹ Probably St. Paul's Non-juring Episcopal Church, Carrubber's Close. See *A Jacobite Stronghold of the Church*, by Mary E. Ingram (Edinburgh, 1907).

stolen from him his congregation, and from the General Assembly a considerable portion of its members. 'How much wiser,' he caustically adds, 'are these Scots than their forefathers!'

In 1764, and again in 1766, Wesley was in Edinburgh during the sittings of the General Assembly, and on both occasions spent several hours listening to the deliberations of that venerable body. It might have been supposed that so renowned an example of churchmanship would have found the atmosphere congenial, but it was far otherwise. Wesley formed a humble opinion of the procedure of the General Assembly, and a still humbler of the behaviour of its members. The first entry is dated May 28, 1764, and is as follows:

I spent some hours at the General Assembly, composed of about a hundred and fifty ministers. I was surprised to find, (1) That anyone was admitted, even lads, twelve or fourteen years old. (2) That the chief speakers were lawyers, six or seven on one side only. (3) That a single question took up the whole time, which, when I went away, seemed to be as far from a conclusion as ever, namely, 'Shall Mr. Lindsay be removed to Kilmarnock parish or not?' The argument for it was, 'He has a large family, and this living is twice as good as his own.' The argument against it was, 'The people are resolved not to hear him, and will leave the kirk if he comes.' If then the real point in view had been, as their law directs, '*majus bonum Ecclesie*,' instead of taking up five hours, the debate might have been determined in five minutes.

Whitefield commended the solemnity of the General Assembly. Wesley's impressions were entirely the reverse. He had seen few ecclesiastical gatherings less solemn. The decorum of many of the members 'extremely shocked' him. 'Had any preacher behaved so at our Conference, he would have had no more place among us.' And it would seem that Wesley's conclusion was nearer the truth than Whitefield's. At all events it is a noteworthy fact that Calamy, who attended a sitting of the General Assembly more than half a century earlier, also remarks upon the ill-behaviour of the members,

especially the younger men, who 'were extremely fond of speaking, and did it more frequently and with greater warmth and vehemence than became them. . . . I remember there was one in particular, that was several times publicly reproved by the Moderator for speaking oftener than it came to his turn.'¹

On Sundays Wesley preached either before or after 'church hours,' an arrangement which enabled him to attend an ordinary service. While, as we have seen, not neglecting the Episcopal chapel, he was yet tolerant enough to worship in a parish church, and some of his pithy comments show that he was a keen and critical observer. In June 1764 he was present at a Communion service in the West Kirk. His description is most graphic, though, as was to be expected, he contrasts the Scottish mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper unfavourably with that of the Church of England.

Being . . . informed that the Lord's Supper was to be administered in the West Kirk, I knew not what to do; but at length I judged it best to embrace the opportunity, though I did not admire the manner of administration. After the usual morning service, the minister enumerated several sorts of sinners, whom he forbade to approach. Two long tables were set on the sides of one aisle, covered with table-cloths. On each side of them a bench was placed for the people. Each table held four or five-and-thirty. Three ministers sat at the top, behind a cross-table; one of whom made a long exhortation, closed with the words of our Lord; and then, breaking the bread, gave it to him who sat on each side of him. A piece of bread was then given to him who sat first on each of the four benches. He broke off a little piece, and gave the bread to the next; so it went on, the Deacons (elders) giving more when wanted. A cup was then given to the first person on each bench, and so by one to another. The minister continued his exhortation all the time they were receiving. Then four verses of the twenty-second Psalm were sung, while new persons sat down at the tables. A second minister then prayed, consecrated, and exhorted. I was informed the service usually lasted

¹ *Life and Times of Edmund Calamy*, ii. 157.

till five in the evening. How much more simple, as well as more solemn, is the service of the Church of England!

This may not have been Wesley's only connection with St. Cuthbert's. At any rate it is an interesting fact that during the erection of the church previous to the present one, the congregation of the West Kirk worshipped in the Methodist chapel, an arrangement which, there is some reason for believing, was made with the knowledge and concurrence of Wesley himself. Furthermore, this friendly act was reciprocated shortly after the opening of the new St. Cuthbert's, when a letter from the managers of the Methodist chapel was laid before the Kirk Session, requesting the use of the Chapel of Ease on Sunday evenings till their place of worship was repaired. 'The Session,' say the minutes, 'in regard of the obligation which they formerly lay under, as having the use of the Methodist chapel for assembling the congregation of the West Kirk, during the time of building their new church, unanimously agree to grant their request.'¹

Methodism in Edinburgh must indeed have been in a flourishing state, if it really furnished a place of worship large enough to accommodate a congregation of the dimensions of St. Cuthbert's. I incline to think the explanation is that while the Methodist chapel was the place in which the ministers of the West Kirk officiated, only a portion of the congregation attended. Wesley's meeting-house also afforded a temporary home (1785-86) for a minority of the Secession congregation in Bristo Street, who had disagreed on the appointment of a minister. The Associate Presbytery, however, very reluctantly sanctioned the arrangement, one reason being that the chapel was 'infected with Wesleyanism, and would thereby taint and corrupt the new worshippers!'² But the disaffected Seceders resolved to run the risk. After due reference to John Wesley himself, whose concurrence was

¹ *Sime's History of the Church and Parish of St. Cuthbert*, 1829, p. 151.

² *Memorials of Bristo United Presbyterian Church*, 1888, p. 59.

necessary to the bargain, they arranged to rent the chapel for one year, paying half a guinea for each Sabbath, and ten pounds besides for 'liberty to set (let) the seats.'¹

This chapel stood on the west side of the Low Calton, its site being now occupied by the foundations of the Inland Revenue office in Waterloo Place.² It is probable that Wesley was active in the erection of the building, which was opened in 1766, for he mentions (April 24, 1765) having preached 'on the ground where we had laid the foundation of our house.' At all events his first sermon there was delivered on May 24, 1766. Of the occasion he writes: 'In the evening I preached in the new room, at Edinburgh, a large and commodious building.' On June 15 he preached again in the new chapel: 'Our room was very warm in the afternoon, through the multitude of people, a great number of whom were people of fashion, with many ministers. I spoke to them with the utmost plainness, and I believe not in vain.' This chapel was the Wesleyan headquarters until 1815, when the erection of the Regent Bridge and the laying out of the new thoroughfare round the Calton Hill, necessitated its removal.

Wesley's followers grew in grace but not in numbers. Truly, it was a hard task to gain converts in the citadel of Calvinism. The doctrine of Perfection, as one of the society remarked, was 'not calculated for the meridian of Edinburgh.' Wesley was sorely disappointed. 'I was sorry,' he writes on August 2, 1767, 'to find both the society and the congregations smaller than when I was here last.' Three years later the society had shrunk from 'above a hundred

¹ *History of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church*, 1872, pp. 16, 17.

² Tyerman, in his *Life of Wesley* (ii. 471), states that 'in 1788 a second chapel was erected, under the auspices of Zechariah Yewdall.' No evidence can be found in support of this statement, but Tyerman's mistake may be accounted for by the fact that in 1788 a chapel was erected in Dalkeith for the Methodist congregation there, on ground which was the property of Zechariah Yewdall, then minister of that congregation.

and sixty members' to 'about fifty.' In 1772 he again visited the chapel, 'and spoke severally to the members of the society as closely as I could. Out of ninety . . . I scarce found ten of the original society; so indefatigable have the good ministers been to root out the seed God had sown in their hearts.' After this matters improved somewhat, and when Wesley next examined the society (1774) he was agreeably surprised to find the members had 'fairly profited' since his last visit. In 1779, however, the Edinburgh society was again in the backwater. 'In five years I found five members had been gained, ninety-nine being increased to a hundred and four. What, then, have our preachers been doing all this time?' Wesley looked for any cause of failure rather than the real one. Methodist inactivity in Edinburgh he attributed to the slackness of his preachers, whereas, as Southey¹ observes, he ought to have found the explanation in the fact that 'the new-birth of the Methodists, their instantaneous conversions, their assurance, their sanctification, and their perfection,' were regarded by plain Scots folk as extravagances.

V

If anything should have convinced Wesley that he had failed miserably to understand the religious temper of Scotland, it was his deplorable controversy with Dr. John Erskine of Old Greyfriars'. It makes one despair of the ultimate triumph of toleration, and almost of that religion which survives all heresies, embraces all truth, to come across two great and good men engaged in fiery dialectics over theological non-essentials. Wesley, who came to Scotland with the fixed determination to steer a safe course between the Scylla and Charybdis of ecclesiastical politics, was ere long crossing swords with Dr. John Erskine on the most vital of theological topics to a Scottish Churchman of that day.

¹ *Life of Wesley*, 1885, ii. 101.

The outstanding points of the controversy admit of no dispute.¹ In 1755 James Hervey, he who wrote the *Meditations among the Tombs*, which engaged the affections of Boswell in his youth, published *Theron and Aspasio, or a Series of Letters and Dialogues on the most important Subjects*. While at Oxford Hervey had acknowledged Wesley as his spiritual father, but he soon outgrew Methodist influence and became a sturdy Calvinist. In the *Dialogues* he ostentatiously proclaims his theological conversion. The strong Calvinistic flavour of the book raised up many opponents, among them the author's old friend and teacher, Wesley, who criticised both the matter and style with some acerbity. Hervey replied in *Aspasio Vindicated in Eleven Letters to Mr. John Wesley*, which was almost ready for publication when the author died, and which was issued by his brother William in 1765. In this work Hervey vigorously defends his Calvinism, and at the same time accuses Wesley of holding opinions subversive of the teaching of the Church of England and in defiance of Scripture.

The controversy aroused by Hervey's books created immense interest in Scotland, and brought forth many antagonists. Chief of these was Dr. John Erskine, the leader of the Evangelical party of the Church of Scotland. Erskine is altogether a notable figure in Scottish ecclesiastical history. Besides being captain of the 'High Flyers,' he was a pulpit force of the first order. When, in *Guy Mannering*, Scott brings the English stranger to Greyfriars', it is to the preaching of Erskine, not to that of his colleague (Principal Robertson, who led the Moderates) that he listens. Erskine was also a pioneer of foreign missions. It was he who used the oft-quoted words, 'Rax me the Bible,' when Hamilton of Glads-

¹ These are set forth in Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood's *Life of Erskine*, pp. 249-65. Erskine was also opposed to Wesley on political grounds, the latter being a 'warm defender of the somewhat questionable policy pursued by the Ministers of that ruinous period' regarding America.—*Kay's Original Portraits*, 1837, i. 174.

muir made his memorable speech in the General Assembly, scouting the idea of converting the heathen. Erskine had all along been a staunch supporter of Whitefield, and narrowly escaped ecclesiastical censure for inviting the Methodist preacher to occupy the pulpit of Greyfriars'. Wesley's Arminianism, on the other hand, repelled him, and when the controversy over Hervey's writings arose, he at once entered the lists.

Erskine's first step was to republish *Aspasio Vindicated*, contributing a preface in which he strove to undeceive those Edinburgh people who had joined the Methodist society in ignorance of the fact that Wesley's opinions set at naught the creed of the Church of Scotland. The redoubtable champion of Genevan theology came off victorious. Methodism, always a weakly plant in Scotland, received a staggering blow.¹ Doubtless Erskine wished to prove himself a valiant soldier of Calvinism, but it must be confessed his methods were not wholly those of a Christian gladiator. He might have accomplished his end with a less dubious personification of the Christian graces. Wesley is proclaimed an impostor who trafficks in 'Arminian, Antinomian, and enthusiastic errors.' He is also accused of suppressing his real opinions in order to win converts. Therefore, argues Erskine, it is 'high time to sound an alarum to all who would wish to transmit to posterity the pure faith once delivered to the saints.'

Wesley's antagonist pressed his case too far. He bitterly denounced a man who certainly was no Calvinist, but as surely was a very great Christian. Unquestionably, Wesley was most anxious that the Scottish people should give up feeding on the husks of Calvinism, and nourish themselves on the 'heavenly manna of Wesleyan divinity.' But how-

¹ Dr. Thomas M'Crie, *secundus*, in his *Story of the Scottish Church* (p. 487), goes as far as to say that the republication of *Aspasio Vindicated* 'inflicted a blow on Wesleyanism from the effects of which, in spite of its triumphs in England, it has not recovered in Scotland down to the present day' (1875).

ever much Erskine might think so, he was neither an apostate nor an impostor. His differences were theological: they did not affect the sufficiency or the intrinsic worth of his message, since there is all the difference in the world between theology and the exercise of a living, practical faith. Wesley, it may be reasonably urged, was not faultless in his proselytising methods, but at any rate he was not guilty of masking his opinions, as Erskine wrongly concluded, for he made a frontal attack on Calvinism.

The Edinburgh edition of *Aspasio Vindicated*, with Erskine's preface, appeared in January 1765. It did not remain long unanswered. James Kershaw, one of Wesley's helpers, was quickly in the field with *An Earnest Appeal to the Public, in an Honest, Amicable, and Affectionate Reply*. This pamphlet Wesley followed up with a letter to Erskine, in which, while alluding chivalrously to his antagonist and declining controversy with him, he urges that he has been unjustly treated. Hervey's attack, he contends, was indefensible, inasmuch as the author of *Aspasio Vindicated* had been under deep obligations to him. 'O tell it not in Gath!' Wesley exclaims, 'the good Mr. Hervey (if these *Letters* were his) died cursing his spiritual father!' This communication, intended obviously to be mollifying, only succeeded in sowing dissension over a wider area, and when Wesley arrived in Edinburgh in 1765, he found a solid phalanx behind Erskine. 'My coming,' he notes in his *Journal*, 'was quite seasonable (though unexpected), as those bad letters, published in the name of Mr. Hervey,¹ and reprinted here by Mr. John Erskine, had made a great deal of noise.'

A few months later Erskine again rushed into print. '*Mr. Wesley's Principles Detected; or a Defence of the Preface to the Edinburgh edition of Aspasio Vindicated*, in answer to Mr. Kershaw's *Appeal*,' was another violent attack on

¹ Wesley apparently doubted the authorship of *Aspasio Vindicated*, though on what grounds it is difficult to imagine.

Wesley's doctrinal position. Erskine makes capital out of his opponent's contention that miracles are not a thing of the past, but may happen at any time. The Calvinistic controversy raged violently long after the publication of Erskine's edition of *Aspasio Vindicated*, and each succeeding visit to Scotland, and particularly to Edinburgh, made Wesley painfully aware that formidable forces were ranged against him, crippling his influence, and seriously retarding the growth of the Methodist movement. But he did not despair. His attitude throughout had been unequivocally sincere and conciliatory. He made more than one attempt to obtain an interview with Erskine. At last he succeeded, and in an interesting letter to the 'Rev. W. Plenderleith of Edinburgh,'¹ dated 1768, he records the result.

I had for some time given up the thought of an interview with Mr. Erskine, when I fell into the company of Dr. Oswald. He said, 'Sir, you do not know Mr. Erskine: I know him perfectly well. Send and desire an hour's conversation with him, and I am sure he will understand you better.' I am glad I did send. I have done *my* part, and am now entirely satisfied. I am likewise glad that Mr. Erskine has spoken his mind.

Wesley then surveys the various doctrinal points discussed at the interview, but apparently to little purpose. He concludes:

As long as Mr. Erskine continues in the mind expressed in his *Theological Essays*,² there is no danger that he and I should agree any more than light and darkness. I love and reverence him, but not his doctrine. . . . I never said that Mr. Erskine and I were agreed. I will make our disagreement as public as ever he pleases; only I must withhold specify the particulars. If he *will* fight with me, it must be on this ground; and then let him do what he will, and what he can.

These are the words of a fair-minded, even a generous, adversary. Erskine was a radiant personality in whom dwelt

¹ He is frequently mentioned in the *Life of Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy*, by T. S. Jones, D.D. (Edinburgh, 1822).

² Presumably the reference is to Erskine's *Theological Dissertations* (1765).

the soul of honour, but his treatment of Wesley does not show him in the most amiable light. When on the theological war-path, he was terrible as an army with banners.

VI

Pleasant it is to pass from Wesley's controversy with Dr. John Erskine to his friendship, almost romantic, with two high-born Edinburgh ladies. Differing widely in temperament, Lady Glenorchy and Lady Maxwell had yet much in common. Both were young widows, remarkable for beauty and refinement, both belonged to titled families, and both, while the bloom of youth was still upon them, came under religious impressions, which changed the whole current of their lives. Lady Glenorchy was the Martha, troubled about many things. Changeable, imperious, petulant, with a tincture of patrician pride and not a little egoism, she made for the things that divide. While claiming to be a friend of toleration, she was essentially narrow-minded. Orthodoxy was her religion. She was knit to Lady Maxwell, not by the cords of disinterested, human affection, but because her companion and co-worker had turned her eyes from the vain show of this world, and was mindful of eternity. It was a religious friendship, though even from that point of view it was lacking, for while Lady Maxwell saw fit to join the Methodist society, Lady Glenorchy, to save her reputation for irreproachable orthodoxy, found it necessary to expel Wesley's preachers from her chapel. Lady Maxwell typified the more womanly instincts of Mary. While vying with Lady Glenorchy in her serene confidence in the efficacy of spiritual forces and ideas operating in the real world, she did not affect the seraphic and the august. She was perfectly a woman—true, tender, winsome, domesticated, even vivacious, and yet, as I have said, one who would not sully the brightness of her virtue by the stain of ungodliness. Moreover, she was

less prone to a dreamy idealism, more attached to a vision of human life in which shrewdness and sober action are prominent. Lady Glenorchy founded a chapel for undenominational worship at a time when the bacilli of sectarianism were destroying the heart of Scottish life. Lady Maxwell, with larger insight and not a whit less zeal, set up a school for poor children. But though strongly opposed on some religious topics, the two ladies were never remiss in cultivating their unworldly friendship, being 'bound together by the indissoluble ties of Christian affection and esteem.'

Lady Glenorchy was born in 1741, and was the younger daughter of William Maxwell of Preston, in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright. Her father died in the year of her birth, and her mother, Elizabeth Hairstones of Craig, Kirkcudbrightshire, some years later married Lord Alva, a Senator of the College of Justice, and afterwards Lord Justice-Clerk. Under his roof Lady Glenorchy grew up. In 1761 her elder sister became the wife of William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland,¹ and a few months later she herself was united to John, Viscount Glenorchy, eldest son of the third Earl of Breadalbane. Both sisters were noted for their beauty and accomplishments. Lady Glenorchy became a widow in her thirtieth year, and was childless. Previous to this she had come under religious influence, and from that time onwards till her death in 1786, at the early age of forty-five, she was, says Hugh Miller, 'peculiarly one of the class who, conscious of their high destiny as heirs of immortality, live in the broad eye of eternity, and walk with God.' Her widowhood for the most part was spent in Edinburgh, where she was indefatigable in promoting her own brand of religion. In the

¹ The Countess of Sutherland died at Bath, June 1, 1766, in her twenty-sixth year. The Earl survived her only sixteen days. The bodies of this illustrious pair were interred in one grave in Holyrood Abbey. On the tombstone there is this couplet—

'Beauty and birth a transient being have,
Virtue alone can triumph o'er the grave.'

picturesque valley which separated the Old from the New Town, and now covered by the Waverley Station, she built a 'plain but massy and not unimposing' chapel, which for fully fifty-seven years after her death continued to form 'one of the strongholds of Evangelism in Edinburgh.'¹ There was, however, an earlier chapel maintained through Lady Glenorchy's munificence, and it is with it that our narrative is more immediately concerned.

Soon after she became religious, Lady Glenorchy sought for some form of Christian service. She consulted Lady Maxwell, and thereupon decided to open a place of worship in Edinburgh, in which ministers of every denomination might preach, provided they were sound on what she regarded as the essentials of religion, a condition which, as we shall see presently, was not allowed to become a dead letter. With this object in view she hired St. Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd. Before attempting, however, to give practical effect to her idea, she took counsel with two noted Presbyterian clergymen—Dr. Robert Walker,² senior minister of the High Church and colleague of Dr. Hugh Blair, and Dr. Alexander Webster of the Tolbooth Church. Both were staunch Evangelicals, the party in the Establishment which Lady Glenorchy favoured.

These, then, were Lady Glenorchy's confidants. Walker strongly disapproved of her undertaking, and would have nothing to do with it. Webster was more pliant. Though

¹ When Lady Glenorchy's chapel was demolished in 1845, Hugh Miller wrote an interesting article on the building and its donor in the *Witness* newspaper. The contribution is reprinted in his *Edinburgh and its Neighbourhood*.

² 'That estimable man was as evangelical as his partner (i.e., Hugh Blair) was moderate, one who preached Calvinism and denounced worldly dissipation, and indeed had boldly preached powerful discourses before the Magistrates and Lords of Session on the iniquity of patronising the stage, to which Mr. Blair was addicted' (Graham's *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, 1901 ed., p. 123). I may add that, despite their different mental outlook, the two ministers maintained friendly relations, as may be gathered from the memoir written by Blair, and prefixed to two volumes of his colleague's sermons.

a Calvinist, he was 'very liberal in his sentiments and conduct to those who differed from him,' and would compromise to the extent of accompanying Lady Maxwell on the evening of every Lord's Day to the Methodist chapel. Webster favoured Lady Glenorchy's scheme being given a trial. It was arranged, accordingly, that the services in St. Mary's Chapel should be conducted by Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and, on a week-day, by Wesley's preachers. On Sundays there was to be worship in the chapel at seven in the morning, in the interval between the morning and afternoon services in the parish churches, and in the evening.

On February 2, 1770, Lady Glenorchy wrote in her Diary:

I had two hours' conversation this forenoon with a minister (Walker) about the chapel. He disapproved much of attempting to reconcile sects and parties, by bringing them to preach alternately in one place . . . and concluded by saying he could not preach in it, if the Episcopal forms were ever allowed there. Upon which I told him, that since both establishments refused me assistance, he must not be surprised if I asked the Methodists next.¹

Three days later she consulted Webster, who, while more accommodating, was not sanguine.

This morning I met with Dr. Webster at Lady Maxwell's, to consult about the chapel. It is determined that I am to seek an English Episcopal minister to supply it; and to give one day in the week to the Methodists.²

Lady Glenorchy, however, does not seem to have rigidly adhered to this arrangement, since her Diary, under date March 7, 1770, contains this entry:

This day, St. Mary's Chapel was opened for preaching the Gospel. Ministers of every denomination are to be admitted, who have a sincere love to the Lord Jesus Christ and the souls of men, and who preach the doctrine of justification by faith alone.³

¹ Jones's *Life of Lady Glenorchy*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

The attempt to kindle inter-denominational goodwill was most laudable but chimerical, in the ecclesiastical state in which Scotland then was. Lady Glenorchy was not left long in uncertainty. Her enterprise, says her biographer, met with 'much disapprobation from the religious public; and their remarks . . . either from levity, thoughtlessness, or prejudice, were neither kind nor just. These expressions of dissatisfaction, together with her other trials, temporal and spiritual, deeply depressed Lady Glenorchy.'¹

It was while in this mood that she became acquainted with Wesley. On April 20, 1770, she writes: 'I met with Mr. Wesley, and had much conversation with him. He appears to be a faithful zealous minister. . . . I believe him to be sound in all essential doctrines.'² How long Lady Glenorchy remained of this opinion the sequel shall disclose. For the present all went merry as a wedding bell. Wesley was gratified that she had allowed his preachers to conduct services in her chapel and, no doubt grasping the potentialities of the situation, besought her to become a Methodist. This, however, she declined to do, being much averse to the 'peculiar opinions' of the sect. Wesley had repeated interviews with Lady Glenorchy, who was anxious that he should arrange a theological compromise with Webster. Ultimately, on May 12, 1770, Wesley met the minister of the Tolbooth Church at her house, and in her Diary she gives her impressions of the interview.

This morning the Rev. Dr. Webster and Mr. Wesley met at my house, and had a long conversation together. They agreed on all doctrines on which they spoke, except those of God's decrees, predestination, and the saints' perseverance, which Mr. Wesley does not hold. After Mr. Wesley was gone, Dr. Webster told me in a fair and candid manner wherein he disapproved of Mr. Wesley's sentiments. I must (according to the light I now have, and always have had) . . . agree with Dr. Webster. Nevertheless I hope Mr. Wesley is a child

¹ Jones's *Life*, p. 146 n.

² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

of God. He has been an instrument in His hands of saving souls; as such I honour him and will countenance his preachers. I have heard him preach thrice; and should have been better pleased had he preached more of Christ, and less of himself. I did not find his words come with power to my own soul.¹

Obviously Lady Glenorchy's remark about Wesley being sound doctrinally was a little premature. On closer acquaintance, and under the questionable tutelage of Webster, she discovered that he was not only heterodox but egotistic. This, however, did not preclude her from accepting favours from the man she theologially despised. Wesley, at her request, not only procured a 'religious schoolmaster' but a permanent preacher for her chapel, the Presbyterian ministers having declined her invitation. The preacher was the Rev. Richard De Courcy, a young clergyman of the Irish Episcopal Church. When he reached Edinburgh, Lady Glenorchy wrote Lady Maxwell as follows: 'Mr. De Courcy arrived here this evening, and I have had a great deal of private conversation with him. He is quite the person Mr. Wesley represented him, of a sweet disposition, and wishes only to preach Christ.'²

De Courcy turned out a Calvinist, and as there was marked incongruity between his preaching and that of the Methodist spokesmen, Lady Glenorchy's course was soon determined. The Methodist preachers were expelled from St. Mary's Chapel. Wesley, who had had a shrewd suspicion of what was likely to happen, wrote knowingly to Lady Maxwell on January 24, 1771. He blames M'Nab, one of his preachers, for being 'too warm and impatient of contradiction,' and declares he (M'Nab) 'must be lost to all common sense, to preach against final perseverance in Scotland.' Wesley also laments that the Philistines have 'prevailed' over De Courcy, whose merits quite eclipse his defects. 'Surely such a preacher as this never was in Edinburgh before! Mr. Whitefield himself was not to compare with him. What an angel of a man!'³

¹ Jones's *Life*, p. 156.

² *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Wesley predicts for De Courcy a warm welcome, and hopes it will not 'turn his brain.' Then he adds: 'Will he (*i.e.*, De Courcy) not soon prevent your friend (*i.e.*, Lady Glenorchy) from going on to perfection, or thinking of any such thing? Nay, may he not shake you also? . . . As soon as Mr. De Courcy is come, I shall be glad to hear how the prospect opens.'¹ A month later Wesley sent another epistle to Lady Maxwell.

MY DEAR LADY,—I cannot but think the chief reason of the little good done by our preachers at Edinburgh, is the opposition which has been made by the ministers of Edinburgh, as well as by the false brethren from England. These steeled the hearts of the people against all the good impressions which might otherwise have been made, so that the same preachers by whom God has constantly wrought, not only in various parts of England, but likewise in the northern parts of Scotland, were in Edinburgh only not useless. . . . Perhaps our Lord may use you to soften some of the harsh spirits, and to preserve Lady Glenorchy, or Mr. De Courcy from being hurt by them. I hope to hear from you (on whom I can depend) a frequent account of what is done near you.²

Wesley here falls foul of the ministers of Edinburgh, apparently oblivious of the fact that he had already animadverted on the shortcomings of his own preachers. Most likely, however, there were faults on both sides. Lady Maxwell much regretted the expulsion of the Methodist preachers, but Lady Glenorchy was unrepentant. 'You think,' she writes to her friend, 'I am prejudiced against the Methodists. Against some of them I own I am, although my sentiments do not deserve the name of prejudice, being the result of matters of fact.'³ While desirous of opening her chapel to every denomination, yet there is but one doctrine she would have proclaimed there. She had found by experience that her own soul 'had been hurt, and kept from establishment in the faith by hearing some of the (Methodist) preachers,' and she judged that others might be hurt by them also. From

¹ Jones's *Life*, p. 227.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

Taymouth Castle, whither she had gone to spend the summer of 1771, she writes to inform Lady Maxwell that the final step had been taken. 'Before I left Edinburgh, I dismissed Mr. Wesley's preachers from my chapel, as, from some writings of Mr. Wesley which fell into my hands, and from the sentiments of some of his preachers of late officiating there, I found they held doctrines that appear to be erroneous.'¹

That Lady Glenorchy acted cavalierly towards Wesley cannot be denied. She proclaimed him a model of orthodoxy on making his acquaintance in 1770. Yet within a year she turned him and his preachers out of her chapel as disseminators of false doctrine. Nor was vacillation her only fault. She owed Wesley a deep debt. He had helped her in various ways, and had tried to make her inter-denominational experiment a success. But notwithstanding this, his only recompense was forfeiture of her confidence and peremptory dismissal of his preachers from St. Mary's Chapel. Thus to variability and disdain was added ingratitude.

Lady Maxwell bore herself more becomingly. One can always look on her with a friendly eye. Imbued with a deep sense of the supreme value of religion, and always pressing forward to know the formidable truth, she yet kept free from morbid introspection. Less whimsical than Lady Glenorchy, and less eager to bring all things within the range of her ecstatic vision, she was also her companion's superior in self-mastery, in sobriety of judgment, in practical insight, and in many feminine virtues. Her ideals were catholic, wholesome, vitalising. Though one in religious fellowship, it was characteristic of Lady Maxwell to join the Methodist society, and no less characteristic of Lady Glenorchy to remain austere aloof.

It was Lady Maxwell's lot to pass through the fiery furnace of affliction when youth and beauty were still her portion. The youngest daughter of Thomas Brisbane of Brisbane,

¹ Jones's *Life*, p. 239.

Largs, she was married when hardly arrived at womanhood, to Sir Walter Maxwell, Bart. of Pollok. Two years later her husband died, leaving her a widow of nineteen with an only child, which survived only a few months. In her great sorrow Lady Maxwell sought the consolations of religion, and in 1764 she made Wesley's acquaintance in Edinburgh, an event which marked a crisis in her life. The virile personality and spiritual fervour of the great evangelist deeply impressed her. The dejection from which she had suffered vanished, her drooping energies revived, and soon she was launched on a career of religious and philanthropic service, which made her one of the best-known and most-beloved of Edinburgh citizens. Shortly after meeting Wesley she joined his society, and though she always maintained her connection with the Church of Scotland, she was nevertheless one of the staunchest and most distinguished supporters of the Methodist cause in this country. Her acquaintance with Wesley soon ripened into friendship, and for a quarter of a century he was her trusted counsellor in spiritual things, as well as her coadjutor in philanthropic work. When Wesley was anxious to learn how it fared with the Methodist society in Edinburgh, it was to Lady Maxwell that he generally wrote; and the many letters which passed between them show plainly the alacrity and warmth with which they reciprocated each other's interest in the things of the spirit.

The correspondence opens with Wesley in the rôle of spiritual physician. Writing from London on August 17, 1764, he expresses 'tender regard' for her, and a wish that she 'should be altogether a Christian.' While 'no great friend to solitary Christianity,' he thinks that in so peculiar a case as hers, it would be expedient to retire from Edinburgh till her growth in grace were more assured.¹ Lady Maxwell, having announced her intention of joining the Methodist society, Wesley in a letter, dated September 22, 1764,

¹ *Life of Lady Maxwell*, by John Lancaster (2nd ed., 1826).

informs her of her precarious religious state, and pleads for more robustness. 'I consider you are at present but a tender, sickly plant, easily hurt by any rough blast. . . . I want you to be all a Christian, as the Marquis de Renty or Gregory Lopus was.' In the spring of the following year Lady Maxwell had an interview with Wesley in Edinburgh, which afforded mutual satisfaction, despite the fact that the former had not reached the full stature of a Christian. She was 'steadfast, humble, and contrite, but not yet in possession of peace.' Wesley's practised eye detected 'the remains of a legal spirit.'¹ The Calvinistic controversy was then making Edinburgh an uncomfortable place to live in; and Wesley, anxious that Lady Maxwell should not be engulfed, wrote from Londonderry, counselling her to be of good courage, and not to be perturbed 'by any of the things which have lately occurred.'

Lady Maxwell suffered much from ill-health, and on this topic Wesley was as solicitous and as insistent. Certainly a man who at seventy-one thought preaching at five in the morning 'one of the healthiest exercises in the world'; at seventy-seven recommended fasting on Fridays as a remedy for nervous disorders; and at eighty-five confessed that he had 'hardly ever lost a night's sleep,' had a right to give advice regarding the not unimportant problem of how to keep well. 'You should,' Wesley wrote from Kilkenny on July 5, 1765, 'in any wise give yourself all the air and exercise that you can. And I should advise you . . . to sleep as early as possible, never later than ten, in order to rise as early as health will permit. . . . I believe medicines will do you little service.'²

The latter point he further emphasised in a letter from Norwich, dated February 23, 1767. 'Exercise, especially as the spring comes on, will be of greater service to your health than a hundred medicines.'³ Later in the same year, Wesley advises her to take a journey to England, and predicts

¹ *Life of Lady Maxwell*, by John Lancaster (2nd ed., 1826), p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

good results from drinking the waters at Hotwells near Bristol.

Many Wesleyan memories cluster round Saughton House. It was the home of Lady Maxwell for a considerable period, and Wesley was frequently her guest. Here he preached on more than one occasion, as we gather from two interesting entries in the *Journal*. 'May 31, 1782. As I lodged with Lady Maxwell at Saughton Hall (a good old mansion-house three miles from Edinburgh), she desired me to give a short discourse to a few of her poor neighbours. I did so, at four in the afternoon, on the story of Dives and Lazarus.' Two years later, April 25, 1784, he notes: 'About four I preached at Lady Maxwell's, two or three miles from Edinburgh.'

Lady Maxwell controlled a network of religious and philanthropic agencies. One of the pioneers of the Sunday School movement, she in the year 1770 founded a seminary in Edinburgh, at which poor children received both religious and secular education. In this project she was warmly supported by Wesley, who, when in the city, usually visited the school to see how Lady Maxwell's scholars were progressing. In the *Journal* there is this amusing reference, dated June 1, 1782:—

I spent a little time with forty poor children whom Lady Maxwell keeps at school. They are swiftly brought forward in reading and writing, and learn the principles of religion. But I observe in them all the *ambitiosa paupertas*. Be they ever so poor, they must have a scrap of finery. Many of them have not a shoe to their foot, but the girl in rags is not without her ruffles.

In 1784 Wesley records having again 'spent an hour with Lady Maxwell's poor scholars, forty of whom she has provided with a serious master, who takes pains to instruct them in the principles of religion, as well as in reading and writing.'

Wesley's death in 1791 was a sore grief to Lady Maxwell, for, says her biographer, 'he led her into fellowship with a people, among whom she enjoyed what she ever deemed her

highest privileges; and by a correspondence which had been maintained till within a short period of his death, he had afforded her advice and assistance on many critical occasions. Though twenty-seven years had elapsed since first they knew each other, time and circumstances had only tended to increase and confirm their religious union. Anxious that every proper respect should be paid to such distinguished worth, she had the following advertisement, drawn up by her own pen, inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers:

'On Wednesday last, at his house in London, died that great and good man, the Rev. John Wesley, at a very advanced period; after a life of the most unwearied diligence and unexampled activity in the service of his God, and the general interests of mankind. His extensive labours were crowned with uncommon success in various parts of different and distant kingdoms. But, as might be expected, his very uncommon abilities and extensive usefulness laid him under that severe tax which all must pay, who are so far raised above the common level of mankind. Now, that he is no longer the object of envy, it is hoped prejudice will give way to more candid and honourable sentiments, and thereby leave the public at liberty to do justice to one of the greatest characters that has appeared since the apostolic age.'

This is no panegyric pompously extolling the virtues of the departed. It is a sincere and withal discriminating estimate of a man whose moral and spiritual grandeur raised him far above his fellows. The prudent and warm-hearted Lady Maxwell—it was she who through the din and dust of theological conflict and when the voice of detraction was strident, discerned from afar the greatness of John Wesley, and at the last wrote an epitaph as just as it is noble.

VII

I have already indicated that Wesley was a man of receptive mind and lively imagination. Preaching undoubtedly was his main business, but it by no means constituted his horizon line. His interests branched out in all directions.

Richly endowed with the historic sense and well read in historical literature, it goes without saying that in a city so bountifully supplied with historic and romantic associations as Edinburgh, he had plenty of congenial recreation with which to fill up his scanty leisure. As has been shown, he was a worshipper of Mary Queen of Scots, and took pains to master the Marian controversy, as we learn from an entry in his Diary, dated April 29, 1768.

I read over an extremely sensible book, but one that surprised me much. It is *An Enquiry into the Proofs of the Charges commonly advanced against Mary Queen of Scotland*.¹ By means of original papers, he has made it more clear than one would imagine it possible at this distance: (1) That she was altogether innocent of the murder of Lord Darnley, and no way privy to it. (2) That she married Lord Bothwell (then near seventy years old,² herself but four-and-twenty) from the pressing instance of the nobility in a body, who at the same time assured her he was innocent of the King's murder. (3) That Murray, Morton, and Lethington themselves contrived that murder, in order to charge it upon her; as well as forged those vile letters and sonnets, which they palmed upon the world for hers.

But how, then, can we account for the quite contrary story, which has been almost universally received? Most easily; it was penned and published in French, English, and Latin (by Queen Elizabeth's order) by George Buchanan, who was Secretary to Lord Murray, and in Queen Elizabeth's pay; so he was sure to throw dirt enough. Nor was she at liberty to answer for herself. But what, then, was Queen Elizabeth? As just and merciful as Nero, and as good a Christian as Mahomet.

Places associated with, or containing relics of, Queen Mary were a source of the deepest interest to Wesley. As he

¹ Wesley alludes to William Tytler's *Enquiry*, published in 1759. Though Tytler had been preceded in 1754 by Walter Goodall, who originated the Marian controversy by impugning the authenticity of the Casket Letters, his work was for many years the most widely read of those in defence of Mary. The *Enquiry* went through four editions, was twice translated into French, and had the distinction of being reviewed by Dr. Johnson and Smollett.

² An amazing blunder. Bothwell was only in his thirtieth year when he married Queen Mary in 1567.

stood amid the ruins of Dunbar Castle, he instinctively thought of the 'poor, injured woman, Mary Queen of Scots'; and when he visited Scone Palace, the centre of attraction was 'a bed and a set of hangings, in the (once) royal apartment, which was wrought by poor Queen Mary, while she was imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven.' He declares it to be the 'finest needlework' he has ever seen, plainly showing the Queen's 'exquisite skill and unwearied industry.'¹

But Holyrood was naturally the Mecca of Wesley's Marian worship. To this shrine he repaired again and again. On May 11, 1761, he writes: 'Holyrood House, at the entrance of Edinburgh, the ancient palace of the Scottish kings, is a noble structure,' a verdict which agrees with that of Calamy, who, in 1709, pronounced it 'a handsome building.' Calamy wandered through 'the long gallery in which are the pictures of the kings of Scotland, down from Fergus the 1st.'² Wesley, half a century later, had a similar experience. Among all the portraits none, of course, interested him so much as 'an original one of the celebrated Queen Mary.' For him the dominant characteristic was innocence. 'It is scarce possible,' he writes, 'for any one who looks at this (portrait) to think her such a monster as some have painted her; nor indeed for any one who considers the circumstances of her death, equal to that of an ancient martyr.' Seven years pass, and Wesley again walks within the precincts of Holyrood, 'a noble pile of building; but the greatest part of it left to itself, and so (like the palace at Scone) swiftly running to ruin.' He notes the general dilapidation, and makes General Hawley's men bear the brunt of his censure. 'The tapestry is dirty, and quite faded; the fine ceilings dropping down, and many of the pictures in the gallery torn or cut through. This was the work of good General Hawley's soldiers (like General, like

¹ When the present Palace of Scone was erected in 1803-8, the greater part of the old furniture was preserved, including the bed and hangings to which Wesley refers.

² *Life and Times of Edmund Calamy*, ii. 173.

men!), who, after running away from the Scots at Falkirk, revenged themselves on the harmless canvas!' ¹ Wesley records a third visit to Holyrood, May 20, 1780. Nothing had been done in the interval to arrest the decay, and his account of the condition of the palace is lamentable.

I took one more walk through Holyrood House, the mansion of ancient kings. But how melancholy an appearance does it make now! The stately rooms are dirty as stables; the colours of the tapestry are quite faded; several of the pictures are cut and defaced. The roof of the royal chapel is fallen in, ² and the bones of James the Fifth and the once beautiful Lord Darnley are scattered about like those of sheep or oxen. ³ Such is human greatness! Is not 'a living dog better than a dead lion?'

VIII

Three outstanding incidents of Wesley's life in Edinburgh were his illness, probably the only illness he ever had during his life of nearly ninety years; his arrest and narrow escape from incarceration in the Tolbooth; and his interview with Boswell.

One of the most characteristic etchings of Kay's *Original Portraits* is that of Wesley ⁴ returning from the Calton Hill after preaching, in company with the portly Dr. James Hamilton and the Rev. Joseph Cole. ⁵ The former, who had

¹ Wesley's statement is well authenticated. The perpetrators were severely punished. The De Witt pictures were repaired as far as possible, and were afterwards fixed in the panels of the wainscoting.

² Wesley here refers to the stone roof placed over the edifice in 1758, which, being too heavy for the old walls, fell in suddenly in 1768. It is noteworthy that Wesley's second recorded visit to Holyrood was in May 1768, and that the final wreck of the Abbey Church occurred in the following December.

³ The Royal Vault was desecrated by a mob at the time of the Revolution (1688), and was seriously damaged when the new roof fell in 1768.

⁴ Kay's etching depicts Wesley on the occasion of his last visit to Edinburgh (1790), and therefore in extreme old age. But the inscription, 'Ninety four years have I sojourned upon this earth endeavouring to do good,' inserted underneath, is legendary. Wesley at the time of his death (1791) was in his eighty-seventh year.

⁵ A Methodist preacher for thirty-five years. He was stationed in Edinburgh during the years 1789-91, and died in 1826.



NINETY FOUR YEARS HAVE I
SOJOURNED UPON THIS EARTH
ENDEAVOURING TO DO GOOD

WESLEY RETURNING FROM THE CALTON HILL
AFTER PREACHING

joined the Methodists and become a friend of Wesley, was one of a trio of medical men who examined the great preacher in Edinburgh in 1772. For some time previously the state of Wesley's health had caused anxiety to his friends rather than to himself, and after much persuasion he consented to undergo examination. Hamilton, who was first consulted, took a serious view of the case, and deemed it prudent to call in the assistance of the famous Dr. Alexander Monro, *secundus* (1733-1817), and Dr. James Gregory (1753-1821), the compounder of 'Gregory's Mixture.'¹ The examination took place on May 18, 1772, on which day Wesley wrote in his Diary: 'Dr. Hamilton brought with him Dr. Monro and Dr. Gregory. They satisfied me what my disorder was, and told me there was but one method of cure. Perhaps but one natural one; but I think God has more than one method of healing either the soul or the body.' Wesley neither says what the cure was nor whether he followed it. All we know is that on the day on which the doctors held their consultation, Wesley opened a new chapel at Leith. But however lightly he might regard his illness, there can be no doubt that there was consternation among the Methodists throughout the whole country when it was noised abroad that he had been the subject of medical inquiry in Edinburgh. 'By accounts from Scotland,' says *Lloyd's Evening Post* for June 15, 1772, 'we learn that the Rev. Mr. Wesley has had a dangerous fit of illness, in which he was attended by three of the most eminent of the (medical) faculty there, who gave him over; but some younger gentlemen in practice have been luckily assistant to him, and they have now hopes that he may continue his ministry many years longer.' The 'younger

¹ Tyerman is my authority for the statement that Dr. James Gregory, then only a youth of nineteen, was called in. It seems incredible, but as Tyerman mentions his age, it must be presumed that he meant the compounder of 'Gregory's Mixture,' not his father, Dr. John Gregory, who was then Professor of Medicine in Edinburgh University.

gentlemen in practice' were right: nearly twenty years were to pass over Wesley's head before he was to be gathered to his fathers.

When, in June 1774, Wesley next visited Edinburgh, another experience awaited him, though of a more thrilling kind. He was arrested under circumstances which seemed to suggest that he would find a temporary home in the Tolbooth prison. As Wesley has himself supplied a graphic and circumstantial account of the incident, he shall be his own narrator.

As I was walking home, two men followed me, one of whom said, 'Sir, you are my prisoner. I have a warrant from the Sheriff to carry you to the Tolbooth.' At first I thought he jested; but finding the thing was serious, I desired one or two of our friends to go up with me. When we were safe lodged in a house adjoining to the Tolbooth, I desired the officer to let me see his warrant. I found the prosecutor was one George Sutherland, once a member of the (Methodist) society. He had deposed, 'That Hugh Saunderson, one of John Wesley's preachers, had taken from his wife one hundred pounds in money, and upwards of thirty pounds in goods; and had besides that, terrified her into madness, so that, through the want of her help, and the loss of business, he was damaged five hundred pounds.'

Before the Sheriff, Archibald Cockburn, Esq.,¹ he had deposed, 'That the said John Wesley and Hugh Saunderson, to evade her pursuit, were preparing to fly the country; and therefore he desired his warrant to search for, seize, and incarcerate them in the Tolbooth, till they should find security for their appearance.' To this request the Sheriff had consented, and given his warrant for that purpose.

But why does he incarcerate John Wesley? Nothing is laid against him, less or more. Hugh Saunderson preaches in connection with him. What then? Was not the Sheriff strangely overseen?

Mr. Sutherland furiously insisted that the officer should carry us to the Tolbooth without delay. However, he waited till two or three of our friends came, and gave a bond for our appearance on the 24th inst. Mr. S—— did appear, the cause was heard, and the prosecutor fined one thousand pounds!

¹ Father of Henry Cockburn.

Edward Fitzgerald, in a letter to Fanny Kemble, writes: 'Walpole,¹ Wesley, and Johnson (Boswell I mean), three very different men whose lives extend over the same times, and whose diverse ways of looking at the world they live in make a curious study. I wish some one would write a good paper on this subject.' Fitzgerald's wish has never been gratified, at least to the extent of publication, but it would have been interesting to know if he was aware that Wesley and Boswell, two of the illustrious trio, met in Edinburgh. In the spring of 1779 Boswell was in London, and on one of his visits to Johnson, the latter talked of the appearance of a ghost at Newcastle. Boswell was interested in spiritualistic phenomena, and, learning from Johnson that Wesley believed in the Newcastle ghost, he besought the lexicographer to furnish him with an introduction to the Methodist leader, partly because he wished to examine the matter closely with him, and partly because he wanted to make the acquaintance of a man whose 'various talents' and 'pious zeal' he admired. Johnson complied, and wrote Wesley as follows:—

To the Rev. Mr. John Wesley.

SIR,—Mr. Boswell, a gentleman who has been long known to me, is desirous of being known to you, and has asked this recommendation, which I give him with great willingness, because I think it very much to be wished that worthy and religious men should be acquainted with each other.—I am, sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 3, 1779.

Boswell soon after returned to Edinburgh and the interview took place, Wesley being then in the city. Boswell records that he was 'very politely received,' though the 'state of the evidence as to the ghost did not satisfy' his legal mind. Perhaps this is not to be wondered at, for Wesley's psychical views were in advance of his time. Writing to Lady Maxwell in 1769, he confesses to having 'many times found, on a

¹ Horace Walpole (1717-97).

sudden, so lively an apprehension of a deceased friend, that I have sometimes turned about to look.' In dreams, too, he admits having had 'exceedingly lively conversations' with those who had 'died in faith.'

IX

Wesley was a diligent student of Scottish literature, and some of his judgments are so novel, and occasionally so amusing, that I trust I may be forgiven if I introduce matters that are only indirectly connected with the theme of this paper.

That the founder of Methodism should hold quite unconventional views of John Knox is only to be expected. Being no admirer of the Presbyterian Church, it would have been surprising had he thought highly of the man who brought it into being. While in Dumfriesshire once, Wesley came across Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. He read it, but without profit. 'Could any man wonder,' he writes, 'if the members of it (*i.e.*, Presbyterian Church) were more fierce, sour, and bitter of spirit than some of them are? For what a pattern have they before them! I know it is commonly said, "The work to be done needed such a spirit." Not so: the work of God does not, cannot need the work of the devil to forward it.' It is interesting to compare Wesley's reflections after reading Knox's *History* with what he wrote after perusing Wodrow's. 'This week I spent my scraps of time in reading Mr. Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. It would transcend belief, but that the vouchers are too authentic to admit of any exception. O! what a blessed governor was that good-natured man, so called, King Charles the Second! Bloody Queen Mary was a lamb, a mere dove, in comparison of him!' On his way to Perth once,¹ he read Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, 'a quarto volume of eight or ten shillings' price, containing dry, verbose dissertations on feudal government, the subject of all which

¹ Wesley did most of his reading on horseback.

might be comprised in half a sheet of paper! But Charles the Fifth—where is Charles the Fifth?

Leave off thy reflections and give us thy tale!

Wesley could not recall when he had been so disappointed with a book. Robertson's *History of Charles V.* 'might as well be called the *History of Alexander the Great.*' Beattie's 'ingenious' *Enquiry after Truth*, on the other hand, met his highest approbation.

He is a writer quite equal to his subject, and far above the match of all the minute philosophers, David Hume in particular; the most insolent despiser of truth and virtue that ever appeared in the world. And yet, it seems, some complain of this Doctor's (*i.e.*, Beattie) using him (*i.e.*, Hume) with too great severity! I cannot understand how that can be, unless he treated him with rudeness (which he does not), since he is an avowed enemy to God and man, and to all that is sacred and valuable upon earth.

On one of his northern tours Wesley wrestled courageously with Dr. Thomas Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. The earlier portion of the work 'greatly delighted' him: not so the remainder. He writes:

I doubt whether the sentiments are just; but I am sure his language is so obscure, that to most readers it must be mere Arabic. But I have a greater objection than this, namely, his exquisite want of judgment in so admiring that prodigy of self-conceit, Rousseau—a shallow yet supercilious infidel, two degrees below Voltaire! Is it possible that a man who admires him can admire the Bible?

For Ossian's poems Wesley had a high admiration, and when the controversy arose as to their genuineness, he followed it with interest. Whether he had read Hugh Blair's *Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*, in which the authenticity of Macpherson's discoveries is sturdily upheld, is not certain, but he had evidently heard of Blair's performance, and was quite ready to support him. In the *Journal* under date May 15, 1784, there is the following entry:

On the road (to Aberdeen) I read Ewen Cameron's translation of *Fingal*.¹ I think he has proved the authenticity of it beyond all reasonable contradiction. . . . But what a poet was Ossian! Little inferior to either Homer or Virgil; in some respects superior to both. And what a hero was Fingal! Far more humane than Hector himself, whom we cannot excuse for murdering one that lay upon the ground, and with whom Achilles, or even pious Æneas, is not worthy to be named. But who is this excellent translator, Ewen Cameron? Is not his other name Hugh Blair?²

Wesley, as he walked the streets of Edinburgh, must have been familiar with the tall, muscular figure of Lord Kames. Whether he was personally known to that eccentric but versatile old Scots judge, cannot now be determined; but he certainly was acquainted with his literary writings. Of Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man* (a book which, as I have remarked elsewhere,³ affords 'convincing proof that even the ablest of jurisconsults may develop a genius for irrelevancy') Wesley was an acute critic. Kames is admitted to be 'a man of strong understanding, lively imagination, and considerable learning,' but one who has put his talents to a bad use. Wesley boldly challenges some of his statements, which he attributes 'not to design but credulity.' Kames

¹ There is a copy of this work in the Signet Library, which I have consulted. It is a quarto volume, published in London in 1777. The title is as follows:—'The Fingal of Ossian. An Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books. Translated from the Original Gaelic Language, by Mr. James Macpherson; and now rendered into Heroic Verse, by Ewen Cameron.' For frontispiece there is a very fine woodcut showing Ossian at his father's tomb relating to Malvina, 'the adventures of his former days.'

² Wesley had not read carefully. It is quite apparent that Ewen Cameron was not a pseudonym assumed by Hugh Blair, but a distinct person, for, in the Preface to Cameron's rendering of *Fingal*, allusion is made to the 'judicious Dr. Blair' having received attestations from clergymen in the Highlands. These are printed by the writer of the Preface as an 'admirable proof' of Ossian's compositions being 'real translations from the Gaelic tongue.' As to who the 'excellent translator, Ewen Cameron' was, I cannot say, though I have made diligent search in various quarters. All I know is that in his Preface he replies at great length and with some acuteness and learning to Dr. Johnson's remarks on the authenticity of Ossian's poems.

³ *Some Old Scots Judges* (London: Constable, 1914), p. 30.

declares that all negro children turn black on the ninth or tenth day from their birth. This statement Wesley, from personal observation, flatly contradicts. 'Most of them turn partly black on the second, entirely so on the third.' Nor is Kames on firmer ground when he asserts that all Americans are of copper colour. 'Not so,' Wesley replies, 'some of them are as fair as we are.' The pedantic judge is also flouted for his inconsistency; 'his asserting, and labouring to prove, that man is a mere piece of clock-work'; and his 'vilifying the Bible, to which he appears to bear a most cordial hatred.' Wesley winds up with a stinging sentence. 'I marvel,' he says, 'if any but his brother infidels will give two guineas for such a work as this.'

Kames's 'plausible' *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion* roused Wesley's theological ire. 'Did ever man,' he asks, 'take so much pains to so little purpose, as he does in his "Essay on Liberty and Necessity"?'

Cui bono? What good would it do to mankind, if he could convince them . . . that they have no more share in directing their own actions, than in directing the sea or the north wind? He owns that 'if men saw themselves in this light, all sense of moral obligation, of right and wrong, of good or ill desert, would immediately cease.' Well, my lord sees himself in this light: consequently, if his own doctrine is true, he has 'no sense of moral obligation, of right and wrong, of good or ill desert.'

Then Wesley turns and rends his adversary. 'Is he not then,' he derisively asks, 'excellently well-qualified for a judge? Will he condemn a man for not "holding the wind in his fist"?'

It is no inconsiderable proof of Wesley's greatness that he never allowed the pure flame of his religion to be quenched by sanctimoniousness. Despite his religious genius, his radiant vision of things divine, he was possessed of a vigorous mundane vitality, for to him the facts of the world were themselves sacred. He looked for the divine in the human, not

apart from the human. His mind did not run wholly in a theological groove. If he knew the Bible as few men of his time knew it, that did not preclude him from taking an interest in so worldly an affair as the drama. When John Home, minister of Athelstaneford, produced in December 1756 his tragedy, *Douglas*, at the Canongate playhouse, Wesley probably heard of the hubbub it created in ecclesiastical circles in Edinburgh.¹ At all events he read the play, and was as enthusiastic as Lord Monboddo. 'One of the finest tragedies I ever read,' was his emphatic but rather disconcerting verdict.

And from Home's *Douglas* he could pass jauntily to Dr. Gregory's *Advice to his Daughters*,² a book in which he found 'many fine strokes' and 'abundance of common sense,' although he could not agree with the author in all things, 'particularly as to dancing, decent pride, and both a reserve and a delicacy, which I think are quite unnatural.' Be that as it may, if a young woman followed Dr. Gregory's 'plan in little things, in such things as daily occur, and in great things copied after Miranda, she would form an accomplished character.' Another book (though not by a Scots author) which Wesley read during his northern travels was Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Scotland* (1771-75). His allusion to it is brief, irritatingly so, for the apostle of Methodism was singularly qualified to pass judgment. He finds Pennant 'a lively as well as a judicious writer,' but is indignant because of his disavowal of witchcraft. Wesley held startling views on this

¹ The Presbytery of Edinburgh issued an *Admonition and Exhortation*. Dr. Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, replied by publishing 'A full and true History of the Bloody Tragedy of *Douglas*, as it is now to be seen acting in the Theatre at the Canongate,' which was 'cried about the streets' and 'filled the house for two nights more.'—Carlyle's *Autobiography* (3rd edition), p. 314.

² The correct title of the work is, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*. It was published in 1774, and ran through many editions, besides being frequently translated into French. The work was reprinted as late as 1877. Dr. John Gregory (1724-73) was Professor of Medicine in Edinburgh University, and was the intimate friend of Hume, Blair, Kames, Monboddo, and James Beattie, who mentions him affectionately in the closing stanzas of the *Minstrel*.

subject—views which set one pondering how it came to pass that so much enlightenment and shrewd perception should have been mixed up with so much belated superstition. Yet Wesley was as unqualified in his belief in witchcraft as he was in his pronouncement concerning Arminian doctrine. Here is what he says:

I cannot give up to all the Deists in Great Britain the existence of witchcraft, till I give up the credit of all history, sacred and profane. And at the present time I have not only as strong but stronger proofs of this from eye and ear witnesses than I have of murder; so that I cannot rationally doubt of one any more than the other.

With these pungent comments of Wesley on Scots books, several of them closely associated with Edinburgh, this paper must close. Wesley, coming to Scotland with a typical Englishman's prejudices, was human enough to indulge in amiable exaggeration regarding the shortcomings of Edinburgh and its people, to be occasionally censorious about its churches, its ministers, and its Calvinism; but his normal attitude was that of admiration. If it cannot be said that the very stones of Edinburgh were dear to him, as they have been to other sojourners in our midst, it is undeniable that the city was to him on the whole a place of pleasant memories. Repelled he might be by its dirt, but he also found much to attract—its incomparable beauty, its resplendent history, its quaintness and romance and incommunicable charm, and the fact, not less eloquent than the rest, that Edinburgh is, as Ben Jonson said,

'The Heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye.'

W. FORBES GRAY.

THE ANCIENT REGALIA OF SCOTLAND

IN the month of February 1818 the country was thrilled by the announcement that the surviving portions of the ancient Regalia of the Stewart Kings of Scotland, consisting of the Crown, Sceptre, Lord Treasurer's Mace, and the Sword of State presented by Pope Julius II. to King James IV., had been happily preserved in the dusty interior of the huge oaken chest in which, centuries ago, they were wont to be kept in the Crown Room of Edinburgh Castle. Their re-discovery, if such a term might be used, was the cause of much rejoicing; and now these pathetic memorials—termed in the seventeenth century the 'Honours of Scotland'—form the distinguishing insignia of the independence of our country as it existed prior to the Union of 1707. The story of the Regalia has, during the last century, been the subject of much literary investigation; but it is thought that the following excerpts, taken mainly from the Warrants, Receipts, and other loose Papers of the Scottish Treasury preserved in the General Register House, may prove of some interest.

On the first of January 1651, Charles II. was crowned at Scone, and, six months later, on account of the rapid advance of the English Parliamentary forces, it was deemed advisable to transfer the Regalia to some place of safety. The picturesque Castle of Dunnottar, belonging to the Earl Mareschal, was selected as the house of refuge, and, although the Earl himself was a prisoner in London, the Castle was stoutly defended by his Lieutenant-Governor, George Ogilvie

of Barras. It was through the connivance of the wife of this gentleman that the various articles of the Regalia were cleverly smuggled out of the Castle by Mrs. Christian Fletcher, wife of James Granger, the minister of the neighbouring parish of Kineff. For eight years they lay concealed in the church of Kineff, and, at the Restoration, they were handed over in triumph to the authorities in Edinburgh. Of course the Regalia had, to a certain extent, suffered in the process, and the first entry noted in our excerpts furnishes the details of the expenses of the different items which it was thought necessary to replace or repair. For example, Mrs. Granger tells us that in the attempt to conceal the scabbard of the Sword of State 'in ane sackfull of cods,' it was necessary to 'folden (the scabbard) in tua becaus of its length and greatnes'—hence the reason for the providing of a new scabbard. The hilt of the Sword was also repaired and the Sceptre re-dressed; while provision was made for 'ane ell of plaiding to dicht the sword' as well as for 'mair for purple velvet to be a cape to the Croun & for furring & linnen thereto.' Purple remained the colour of the velvet cape or bonnet of the Crown down to the year 1685, when it was altered to crimson. For her services in preserving the 'Honours of that our ancient kingdome during the usurpation of the rebels,' Mrs. Granger was ordained by Parliament to be rewarded with the sum of 2000 merks; but it will be noticed that twenty-six years elapsed before the generous intentions of Parliament were actually fulfilled.

The second entry noted below shows us that the well-known oaken chest in which the Honours were kept in the Crown Room of the Castle was also saved from the hands of the Ironsides through the intuition of another woman, Joanna McAlexander by name. It appears that, on the approach in the summer of 1650 of Cromwell and the 'English sectaries' to the city, the burgesses were permitted, as a precautionary measure, to remove their goods and

chattels to the Castle. As a rule these were conveyed thither in the large oak chests in which the thrifty housewives of this period usually kept their bedding and linen. After its surrender in December, the citizens were allowed to proceed to the Castle and retake possession of all their belongings. Among those who appeared in implement of this order was the before-mentioned Joanna McAlexander, who, recognising the royal oaken chest of the Honours among the mass of boxes or chests, boldly claimed it as her property and, with the permission of the English military authorities, had it transported to her own home. There it remained until the Restoration, when it was loyally handed over 'to his Majesties Receivers.' In return for her services, and as compensation for the loss of her own chest with its contents, the Lords of Exchequer graciously rewarded this patriotic lady with the handsome sum of five pounds sterling. We learn, also, from the entry of 12 August 1675, that there was 'ane great trunk wherein the honours lay for certain space when they were out of the great chist.' Then, in 1669, and again in 1675, the Crown Room is spoken of as the Crown Chamber, and it was undoubtedly erected as such in 1615, when the Palace was entirely remodelled. In the inventories of 1621 it appears under the old name of the wardrobe, in which the Honours, the great oak chest, and the royal silver plate were deposited. The silver plate, of course, disappeared during the Cromwellian troubles.

The next entry, dated 20 January 1668, appoints that the Cess and all moneys received from fines should be stored in bags of £100 each in trunks 'which ar to stand in that vault whear the Honors ly,' and that 'the Constable of the Castle sett a centinell at the vault doore night and day.' This is the first notice on record of the placing of a sentry in front of the Palace in the Castle—a practice which has been continued down to the present day.

The remaining entries refer to the expenses incurred by

the conveyance of the Honours in the usual solemn processions to and from the various meetings of Parliament, as well as in executing the necessary repairs.

W. MOIR BRYCE.

EXCERPTS FROM WARRANTS, RECEIPTS, and other loose PAPERS of the SCOTTISH TREASURY, General Register House, Edinburgh.

Accompt for dressing of the sword off honour

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis for drawing of the said sword, dressing thereof and making ane new scabberd thereto	12	00	00
Item to the goldsmith for furnishing of silver to bind the hilt and making of it all clean as also for dressing of scabberd	24	00	00
Therefter for dressing of the Sceptar	12	00	00
Item for ane ell of plaiding to dicht the sword	00	12	00
Mair for purple velvet to be a cape to the croun & for furring & linnen therto	12	04	00
	60	16	00

Precept commanding the Receivers of Rents to pay the above account to Edward Cleghorne, goldsmith, & James Watson. Dated 8 July 1662.

Command to Mr Patrick Browne to pay to Edward Cleghorne £48 12/ Scots. Dated 8 July 1662.

Receipt for said sum, dated 9 July 1662.

Treasury Precepts, Portfolio 7 (1660-63).

My Lord Thesaurar Depute & remanent Lords of Exchequer wnto your lordships humble meanes & shoves :

I, your servitrix Joanna McAlexander, that wher in the yeare 1651 quhen the Castle of Edinburgh wes delyvered to the English I, haveing some goodes therein went to receive the same, part whereof I receaved, and wther part lost be reason of perceiveing & knoweing the great chist that hes for these many yeares bypast keiped the

ancient honors of this Kingdome which I, wnder notion of my aune, brought out of the Castle in stead thereof and hes keiped and safelie preserved the same all this tyme bypast wntill now that I have delyvered the same to his Majesties Receivers. And, seing that I lost my aune chist with severall goods therein and brought this said chist forth in stead thereof, and that I have hitherto preserved the same to my expense,

I therfoir supplicat that your Lordships may be pleased to order me to gett satisfaction for my said losse and the expense I have beene at in preserving of the foirsaid Chist. And your Lordships answer. (Unsigned.)

Edinburgh 23 September 1662

The Lords allows the petitioner the sowme of fyve pundis sterling which the receivers ar heirby ordered to pay the petitioner. (Signed) Bellenden I.P.D.

Receipt for £60 Scots, dated 14 August 1663.

Ibid. Portfolio 7.

28 Jany. 1668.—Cess and fines money to be put up in baggs, each bag not exceeding 100^{lb} Ster. w^{ch} ar to be sealed and caried up to Ed^r Castle, put in trunks, w^{ch} ar to stand in that vault whear the Honors ly. . . . And that the Constable of the Castle sett a centinell at the vault doore night and day.

Parl. Papers Supp. Treasury Sederunt, 1667-1672, p. 61.

To the gunner in Edinburgh Castle 2 rex dolours, to the souldiers 4, to the 2 coachmen 8, to the 2 postilions 4, in all 18 rex dolours at layeing up of the honores in the Croun Chamber of Edinburgh Castle by order of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesties Treasurie 24 December 1669 £52 : 4 : 0 Scots.

Precept for payment of said account dated 15 February 1670.

Treas. Contingent Expenses, Portfolio 9 (1667-77).

Petition to the Lords of the Treasury by Dame Christian Fletcher for payment of the sum of 2000 marks ordained by act of parliament

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to be paid to her ' for the good service done by me in preseruing the Royall Honors his Majesties Croune Sword & Scepter dureing the tyme of English usurpers.'

Precept for payment to her of £50 Stg, dated 11 March 1670.

Receipt by the said Dame Christian Fletcher, Lady Abercromby, for the said sum of £50 dated 14 March 1670.

Ibid., Portfolio 9.

Payed in drinkmoney at receiveing the honours from the Castle in June 1672 and at the retourning them threttie fyve rix dollars to severall persons is £101 10s. 0 Scots.

Precept for payment of the above accompt dated 25 February 1673.

Receipt therefor dated 1 March 1673.

Ibid., Portfolio 9^l (1672-78).

Payed in drinkmoney at bringing the honours out of the Castle and takeing them back 22 leg dollars is 61 : 12 : 0 Scots. 3^d March 1674.

	leg dollars		leg dollars
To Coachman	2	Coachman	2
Postelion	1	Postelion	1
Second coach	1	Footmen	4
Footmen	4	2 ^d Coach	1
Trumpetr	2	Trumpetr	2
Servants in Castell	1		—
Instrument money to Moncrief	1		10
	—		—
	12		—

Ibid., Portfolio 9^l.

12 Aug. 1675.—Accompt for ane lock for ane great trunk wherein the honours lay for certaine space when they wer out of the great chist. £3.

Master of Works Accounts, Portfolio No. 4, 1576-1708.

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13 Aug. 1675.—To John Callender, Master Smith, the sum of thirty pound Scots for locks to the Crown Chamber in Edinburgh Castle, p. accompt, precept, and receipt dated 13 August 1675.

Treasury Contingent Expenses, Portfolio 9^l.

Contingencies and dispatches for which ther is no cleir instructions

	Scots.		
	Lib.	s.	d.
To severall persones in drinkmoney at bringing down the honors (Feb. 1680) and takeing them back again to the Castell (without receipt) 10 leg dollars	28	00	0
To Coachmen and footmen &c. in drinkmoney at bringing the honors out of the Castle when Sir Patrick Lyon was knighted 6 leg dollars 1 st September 1680	16	16	0

Precept for payment of above account dated 9 March 1681.

Treas. Conting. Expenses, Portfolio 10.

2 Apryle 1685 furnished be Robert Newlands furrier for the use of the bonet of the croune per above direction of Cash Keiper & William Douglass for ane row of ermine 48 : 00 : 00
Receipt for same dated 21 April 1686.

3 Apryle 1685 furnished be William Douglass taylors (*sic*) as above direction for the use of the croun being ane velvet bonet to the (*sic*) with tyers of gold 24 : 00 : 00
Receipt for same dated 21 April 1686.

Ibid., Portfolio 11 (1683-88).

Royal Letter addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury requiring them to pay to Christian Fletcher, Lady Abercrombie, the sum of £90 Stg being the balance of the sum of £100 Stg ordered to be paid to her ' in consideration of her having preserved the Honours of that our ancient kingdome during the usurpation of the rebells in the reigne of our Royall Brother aforesaid.' Dated at Windsor 21st August 1686. (Superscribed) James R. (Signed) Melfort.

Treasury Royal Warrants, 1686-88, Portfolio II.

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APPENDIX

EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT

Etc.

Old Edinburgh Club

1915

Honorary Patrons

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OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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REPORT OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Burgh Court Room, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Friday, 28th January 1916, at 4 o'clock.

Mr. W. Moir Bryce, President of the Club, presided. There was a good attendance of Members.

Apologies were intimated from the Right Hon. Earl of Cassillis, Sir Robert Usher, Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, Mr. John B. Clark, Mr. Alexander Cargill, Mr. Robert T. Skinner, Dr. Middleton, Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, and others.

The Secretary submitted the Eighth Annual Report, which is in the following terms:—

The Council beg to submit to the Club the Eighth Annual Report. During the year ending 31st December 1915 there were 11 vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain 16 names on the list of applicants for admission.

The following meetings were held:—

ROYSTOUN CASTLE AND CAROLINE PARK

By the kind permission of Messrs. A. B. Fleming and Co. (Limited) the Members paid a visit on Saturday afternoon, 26th June 1915, to two very interesting places in the vicinity of the city—viz., Caroline Park House and Roystoun Castle, Granton. Mr. Thomas Ross, LL.D., was the leader for the afternoon.

GRANTON CASTLE

Dr. Ross, in the dining-room of Caroline Park House, which is now used as offices by Messrs. Fleming, gave a short historical sketch of the

buildings and their owners. The two places, he said, were interesting types of Scottish dwelling-houses standing side by side, but separated in time by about one hundred and fifty years. Roystoun or Granton Castle was the older of the two, having been erected about 1544, while Caroline Park dated from 1685. The castle occupies the summit of a rocky ridge within a few yards of the Firth of Forth. Its most interesting features are the surrounding loopholed walls. Granton was in the possession of a family of the Melvilles for about one hundred years till the end of the sixteenth century. When Henry VIII. resolved to wreak his vengeance on Scotland and Cardinal Beaton, he sent a fleet under the command of the Earl of Hertford, troops from which landed at Granton, and entered Edinburgh, where they caused great destruction and slaughter. In Wood's *History of Cramond* it is stated that the old castle of Granton was destroyed on that occasion, and that the building, now a ruin, was erected shortly after 1544. And the date might be accepted as correct. The Barony of Wester Granton in 1479 belonged to John Melville of Carnbee, and his descendants owned it until 1592. It was sold in 1619 to Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, who lived there for twenty-seven years. He was an ancestor of the Hopetoun family; was King's Advocate for Charles I., but was against the King, and was one of the framers of the Covenant in 1638. He had a house in the Cowgate, which was taken down to give place to the Public Library. His diary, which was published by the Bannatyne Club, is of considerable value, and has been much used in elucidating the Covenanter type of character. The castle of the Melvilles, which was quite a small building, was considerably enlarged by Sir Thomas Hope, and became a place of reception and hospitality; and doubtless many an afternoon party has strolled there from Edinburgh in the days of long ago.

CAROLINE PARK

Caroline Park House is a piece of purely domestic architecture, built without any attempt at offence or defence. This is quite apparent from an inscription in Latin placed by the builder on a carved stone near the entrance doorway, of which the free translation runs: 'Riches unemployed are of no use, but made to circulate they are productive of much good. Increase of property is accompanied by a corresponding increase of care, wherefore for their own comfort and that of their friends, George and Anna, Viscount and Viscountess of Tarbat, have

caused this small cottage to be built in the year of the Christian era 1685. Enter then, O guest, for this is the house of entertainment. Now it is ours, soon it will be another's; but whose afterwards we neither know nor care, for none hath a certain dwelling; therefore let us live while we may.' In the very year when he built what may be called, in opposition to his own modest description, this stately house, he lost his master, Charles II., and found a new one in James VII., who created him Lord Viscount Tarbat. His prosperous career began about seven years before this time on the overthrow of the Duke of Lauderdale, when, as Sir George Mackenzie, he was appointed Lord Justice-General, and ultimately Prime Minister of Scotland. He married, in 1654, Anna, daughter of Sir James Sinclair, Bart., of Meyin, and purchased this place at Granton in 1683. Anna died in 1699, and six months later his Lordship, with about seventy years to his credit, married Margaret, Countess of Wemyss, a widow of forty. At the Revolution his Lordship adroitly steered his way and was continued in office by King William, and raised by Queen Anne to the dignity of Earl of Cromarty and Secretary of State, which position he resigned in 1704 on account of old age. He died in 1714. In 1696 his Lordship turned the house round about, as it were, by changing the main entrance from the north side to the south side. This added greatly to the dignity of the house. He increased the thickness of the south wall by adding on to it a new ashlar front in the Renaissance style, and increased its length by building a projecting tower at each end. The house is a square on plan of about ninety-four feet each way, with a central courtyard. The main staircase, on the north side, exhibits on its railing one of the finest examples of smithwork in this country. The reception-room, in the north-west corner, has a fine, hand-wrought plaster ceiling, having in the centre panel an oil painting of Aurora, or the Dawn, signed 'N. Hevde, Inventor.' In the adjoining room there is another ceiling-piece by the same artist of Diana and Endymion. Hevde, or Heude, was a French assistant to Antonio Verrio, an Italian artist whom Charles II. brought to England to decorate Windsor. There are other paintings *in situ* on the walls of various rooms, some of which are believed to be by De la Cour, who did work of that kind in Edinburgh. Before purchasing the place Sir George Mackenzie lived in Holyrood Palace. He was a great friend of Sir William Bruce, the architect of the Palace; and there is every reason to believe that it was Sir William Bruce who was the architect of Caroline Park,

or Roystoun House, as it was then called. In the years 1739 and 1740, John, second Duke of Argyll, acquired the Baronies of Roystoun and of Granton, and united the two estates under the name of Caroline Park in honour of Queen Caroline of Anspach, the consort of George II., to whom the Duchess had been a maid of honour. This is the Duke of Argyll whom Sir Walter Scott depicts so favourably in the *Heart of Midlothian*. The Duke's eldest daughter married the Earl of Dalkeith, who died before his father. The estate was left to the Dowager Countess, and on her death in 1793 it passed to her son Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch, whose successors are still its proprietors. It is almost certain that Dr. Samuel Johnson dined at Caroline Park in 1773. The house was then occupied by Sir James Adolphus Oughton. Boswell, in the *Tour to the Hebrides*, tells us that while in Edinburgh Johnson dined at Sir Adolphus Oughton's in November of that year. Sir Adolphus and the Doctor had met before. When the latter arrived in Edinburgh on his way north, Boswell gave a dinner party in honour of the occasion at James's Court, Lawnmarket. Oughton was one of the company, and, being a great admirer of Ossian, was not unwilling to let his views be known; Johnson and he naturally quarrelled. How they got on at Caroline Park we are unfortunately not told.

BRUNTSFIELD HOUSE AND GRANGE HOUSE

Over one hundred Members of the Club met on Saturday afternoon, 17th July 1915, and had the pleasure of visiting in succession Bruntsfield House, the residence of the Warrenders, and Grange House, the property of the Dick-Lauders. The leaders for the occasion were Mr. Moir Bryce and Dr. Thomas Ross.

BRUNTSFIELD HOUSE

Dr. Ross pointed out that the antiquity claimed for the house (fifteenth century) could not be conceded to it. All its architectural details were conclusive against its being a building of earlier date than about the middle of the sixteenth century. When in 1603 the lands of Bruntsfield passed by sale from the Lauders, the purchaser, John Fairlie of Braid, made additions to the house, and the date 1605, with the initials 'J. F.' and a monogram with his own and his wife's name, 'E. W.', are carved over the windows of the extension.

Mr. Moir Bryce gave some interesting particulars concerning the lands of Bruntsfield, which, though they had never figured prominently in history, had, he said, a few salient points in their story which possessed considerable interest in the eyes of the citizens of Edinburgh. These lands were a part of the famous old Burgh Muir of Edinburgh, which again formed the main portion of the forest of Drumselch. This forest, some eight centuries ago, covered the whole of the south side of Edinburgh, stretching from the south loch—now represented by the Meadows—to the Powburn. It extended from the western dyke of the cricket ground of Merchiston Castle School on the west to the lands of Cairntows on the east, and thence swung round the base of Salisbury Crags to Holyrood. This forest was the happy hunting-ground of our Sovereigns when in residence in the Castle. Although all the documents relating to the early history of the forest had disappeared, sufficient evidence remains to prove that at some period during the first half of the twelfth century two portions—the lands of Grange and those of Prestonfield—were gifted by either Alexander I. or David I. to the Church of St. Giles, which at that time was undoubtedly the Parish Church of Edinburgh. A few years later our ancient city was raised to the dignity of a Royal burgh at the hands of David I., the 'Sair Sanct to the Croon,' and it was on that occasion that King David handed over to the burgh the whole of the remaining portion of the forest of Drumselch. The first appearance of the lands of Bruntsfield on record occurs in the year 1381, when a man, Richard Broune, resigned his 'lands of the Boroumore' in favour of Sir Allan de Lawedre. These lands were held by Broune in his capacity of King's Serjeant of the Burgh Muir. In some cases, such as that of Broune, the office was both heritable and hereditary, and hence, from its long possession by Broune, the estate became known from that day down to the present time by the name of Brounisfield, or, as it is usually designated, Bruntsfield. The romantic story as to the origin of the name Bruntsfield related by Chambers might be dismissed as mythical. Under the charter of 1381 by Robert II., the lands were wholly disjoined from the Serjeantcy, and given by the King to 'our beloved and faithful Allan de Lawedre,' who was to 'render therefor annually to us a silver penny at the Boroumore at the feast of Saint John the Baptist in the name of blench farm.' The Lauders were a family of some distinction, but, so far as Edinburgh was concerned, the only member whose name called for mention was Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth, who was Provost of Edinburgh from

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the year 1500 until 1513. During the Flodden campaign he and his four Bailies, whose names history has not placed on record, accompanied by a contingent of burghers, assembled with the Scottish Army on the Burgh Muir on 19th August 1513. The Edinburgh contingent suffered severely, the gallant Provost and all his Bailies being among the slain. In 1603 Brounisfield was purchased from the last of the Lauders by John Fairlie. In 1695, George Warrender of Lochend, Bailie, and afterwards Provost, of Edinburgh, was infeted in the property by Sasine, recorded 6th February 1696. He was the first of the line of baronets of that name, and it was to be observed that all the Lauders, Fairlies, and Warrenders had possessed the lands of Brounisfield or Bruntstfield under charters of confirmation from the Crown, not from the city.

The company walked to Dunedin, Blackford Road, the residence of the President of the Club, and were entertained to tea by Mrs. Moir Bryce in the garden attached to the house. To Mr. and Mrs. Moir Bryce the thanks of the party were conveyed by Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff. A collection made for the Royal Scots Fund realised £5, 14s. The company next visited Ashfield, where, through the kindness of the Governors of the Trades Maiden Hospital, they had an opportunity of seeing the famous 'Blue Blanket,' the banner of the Incorporated Trades, which was carried, legend says, at Flodden. Mr. E. Sawers, treasurer of the Hospital, was present.

GRANGE HOUSE

Mr. Moir Bryce gave a short résumé of the history of the estate, which at an early period was the grange or farm of St. Giles. In the twelfth century the lands passed to an Abbey in Cumberland. The superiority, however, was vested in the eldest son of the King as Prince and Steward of Scotland, who still retained it. The lands are held on a tenure of a pair of gloves, which was commuted to 5s.—a sum still paid to the Prince of Wales by the owners of the Grange. In the time of Robert II. the Grange estate came into the possession of John Cant and his wife, Agnes Karkethill, whose descendants held it for one hundred and thirty years. It passed in 1631 to William Dick, a Provost of Edinburgh and a great Covenanter, and in his family the estate remained until the end of the eighteenth century, when the families of Dick of Grange and Lauder of Fountainhall were united by marriage.

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Prince Charles Edward rode down the Grange Loan in 1745, and was entertained at Grange House by the laird of that day.

Dr. Ross, speaking on the architecture of the house, said that from the point of view of preserving its historic aspect as an example of old Scottish architecture, Grange House had not fared so well as Bruntstfield. On making a plan of the building, the main lines of the old house were readily distinguished, but it has been so bedecked with modern turrets and surrounded by the towers and gables of a new house built in the last century, all in imitation of old work, that it was not easy to say where the new work began and the old ended. More especially was this so as all the walls were harled and brought to one uniform tint. Still, when the plan was laid down one found the old familiar Scottish mansion-house of the 'L' form. The doorway was probably in the re-entering angle. Its supposed lintel with a hand pointing to an inscription, and the date 1592, can still be seen inside the house. Sir Thomas Dick-Lauder, the well-known author and antiquary, built the larger addition already referred to. The ancient part of the house was entirely connected with the Cant family, and had nothing whatever to do with the Church of St. Giles.

Mr. Forbes Gray gave a sketch of the personal and literary associations of Grange House, beginning with Principal Robertson, who lived and died in it in the end of the last century. The names of Sir Walter Scott, Lord Brougham, Lord Cockburn, Sir Thomas Dick-Lauder, and Hugh Miller, were also connected with it. Sir Thomas Dick-Lauder, who was a Whig politician, as well as an author and antiquary, took a great interest in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Three years later he entertained at Grange House Earl Grey, who planted in the avenue an oak tree which is still to be seen there.

COMMISSION AND WARRANT APPOINTING LORD RUTHVEN OF ETRICK, GOVERNOR AND KEEPER OF THE CASTLE

The Council have pleasure in reporting that the Right Hon. Lord Ruthven has, on a representation made to him by the President, placed for permanent exhibition in the Banqueting Hall of Edinburgh Castle, the Commission superscribed by King Charles I., and the Warrant under the Privy Seal, appointing his illustrious ancestor, General Sir Patrick Ruthven, Lord Ruthven of Ettrick, to be Governor and Keeper

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of the Castle. The two documents (the first of which is dated 1639, and the other twelve months later) have been mounted in a desk-shaped frame—so as to be easily read—and placed in one of the windows of the Hall.

Sir Patrick was a gallant soldier, and served for several years on the Continent under Gustavus Adolphus, by whom he was knighted on the field of battle. During the summer of 1640 he held the Castle of Edinburgh against the Covenanters under General Leslie, until starved into capitulation on 15th September. He was permitted, along with his men, to march out of the Castle to Newhaven, where he embarked for England. For eminent services at the battles of Edgehill, Brentford, and Newbury he was created Earl of Brentford in the English Peerage in 1645, and died at Dundee six years later.

QUEEN MARGARET'S CHAPEL

The Members may recollect that in his lecture on the Castle in 1912, as well as in the article in Vol. V. of the Club Book on St. Margaret's Chapel fixing the date of its foundation, the President pointed out that, in the window erected in honour of Queen Margaret, the date of her death is erroneously given as 10th June instead of 16th November 1093; while in the adjoining window King Malcolm is recorded as having died on 6th June instead of 13th November 1093. Reference was also made to the inferior quality of the stained glass, and the existence of a private memorial in the Chapel.

As a sequel to the above, the President, as the representative of the Club on the Council of the Cockburn Association, has pleasure in reporting that, through the public-spirited action of that Association, the whole of the five windows in the Chapel will now be renewed with stained glass of an appropriate and homogeneous design. The work has been undertaken by the eminent Scottish artist in that material, Mr. Douglas Strachan, the designer of the stained-glass windows presented by the British Government to the Palace of Peace at The Hague. It may be further explained that Mr. Strachan has most generously and patriotically agreed to make a free gift to the Chapel, and in this way to the Scottish people, of all five windows, on condition that the Cockburn Association should hand over to one or more of the War Funds the cost of the three windows in the nave.

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The Association has now happily obtained the necessary consents, and it is matter for satisfaction that this work of national interest, the genesis of which can be ascribed to the Old Edinburgh Club, will in the near future be brought to a successful issue.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CLUB

The Council regret the delay which has occurred in the issue of the Book of the Club for 1914. As announced in last year's Report, this volume contains a transcript of the greater portion of the Holyrood Ordinal, with an introduction by Mr. F. C. Eeles. The transcript has been in type for some months, but owing to pressure of other work, Mr. Eeles has only now been able to complete his introduction. The entire volume is now in the printer's hands, and it is hoped that it will be issued to Members very shortly.

The Book of the Club for 1915 will contain the following articles:—

The Defence of Edinburgh in 1745, by Dr. Blaikie.

The Visitation of the College of Edinburgh in 1690, by Mr. R. K. Hannay.

Extracts from the Records of the Tolbooth (*continued*), by Mr. J. A. Fairley.

John Wesley in Edinburgh, by Mr. W. Forbes Gray.

The Magdalene Chapel, by the Sub-Committee of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments.

More than half of this volume is already in print, and the Council hope that it may be ready for issue in the course of the spring.

The President, Mr. Moir Bryce, is now engaged in an exhaustive paper on the history of the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh and the Braid Hills, and this will form at least the main part of the Book of the Club for 1916.

Mr. John B. Hamilton, C.A., Hon. Auditor, on behalf of the Treasurer, submitted the Financial Statement, from which it appeared that the balance in hand was £455, 4s. 7d., out

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of which there has to be met the cost of two volumes of the Book of the Club.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, referred to the work of the Club during the past year, and in connection with the Annual Publications, said :

It is matter for disappointment that Mr. Eeles, through pressure of business, has only now been able to complete his work on the Holyrood Ordinal. The transcript and a large portion, if not the whole, of the Introduction are now in type, and the Book will be issued, it is to be hoped, in a few weeks. The Book for 1915 is also in a forward condition, and will, we trust, be issued in the course of this spring; while that for 1916 will appear in February of next year.

I think we may fairly congratulate ourselves that the work of the Club is still being maintained, so far as literary research in the history of our ancient city is concerned, at its usual high level of efficiency; and that the continued prosperity of the Club may be accepted as a visible sign of the interest of the citizens in its labours.

Despite the great disturbance caused by the war during the past year, it is satisfactory to find that the work of the Club has been continued with such a measure of success, and our thanks are certainly due to the writers of the various articles.

Mr. Moir Bryce then moved the re-election of Lord Rosebery as Hon. President, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., Lion King of Arms, Professor Hume Brown, LL.D., Professor John Chiene, C.B., as Hon. Vice-Presidents, and the motion was cordially adopted.

On the motion of Mr. James Wilkie, Mr. Moir Bryce was unanimously elected President of the Club.

Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, R.S.A., Mr. William Cowan, and Mr. Thomas Ross, LL.D., were appointed Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Hon. Secretary, Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, C.A., as Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. John Hamilton, C.A., as Hon. Auditor. Hon. Lord Guthrie,

Professor Baldwin Brown, Mr. Frank C. Mears, and Mr. W. M. Gilbert were elected Members of Council.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Sir Thomas Hunter, Rev. Henry Paton, Mr. Charles S. Romanes, and Mr. Francis Caird Inglis, the retiring Members of Council.

Dr. W. B. Blaikie moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Moir Bryce for presiding.

The meeting then terminated.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For Year ending 31st December 1915

CHARGE		DISCHARGE	
I. Funds at close of last Account:—			
On Deposit Receipt	£384 5 0		£125 1 0
In hands of Honorary Treasurer	4 10 4		4 7 7
	£388 15 4		£129 8 7
Arrears of Subscriptions:—			
For year 1913—			
1 Library	£40 10 6		3 3 6
For year 1914—			
14 Members at 10s. 6d.	£7 7 0		2 8 0
1 Library	0 10 6		
3 Associates at 2s. 6d.	0 7 6		4 11 5
Less written off—1 Member,	£8 5 0		£450 0 0
3 Associates,	0 18 0		5 4 7
	7 7 0		£455 4 7
	£386 12 10		
II. Subscriptions:—			
For year 1915—			
345 Members at 10s. 6d.	£181 2 6		£0 10 6
Less paid in advance during 1914,	1 11 6		0 10 6
	£179 11 0		£1 1 0
22 Libraries at 10s. 6d.	11 11 0		
7 Associates at 2s. 6d.	0 17 6		
For year 1916 (in advance)—			
5 Members at 10s. 6d.	£2 12 6		
1 Associate at 2s. 6d.	0 2 6		
	2 15 0		6 16 6
	194 14 6		7 7 0
	0 10 6		462 11 7
	10 5 3		
	£602 3 1		£602 3 1
III. Transactions sold to Members.			
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts.			

Note.—The above funds have to meet the cost of publication of two volumes.

EDINBURGH, 19th January 1916.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ending 31st December 1915, of which the above is an Abstract, and find them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., Hon. Auditor.

Old Edinburgh Club

LIST OF MEMBERS

1915

ALEXANDER, A., National Bank, 179 High Street.
 Alexander, James, 45 Cluny Drive.
 Allison, James, 5 Ventnor Terrace.
 Anderson, Mrs. Arthur, 31 Bellevue Place.
 Anderson, Sheriff David, K.C., 12 India Street.
 Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 12 Learmonth Terrace.
 Anderson, John, 4 Bruntsfield Terrace.
 Anderson, Walter G., 31 Drummond Place.
 Angus, William, Record Office, H.M. Register House.
 Armstrong, John Johnston, Millbrook, Eldindean Road, Bonnyrigg.

BAIRD, WILLIAM, J.P., Clydesdale Bank House, Portobello.
 Balfour, Prof. Isaac Bayley, D.Sc., Inverleith House.
 Barclay, Oswald, 17 Gayfield Square.
 Barnett, David, Corporation Museum.
 Barrett, J. A. S., M.A., 4 Melville Terrace, West Park Road, Dundee.
 Barrie, John A., 15 Abbey Road, Eskbank.
 Baxendine, Andrew, 10 M'Laren Road.
 Baxter, David, M.A., Elmhurst, Cramond Bridge.
 Bell, Mackenzie, 11 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.
 Berry, Robert, 19 Kilmours Terrace.
 Beveridge, Erskine, St. Leonard's Hill, Dunfermline.
 Birnie, George R., 67 Trinity Road.
 Blaikie, Walter Biggar, LL.D., 11 Thistle Street.
 Blanc, Hippolyte J., R.S.A., 25 Rutland Square. (*Vice-President.*)
 Bolton, James B., C.A., 12 Blinkbonny Crescent, Blackhall.
 Bonar, Horatius, W.S., 3 St. Margaret's Road.
 Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.
 Borthwick, A. E., 6 Blantyre Terrace.
 Boyes, John, 40 Glendevon Place.
 Brock, Dr. Andrew John, 24 Braid Crescent.
 Brotherston, G. M., 23 Jeffrey Street.

THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

- Brown, Charles, 9 Bernard Terrace.
 Brown, Mrs. David, Willowbrae House, Willowbrae Road.
 Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, 25 Coates Gardens.
 Brown, James R., 46 Inverleith Place.
 Brown, Miss Joan, 17 Gilmour Road.
 Brown, Prof. P. Hume, LL.D., 20 Corrennie Gardens. (*Hon. Vice-President.*)
 Bruce, Alexander, Clyne House, Pollokshields.
 Bruce, James, W.S., 59 Great King Street.
 Bryce, P. Ross, F.S.A.Scot., 33 Craigmillar Park.
 Bryce, William, 54 Lothian Street.
 Bryce, Wm. Moir, F.S.A.Scot., Dunedin, Blackford Road. (*Pres.*)
 Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.
- CALDERWOOD, Rev. R. S., F.R.S.E., Cambuslang.
 Cameron, James M., 26 Melville Terrace.
 Campbell, A. H., Burgh Engineer, Parliament Square.
 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, The Right Hon. Lord, of Skirling, K.C.M.G., Malleny House, Balerno.
 Carmichael, Thomas, S.S.C., 2 Strathearn Place.
 Carter, W. Allan, 32 Great King Street.
 Cassillis, Right Hon. The Earl of, Culzean Castle, Maybole.
 Chambers, C. E. S., 44 Drumsheugh Gardens.
 Chiene, John, C.B., Aithernie, Davidson's Mains. (*Hon. Vice-Pres.*)
 Chrystal, F. M., M.B., 5 Lauriston Park.
 Chrystal, Robert Neil, B.Sc., Entomological Branch, Berks Building, Ottawa.
 Clark, Alexander, Keeper, Register of Deeds, Register House.
 Clark, John B., M.A., F.R.S.E., Heriot's Hospital.
 Clarkson, James Copland, 20 Forth Street.
 Cochrane, James, 24 Moat Place.
 Cochrane, Robert, 4 Mardale Crescent.
 Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.
 Cooper, W. Ross, M.A., 94 George Street.
 Cormack, D. S., 19 Dalziel Place, London Road.
 Cossar, Mrs. Isabella, Southview, Murrayfield.

LIST OF MEMBERS

- Couper, Rev. W. J., M.A., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow.
 Cowan, John James, Westerlea, Murrayfield.
 Cowan, William, 47 Braid Avenue. (*Vice-President.*)
 Craig, Sterling, M.A., 130 Princes Street.
 Cranston, Col. Sir Robert, K.C.V.O., C.B., 54 Craigmillar Park.
 Crawford, Donald, M.A., K.C., 35 Chester Street.
 Crawford, George, 60 Marchmont Road.
 Croal, Miss Caroline H., 14 Eyre Crescent.
 Cullen, William J., 7 Howard Street.
 Cumming, David, 32 St. Alban's Road.
 Cunningham, J. H., 2 Ravelston Place.
 Cuthbertson, David, 9 Melville Terrace.
- DALGLEISH, JOHN J. (of Westgrange), Brankston Grange, Alloa.
 Dalrymple, Hon. Hew, Lochinch, Castle Kennedy, Wigtownshire.
 Darling, Alexander, J.P., 23 South Oswald Road.
 Davidson, Miss Agnes, Cherry Grove, Juniper Green.
 Dawson, A. B., 33 Royal Terrace.
 Deas, John W., S.S.C., 63 Frederick Street.
 Dick, Thomas, S.S.C., 71 East Trinity Road, Leith.
 Dobbie, Joseph, S.S.C., 26 Charlotte Square.
 Dobie, W. Fraser, St. Catherine's, Liberton.
 Donald, Alexander Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 5 Craighouse Terrace.
 Dott, Miss Margaret S., 215 Bruntsfield Place.
 Douglas, Alex. McLaren, 26 Lauriston Gardens.
 Douglas, John, 6 St. Mary's Grove, Barnes Common, London, S.W.
 Douglas, William A., Glenosmond, 7 Wester Coates Avenue.
 Doull, John, Argyle Brewery, Chambers Street.
 Dow, James, 53 Princes Street.
 Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 37 George Street.
- ELLIOT, ANDREW, 17 Princes Street.
 Elliot, Lieut.-Colonel The Hon. Fitzwilliam, 16 Royal Terrace.
 Elliot, Stuart Douglas, S.S.C., 40 Princes Street.
 Erskine, Henry, 27 Frederick Street.
 Ewing, James L., LL.D., Derreen, Murrayfield Drive.
- FAIRLEY, JOHN A., 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.
 Ferguson, James Haig, M.D., 7 Coates Crescent.
 Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 7 Coates Crescent.
 Ferguson, Miss Jessie, The Lodge, Forbes Road.

Finlay, Rev. W. Russell, Ribblesdale, Dorking, Surrey.
 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.
 Fraser, Dr. John, 3 Darnaway Street.

GARVEN, JAMES, Pinkie Pans, Musselburgh.
 Geddie, John, 16 Ann Street.
 Gibb, James A. T., I.S.O., 7 Dalkeith Street, Portobello.
 Gibson, James T., W.S., 14 Regent Terrace.
 Gibson, Thomas, 7 Glengyle Terrace.
 Gilbert, W. M., *Scotsman* Office, North Bridge.
 Giles, Arthur, F.R.S.G.S., 191 Bruntsfield Place.
 Gilmour, Col. R. Gordon, of Craigmillar, The Inch, Liberton.
 Good, Mrs., Braefoot, Liberton.
 Goudie, Gilbert, 31 Great King Street.
 Graham, R. D., F.R.S.E., 12 Strathearn Road.
 Graham, William, Union Bank, George Street.
 Grant, Dr. Hope, Invicta House, Sheerness.
 Grant, John, 39 George Square.
 Grant, John H., 41 St. Andrew Square.
 Gray, James, 29 Polwarth Gardens.
 Gray, Robert Collie, S.S.C., 10 Hermitage Drive.
 Gray, W. Forbes, F.S.A.Scot., 8 Mansionhouse Road.
 Green, Charles E., 4 St. Giles Street.
 Greig, Thomas B., Woodridge, Dalkeith.
 Grierson, Andrew, 29 Mayfield Road.
 Guthrie, Hon. Lord, LL.D., 13 Royal Circus.
 Guy, John C., Sheriff-Substitute, 7 Darnaway Street.

HAMILTON, JOHN, C.A., 35 Alva Street. (*Hon. Auditor.*)
 Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.
 Hardie, R. S. L., Ashley, Ratho.
 Harrison, John, Rockville, 3 Napier Road.
 Hay, William J., John Knox's House, High Street.
 Hewat, Fergus, M.B., Ch.B., 3 Darnaway Street.
 Highgate, James, 125 Constitution Street, Leith.
 Hogben, John, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.
 Hope, Thomas, 129 Paynes Road, Southampton.

Hunter, Andrew, 48 Garscube Terrace.
 Hunter, Sir Thomas, W.S., LL.D., Town Clerk, City Chambers.
 Hutcheson, Alexander, M.A., 4 Denham Green Avenue.

INGLIS, E. O., 27 India Street.
 Inglis, Francis Caird, F.S.A.Scot., Rock House, Calton Hill.
 Inglis, George, 1 Rillbank Terrace.
 Inglis, John, 8 Wellington Street.
 Inglis, Joseph, W.S., 110 George Street.
 Inglis, Miss Margaret J., 39 Bruntsfield Place.
 Ingram, Alexander, 12 Bright's Crescent.
 Ingram, Hugh S., 53 Trinity Road.
 Inman, William, 11 Newbattle Terrace.

JACK, THOMAS CHATER, 11 Greenhill 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.
 Joss, John, 7 Wellington Street.

KAY, JOHN TELFER, 10 Granton Road.
 Kelly, John G., 3 Whitehouse Loan.
 Kemp, Alexander, 227 Dalkeith Road.
 Kerr, Rev. John, M.A., 54 Stonefall Avenue, Starbeck, Harrogate.
 King, John A., 35 Morningside Park.
 King, Miss Margaret P., Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.
 Kippen, John, M.A., Royal High School.

LANGWILL, H. G., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 4 Hermitage Place, Leith.
 Latimer, George Brown, 143-7 Lothian Road.
 Laurie, Principal A. P., Heriot Watt College.
 Learmont, James, 47 Polwarth Gardens.
 Leckie, John, Brookfield, 19 South Oswald Road.
 Leishman, Thomas A., H.M.I.S., Dunsville, Liberton.
 Lessels, Henry, C.A., 37 George Street.
 Lindsay, William, 18 South St. Andrew Street.
 Logan, John Douglas, 1 George Square.
 Lorimer, George, Durisdeer, Gillsland Road.
 Lowe, D. F., LL.D., 19 George Square.
 Lyle, James, Waverley, Queen's Crescent.

MACAULAY, Mrs., 4 Grosvenor Street.
 Macdonald, Wm. Rae, F.F.A., Neidpath, Wester Coates Avenue.
 Macfarlane, W. W., 10 Tipperlinn Road.
 Macfarlane-Grieve, W. A., M.A., J.P., of Penchrise and Edenhall,
 Impington Park, Cambridgeshire.
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 Mackay, William, M.A., 3 Danube Street.
 M'Kelvie, Alex., C.A., 26 Mortonhall Road.
 M'Kenzie, James, 201 Morningside Road.
 Mackie, George, 6 Carlton Terrace.
 Mackie, P. Jeffrey, Corraith, Symington, by Kilmarnock.
 MacLaren, Duncan, S.S.C., 62 Frederick Street.
 M'Lean, Miss, 19 Coates Crescent.
 M'Lean, Miss Frances A., 19 Coates Crescent.
 M'Leod, Alex. N., c/o Jeffrey, 4 Bruntsfield Terrace.
 MacLeod, John Lorne, S.S.C., D.L., 25 Albany Street.
 M'Leod, Neil, 81 Harrison Road.
 Macphail, J. R. N., 17 Royal Circus.
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 Macvey, William, 1 Argyle Crescent, Portobello.
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 Manclark, James M'Kinnon, 42 Grange Road.
 Manson, James A., 4 Cornwall Avenue, Church End, Finchley,
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 Manson, William, 18 Esslemont Road.
 Mears, Frank C., 4 Forres Street.
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 Middleton, Miss Harriet A., Manorhead, Stow.
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Minto, John, M.A., 83 Comiston Drive.
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 Murray, Andrew E., W.S., 43 Castle Street.
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 Atholl.
 Murray, John C., 18 Lennox Street.

 NAISMITH, Mrs. MARY A., 2 Ramsay Garden.
 Napier, Theodore, F.S.A.Scot., Balmanno, 7 West Castle Road.
 Nicolson, Andrew, S.S.C., 6 Duke Street.

 OGLIVIE, Rev. J. N., D.D., 13 Dryden Place.
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 Robertson, Robert A., 2 Woodburn Place.
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 Smith, John, 2 Melville Street.
 Smith, John Lamb, S.S.C., 58 Polwarth Terrace.
 Smith, Malcolm, J.P., Provost of Leith, Clifton Lodge, Trinity.

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 Stephen, William A., M.A., M.D., Loftus-in-Cleveland, Yorkshire.
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 Stevenson, Percy R., 5 North Charlotte Street.
 Stewart, Ian C. L., W.S., 28 India Street.
 Stewart, John, 88 George Street.
 Strathclyde, Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., 31 Heriot Row.
 Sturrock, George L., S.S.C., 76 George Street.
 Sturrock, Rev. John, 10 Glengyle Terrace.
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 Sym, Dr. W. G., 12 Alva Street.
 Sym, W. Melvill, C.A., 49 Castle Street.

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 Thin, James, 22 Lauder Road.
 Thin, James Hay, 2 Chalmers Crescent.
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 Thomson, Miss Alice, 23 Wester Coates Avenue.
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 Watson, John, F.R.I.B.A., 27 Rutland Street.
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 Williamson, Very Rev. A. Wallace, D.D., 44 Palmerston Place.
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YOUNG, Dr. JAMES, 2 Randolph Place.
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 Young, William, Donaldson's Hospital.
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 Gibson, Miss, 14 Regent Terrace.
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Old Edinburgh Club

1916

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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 membership of the Club shall be limited to three hundred and fifty. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, countersigned by a proposer and a seconder who are Members of the Club. The admission of Members shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have full discretionary power in filling up vacancies in the membership as these occur.

Note.—By its original Constitution the Club consisted of Members and Associates. The Associates on the Roll for 1913 shall be continued as such if they so desire, paying a subscription of 2s. 6d. on 1st January yearly, but in future no addition shall be made to their number. These Associates 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 shall be 10s. 6d., payable in advance on 1st January. Any Member whose subscription is not paid within four months from that date may 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 shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes. Representatives to such Committees may be appointed from the general body of Members. At meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and at meetings of the Council seven.

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 the Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and the Auditor for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall hold stated meetings in April and October, and 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. Papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property 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. 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 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 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 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. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual Meeting of the Club. Notice of any proposed alteration must be given in writing to the Secretary, who shall intimate the same by circular to each Member not less than seven days prior to the meeting. No alteration shall be made unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present at the meeting.

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