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ABBEY AND PALACE

HOLYROOD.



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HISTORY

OF THE

ABBAY AND PALACE

OF

HOLYROOD.

EDINBURGH:
PUBLISHED BY DUNCAN ANDERSON,
KEEPER OF THE CHAPEL-ROYAL.

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THE
ABBEY AND PALACE
OF
HOLYROOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION AND ENDOWMENT OF
THE ABBEY.

1814 Pres. Bull. 6.

THE Abbey of Holyrood was founded by King David I. for the reception of Canons Regular of the order of St. Augustine. Malcolm and Margaret, his royal parents, had set before him an example of liberality toward the church; but the munificence of their son far transcended that of his predecessors, and was never equalled by any prince that succeeded him on the Scottish throne. The majestic ruins of Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, and Holyrood, not to speak of other shattered piles, that hallow with their venerable shadows so many green corners of the land, bear solemn testimony to his pious zeal and boundless liberality. The Roman Church canonized her bene-

factor, and the monastic chroniclers, as might be expected, are enthusiastic in their praises of St. David. The sarcastic witticism, which his successor James I. uttered at his grave, that "he was ane soir sanct for the Crown," implied of course a censure on him for alienating so much of the royal property. But posterity, whose eyes are clear, appreciates the policy of David's line of conduct—perceiving that in Scotland, in those stormy and unlettered times, gifts to the church were to a great extent contributions also toward the maintenance of the old learning, the civilization of a fierce commonalty, the advancement of the arts, and the agricultural melioration of the soil. Buchanan, the historian, whose tendencies, of course, were all in an opposite direction, has recorded his conviction, that "a more perfect exemplar of a good king is to be found in the reign of David I. than in all the theories of the learned and ingenious."*

Such a prince required no special intimation from heaven to prompt him to found a religious house under the shadow of a fortress where he himself frequently resided. A miraculous interposition, however, on behalf of the king himself, when prostrate under the antlers of a "wyld hart," has been assigned as the immediate cause of the foundation of the Abbey. Bellenden, the translator of Boece, tells us that the event happened in the "vail that lyes to the Eist fra the said castell, quhare now lyes the Cannogait," and which at that time was part of "ane gret forest full of hartis, hyndis, toddis, and siclike maner of beistis." The day of the occurrence was a holy one—the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, or "Rude day," as it was commonly called; and the king had gone a hunting in spite of the remonstrances of Alwin or

* Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. vii.

Alcuin, his confessor, "ane man of singular and devoit life," and who was destined to be the first Abbot of Holyrood. When the king, in the ardour of the chase, had ridden to "the fute of the Crag," there suddenly rushed upon him from the woods the "farest hart that ever was sene," and dashed both him and his horse to the ground with great violence. David threw back his hands between the antlers of the stag, to save himself, if possible, from the blow; and "the haly Croce slaid incontinent in (into) his hands." The wild deer fled in dismay at the sight of the sacred emblem, to which it seemed about to do violence; and the king, being afterwards admonished in a dream, resolved to dedicate a house to the "Holy Rude," the Virgin, and All Saints, on the very spot where "he gat the Croce."

Such is the legend of the "miraculous foundation," which, in all probability, was devised by an over-zealous Brother of St. Austin some two centuries after the demise of the saintly king, with the intention of throwing a supernatural lustre round the annals of his house. It is evident, for several important reasons, that the legend was unheard of for ages after the death of David. If it had been simply a superstitious exaggeration of an accident which had befallen the king, it must have appeared in some shape or other in the pages of the earlier annalists. There is no trace of it in the original text of Boece, that great collector, and even fabricator of legendary marvels, whose ear took in every whisper of a miracle from Berwick to the Pentland Frith. The best MSS. of Bellenden's translation itself are without it. The emblematic antlers and cross are not found on any seal of the Abbey prior to the reign of James I; and, moreover, the tale is quite at variance with the well-known pious character of David

from his youth up; for, besides the concurring testimony of all history, it appears from the statement of a contemporary annalist, Aildred of Rievaux, that he was even *finically* observant of all the ordinances of the church.* The same chronicler also tells us that he has seen the king dismount from his horse, and *abstain from the chase*, when only the meanest of his subjects requested an audience.†

In this instance, besides, we find in authentic history a satisfactory reason why one of the first religious houses founded by this king should have been dedicated to the Holy Cross. The chroniclers inform us that Margaret, the grand-niece of Edward the Confessor, and mother of David, brought with her to Scotland a cross of pure gold, which opened and shut like a casket, ornamented with an image of the Saviour formed of the densest ebony, and which contained within it what was then believed to be a portion of that "Rude" on which Christ had suffered. This holy relic, the same Ailred informs us, "the pious Queen Margaret . . . transmitted as a *hereditary gift to her sons*."‡ This sacred legacy, thus bequeathed by a princess who, as Lord Hailes says, "was canonized by the voice of a grateful though superstitious people,"§ could not be lightly esteemed by the pious and filial-hearted David. It seems, therefore, to be almost a certainty, as has been already maintained by a distinguished antiquarian,|| that it was the inheritance of this highly-valued relic, which caused the king to dedicate the Abbey to the "Holy Rude;" and this supposition is strengthened by the fact, that David himself presented it

* Ailredus Revallen. in Twisden's *Scriptores Decem.*

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 350.

§ Hailes' *Annals*, 8vo. i. 46.

|| *Vide Courant newspaper*, 31st August 1850.

to the religious house which he had founded.* It seems not improbable that, being given by David to the canons, while yet resident in the castle, they continued to keep it, for greater security, in their chapel in that fortress, since it appears among the other regalia found in the treasury of the castle in 1291, in which year it was surrendered to Edward I., with all the other emblems of Scottish nationality, but was restored, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Northampton, in 1328. Under the name of "The black rude," this relic was for ages regarded as the palladium of Scotland and her kings. † Unfortunately, however, David II. carried it with him to the fatal field of Neville's Cross, where, on the 17th of October 1346, it fell into the hands of the conquerors, and for centuries thereafter was exhibited as an object of superstitious veneration, in the "Sowth Alley" of the cathedral church of Durham. To the Scottish people it must, indeed, have seemed a terrible corroboration of the awful potency of the Cross of St. Margaret that, on the very day when it passed from the hands of her youthful descendant, he himself, and the flower of his nobility, either perished on the field, or became the captives of the English.

According to the chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood, the Abbey was founded in the year 1128; but the writ which is commonly styled the Foundation Charter bears

* Holingshed. Hist. Scot., p. 177.

† St. Cuthbert would appear to have taken the field on this occasion against St. Margaret, for the Muniments of Durham state that the battle was won by John Fosser, the prior, taking the "holy corporax cloth" wherewith St. Cuthbert covered the chalice when he said mass, putting it in a banner cloth on a spear, and repairing, with this sacred standard unfurled, to the scene of action. Lib. Cart. S. Crucis pref., p. xxvii.

date somewhere between 1143 and 1147. It is highly probable that some earlier grant to the Monastery, which was afterwards superseded, has been lost; and this supposition is corroborated by the fact, that in the existing charter the Abbey is spoken of as being already founded. Before proceeding further, it may be expedient to present to the reader a literal translation of this curious and important document.

“In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honor of the Holy Rood, the blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints, I, David, by the grace of God, King of the Scots, by my royal authority, with the consent of Henry, my son, and the bishops of my kingdom, with the confirmation and attestation also of the Earls and Barons, the clergy, moreover, and the people assenting, by divine guidance grant and confirm in peaceable possession to the Church of the Holy Rood of Edwinesburg [Edinburgh] as follows—that is to say, I grant to the church foresaid, and to the Canons Regular serving God in the same, in free and perpetual alms, the Church of the Castle, with the appurtenances and rights thereof; trial by duel, water, and fire ordeal, so far as pertains to ecclesiastical dignity; with Salectuna [Saughton] and its legal bounds; and the Church of St. Cuthbert and the parish and all things pertaining to the said church, and with the kirktown and its bounds, and the land on which the church stands; and with the other land lying under the castle, namely from the spring which rises near the corner of my garden, by the way which leads to the Church of St. Cuthbert, and on the other side, under the castle, as far as a crag beneath the said castle towards the east; with two chapels which belong to the said Church of St. Cuthbert, namely Crostorphin, with two oxgangs and six acres of

land, and the Chapel of Libbertune with two oxgangs of land, and with all the tithes and rights both of the living and the dead of Legbernard, which Macbetber gave to the said church and I have confirmed; the Church of Hereth [Airth] with the land which pertains to the said church, and with all the land which I have added and granted to it, as my officers and good men have perambulated and delivered the same to Alwin the abbot, with a saltpan in Hereth and twenty-six acres of land, which church and land before named I will that the Canons of the Holy Rood shall hold and possess freely and peaceably for ever, and I strictly prohibit any one from unjustly oppressing or disturbing the Canons or their men [homines] who dwell on the said lands, or unjustly exacting from them any works, or aids, or secular customs. I will also that the said Canons shall have liberty to erect a mill on the said land, and that they shall have all the customs and rights and easements in Hereth—namely, in waters, in fishings, in meadows, in pastures, and in all things necessary, as amply as when they were in my own possession; and Broctuna [Broughton] with its legal bounds, and Inverlet, which is near the harbour, with its legal bounds, and the harbour itself and half of the fishing, and with the whole tithe of all the fishing which pertains to the church of St. Cuthbert; and Petendreia [Pittendrich], with its legal bounds, and Hamere [Whitekirk], and Fordam, with their bounds, and the Hospital, with a ploughgate of land; and an annuity of forty shillings from my burgh of Edwinesburg, and an annual rent of one hundred shillings for the apparel of the Canons out of my kain of Pert [Perth], from the first merchant ships that come to Pert; and, if by chance such should not come, I grant to the said church, out of my revenue of Edwinesburg, forty shillings, and of

Striueline [Stirling] twenty shillings, and of Pert forty shillings, and a toft in Striueline and the draught of a fishing net, and a toft in my burgh of Edwinesburg free and quit of all custom and exaction, and a toft in Berewic, and the draught of two nets in Scypwel, and a toft in Rein fry [Renfrew] of five roods, and the draught of a net for salmon, and liberty to fish there for herring; and I prohibit any one from exacting any customs from you or your men; I grant also to the foresaid Canons from my own Chamber ten pounds annually for lighting and repairing the church in perpetuity; I command also all my servitors and foresters of Striuelinshire and Clacmanant to give the abbot and convent full liberty to take out of all my woods and forests as much wood as they please and desire for the building of their church and houses and other purposes; and I command that their men who take wood from the said forests for their use shall have my firm peace, and that they shall not be in any way disturbed; and I grant also that the lordship swine [porcos dominios] of the said church feeding in my woods, shall be free of pannage.* I also grant to the said Canons one-half of the tallow, lard, and hides of the beasts slaughtered in Edwinesburg, and the tithe of all whales and marine animals due to me from the Avin, as far as Colbrandespade [Cockburnspath], and the tithe of all my pleas and profits from the Avin to Colbrandespade, and the half of the tithe of my kain, and of my pleas and profits of Kentyr and Errogeil [Argyle]; and the skins of all the rams, sheep, and lambs of my lordship of the castle, and of Linlitcu [Linlithgow], which die naturally, and eight chaiders of malt, and eight of meal, and thirty cartloads of the brushwood of Libbertune, and one of my mills of Dene, and the

* Dues levied on swine feeding in the royal woods.

tents of my mill of Libbertune and of Dene, and of the new mill of Edwinesburg, and Craggenmarf, as much as is in my lordship, and as much of the said crag as Vineth White gave to them in free gift. I moreover grant liberty to them to found a burgh between the said church and my burgh, and that their burgesses have liberty to sell and buy in my market freely and without blame or dues, like my own burgesses; and I prohibit any one in my burgh from taking by force, or without consent of the burgesses, their bread, ale, cloth, or other vendible commodity. I also grant that the Canons be free of all toll and custom in all my burghs and in all my lands for everything they buy and sell; and I prohibit every one from executing a poinding on the lands of the Holy Rood, except the Abbot of that place shall have refused to do right and justice. I will likewise that they hold all the before-written subjects as freely and quietly as I possess my own lands, and I will that the Abbot shall hold his court as freely, and with as ample powers, as the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Abbot of Dunfermlin, and the Abbot of Kelcou [Kelso], hold their courts. Before these witnesses, Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews; John, Bishop of Glasgow; Henry, my son; William, my nephew; Edward the chancellor; Herbert the chamberlain; Gillemichael the Earl; Gospatric, brother of Dolphin; Robert de Montacute; Robert de Burneule; Peter de Brus; Norman the sheriff; Oggu; Leising; Gillise; William de Graham; Turstan de Crectune; Blein the archdeacon; Ælfrie the chaplain; Waleran the chaplain.”*

Fordun styles the Abbey “The Monastery of the Crag of the Holy Rood,” and Joannes Hagustaldensis, the continuator of Simeon of Durham, calls it simply the “Monas-

* Translated from the original in the Lib. Cart. Sancte Cruc. p. 3.

tery of the Crag." David appears, in the first instance, to have located his Canons, whom he brought from the Augustinian monastery of St. Andrews, upon, or at the base of, the Castle rock of Edinburgh,* and it is difficult to determine the precise period when they settled on the meadow below Arthur Seat. We have already stated that the terms of the charter of 1143-7 would seem to imply that they were by that time established in their own house; but Father Hay, Canon of St. Genevieve at Paris, in the reign of James VII., who made an attempt to ascertain the early history of the Abbey, confines them to the rock till the reign of William the Lion, and, in confirmation of this, speaks of the numerous charters of Malcolm IV., which are dated "At the Monastery of the Holy Rude in the Castle of Maidens."

David II. in 1343 presented to the Abbot and Convent the chaplainry of his own chapel,† constituting the Abbot his principal chaplain, with liberty to substitute one of the Canons in his room, who should enjoy all the dues and oblations pertaining to the said royal chapel—a grant which was confirmed by Robert III. and other kings. David II. also erected the whole lands in the possession of the Abbey into a free regality; and his successor Robert II. granted to the Canons a site for a house on the Castle rock, to which they and their dependents might betake themselves in time of peril.‡

Many important grants were conferred upon the Abbey besides those contained in the charter of its founder. Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, granted the Church of Karreden, with two ploughgates of land; Turstan, the son of Leving, granted or confirmed to the Church of the Holy

* Vide Note A. † Lib. Cart. Sanct Crucis, p. 90. ‡ Ibid. p. 99.

Rood of the Castle of Maidens and its Canons the Church of Levingstone [ecclesia de Villa Leving]; Thor, the son of Swanus, bestowed on them all right he had in the Church of Trevernet [Tranent], its lands, pastures, and tithes. Willelmus de Veteri Ponte bestowed the whole land of Ogelfas [Ogilface]. At a very early period the monks of Holyrood obtained the Church of Kinnel, with a ploughgate of land, by the gift of Herbert, the chamberlain of Scotland; and the Church of Paxtun, and the Church of Bathchet [Bathgate], with a ploughgate of land pertaining to it; but this latter church they afterwards made over to the monks of Neubotle in exchange for certain lands in the Carse of Falkirk.

In the twelfth century, Fergus, Lord of Galloway, who afterwards became a monk of Holyrood, and his son, Uchtred, were munificent benefactors of the Abbey. They presented to it, among other valuable grants, the Church of St. Mary and St. Bruok of Dunroden, in later times annexed to the parish of Kirkcudbright; the island of Trahil [now St. Mary's Isle,] on which was erected the Priory of St. Mary of Trail, a cell of Holyrood; the Church of Galtweid; the Church of St. Bridget of Blakhet, elsewhere styled Lochblacket,* [Kirkbride?] the Church of St. Cuthbert of Desnesmor [the present Kirkcudbright]; the Church of Tuncgeland; the Church of Twenham; the Church of St. Constantine of Colmanele, *alias* Kircostintyn, with the Chapel of St. Constantine of Egingham; the Church of St. Andrew or Kirkandrew Balemakethe [Balmaghie]; the Church of Keletun, *alias* Locheletun, and the Church of Kyrkecormac, with the Chapel of Balnecros. The four last mentioned churches or chapels had previously

* Regist. Episcopat. Glasguen. p. 122.

belonged to the monks of Iona.* David, the son of Terr, contributed to the House the Church of Anewith [Anwoth] with the Chapel of Culenes. The Church of Eglrysbrith [Falkirk] was an early acquisition, as also the Church of Mount Lothian, a parish annexed to Penycuik; the Church of Melginche, with the land called Abthen; the Chapel of Penteland; the Church of Boulton [a gift of the family of De Veteriponte or Vipont;] the Church of Eistir Kyn-gorne; the Church of Ur; the Church of St. Constantine of Crawford, with the Chapel of the Castle; the Church of Baru [Barra united to Garvald,] and the Church of St. Michael of Dalgarenoc. In the ancient taxation of the ecclesiastical benefices in the Archdeaconry of Lothian, found in the Treasury of Durham, and written in the reign of Edward I., there appears among the churches belonging to Holyrood, "Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ in Campis." † This was, doubtless, what was at a later period the Collegiate Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, on the site of which the College now stands, and which, under the popular name of "Kirk-of-Field," was destined to be so tragically associated with the history of some future occupants of Holyrood. When erected into a collegiate church, certain rights appear to have been reserved to the Canons to whom it originally belonged, for in 1546, we find Robert, commendator of Holyrood, presenting George Ker to a prebend in it, "according to the force and form of the foundation."

In 1570, as appears from the articles presented in that year, in the General Assembly, against Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, then in possession of the revenues of

* Lib. Cart. Sanct. Crucis, p. 41.

† Priory of Coldingham (Surtees Volume) Append. cxii.

the Abbey, twenty-seven churches still belonged to the great Monastery of St. David.

The cells or priories dependent on the Abbey were St. Mary's Isle, in Galloway, whose prior was a lord of Parliament—Blantyre in Clydesdale, which must have existed before 1296, since "Frere William, priour de Blauntyr," swore allegiance to Edward I. in that year—* Rowadill, in the Isle of Herries, said by Spottiswood to have been founded by one of the M'Leods of Harries—Colunsay, planted, according to the same authority, by the Lord of the Isles, with canons from Holyrood—and Crusay and Oransay, believed to have been originally two of those Island lamps, lit by the hand of St. Columba, to shed a holy light across the Western waters.

In the Abbey Church there were various chapels and altars dedicated to different saints. The Lady Chapel was, as usual, in the choir at the back of the high altar; † and we read of another called "The Abbot's Chapel," to which two silver candelabra belonged. ‡ There was an altar dedicated to the Holy Cross, § which is specially distinguished from the High Altar, and another called "the Parish Altar." ¶ "In the southern chapel adjoining to the High Altar" ¶ were those of St. Andrew and St. Catherine, founded by George Creichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who by

* Ragman Rolls, p. 166.

† Father Hay. Lib. Cart. Sanct. Crucis, p. xxiv. In the Records of the Burgh of the Canongate in 1568, however, we read of "Our Ladye altar, sumtyme situat within the Abbey Kirk of Halierudhous within the *Perroche Ile* therof, to which the 'Ladie land' belonged." Miscellany of Maitland Club, vol. ii. p. 318.

‡ Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 24. This may have been attached to the abbot's house beyond the cloister.

§ Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 24. ¶ Ibid.

¶ Original charter as given in Maitland's Hist. p. 154.

the same deed erected an almshouse—that of St. Thomas, near the Watergate, for the reception of seven poor men, who were to be under the control of the chaplains of the said two altars, and who upon Sundays and festivals were to put on “their red gowns, and, at High Mass, sit before the altar of the chapel in the said conventual church, and there say fifty Ave Marias, five Pater Nosters, and one Credo.” Before 1387 there was an altar dedicated to St. Stephen, “on the north side of the Parish altar.”* There was also an altar dedicated to St. Anne by the tailors of Edinburgh, and another to Saints Crispin and Crispinian by the cordwainers or shoemakers of the city. We are told, but upon very doubtful authority, that these altars were erected by the trades on the return of certain of their members, who had performed prodigies of valour in the Holy Land, where, we are informed, the famous “Blue Blanket,” the standard of the bold craftsmen of Edinburgh, had waved, conspicuous in the van of battle, before being suspended over the altar of St. Eloi in the Church of St. Giles.

As to the revenues of this noble Abbey, all that our space will permit us to state is, that in the taxation of ecclesiastical benefices, of Edward the First’s time, before alluded to, it is rated at £775: 14: 5½; † and that its revenue at the Reformation amounted, in victual, to 26 chalders 10 bolls of wheat, 40 chalders 9 bolls of bear, 34 chalders 15 bolls 3 firlots 3½ pecks of oats, and 4 chalders of meal, while the revenue in money payments was £2926: 8: 6. Considering the vast possessions of the monastery in land and tithes, the latter valuation seems to be singularly small.

* Indenture in the City Archives.

† Priory of Coldingham. Append., p. cxi.

CHAPTER II

THE ABBOTS OF HOLYROOD, AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE ABBEY.

THE first Abbot of Holyrood was the founder's confessor Alwin, who resigned the Abbey in 1150, and is said to have died in 1155. He was succeeded by Osbert, whose death occurred in the year of his promotion, but his name is not in the list of abbots in the old Ritual Book. William was Abbot in 1152, and is a frequent witness to charters during the reigns of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. He surrounded the Abbey with a strong wall of squared stone to secure it against predatory assaults.* During Abbot William's rule, Fergus, then Lord of Galloway, became a Canon of the Abbey, and both he and his son Uchtred were benefactors of the House. The successor of William was Robert, who lived also in the reign of William the Lion; and this Abbot granted to the inhabitants of the newly projected burgh of the Canon-gate various privileges, which were confirmed with additional benefactions, by David II., Robert III., James II., and James III. Those sovereigns granted to the bailies and community under the Abbots the annuities payable by the burgh, and also the common muir between the

* Father Hay. Lib. Cart. Sanct. Cruc. pref. xx.

lands of Broughton on the west and the lands of Pilrig on the east, on the north side of the road from Edinburgh to Leith.

The fifth Abbot of Holyrood was John, who presided over the monastery in 1173. A.D. 1180, Alexius, a sub-deacon of the Romish Church, held a council in the Church of the Holy Cross, near Edinburgh. The principal business of this council was the long disputed consecration of John Scott, Bishop of St. Andrews.* In 1189, the first year of the reign of Richard I. of England, an assembly of the Scottish Bishops, rectors of churches, nobility, and barons, was held in the monastery of Holyrood. Richard, who had invited William the Lion to his court at Canterbury, had recognised the complete independence of Scotland, fixed the boundaries of the two kingdoms as they were before the captivity of the Scottish King, and granted him full possession of all his fees in the earldom of Huntingdon and elsewhere on the same conditions as formerly. It was agreed in this national convention that William the Lion was to pay 10,000 merks for this restitution—a sum supposed to be equivalent to L.100,000 sterling of the present day. Father Hay, however, states that the stipulated sum was only 5000 merks. †

The successor of John, as Abbot of Holyrood, was William, and during his time, in 1206, John, Bishop of Galloway, relinquished his episcopal function, and became one of the Canons. He was interred in the chapter house, and a stone recording his name and dignity was placed over his grave. The next abbot was Walter, Prior of Inchcolm, who was appointed in 1210, and died in 1217.

* Lord Hailes. Edit. 1819, vol. iii. p. 229.

† Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, Preface, p. xxii.

He was a man distinguished both for learning and piety. His successor was William, whose retirement is alone recorded. He was succeeded by another William, who, in 1227, on account of old age, resigned the Abbacy and retired to the island of Inchkeith, resolving to lead the life of a hermit; but after a residence of nine weeks he returned to the monastery as a private monk. The next Abbot was Helias, or Elias, described as the son of Nicolas a priest—pleasant, devout, and affable, and who, according to Father Hay, was interred in St. Mary's Chapel, behind the great altar. He drained the marshes in the vicinity of the monastery, by which the locality was rendered more salubrious, and surrounded the cemetery with a brick wall. Helias was succeeded by Henry, who was nominated Bishop of Galloway in 1253, though he was not consecrated till 1255. Ralf, or Radulph, was appointed Abbot on the removal of Henry to the see of Galloway. On the 14th of January 1255, in the reign of Alexander III., an assembly was held at Holyrood, in which the King, with advice of his magnates, settled a dispute between David de Leuchars, Sheriff of Perth, and the Abbey of Dunfermline.*

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, when the wars of the succession spread terror and confusion over the whole land, the Abbot of Holyrood was Adam, an adherent of the English party. He did homage to Edward I. on the 8th of July 1291, and was one of the commissioners appointed by the English King in his letter to Radulphus Basset de Drayton, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, for examining the Scottish records preserved in that fortress. In August 1296 he again did homage to Edward I., and it was apparently in his favour that the

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland. Fol. 1844, vol. i. p. 61.

English monarch granted an order for the restoration of the abbey lands on the 2d of September following.

The successor of Abbot Adam was another Helias, or Elias, who is mentioned in a transaction connected with William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Gervase, Abbot of Newbattle, in 1316. Six years afterwards the Abbey of Holyrood, in common with those of Melrose and Dryburgh, was dilapidated and plundered by the army of Edward II., who had advanced to the vicinity of Edinburgh without opposition, anticipating the easy conquest of a kingdom, from which famine compelled him to retreat with dishonour.

The Abbot in 1326 was Symon, supposed to have been Symon de Wedale. On the 8th of March that year King Robert Bruce, who had then gloriously achieved the independence of Scotland, held a Parliament in the King's Hall, in which was ratified a concord between Randolph, earl of Moray, afterwards Regent, and Sir William Oliphant, in connexion with the forfeiture of the lands of William de Monte Alto, and it is probable that the Parliaments of the 28th of February and the 17th of March 1327 assembled also in the Abbey. A Parliament was held at Holyrood on the 10th of February 1333-4, when Edward Baliol rendered homage to King Edward III. of England as Superior Lord of Scotland. On the 12th the kingdom was dismembered, and the national liberties surrendered, by the ratification of a treaty between Baliol and Edward, by which the former became bound to serve with his forces in the English wars.

The successor of Abbot Symon was John, whose name occurs as a witness to three charters in 1338; and Bartholomew was Abbot in 1342.

Abbot Bartholomew was succeeded by Thomas, who

was Abbot in 1347. On the 8th of May 1366, a council was held at Holyrood, in which the Scottish nobles indignantly disclaimed all the pretensions of the English King to the sovereignty of Scotland, and sanctioned an assessment for the annual payments of the ransom of David II. Nothing important occurs in the history of the Monastery till 1371, when David II. died in the Castle of Edinburgh, and was buried near the high altar in the Abbey Church. In 1372 Edward III. granted a safe conduct to certain persons who went from Scotland to Flanders to provide a stone for the tomb of David II.* John was Abbot in 1372. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. by Lady Blanch, younger daughter and heiress of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, grandson of Edmund, second son of Henry III., was hospitably entertained in Holyrood in 1381, when compelled to flee from his enemies in England. The next Abbot was David. The Abbey was burnt which opens into Richard II. when he invaded Scotland, and at Restalrig; but it appears to have been soon Abbey; and and inhabited. Henry IV. spared the Monastery Margaret of 1400, on account of the kindness of the Abbot. he him- Canons to John of Gaunt, his father, declaring that . would allow no violence to be inflicted on an edifice which his feelings as a son enjoined him to respect. d, Dean John of Leith was Abbot in 1386, and he must have been in possession a number of years, as he was a party to the indenture of the lease of the Canonmills to the burgh of Edinburgh on the 12th of September 1423. In 1429, a singular spectacle was witnessed in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord

* Rymer's Fœd. vi. 721.

of the Isles, who had enraged James I. by ravaging the crown lands near Inverness, and burning that town, and whom the King had issued stringent orders to apprehend, suddenly appeared in the church, on the eve of a solemn festival, in presence of the King, Queen, and Court. He was dressed only in his shirt and drawers; and holding a naked sword by the point in his hand, he fell on his knees and implored the royal clemency. His life was spared, and he was committed prisoner to Tantallon Castle, under the charge of the Earl of Angus.

On 16th October 1430 the Queen of James I. was delivered of twin princes in the Abbey, the elder of whom, Alexander, died in infancy. The younger was James, who succeeded his father.

Patrick was Abbot of Holyrood in September 1435. On the 25th of March 1436-7, James II., who had been brought in the Abbey, and was then little more than six years of age, was conveyed from Edinburgh Castle to the Abbey, in the Abbey, and crowned with great magnificence in the Abbey, and crowned with great magnificence in the Abbey. Another high ceremony was performed in the Abbey in July 1449, when Mary, daughter of the Earl of Gueldres, and Queen of James II., was crowned. The Queen was attended by the Lord de Vere of Holland, who was appointed by Philip the Good of Burgundy to conduct his kinswoman to Scotland; and when she landed at Leith she was received by many of the nobility, and by a large concourse of all ranks, who seemed almost barbarians to the polished Burgundians. The Queen, mounted on horseback behind the Lord de Vere, rode to Edinburgh, and was lodged in the Convent of the Grey Friars. In the course of a week after her arrival, her nuptials and coronation were celebrated in the Abbey Church, with all the pomp and ceremony which the rude

taste and circumscribed means of the country would permit.

On the 26th of April 1450, the Abbot of Holyrood was James, of whom nothing is known. Ten years afterwards the body of James II., who was killed by the bursting of one of the rudely constructed cannon of the time, at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, was interred within the precincts of the Abbey. Two or three years before this event, Archibald Crawford, son of Sir William Crawford of Haining, and who had been Prior of Holyrood, succeeded to the Abbacy. He was a distinguished diplomatist, and was employed in many important negotiations between the sovereigns of England and Scotland. In 1474, he was appointed Lord High Treasurer; and died in 1483. About 1460 Abbot Crawford repaired the fabric of the Abbey Church, adding to it the buttresses on the walls of the north and south aisles, and, in all probability also, building the rich doorway which opens into the northern aisle.

James III. passed much of his time at the Abbey; and on the 13th July 1469, his nuptials with Margaret of Denmark were celebrated in the Abbey Church, he himself "being of the aige of twentie yeires . . . and the gentlevoman being bot twelff." Margaret brought with her as her dowry the Islands of Orkney and Shetland, which had formerly pertained to the Danish Crown.

The successor of Crawford was Robert Bellenden, an ecclesiastic distinguished by his humanity to the poor, and his liberality to the Abbey. Among his munificent gifts were the "great bells," the "great brass font,"* and a chalice of fine gold,—and he covered the church with lead.

* This is probably the font, which Sir Richard Lea, captain of pioneers in the Hertford invasion, carried off "in the tumult of

In his time, probably, the Abbey Church was the scene of a high ceremonial, when the Papal Legate and the Abbot of Dunfermline, amid a crowd of Scottish nobles, in name of Pope Julius II., presented King James IV. with a purple crown ornamented with golden flowers, and a sword, of which the hilt and sheath were rich with gold and precious stones, and which, under the name of the "Sword of State," is still preserved among the Regalia of Scotland in the Castle of Edinburgh.

In 1515 George Crichtoun was Abbot, and continued so till 1522, when he was made Bishop of Dunkeld. William Douglas, Prior of Coldingham, succeeded; and on his death, in 1528, Robert Cairncross, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Corstorphin, and chaplain to King James, was selected for the office. He was the last ecclesiastic of the ancient hierarchy who held the abbacy of Holyrood, being the twenty-eighth in succession from Alwin, the confessor of David I. He vacated the office in 1538 or 1539, when postulated to the see of Ross, and Robert, the natural son of James V. by Eupham Elphinstone, obtained a grant of the Abbey, while still an infant. He embraced the tenets of the Reformed Church in 1559, and subsequently exchanged the commendatorship of Holyrood for the temporalities of the Bishopric of Orkney.

the conflagration," and which he presented to the Church of St. Albans, with the magniloquent inscription engraved on it, which Camden has preserved. The Scottish font is made most unpatriotically to say [luckily in Latin]—"In gratitude to him for his kindness, I, who hitherto served only at the baptism of the children of kings, do now most willingly offer the same service even to the meanest of the English nation. *Lea, the Conqueror, hath so commanded.*" This font was afterwards *conquered* by the Roundheads, and sold as old metal.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE OF JAMES IV. WITH MARGARET OF ENGLAND.

THE chivalrous but ill-fated James the Fourth was the first of our kings who built a palace adjacent to the Abbey of Holyrood. No sooner was the royal dwelling fit for habitation, than the bride of its founder stepped across the threshold—that English Princess from whom were to descend the sovereigns of the great British empire. On the 7th of August 1503, Margaret, with her train of English nobles, entered the metropolis of her adopted country, and was received with the respect due to the daughter of Henry VII. The “Fyancells” of the Princess in the royal manor of Richmond on St. Paul’s Day, the 25th of January 1502, her departure from England, her journey into Scotland, her reception and marriage, are narrated with the garrulous minuteness of his profession, by John Younge, Somerset Herald, who attended her during her progress. The Princess began her journey northwards on the 27th of June 1503, and travelled by easy stages, chiefly on horseback, though she had a “rych lytere borne by two faire coursers varey nobly drest,” and also a char or coach for her use. On her approach to the Scottish Border she was escorted and entertained with the respect due to her

exalted rank. She was met at Lamberton church, near the English Border, by the Scottish nobility, "a thousand persons in company," five hundred of whom were on horseback. Her stages in Scotland were Fast Castle, Haddington, and Dalkeith, the Earl of Morton's Castle, where James IV. first met her, accompanied by "a train of lords to the number of sixty horses." The King returned to Edinburgh that evening, and the Princess remained four days, partly in the Castle of Dalkeith, and partly in the adjoining Abbey of Newbattle, where she was daily visited by her royal bridegroom. On the morning of the 7th of August, the Princess set out for Edinburgh in her litter, and the King met her half-way, splendidly arrayed, "upon a bay horse, rennyng as he wolde renne after the hayre," and followed by Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow, Bishop Foreman of Moray, and a numerous cavalcade. Finding that his own courser would not carry double, the King dismounted and leaped gallantly into the saddle of the palfrey of the Princess, placing her close behind him, and in this manner they entered Edinburgh, amid rejoicings and fantastic pageants; a fountain of wine, which was free to all, playing at the Cross, and the windows of the houses being gorgeously ornamented with tapestry. The allegorical figures displayed were "Paris and the three Deessys" or goddesses, which were oddly blended with the Salutation of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin, and the four Virtues. When the King and his bride passed St. Giles's church, the provost and prebendaries appeared in their vestments, and presented the reputed arm of the tutelary saint of the city, which the King kissed, and then began to sing *Te Deum Laudamus*. Before arriving at this locality the King had to encounter the Grey Friars at

the foot of the West Bow, who issued from their monastery also armed with relics.

The royal pair proceeded through the city on horseback to the Church of Holyrood, and the proceedings when they entered within its walls are duly chronicled by the loyal Somerset Herald. They were met at the church by the Archbishop of St. Andrews,* attended by the Bishop of Aberdeen, Lord Privy Seal,† the Bishops of Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, a number of abbots in their pontificals, and the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood in gorgeous vestments, preceded by their cross.

The whole cavalcade dismounted, and entered the Abbey Church in procession. The King took the hand of the Princess, and after an humble reverence led her to the high altar, where two cushions covered with cloth of gold were placed, and the King and his bride knelt together, while *Te Deum* was sung by the choir. Having performed their devotions, the King in a most loving manner conducted the Princess out of the church "through the cloister" to her apartments in the adjoining Palace. After a brief space the Princess was brought by the King into the great hall, where she was introduced to a numerous company of Scottish ladies of rank, each of whom she kissed, the Bishop of Moray attending her and telling her their names; after which ceremony the King again saluted her, and with low courtesy, and uncovered, he conducted her to her apartments. He supped in his private chamber with the Archbishop of York, the Bishop

* James, Duke of Ross, brother of the King, who died this same year.

† The illustrious William Elphinstone, founder of King's College.

of Durham, the Earl of Surrey [he who afterwards met him on the fatal field of Flodden] and other attendants of the Princess. The King then retired, after bidding the Princess "joyously good night."

On the 8th the royal nuptials were celebrated at Holyrood. Between eight and nine in the morning, the nobility, convened on the occasion, were arrayed in rich apparel, and duly prepared for the important ceremonial. The precincts of Holyrood were crowded with spectators, who displayed the utmost animation and excitement. The Bishop of Moray waited on the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham. The Earl of Surrey, Lords Grey, Latimer, Dacres, and Scroope, Sir Richard Poole, Knight of the Garter, Sir Davis Owen, Sir William Conyers, Sir Thomas D'Arcy, Sir John Huse, and other noblemen and knights, appeared in splendid dresses, wearing their collars and chains of gold, and were presented by the Bishop of Moray to the King, who received them, standing, in his great chamber. After the usual salutations, the King ordered them to be seated, and to cover their heads, placing the Archbishop of York on his right hand, and the Earl of Surrey on his left. The King himself occupied a chair of crimson velvet, the panels of which were gilt, under a superb cloth of estate, of blue velvet figured with gold. Dr. Raulins delivered an oration, which was briefly answered by Dr. Muirhead, Dean of Glasgow, the King's Secretary; and at the conclusion every person present rendered homage or reverence to the King, who then withdrew to his own apartments in the Palace. The Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen then conducted the ladies, noblemen, and knights to the bride's chambers; and soon afterwards the Princess entered the Abbey

Church in bridal array, wearing a golden crown set with pearls and other jewels of great price, supported on the right by the Archbishop of York, and on the left by the Earl of Surrey, her train borne by the Countess of Surrey assisted by a gentleman-usher, and attended by numerous ladies.

The Princess was placed near the font, her attendants occupying the north side of the church; and the Archbishop of Glasgow, accompanied by other prelates and ecclesiastical dignitaries, stationed himself at the high altar. The King next appeared, with the Officers of State, and a large assemblage of nobility, Lord Hamilton carrying the sword. The Archbishop of York read the papal bulls, and the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow. The King then led the Queen to the high altar, and divine service was performed with all the pomp of the Roman ritual. At the reading of the Gospel the royal pair made their offering, the Queen was anointed, and the sceptre was placed in her hand by the King. The hymn *Te Deum* was then sung, and during the celebration of mass, the cloth of estate was held over the now wedded pair by two of the Bishops.

A banquet was given in the Palace, at which the Queen was first served, and the Archbishop of Glasgow had the honour of an invitation to her table. A "largesse" was then proclaimed three times by Marchmont Herald in the King's chamber, the great hall, and the hall of audience, "in name of the high and mighty Princess Margaret, by the grace of God Queen of Scotland, and first daughter engendered of the very high and mighty Prince Henry VII., by that self-same grace King of England." Some details follow of the internal decorations and furniture of Holyrood, and of the amusements of the marriage

party, such as games, dances, and the musical efforts of "Johannes and his company," after which the King went to vespers in the Abbey Church attended both by the Scottish and English nobility, the Queen remaining in the Palace. This was succeeded by a supper, which concluded the festivities of the day, while the citizens of Edinburgh evinced their loyalty by numerous bonfires and other demonstrations. In the evening, probably, the King's person had been the object of the ceremonial indicated by an entry of the following day's date, in the Treasurer's accounts, of £330 paid "for xv. elne claith of gold to the Comites (countess) of Surry, of Ingland, quhen scho and her dochter Lady Gray clippit the Kingis berde, ilk elne xxii. lib."

On the 9th a numerous assemblage of ladies, noblemen, and knights, convened at Holyrood. At ten in the morning the King went to mass in the Abbey Church in procession. The subsequent amusements of this day are not recorded, with the exception that the royal dinner was "brought and served in silver vessels by the officers and personages in such manner as the day before." "After dinner a young man, an Italian," continues the worthy Somerset Herald, "played before the King on a cord very well." The ladies were at the windows towards the Queen's quarters, and after the game was done they began to dance. "Touching the Queen, I say nothing, for that same day I saw her not, but I understand she was in good health and mere [more]." A supper followed, the profusion of which was by no means in accordance with a day enjoined by the church to be observed in abstinence.

On the 10th, which was St. Laurence's Day, the King, in compliment to the Queen, created forty-one knights, and after the ceremony he presented them to his consort,

saying—"Lady, these are your knights." After dinner a tilting match was held in the court-yard of the Palace, which the King witnessed from the richly decorated windows, and the Queen and her ladies were also spectators. The challengers were Lords Kilmaurs and Creitoun, assisted by Sir Alexander Seton, the Master of Montgomery, Sir Patrick Hamilton, and Sir John of Creytoun. Their opponents were Lords Hamilton and Ross, the former the King's cousin, attended by Sir David Home, William Cockburn of Langton, Patrick Sinclair, and Henry Bruce. After the tournament the King and Queen retired to supper, and the festivities of the day concluded with dancing.

On the 11th the King again went to the Abbey Church. The Queen remained in her apartment till the hour of dinner, after which she danced with the King, and a tilting match was performed by six persons, the royal pair beholding the rencontre from the windows of the Palace. After supper "John Inglis and hys companyons" played in the Queen's principal apartment before the royal pair. The 12th was spent in a similar manner, the King as usual attending the Abbey Church; and on the 13th, which was Sunday, the Queen was led to mass by the Bishops, the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Chamberlain, and her ladies, the train of the Countess of Surrey borne by Sir John Home. The King followed, and after mass the Marchmont Herald presented Lord Hamilton, who was created Earl of Arran; and honours were conferred on William, Earl of Montrose, and Cuthbert, Earl of Glencairn. The King and the Queen then returned into the Palace, and the Earl of Surrey and others of the nobility dined at the royal table. After dinner "a moralitie was played by the said Master

Inglishe and his companyons in the presence of the Kyng and Quene, and their daunces were daunced." At the customary hour the King went to vespers, after which it was intended to create twenty-six knights, but on account of the absence of the Queen this was delayed till the following day for the "luffe of hyr." After vespers the King entered his apartments in the Palace, and sat down to supper, and, "that done, every man went his way."

Such was the royal marriage at Holyrood in 1503, which is celebrated by the Scottish poet Dunbar in his fine allegory entitled the "Thistle and the Rose."

Some of the internal decorations of the Palace of Holyrood are casually mentioned by the English Herald. The hangings, or tapestry, of the "great chamber" represented the "hystory of Troy tounne," and "in the glassyn windowes were the armes of Scotland and England byparted, with the difference before sayd, to which a chardon, and a rose interlassed through a croune, was added." In the King's "great chamber" were displayed the "story of Hercules togider with other hystorys." The hall in which the Queen's attendants and company were assembled also contained the history of Hercules on tapestry; and in both the apartments were "grett syerges of wax for to lyght at even."

Holyrood was the chief residence of James IV., on the erection and embellishment of which he expended considerable sums up to the period of his death at Flodden in 1513. In 1515, John, Duke of Albany, Governor of the kingdom during the minority of James V., resided in Holyrood after his arrival from France, and continued the deceased King's enlargement of the edifice.

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES V. AT HOLYROOD.

ON the 26th of July 1524, James V., then in his thirteenth year, and his mother, the Queen-Dowager, suddenly left Stirling, accompanied by a few attendants, and entered Edinburgh, where they were received with great acclamations by the citizens, and went in procession to the Palace of Holyrood, "where," says Pitscottie, "he tuik up hous, with all office men requisite for his estate, and changed all the old officeris, both tresaurer, comptroller, secreitar, Mr. Maissar, Mr. Household, Mr. Stableris, copperis, carveris, and all the rest." Proclamations were issued announcing that the King had assumed the government; but his actual and independent authority was not exercised till four years afterwards, when he was in his seventeenth year; and during that interval the Queen-Dowager, Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrews, who had filled the high office of Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Angus, the successor of the Archbishop, were actually, though not in name, the Regents. After the display at Holyrood, the Queen-Dowager retained the young monarch in the Castle of Edinburgh without any personal restraint; the Archbishop and Angus conducting public affairs. The latter marked the first com-

mencement of his authority by assigning the Abbey of Holyrood, in 1524, to his brother William Douglas, who was already the intruding possessor of Coldingham, and who retained both till his death in 1528, the year in which James V. began to reign in person. In 1534, the future Cardinal David Beaton, then Abbot of Arbroath, and the administrator of the affairs of the primacy for his uncle whom he succeeded, was a second time sent to France on a mission to renew the alliance with Scotland, and to adjust the preliminaries of the marriage of James V. Before his departure he secured the appointment of an ecclesiastical commission for the cognizance of heretics—which was by no means difficult, for the King had publicly declared his resolution to punish all innovators of religion, and not to spare even his own relatives. In the month of August 1534 a meeting of this ecclesiastical court was held in the Abbey of Holyrood, at which James V. was present, clothed in scarlet. James Hay, Bishop of Ross, in the absence of the Abbot of Arbroath, sat as commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Several persons were cited before this court, some of whom recanted, and performed the ceremony of burning their faggots. The brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, who had been incriminated for heresy at St. Andrews, were summoned; but the King advised the former to leave Scotland for a time, as he could not save him—the Bishops, he alleged, having proved to him that heresy was not within his prerogative. The lady, however, appeared, and a long theological discussion ensued between her and Spens of Condie, afterwards Lord Advocate, on the subject of good works. The King laughed aloud at the zeal of the fair disputant, who was his near relative, and his influence saved her from farther trouble.

Nevertheless, two convictions were pronounced on this occasion in the Abbey of Holyrood. The unfortunate persons were David Straiton, the brother of the Laird of Lauriston in Forfarshire, and a priest named Norman Gourlay, or Galloway. They were led to the stake on the 27th of August, at the rood or cross of Greenside, on the north side of the Calton Hill, where they met their fate with wonderful resolution.

On the 29th of October 1536 it was determined that James V. should marry the youthful Princess Magdalene, daughter of Francis I. of France; and on the 26th of November the perpetual alliance between France and Scotland was renewed. James had previously thought of marrying the daughter of the Duke de Vendome, and went over to France, as Pitscottie says, "to spy her pulchritud" before making up his mind. The King of France, however, received James with extraordinary kindness, and his eldest daughter Magdalene, although she was "seiklie," yet, "frae the tyme shoe saw the King of Scotland, and spak with him, shoe became so enamoured with him, and loved him so weill, that she wold have no man alive to hir husband bot he allanerlie."

On the 1st of January 1536-7, James accordingly was married to this Princess in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, in the presence of the Kings of France and Navarre, several Cardinals, and a brilliant assemblage of rank and beauty. On the 19th of May, the eve of Whitsunday, James V. and Magdalene arrived at Leith; "and when the Queene was cum upoun Scottish eard [earth], she bowed her doun to the same, and kissed the mould thairof;" and then the royal pair proceeded to the Palace of Holyrood, amid the acclamations of an enthusiastic multitude. But disease had undermined the constitution

of the young Queen; and within forty days she was carried a lifeless corpse to the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and buried close to the spot where the remains of James himself were afterwards deposited. So intense was the national grief at the untimely death of the young Queen, that it appears the mourning dress was generally adopted, the first instance, according to Buchanan, of its being worn in Scotland.

The second Queen of James V. was Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. She was married to the King in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews, in June 1538, but she was crowned in the Abbey Church. She appears to have resided but seldom in Holyrood, the Palace of Linlithgow, her jointure house, being her favourite abode. She bore two sons to the King, both of whom died in infancy, and were interred in the royal vault of Holyrood.

After the shameful flight of his army on the shore of the Solway Frith, James V. avoiding Holyrood Palace, proceeded to Falkland, where he expired on the 14th of December 1542, seven days after the birth of his only surviving child and successor, Queen Mary—an event which afforded him no consolation, but rather increased the anguish of his last moments.

CHAPTER V.

QUEEN MARY AT HOLYROOD

THE Palace became the ordinary residence of Queen Mary after her return to her native country in 1561, and then occurred those events which inseparably connect Holyrood with the life of the beautiful "Queen of Scots," and invest its venerable apartments with a thrilling interest. Here Mary first reposed after her arrival from the gay land of France, which she so loved and regretted; here she was married to Lord Darnley; here Riccio was murdered, almost at her feet; here was the scene of her fatal nuptials with Bothwell; here she laid down her troubled head, the captive of her own subjects, on the eventful night before she was committed to the Castle of Lochleven; in these halls, at many a royal entertainment, she enchanted all that beheld her by the loveliness of her person, and the graces of her manner; and here, too, born in overtrying times, she had to endure those memorable and distressing interviews with the fiery and uncompromising leaders of the Scottish Reformation. This is not the place to canvass the character of the Queen—to weigh her virtues and her errors nicely in the balance. The "genius loci" forbids such an inquisition. A describer of Holyrood beholds Mary Stuart only as that lovely, suffering, intensely in-

teresting woman, whose personal charms and tragical death have drawn eloquence from the pens of so many illustrious historians, and whose beautiful countenance has peered through the day-dreams of so many of Europe's mightiest poets.

Queen Mary landed at Leith as Sovereign of Scotland in her own right, and youthful Dowager of France, on the morning of the 19th of August 1561. The Queen had successfully eluded Elizabeth's projects to intercept her at sea, but her early arrival on the 19th was unexpected, and the weather was so dark and stormy that the ships when they anchored in Leith Roads were not seen from the land. Mary was accompanied by her three uncles, the Duke d'Aumale, the Marquis d'Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior of France, as far as Calais, and to Scotland by the Seigneur de Danville, heir of the Constable Montmorency, and several French gentlemen of inferior note. Among the number was Peter de Bourdeille, well known as the Sicur de Brantome, of which he was Abbot. The Queen arrived in the roads at six in the morning, and at ten o'clock "hir Hienes landit upoun the schoir of Leith, and remanit in Andro Lambis hous be the space of ane hour, and thairefter was convoyit up to hir palice of Halyrudhous."* The Queen's "honourable reception" at Leith by the Earl of Argyll, Lord Erskine, Lord James Stuart, and others, who conveyed her to Holyrood, is mentioned by contemporary writers, and Knox records the "fires of joy set furth all night," and a serenade with which she was regaled under her "chalmer window." The "melodie," she said, "lyked her weill, and she willed the same to be continued some nychts efter with grit diligence." Pitscottie says, "The

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 66.

Queine maid hir entres in Edinburgh as the lyk was not seine befor, shoe was so gorgeouslie and magnificentlie received."* One of Mary's attendants thought very differently of the display, and more especially of the music of the Scottish minstrels. The Queen, he says, rode on horseback from Leith to Edinburgh, and "the lords and ladies who accompanied her upon the little wretched hackneys of the country as wretchedly caparisoned, at sight of which the Queen began to weep, and to compare them with the pomp and superb palfreys of France. There was no remedy but patience. What was worst of all, when arrived at Edinburgh, and retired to rest in the Abbey, which is really a fine building, and not at all partaking of the rudeness of that country, there came under her window a crew of five or six hundred scoundrels from the city, who gave her a serenade with wretched violins and little rebecks, of which there are enough in that country, and began to sing psalms so miserably mistimed and mistuned, that nothing could be worse. Alas! what music, and what a night's rest!"

When Queen Mary arrived at Holyrood from Leith on the 19th of August, the only person of distinction waiting to receive her was Lord Robert Stuart, one of her illegitimate brothers, whose residence, as Lay-Abbot or Commendator, was within the precincts of the Palace. The Queen went to his house, and issued orders to assemble the nobility, who had been previously summoned to meet on the last day of that month. Probably Lord Robert's house was the only one suitable for her temporary reception, for, though the Queen brought her jewels with her, her tapestry and other furniture for the Palace did not arrive till some days afterwards, and her

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 559.

horses were detained at Berwick. The trials and mortifications which Mary was doomed to suffer on account of her adherence to the Romish Church were made manifest so early as the first Sunday after her arrival, which was St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August. Preparations were made to celebrate mass in the Chapel-Royal, at which the Queen was to be present, and no sooner was this known than a mob rushed towards the edifice, exclaiming—"Shall the idol be again erected in the land?" Men of rank encouraged this riot, and Lord Lindsay, along with some gentlemen of Fife, pressed into the court of the Palace, shouting—"The idolatrous priests shall die the death!" The Queen, astonished and trembling, requested her illegitimate brother Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, who was in attendance, to allay the tumult. With the utmost difficulty, notwithstanding his popularity as a leading Reformer, he restrained the fury of the mob, and though the service was continued in quietness, at its conclusion new disorders were excited.

On the 31st of August a banquet was given to Mary and her relatives by the city of Edinburgh, and on the 2d of September the Queen made her public entry, and dined in the Castle "at Twelf houris." On the same day John Knox had an audience of Mary, who had been informed of a furious sermon he had preached against the mass on the preceding Sunday in St. Giles's church, and who seems to have supposed that a personal conference would mitigate his sternness. It appears, however, from Knox's own admission, that his sermon was not relished by the majority of his audience, who maintained that he had "departed from his subject," and that it was a "very untimely admonition." Knox presented himself at Holyrood, and, when admitted into the presence of Mary, he

found only Lord James Stuart in attendance. The interview commenced with the Queen accusing him for his book entitled "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women," and his intolerance towards every one who differed from him in opinion; and she requested him to obey the precepts of the Scriptures, a copy of which she perceived in his possession, desiring him to "use more meekness in his sermons." Knox, in reply, "knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her weep." So great was the agitation of the Queen, that Lord James Stuart attempted to soothe her feelings, and to soften the language she had heard. Amid tears of anguish and indignation, she said to Knox—"My subjects, it would appear, must obey you, and not me; I must be subject to them, not they to me." After some farther altercation, Knox was dismissed from the royal presence, and he left Holyrood, convinced that Mary's soul was lost for ever—that her conversion was hopeless, because she continued "in her massing, and despised and quickly mocked all exhortation."

CHAPTER VI.

QUEEN MARY'S PROGRESSES TO AND FROM HOLYROOD, &c.

MARY made her first royal progress on the 11th of September, when she left Holyrood on horseback after dinner, and proceeded successively by Linlithgow, Stirling, Alloa, Culross, to Perth, Dundee, St. Andrews, and Falkland, returning to Holyrood on the 29th.

Early in the spring of 1562 the Queen again left Holyrood to enjoy the pleasure of hawking and other amusements at Falkland and St. Andrews. In the beginning of May the Queen returned to the Palace, where in July she received Sir Henry Sydney, an accomplished statesman sent by Elizabeth. On one occasion, while conversing with Sydney in the garden of Holyrood, and attended by her Court, one Captain Heiborne approached, and delivered to her a packet, which Mary handed to Lord James Stuart, recently created Earl of Mar. The Earl, who at first took no particular notice of it, at last opened the packet, which he found to contain some ribald verses and an insulting picture. The Queen was informed of the odious contents on the following day, and felt so severely this insult before the English ambassador that she became sick while at mass. Meanwhile, the perpetrator of the outrage escaped, and though Randolph wrote to the Gover-

nor of Berwick to apprehend him, we find no subsequent notice of his capture or punishment.

The avocations and amusements of Mary at Holyrood about this period are prominently noticed. After dinner she generally read Livy and other ancient historians with George Buchanan. She was a chess-player, and she delighted also in hawking and shooting at the butts. In her household were minstrels and singers, and the first introduction of Riccio to the Scottish court was to supply a vacancy among the latter, a bass having been required to sing in concert with the others. In 1561 and 1562 the Queen had five players on the viol, and three players on the lute. In the chapel of Holyrood were a "pair of organs," for which, in February 1561-2, the sum of £10 was paid, by the Queen's command, to William Macdowal, Master of Works, who had recovered and carefully preserved them, after the sum of £36 had been paid, in February 1557-8, by the Treasurer to David Melville of Leith. Mary was sedulously employed at Holyrood with her needle, and tradition speaks of several elegant productions of her industry. She was attended in her private apartments by her four Marys, young ladies of noble birth, of the same age with herself, who had attended her during her residence in France—viz., Mary Fleming, Mary Bethune, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Seton, but Mademoiselle de Pinguillon is noticed as her chief lady.

On the 11th of August 1562 the Queen and her retinue left Holyrood on a progress as far north as Inverness. This journey occasioned the temporary ruin of the Earl of Huntly and his family. Huntly himself fell in the insurrectionary conflict in the vale of Corriche, nearly twenty miles west of Aberdeen. His dead body was brought to Edinburgh by sea, and deposited in a vault in

the Chapel of Holyrood, whence it was removed to the Monastery of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, where it continued till it was conveyed to the family sepulchre at Elgin; and his son Sir John Gordon perished on the scaffold in Aberdeen, in presence of Mary, who was a reluctant spectator of a fate which was one day to be her own. The Queen returned to Holyrood on the evening of the 21st of November, after an absence of nearly four months, and she was immediately seized with an illness, called the "New acquaintance," apparently a sort of influenza, which confined her to her couch six days. On the 10th of January 1562-3 the Queen again left Holyrood for Castle-Campbell near the base of the Ochills, in order to be present at the marriage of Lady Margaret Campbell, sister of the Earl of Argyll, to Sir James Stewart of Doune, then Commendator of St. Colm, and who in 1581 was created Lord Doune. On the 14th the Queen returned to Holyrood, where she remained till the 13th of February, having recovered from another illness which seized her after her arrival.

About this time occurred an incident which proves that the Scottish nobility were altogether unscrupulous in their efforts to ruin those with whom they were at feud. George, fifth Earl of Huntly, had fled, after his father's defeat and death at Corrichie, to his father-in-law the Duke of Chatelherault, who was obliged to surrender him; and he was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Dunbar. The Earl was tried and convicted of high treason on the 8th of February 1562-3, condemned to be executed, and sent back to Dunbar in the meanwhile, till the Queen's pleasure should be known. Preston of Craigmillar, the governor of Dunbar Castle, received a warrant, ordering him to behead the young nobleman.

This was intimated by Preston to the Earl, who was not surprised at the announcement, and declared that he "knew well enough by whose means and after what manner such an order had been obtained, but that the Queen had doubtless been imposed on, since he was very well assured of her Majesty's favour, and that she would never deliver him up to the rage of his enemies; and therefore he begged that he would do him the favour to go to the Queen, and receive the order from her own mouth before he would proceed farther." Preston immediately rode to Edinburgh, and arrived at Holyrood late in the evening. Notwithstanding the unseasonable hour, he demanded an audience of the Queen, as he had a matter of the utmost importance to communicate. He was admitted into the royal bed-chamber, and Mary inquired the cause of this unexpected visit. Preston told her that he was anxious to inform her that he had obeyed her commands. "What commands from me?" asked the Queen. "The beheading of the Earl of Huntly," was the reply. When Mary heard this she manifested the greatest distress, weeping and solemnly protesting that she had "never given nor known of any such order." Preston quieted her apprehensions by telling her that "it was very lucky he had not executed the order—that the Earl was alive and well, and begged to have her Majesty's commands as to how he should behave for the future towards his prisoner." Mary thanked Preston for his prudent conduct, acknowledging that nothing could be more acceptable to her, and that as she had now full confidence in his fidelity, he was neither to deliver up the Earl, nor execute any sentence on him, unless she personally commanded him.

It has been already stated that when Mary arrived from France she was accompanied, among others, by

Monsieur de Damville, in whose train was Chastelard, a gentleman of Dauphine. Brantome says that Chastelard was grand-nephew of the Chevalier Bayard, and that he bore a resemblance to his illustrious relative, was of the middle height, very handsome, and of a spare figure, and that he was clever, and had a turn both for music and poetry. After residing some time at Holyrood he returned to France with Damville, by whom he was again sent to Scotland with a letter, which he delivered to the Queen at Montrose, while on her progress to Edinburgh from the north. Mary subsequently often entered into conversation with Chastelard, whose manners were agreeable, and who could talk to her of France, the country of her youthful affections. Encouraged by the Queen's condescension, this young man, in an evil hour, aspired to her love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy concealed himself in her bed-chamber at Holyrood, in which he was discovered by her female attendants some minutes before she retired for the night. This was on the 12th of February 1562-3, and it appears that he had armed himself with a sword and dagger. He was of course expelled by the Queen's domestics, who, not wishing that their royal mistress should be annoyed by this extraordinary and daring circumstance, concealed it till the morning. When Mary was informed of Chastelard's conduct, she ordered him instantly to leave the Palace, and never again to appear in her presence. This lenity, however, failed to exercise a proper effect on the infatuated man. On the 13th of February the Queen left Holyrood for Fife, and Chastelard had the presumption to repeat his offence at Burntisland on the night of the 14th, while Mary was in the act of stepping into bed, and was surrounded by her ladies. The royal household was soon alarmed, and the offender

was secured by the Earl of Moray. On the second day after this outrage he was tried and condemned at St. Andrews, where he was executed on the 22d of February 1562-3.

On the 18th of May 1563 the Queen returned to Holyrood after an absence of upwards of three months in Fife and the neighbouring counties of Kinross and Perth. This was preparatory to the meeting of the Parliament, which assembled on the 26th of May, and sat only till the 4th of June. Mary rode to the Parliament from Holyrood, accompanied by her ladies, the Duke of Chatelherault carrying the crown, the Earl of Argyll the sceptre, and the Earl of Moray the sword. The address delivered by her on this, the first occasion on which she ever saw a Parliament, was written in French, and translated and spoken by her in English. Her beauty and grace excited the loyal feelings of the citizens, who exclaimed, as she passed to and from the Parliament—"God save that sweet face!" On that same day she gave a great banquet in Holyrood.

During the sitting of this Parliament a sermon was preached by Knox in St. Giles's church before several of the nobility, in which he argued that they ought to demand from the Queen "that quhilk by God's Word they may justly require, and if she would not agree with them in God, they were not bound to agree with her in the devil." He concluded with some observations respecting the Queen's rumoured marriage, and declared—"Whenever ye consent that an infidel, and all Papists are infidels, shall be our head to our soverane, ye do so far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realme; ye bring God's vengeance upon this country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance ye sall do no small discomfort

to your soverane." This furious attack on the Queen was soon communicated to her, and Knox was again summoned to her presence in Holyrood by Douglas of Drumlanrig, lay provost of Lincluden. It is not to be wondered at that Mary was indignant at the invectives of Knox, for he himself confesses that "Papists and Protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiaris disdained him for that speaking."* Lord Ochiltree, and other leaders of the "faithful," accompanied Knox to the Palace; but John Erskine of Dun, the "Superintendent of Angus and Mearns" under the new system, was the only person admitted with him into the Queen's cabinet. As soon as Mary saw Knox she exclaimed, under great excitement—"Never was prince handled as I am. I have borne with you," she said to Knox, "in all your rigorous manner of speaking both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whenever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once avenged." The Queen wept, and often requested her page for handkerchiefs to dry her tears. Knox answered—"True it is, Madam, your Grace and I have been at divers controversies, into the which I never perceived your Grace to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in the which ye have been nourished for the lack of true doctrine, your majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the preaching place, Madam, I am not master of myself, for I must obey Him who commands me to speak plain, and flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth." This reply was not likely to subdue the

* *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 386. Edit. Edinb. 1848.

Queen's anger, and she indignantly asked—"What have you to do with my marriage?" This elicited a definition from Knox of his vocation to preach faith and repentance, and the imperative necessity of teaching the nobility and commonwealth their duty. The Queen again asked him—"What have ye to do with my marriage, or what are ye in this commonwealth?"—"A subject born within the same, Madam," was the stern reply; "and albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron within it, yet has God made me, how abject soever I may be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same." Knox then repeated the words he had uttered in the pulpit, at which, he himself says, "howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required." Erskine of Dun here attempted to soothe the Queen by some complimentary allusions to her personal beauty, the excellence of her disposition, and the admiration expressed for her by all the princes of Europe, who were rivals to gain her favour. Knox stood unmoved, and his coolness increased Mary's anger. He volunteered a defence of himself, and urged his conscientious motives, which still further offended the Queen, who ordered him to leave the cabinet, and remain in the ante-chamber till her pleasure should be intimated. Lord John Stuart, the Commendator of Coldingham, joined the Queen and Erskine of Dun in the cabinet, in which they remained nearly an hour. During this space, Knox, who was attended by Lord Ochiltree, commenced a kind of religious admonition to the Queen's Marys and other ladies present. "O fair ladies!" he said, "how pleasing is this life of yours if it would ever abide, and then in the end that ye pass to Heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon the knave Death, that will come whether we will or

not, and when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targatting, pearl, nor precious stones." After similar exhortations, not often heard within the walls of a palace, Erskine of Dun appeared, and they both walked from Holyrood to the house of Knox at the Nether Bow.

On the 29th of June 1563 Queen Mary left Holyrood on another progress to the west and south-west of Scotland as far as Inverary, which occupied the two subsequent months of July and August. While the Queen was at Stirling, and was so far on her return to Edinburgh, a riot occurred at Holyrood in which Knox was deeply implicated. On Sunday the 15th of August, when the "Kirk at Edinburgh," says Knox, "had the ministration of the Lord's table, the Papists in grit numbers resorted to the Abbey to their abominations at the head of whom was a certain Madame Raylie" [wife of Mons. Raullet or Roullet, the Queen's private secretary.]* Divine service was to be celebrated for their benefit, according to the ritual of the Church of Rome. This was known in the neighbourhood, and several persons "burst" into the church, among whom was a "zealous brother," named Patrick Cranston, who exclaimed, as a priest was preparing to commence mass—"The Queen's Majesty is not here; how dare you, then, be so malapert as openly to do against the laws?" The Queen's household were so much alarmed that they sent to Wishart of Pitarrow, the Comptroller, who happened to be in St. Giles's church, requesting him to proceed to Holyrood to save the life of Madame Raylie and protect the Palace.

* Note to Knox's Works, vol. ii. p. 393. Edit. 1848.

Wishart proceeded thither, accompanied by Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, Provost of the city, the Magistrates, and a numerous party; but the disturbance had ceased before their arrival, and the result of the prosecution of Cranston, and his coadjutor Andrew Armstrong, whom Knox intended to rescue, is not known. Knox was summoned before the Queen and Privy Council for his interference in this unseemly and intolerant disturbance, and especially for presuming to set at defiance a recent Act of the Parliament for the suppression of tumults within burgh, which declared all assemblages of the people in towns without the Queen's consent illegal. He denied that he was guilty of seditious or rebellious practices, and entreated the Queen to "forsake her idolatrous religion," upon which the Earl of Morton, then Lord Chancellor, told him to "hold his peace and go away."

Queen Mary returned to Holyrood on the 30th of September, and seems to have constantly resided in the Palace during the ensuing winter. In January and February 1563-4, she is mentioned as giving banquets to the nobility, who in their turn invited her to be their guest. Mary's health was evidently very indifferent while at Holyrood, but her other chief annoyance was Knox, whom she unsuccessfully attempted to banish from the city. On the 6th of March 1563-4 the Queen left Holyrood, and after alternately residing at Perth, Falkland, and St. Andrews, she returned to Holyrood about the middle of May. She again left Holyrood on the 22d of July 1564, and, after a brief sojourn at Linlithgow and Stirling, she went to Perth, whence she resorted to a hunting expedition in Atholl, and crossing into Inverness-shire, she returned along the east coast by Aberdeen and Dunnottar to Dundee and St. Andrews, and arrived at Holyrood on the 25th or 26th of September.

CHAPTER VII.

MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY AND LORD DARNLEY AT HOLYROOD.

DURING Mary's absence in this latter progress an event occurred which had a serious effect on her future destiny. This was the return of her relative Matthew, Earl of Lennox, the father of Lord Darnley, from his twenty-two years' exile in England. The Earl arrived in Edinburgh on the 8th of September, and was informed that the Queen was then the guest of the Earl of Atholl in Perthshire. He resolved to proceed thither, and went to St. Andrews, where he heard of the Queen's return southward. In obedience to Mary's invitation, the Earl presented himself at Holyrood on the 27th of September, riding to the Palace preceded by twelve gentlemen splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet, and followed by thirty attendants bearing his arms and livery. His reception at Holyrood was flattering and cordial. Either at this or a subsequent interview Lennox gave the Queen "a marvellous fair and rich jewel, a clock, a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking glass very richly set with stones in the four metals; also to each of the Marys such pretty things as he thought fittest for them." Lord Darnley was with his mother the Countess of Lennox in England, but Mary intimated that

she had heard with satisfaction most favourable reports of his personal appearance; and common rumour had already selected him as the Queen's husband. A series of festivities was now held in Holyrood, and a grand entertainment given by the Queen on the 12th of November is specially mentioned. On the 3d of December, which was the second day of the meeting of the Parliament, Mary recommended the reversal of the forfeiture of Lennox, who on the same day was restored to his estate and honours; but as an antidote to this compliance with the royal desire, the attendance on mass, except in the Queen's chapel, was ordered to be punished with the loss of goods and of life.

Mary left Holyrood for Fife on the 19th of January 1564-5, and she remained in quiet retirement at St. Andrews till the 11th of February, when she crossed the county to Lundie near Leven, where she arrived on the 12th, and on the 13th she rode to Wemyss Castle, then inhabited by the Earl of Moray. "She was magnificently banquetted everywhere, so that such superfluity was never seen before within this realme; which caused the wilde fowl to be so dear, that partridges were sold for a crown a-piece."* At that very time Lord Darnley had left London for Scotland, bringing with him Queen Elizabeth's letters of recommendation, and a diamond ring from his mother to Mary, her niece. Darnley arrived in Edinburgh on the day Mary rode to Wemyss Castle, whither he proceeded on the 16th of February, and there had his first interview with the Queen, by whom he was well received. Sir James Melville, who was present in Wemyss Castle, states that Mary "took very well" with her visitor, and jocularly said to him (Melville) that Darn-

* Knox's Works, ii. 471.

ley was the "properest and best proportioned long man that ever she had seen, for," adds he, "he was long and small, even and straight." Darnley was then only nineteen years of age, and four years younger than Mary. The Queen returned to Edinburgh on the 24th of February 1564-5, Darnley having previously left Wemyss Castle to visit his father, who was then with the Earl of Atholl at Dunkeld, but hastening so rapidly thence to Edinburgh as to reach the city before the return of the Queen.

Darnley was now a regular visitor at Holyrood, and took part in all the amusements of the Court. On the 26th of February he was entertained at supper by Moray in his house in Croft-an-Righ behind the Palace, where he met the Queen, with whom he danced. Darnley was at this time popular with the citizens of Edinburgh, who considered him to be good-natured, and affable in his behaviour. Although he was suspected of "Popery," he seems to have placed himself under the guidance of Moray, and he occasionally resorted to the preaching of Knox in St. Giles's Church. At length he proposed marriage to the Queen, which she at first pretended to decline, and even refused a ring which he wished her to accept. The courtship, however, continued, and it is certain that in the beginning of March 1564-5 Mary had fixed her affections on Darnley, for shortly afterwards she sent Secretary Maitland to London, to inform Elizabeth of her resolution, which the English Queen knew before his arrival. She stated as a principal inducement to this connexion, that Darnley was so near of blood to both Queens, he being her cousin-german, and his mother standing in the same relationship to Elizabeth. Meanwhile Mary left Holyrood for Linlithgow and Stirling on

the 26th of March 1565, whither she was followed by Darnley, and the marriage was at last arranged at Stirling in a meeting of the Privy Council on the 15th of May 1565, at which the Queen was present, and on that day Darnley was created a knight, Earl of Ross, and Lord of Ardmanach, his elevation to the Dukedom of Albany being merely delayed. About this period a formidable party, led by the Earls of Moray and Argyll, repeatedly attempted to overawe Mary, and actually debated whether Darnley ought to be murdered, or seized, along with his father, and delivered to Elizabeth. Various plots were concerted, and powerful confederacies formed. One was to carry the Queen to St. Andrews, and Darnley to Castle-Campbell; but the ultimate agreement was, that Moray should murder Darnley, assume the government, and imprison Mary for life in Lochleven Castle.

The Queen returned to Holyrood on the 4th of July, on the 20th of which month Darnley was created Duke of Rothesay, the Queen having previously received the consent of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine to the marriage, and also the dispensation of the Pope. On the following Sunday the banns were proclaimed "in the parochie kirk of St. Geill, in Halyrudhous, and in the Chepell Royall."* Sunday the 29th was the day of this ill-fated union, and the place was the same Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. John Sinclair, Bishop of Brechin, and Dean of Restalrig, performed the ceremonial according to the ritual of the Church of Rome between the hours of five and six in the morning. It has been invariably recorded that Mary on this eventful occasion was attired in mourning, and that the dress was that which she wore on the day of her first husband's funeral. Randolph, though not an eyewitness,

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 79.

informed the Earl of Leicester, that the Queen was conveyed to the Chapel dressed in "the great mourning gowne of blacke, with the great wide mourning hoode, not unlyke that which she wore the dolefull day of the buriall of her husbände." Mary was attended by the Earls of Lennox and Atholl, who left her in the Chapel, and returned into the Palace for Darnley. The Dean of Restalrig and a priest received the royal pair, the banns were asked a third time, and a protest was taken by a notary that no opposition was alleged against the marriage. The service then proceeded. Three rings, one of them a rich diamond, were placed by Darnley on the Queen's finger, and they knelt together during the prayers. When the ceremony was concluded, Darnley kissed the Queen, and proceeded to her apartments in the Palace, leaving her in the Chapel to attend mass, which he seems to have purposely avoided. A splendid banquet was given in the Palace in the afternoon, and Knox carefully records that the entertainments and rejoicings continued three or four days. At the marriage dinner the Queen was served by the Earl of Atholl as sewer, the Earl of Morton as carver, and the Earl of Crawford as cupbearer, the Earls of Eglinton, Cassillis, and Glencairn waiting on Darnley. The trumpets sounded a largesse, and money was distributed in the Palace to the domestics. A ball succeeded the banquet, after which the Queen and her consort retired till the hour of supper, which repast was a repetition of the dinner. Dancing was resumed, and the royal pair then betook themselves to their own chamber. Randolph states—"I was sent for to have been at the supper, but like a churlish or uncourteous carle I refused to be there."*

On the following day the Queen subscribed a proclama-

* Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 201.

tion in the Palace, which was published at the Cross of Edinburgh, ordaining Darnley to be styled King, though this by no means associated him with her in the government. She had soon cause, however, to regret this imprudent act, which excited the strongest dissatisfaction among the nobility, while Darnley's conduct after his marriage made him numerous enemies. On the 19th of August, when he attended St. Giles's Church, Knox edified him by a sermon against the government of boys and women, meaning him and the Queen. A serious coalition was now formed, and a rebellion ensued, in which the Earl of Moray was particularly conspicuous, but the active movements of the Queen and the royal forces completely disconcerted the insurgents. On the 25th of August the Queen and Darnley left Holyrood in order to disperse the disaffected in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and in September the royal pair were in Stirling, Dunfermline, Dundee, and Perth, returning to Holyrood on the 19th of that month. They resided in the Palace till the 8th of October, when the movements of the insurgents in Dumfriesshire again drew them from Holyrood, but the suppression of the insurrection brought them to the Palace on the 18th, and they remained in it till the end of the year, unconscious of the confederacies forming against them.

The Earl of Moray, the principal leader in this rebellion, was compelled to retire into England as an exile, and at this crisis the Earl of Bothwell, profiting by Moray's disgrace, returned from France, accompanied by David Chalmers of Ormond, who was soon appointed one of the Ordinary Lords of Session. Bothwell, who had been expelled from Scotland by the power of Moray, was received with marked distinction by the Queen, and this daring and profligate man was present at a meeting of

the Privy Council on the 5th of November. The Queen and Darnley continued to reside in Holyrood during the winter, and about the beginning of February 1565-6, the Seigneur de Rembouillet, with a deputation from the King of France, arrived at the Palace, to present Darnley with the order of St. Michael, known as the Scallop or Cockle-shell Order, so called from the escallop shells of which the collar was composed. The investiture was performed after the celebration of mass in the Chapel-Royal, and, on the 11th of February, the French ambassador was invited to a banquet or entertainment in the Palace, and in the evening there was a masquerade, at which the Queen, her four Marys, and all her ladies appeared in male attire, and presented each of the strangers with a "whinger" embroidered with gold. The French ambassador was lodged near the Palace, and his expenses were defrayed by the Queen.



CHAPTER VIII.

MURDER OF RICCIO IN HOLYROOD.

AT this time two conspiracies were in active progress—the dethronement of Mary and the murder of David Riccio, which latter plot was originally formed by no less a personage than Darnley himself, in conjunction with his father Lennox. Darnley, whose enemies were now numerous, and whose insolence was unbounded, was induced to believe that Riccio was the sole instigator of those measures which deprived him of the crown-matrimonial and his share of the government, for which it was too obvious he was utterly incapacitated by his habits and mental imbecility. Mary had painfully discovered that she had thrown away her affections on one whom it was impossible to treat with confidence or regard; and an unhappy quarrel was the result, which the conduct of Darnley rendered every day the more irreconcilable. The first victim connected with this alienation of Mary's affections and her husband's violence was Riccio, of whom Darnley became jealous, actually labouring under the delusion that the Italian had supplanted him in the Queen's esteem. The agent of Cosmo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, mentions that one attempt to murder Riccio was frustrated by Lord Seton. It was afterwards proposed to assassinate him while playing

a game of rackets with Darnley, who was to invite him for that purpose. Randolph wrote to Leicester, that Darnley and his father had resolved to murder Riccio—that it would be done in ten days—that the crown would be torn from the Queen—and that still darker designs were meditated against her person which he durst not record in his correspondence.

Such was the dreadful condition of the royal inmates of the Palace of Holyrood at this crisis. Mary's refusal to confer the crown-matrimonial soon led to coldness, reproaches, and an absolute estrangement, on the part of Darnley, who publicly treated her with haughtiness, forsook her company, and intrigued with her enemies. In addition to this, he indulged in low habits, and was leading a most dissipated and profligate life. Sir William Drury informed Cecil of two instances of Darnley's drunkenness; the one in a merchant's house in Edinburgh, at which the Queen was present, when he conducted himself towards her so insolently that she left the place in tears—and the other a shameful carousal on the Island of Inchkeith in company with Lord Robert Stuart, the "Abbot" or Comendator of Holyrood, Lord Fleming, and other personages. The disgust in which the Queen, then far advanced in pregnancy, held her husband, was well known throughout the kingdom, yet Darnley was altogether regardless of what she thought or felt.

Riccio, the immediate victim of the tragedy in Holyrood, was a constant attendant on the Queen in his capacity of French secretary, and resided in the Palace. This unfortunate foreigner, who is described by Sir James Melville as a "merry fellow and a good musician," was born at Turin in Piedmont, where his father earned a precarious subsistence as a musician. Riccio followed the

Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, and having attracted the notice of Mary, he was in 1561 appointed a valet of her chamber. He is described by some contemporary writers as being a man up in years, of unpleasant features, and somewhat deformed in person; but in a despatch from the Duke of Tuscany, dated 8th October 1566, published in the work of Prince Labanoff, he is said to have been only Twenty-eight in 1562. On the 8th of January 1561-2 the sum of £89 was paid to him; on the 15th of April 1562 he received £15 as "chalmer child;" and in 1564 four quarterly payments were made to him at the rate of £80 per annum, as "valet of the Queen's chalmer." Mary was fond of vocal music, and having three valets who sung three parts, Riccio was recommended to her as competent to sing the fourth or bass part in concert. He continued as valet till the dismissal of Raullet, the Queen's secretary, whom she had brought from France, when Riccio was appointed his successor. He appears to have been unpopular from the first, and his officious interferences soon rendered him an object of bitter hatred. He was, moreover, suspected of being a pensioner of the Pope, which by no means lessened the odium against him. He interfered with the administration of justice in the Court of Session, and, by the presents he received to secure his influence, he soon became rich. His situation necessarily led him much into the private parties given by the Queen, who liked him for his polite and obsequious manners, his amusing talents, and his fidelity. Sir James Melville relates a conversation he had with Riccio, who, he says, was not without his fears. He was advised by Melville to conduct himself with the humility becoming his station, not to intermeddle with state affairs, always to give place to the nobility, and when

they were present to retire from the Queen. Riccio admitted the prudence of those suggestions, and said he would follow the advice recommended; but he afterwards told Melville that "the Queen would not suffer him, and he would needs carry himself as formerly." Sir James also relates a conversation he had with Mary respecting Riccio, advising her to be cautious as to the favour she evinced to one who was suspected to be a pensioner of the Pope, and to "alter her carriage" towards him. Darnley, soon after his arrival in Scotland, formed a remarkable intimacy with the favoured secretary, and the latter was a powerful advocate with Mary in favour of the young lord's pretensions to her hand. After the marriage, Riccio increased in affluence. On the 1st and 24th of August 1565 he received some presents and money, and about the end of the same year he seems to have acted as keeper of the privy purse to Mary and Darnley, especially in February 1565-6, when he was paid by the Queen's precept £2000 in part of 10,000 merks owing to her from the "comptoir" of the coinage for the previous two years.

Such was the individual of whom Darnley became seriously jealous, and Riccio's enemies embraced the opportunity of exciting the imbecile mind of the former to such a degree, that he sent his relative George Douglas, on the 10th of February, to implore Lord Ruthven, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to assist him against the "villain David." Ruthven was then so unwell, that he "was scarcely able to walk the length of his chamber," yet he consented to engage in the murder; but though Darnley was sworn to keep the design secret, Randolph was informed of the project, and revealed it in a letter, which is still preserved, to the Earl of Leicester nearly a month before the crime was perpetrated. In reality,

however, the first conspirators against the unfortunate Riccio were the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington, the last ingeniously contriving to make Darnley the patron of the plot, and the dupe of his associates. Morton's grand projects were to break up the approaching Parliament, imprison the Queen, place Darnley in the nominal sovereignty, and constitute the Earl of Moray the head of the government, and this was to be achieved by the murder of Riccio.

It is impossible to detail all the minute particulars, the concocting of two bonds or covenants, and other events, connected with this plot, which belong rather to general history, and strikingly illustrate the unscrupulous criminality of the age. Some hints of impending danger were conveyed to Mary, who, however, disregarded them. Even Riccio received a significant caution from a person named Damiot, a reputed astrologer, who advised him to settle his affairs and leave Scotland.

The Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, who rode from Holyrood to the Tolbooth near St. Giles's Church, arrayed in "wondrous gorgeous apparel," early in March 1565-6. Mary requested Darnley to accompany her on the first day to the Parliament, but he preferred riding to Leith with "seven or aucht horse" to amuse himself. The Lords of the Articles were chosen, and the forfeiture against Moray and the banished Nobility was discussed for two days, with great diversity of opinion. The influence of the Queen eventually prevailed, and the attainder of Moray and his friends was to have been passed on Tuesday the 12th March.

On the evening of Saturday the 9th of March, about five hundred persons surrounded the Palace of Holyrood

The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay kept guard without, and a hundred and sixty men occupied the court. Mary was in that portion of the Palace which was built by her father, consisting of the north-west towers, the second storey of which contains the apartments now mournfully associated with her name, consisting of an ante-chamber called the "Chamber of presence," which leads into a room having one window on the south and another on the west side, which was Queen Mary's bed-chamber, off which, in each of the projecting circular towers at the angles, is a small apartment, the one in the north-west tower known as Queen Mary's supping-room, and that in the south-west tower as her dressing-room. These are reached by the staircase which opens on the piazzas on the north side of the quadrangle, and also by a narrow private stair on the north side of the Palace near the west door of the Chapel-Royal. By this private stair the conspirators were, in the first instance, admitted to Darnley's apartments on the first storey.

About seven in the evening Mary was seated in the little room in the north-west turret, at one of those small supper parties, in the easy cheerfulness of which she took especial pleasure. At table with her were the Countess of Argyll, and the Commendator of Holyroodhouse, her illegitimate sister and brother, Beaton of Criech, Master of the Household, Arthur Erskine, captain of the guard, and Riccio. Suddenly the arras which covered the private entrance into the bed-chamber from Darnley's apartments was lifted, and the King immediately entered the closet in which Mary was seated, and, placing himself by her side, threw his arm, in an affectionate manner, round her waist. In another instant the arras in the adjacent room was again lifted abruptly, and Lord Ruthven stalked into the

apartment, his tall figure clad in armour, and his face ghastly with the pallor of recent sickness, and the ferocity of unbridled rage. Alarmed at the intrusion of so singular and menacing an apparition, the Queen sprang to her feet, and with that dignity which she could assume when necessary, commanded Ruthven to leave the royal apartments. At this moment the noise of persons rushing up the private stairs was heard—then the tramp of heavy feet in the adjoining room—and in the next instant, amid the glare of brandished torches, Ker of Faldonside, George Douglas, postulate of Arbroath, and several others, rushed into the little apartment, with swords and daggers gleaming in their hands; “so rudely and irreverently,” says a contemporary, that the table, with the candles and dishes on it, were dashed upon the floor. The table fell upon the Queen, then in the sixth month of her pregnancy, whereupon Ruthven, brandishing his dagger, cried out, “No harm is intended to you, Madam, but only to that villain.” The unfortunate Riccio, who saw that his life was aimed at, sprung behind Mary, and, clutching her gown with the firm grasp of despair, cried out “Justice! save my life, Madam, save my life!” The conspirators pressed forward, and, while Darnley strove to unfasten Riccio’s hold of the Queen’s person, Ker of Faldonside, a brutal borderer, presented a pistol to her bosom, threatening to fire if she made unnecessary resistance. While Darnley used his strength to detain the Queen, George Douglas snatched the King’s dagger from its sheath, and, stabbing Riccio with it over Mary’s shoulder, left it sticking in his body. The conspirators then dragged the wretched secretary furiously through the bedroom and ante-chamber, stabbing him as they went, till he fell at the head of the staircase, outside the door of the ante-chamber, pierced by fifty-six

desperate wounds. Mary, in the meanwhile, sat trembling in the turret room, till one of her ladies brought her intelligence that Riccio was slain, when, drying her tears, she exclaimed, "Is it so?—then I shall study revenge."

The brutal, repulsive Ruthven, with his dagger reeking from the slaughter, now staggered into the royal closet, exhausted by fatigue, and demanded a cup of wine, a request which was complied with; but the Queen said, in a determined tone of voice, "It shall be dear blude to some of you." The mangled body of Riccio was dragged to the porter's lodge, stripped naked, and treated with every mark of indignity. It is alleged, however, that his corpse was afterwards deposited for a time in the royal vault, by the Queen's express orders, a circumstance afterwards remembered to her disadvantage.

After the murder was consummated the assassins kept the Queen a close prisoner in her own apartments, Darnley assumed the regal power, dissolved the Parliament, commanding the estates to leave Edinburgh within three hours on pain of treason, and orders were sent to the Magistrates enjoining them to be vigilant. To the Earl of Morton and his armed retainers were entrusted the gates of the Palace, with injunctions that none should escape; nevertheless, the Earls of Atholl and Bothwell contrived to elude the guards by leaping out of a window. On the following morning, which was Sunday, Sir James Melville was "let forth" at the gate. The Queen saw him passing through the court-yard, and, throwing up the window sash, she implored him to alarm the lieges, that she might be delivered out of the hands of traitors. The master of Lennox's household was sent with a party to stop him, but Sir James was allowed to proceed on declaring that he was merely "going to

sermon in St. Giles's Church." "And then," says a contemporary, "the cry and noise rais throu the Cannogait . . . whereupon the common bell rang in sic sort, that everie man past to armour, and ruschit down with Simon Prestoun of Craigmillar, thair provest, to Halyrudhous, willing to have deliverit the Quenis grace and revengit the caus forsaid."* Mary in vain entreated the assassins to permit her to address the people from the window, "to whom," she says, "we was not permitted to give answer, being extremely bosted [threatened] by thir Lords, who, in our face, declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops and cast us over the walls."† Darnley appeared for her, assured the Provost and his party that the Queen was safe, and commanded them to disperse, an injunction which they instantly obeyed.

On the evening of that Sunday the Earls of Moray and Rothes, Lord Ochiltree, and others of the exiled nobility, arrived in Edinburgh, according to their concerted plan, and instantly rode to Holyrood. They were welcomed by Darnley, and so unconscious was the Queen of Moray's foreknowledge of the murder, that she sent for him, threw herself into his arms, and in an agony of tears exclaimed—"If my brother had been here, he never would have suffered me to have been thus cruelly handled." This incident overcame Moray, who is reported to have wept. Yet, whatever might have been the feelings of the Queen, and though a rigorous prosecution was instituted against the assassins, they were all received into the royal favour before the end of the year, with the exception of Lord Ruthven, who died at New-

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 91.

† Mary's Letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, *ut supra*.

castle on the 13th of June, and also of George Douglas, the man who inflicted the first blow, and Ker of Faldonside, the ruffian who put a pistol to Mary's breast, who were excepted from the general pardon. Only two persons were executed for the murder of Riccio. Those were Thomas Scott of Cambusmichael, then sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair, formerly a priest, and connected with the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, who were tried on the 1st of April, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Scott's head was spiked on a tower of the Palace, and that of Yair on the Nether-bow. William Harlaw and John Mowbray, both burgesses of Edinburgh, who were tried and found guilty on the same day with the two others, were brought to the place of execution, and pardoned at the intercession of the Earl of Bothwell.

Mary soon succeeded in detaching Darnley from the party of the assassins, and he had the hardihood to deny having had any connection with the conspiracy. Ruthven and his associates withdrew from the Palace to the Earl of Morton's house, the guards were removed, and the domestics of the Queen resumed their household duties. This appears to have been on Monday, and at midnight the Queen suddenly left Holyrood for the royal castle of Dunbar, of which Bothwell was keeper, accompanied by Darnley, Arthur Erskine, the captain of the guard, and one female attendant. Mary, accompanied by her husband, and escorted by two thousand horsemen, came to Edinburgh on the 18th, but, instead of taking up her abode in Holyrood, occupied "my Lord Home's lodging, callit the auld bishope of Dunkell his lodeging anent the Salt trone."*

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 94.

another tenement nearer the Castle, probably the former domicile of her mother, the Queen Regent, on the Castle-hill.

The Queen does not appear to have been often resident in the Palace till after the birth of her son James VI. in Edinburgh Castle, on the 19th of June 1566. After her recovery Mary indulged in excursions to Alloa House, hunting expeditions into Peeblesshire and Perthshire, and visits to Stirling and Drummond Castles, returning to Edinburgh occasionally when her presence was required for the public business. Though Darnley, who had been apparently reconciled to her at Alloa House by the influence of the French ambassador Mauvissiere, either followed the Queen or accompanied her in those excursions, he latterly chose to remain at Stirling, displaying that wayward recklessness peculiar to him, and annoying Mary by threatening to leave the kingdom. The Queen was occasionally at Holyrood in August and September 1566, during which months the excursions took place, and on the 29th of the latter month Darnley arrived at the Palace about ten in the evening. The Queen on the morning of that day received a letter from Lennox, announcing his inability to dissuade his son from his intention of retiring to the Continent, which she laid before the Privy Council. Darnley peremptorily refused to enter the Palace unless the Earls of Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, the Secretary Maitland of Lethington, and some of the Officers of State who were within, should leave it; and the Queen condescended to wait on him at the entrance, and conducted him to her own apartments, where he remained with her during the night. She questioned him about his design to leave Scotland, and requested to know his reasons for so extraordinary a project. These he refused to assign,

though he acknowledged that he had no cause of discontent. On the following day the Privy Council met in the Queen's apartments, and argued with Darnley respecting the folly of the design which he had formed, either of his own accord or at the instigation of others for some sinister purpose; and the Queen took him by the hand, entreating him to say whether she had ever offended him, and freely to make known his sentiments. He thought proper to deny that he had any intention of leaving the kingdom; he admitted that he had no cause of complaint; and he confessed that the Queen had ever been to him indulgent and affectionate. He then abruptly retired from the Privy Council, saying to Mary—"Adieu, Madam, you shall not see me for a long space;" and to the Privy Council—"Adieu, gentlemen." This was apparently the last time Darnley was within the Palace, from which he immediately proceeded to his father at Glasgow.

CHAPTER IX.

MURDER OF DARNLEY AND RISE OF BOTHWELL.

DARNLEY'S temper had now become so capricious, and his carriage so unbearable to all about the Court, that the dreadful fate, which soon befel him, is not to be wondered at, when we remember the fierce and bloodthirsty character of the times. The Queen had discovered his falsehood and duplicity in relation to the murder of her secretary, and, before her accouchement, she was meditating a divorce, and had actually sent a confidential messenger to Rome for that purpose. She was in truth so miserable, that she also entertained an intention of returning to France, and of entrusting the Government of the kingdom to a Regency composed of the Earls of Moray, Huntly, Mar, Atholl, and Bothwell. After the birth of James VI., however, her heart, influenced by the feelings of a young mother, relented towards Darnley, and a perfect reconciliation was prevented solely by his own headstrong and capricious conduct. His behaviour in the Palace, when he abruptly left the Privy Council, sealed his fate, and it was now determined that his career should be brief. The whole details of the plot against Darnley seem to have been finally arranged in Craigmillar Castle,

in November, two months after the attempt was originally resolved on.

Bothwell was now rising in the Queen's favour, and as his residence was within the precincts of Holyrood, he had frequent opportunities of evincing his devotedness to her interests. Her partiality for him, though he was ten years her senior, and had married Lady Jane Gordon a few months before the birth of James VI., had been early detected by Moray, Maitland, and their associates, who artfully flattered his vanity, and encouraged an ambition, daring enough at any time, to aspire to a height which he had never before contemplated. On the 6th of October, after attending a meeting of the Privy Council, Bothwell left Edinburgh to quell some disturbances on the Borders, and to prepare the frontier districts to receive the Queen. It is alleged by Sir James Melville, from personal observation, that Bothwell's project, for the murder of Darnley and the possession of the Queen's person, should be dated from the time that he was sent to the Border; but this was his own private scheme, and Moray, Morton, Maitland, and others, were in a plot of their own, which, as already stated, was formed about the end of September.

Mary, accompanied by the Officers of State, and the whole Court, left Holyrood, on the 8th of October, for Jedburgh, to hold justice-ayres, the very day on which Bothwell, who had set out on the 6th, was severely wounded in the hand in an encounter with a Border leader, named Elliot of Park, at Hermitage Castle. Darnley was residing at the time with his father at Glasgow. It would be irrelevant to this narrative to detail the Queen's proceedings during this expedition—her fatiguing ride, from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle and back, in one day, to visit Bothwell, when she was informed that he was

wounded—her dangerous illness on her return to Jedburgh—Darnley's hasty visit to her after her recovery—and her progress to Edinburgh by Kelso, Coldingham, and Dunbar. On the 20th of November the Queen arrived at Craigmillar Castle, in which she continued to reside, in a very debilitated state, till the 5th December, when she removed to Holyrood. During Mary's sojourn in Craigmillar she was visited by Darnley on the 26th, and he remained with her a week. On the 11th of December the Queen left Holyrood for Stirling Castle, to be present at the baptism of her son, and returned to Holyrood on the 14th of January 1566-7. On the 20th she had become reconciled to Darnley, who had exhibited some of his vagaries at Stirling on occasion of the royal baptism, which he either refused or was not allowed to witness, and who also had been seized with small-pox while on his way from Stirling to Glasgow. On the 24th of January the Queen left Holyrood to bring Darnley from Glasgow to Edinburgh, he having partially recovered from his sickness. He had received some private intelligence of the plots against him; he was aware of the return from exile of the Earl of Morton, who regarded him as the cause of all his sufferings; and he knew that among his mortal enemies, who had never forgiven him for his desertion of them after the murder of Riccio, were some of the most powerful nobility, who now enjoyed the confidence of the Queen. At his interview with Mary in Glasgow he expressed great contrition for his errors, pleaded his youth, the few friends on whom he could now rely, and declared his unalterable affection to herself. The Queen told him, that as he was scarcely able to travel on horseback, she had brought a litter to carry him to Craigmillar, where she intended to give him the bath, and

added that the air of that place would be more salubrious for a convalescent than that of Holyrood.

The Queen arrived at Edinburgh in company with Darnley upon the 31st of January; but the house of the Provost of the Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, commonly called the Kirk-of-Field, on the site of the present University, was selected for his residence, in preference to Craigmillar Castle.

It is impossible within our narrow limits to enter into the details of the dreadful murder of Darnley in the Kirk-of-Field House, early in the morning of the 10th of February. The Queen had passed the greater part of Sunday the 9th with him, on the most affectionate terms; and she, at first, had resolved to remain all night in the house. She, however, recollected an engagement to honour with her presence an entertainment at Holyrood, given on occasion of the marriage of Sebastian, or Sebastiani, a foreign domestic of the Palace, with Margaret Carwood, one of her favourite women. When Mary left Darnley she kissed him, put a ring on his finger as a mark of affection, and bade him adieu for the night. In the meanwhile, a large quantity of gunpowder had been deposited in the "laiche and darne [low and concealed] pairts" of the house; and one of the parties who assisted in conveying it to "Kirk-of-Field" says, that as they were returning towards the Abbay "up the Black Frier Wind, the Quenes grace was gangand before thame with licht torches."* Bothwell, also, left the Kirk-of-Field House at the same time by a different entrance, and joined in the festivities at the Palace, from which, however, he stole away about midnight.

* Declaration of William Powrie. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. *493.

Early in the morning many of the citizens of Edinburgh were awakened by a loud explosion, and, on proceeding to the spot, they found that the house had been blown up with gunpowder. The bodies of Darnley and a page who slept in the same apartment with him were discovered lying in the garden adjoining; and of the house of Kirk-of-Field "ther remainit not ane stone upon ane other undestroyit."

The general voice of the public accused the Earl of Bothwell of being the perpetrator, or at all events, the instigator, of this abominable murder; and the confessions of his guilty associates, who afterwards suffered for their crimes, established his criminality beyond a doubt. At first, it appears, he had some hesitation as to the best mode of accomplishing his horrid purpose; but at last, as one of the conspirators confessed, "he showed them how it might be best done by powder." Bothwell superintended the conveyance of the powder to the "Kingis house" in person—at the time agreed on the match was lit by John Hepburn, commonly called "John of Bowtoun," a cousin-german of the Earl's, and Bothwell himself returning to the spot, "tarried in the yaird a lang time, and, when he saw that the matter came not hastily to pass, he was angry, and would have gone into the house himself. Within a short space, however, it fyrit . . . and when they saw the house rising [riseand], and heard the crack, they ran their way."

When Bothwell entered his house on the morning of the murder, he called for something to drink, undressed, and went to bed, in which he was scarcely half an hour when a domestic rushed into his apartment, announcing in the greatest consternation that "the King's house was blown up, and the King was slain." "Fie, treason!" exclaimed

Bothwell in feigned astonishment, and instantly rose and attired himself. He was immediately joined by the Earl of Huntly, his brother-in-law, who was in the plot, and they both proceeded to the Queen's apartments in the Palace, accompanied by several persons connected with the Court.

When Mary was informed of Darnley's fate she evinced the utmost horror, and secluded herself in her chamber, overwhelmed with sorrow. Early in the day she removed to the Castle for security, and shut herself up in a close apartment, apparently absorbed in grief at the awful crime which had made her a second time a widow. Meanwhile, at daybreak, multitudes of the citizens crowded to the Kirk-of-Field. Bothwell soon appeared with a guard, to prevent any minute examination of Darnley's body, which was removed to a house in the vicinity, where it lay till it was inspected by the Privy Council. It was then carried to Holyrood, where it lay in state for five days after the murder.* On the evening of the 15th of February, it was privately deposited by torchlight in the royal vault in the Chapel-Royal, in presence of the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, and of Sir John Stewart of Traquair, whom the Queen had recently appointed Captain of her Guard. On the 23d of March a "solemn saule mass, with a dergie" was sung in the chapel of Holyroodhouse for the soul of the departed, by the express command of the Queen.†

* In the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, there is an entry of £40 paid to "Martin Pitcanit, ypothegar," for embalming "the King's Grace's Majestie's umquhill bodie."

† Birrel's Diary, p. 7.

CHAPTER X.

MARY AND BOTHWELL.

MARY avoided Holyrood, and remained in the Castle. Her physicians, alarmed for her health, sent a statement to the Privy Council, who advised her to try a change of air for a short period, and on the 16th of February, the day after Darnley's funeral, she rode to Seton House, accompanied by the Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyll, Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, and Maitland of Lethington, the whole of whom were implicated in the plot, and about one hundred attendants. The Queen continued at Seton House till the 7th of March, and it was remarked that Bothwell advanced in her favour, and enjoyed the most familiar intercourse with her. On the 7th of March she returned to Edinburgh Castle, and again rode to Seton House on the 9th, remaining only one night.

Bothwell and others continued to be publicly accused of Darnley's murder, yet no prosecution of the alleged delinquents was instituted. An affected zeal was at length displayed to bring the murderers to justice, nevertheless little was really done in the matter. On the mock trial and acquittal of Bothwell on the 12th of April at Edinburgh, it is unnecessary to enlarge. On the day of

the trial Sir William Drury arrived in Edinburgh with a letter from Elizabeth, and found the city in possession of Bothwell's friends and followers, to the number of four thousand men and two hundred hackbutters. His retainers surrounded the Palace, and perambulated the streets of the city; while the Castle, of which he had been appointed governor on the 19th of March, was at his command. The Queen was then in the Palace, and when Drury presented himself to deliver the letter, the purport of which was suspected, he was rudely designated an "English villain," who had come to stop the trial, and was informed that the Queen was too busy with other affairs of the day. At that moment Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington came out of the Palace, and Drury gave Elizabeth's epistle to the latter, who returned with Bothwell and delivered it to Mary. They soon appeared and mounted their horses, and Drury was informed by Maitland that the Queen was asleep, and could not be disturbed. This was immediately discovered to be a falsehood; for a servant of the French ambassador Le Croc, who was standing near Drury, looking up towards the Palace, saw and pointed out the Queen and Mary Fleming, Maitland's wife, standing at a window. It was also observed that the Queen gave Bothwell a friendly salute as he rode out of the court-yard of the Palace to his pretended trial. He was acquitted, and two days afterwards he increased the excitement against him by carrying some part of the Regalia at the opening of the Parliament. The Queen on this occasion declined the ancient custom of a civic guard from Holyrood formed under the auspices of the Magistrates, preferring a company of hackbutters.

The degradation of Mary was now about to be accom-

plished. On the 21st of April she left Holyrood to visit the infant Prince at Stirling Castle, and when returning on the 24th, Bothwell, at the head of eight hundred horse-men, seized her person near Almond Bridge, about six miles from Edinburgh, and eleven from Linlithgow. He conveyed the Queen to his castle of Dunbar, and two days afterwards he commenced a process of divorce from his Countess in the Archbishop of St. Andrew's Court, and in the Commissary Court, recently instituted by the Queen. In the former, his plea was founded on consanguinity, though Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only a few months before the birth of James VI., was merely his cousin in the fourth degree of relationship. In the latter Court it was for adultery committed by him, at the instance of his Countess. The marriage was declared null in the Archbishop's Court on the 7th of May, four days after the Consistorial Court had pronounced a similar decision.

After a brief residence in Dunbar Castle with the man universally accused of the murder of her husband, Mary rode with him to Edinburgh. As it was then believed that Bothwell by violence gained possession of the Queen, the gates were ordered to be shut, the citizens ran to arms, and the artillery of the Castle was fired. On the 6th of May, the third day after the divorce had been pronounced in the Consistorial Court at the instance of Lady Jane Gordon for adultery, and on the day before it was declared in the Court of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, on the pretence of consanguinity, the Queen entered the city by the West Port, and rode through the Grassmarket, and up the West Bow to the Castle, Bothwell, on foot, leading her horse by the bridle—a sight witnessed by her friends with the deepest sorrow, and by her

enemies with exultation and derision. On the 8th of May, the day after the divorce was declared in the Archbishop's Court, a proclamation was issued at Holyrood, announcing that the Queen had resolved to marry Bothwell, and on the 11th she removed with him to the Palace. The proclamation of the banns of marriage was reluctantly performed by John Craig, the colleague of Knox, for which he was afterwards vehemently assailed in the General Assembly.

On the 12th of May, the Queen created Bothwell Duke of Orkney and Marquis of Fife, placing the ducal coronet on his head with her own hands in the Palace. The marriage-contract was signed on the 13th, and on Thursday the 15th, the unhappy nuptials were celebrated, according to the new form, by Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, in the council-hall of the Palace, at the early hour of four in the morning. The ceremony was prefaced by a sermon by ex-Bishop Bothwell from the second chapter of the Book of Genesis, in which he enlarged on the bridegroom's penitence for his former life, and his resolution to amend and conform to the discipline of the Protestant preachers. The event was not attended by the pageants and rejoicings usual on such occasions, and few of the leading nobility were in attendance.

Although Mary, after the marriage, assumed a gay attire in Holyrood, and frequently rode out with Bothwell, and although he appeared anxious to treat her with respect, refusing to be covered in her presence, a species of homage which she occasionally resented in a sportive manner by snatching his bonnet, and putting it on his head, yet at times the passionate temper of the man violated all decorum, and those who saw the Queen in private soon perceived that she was unhappy. It was

too evident, indeed, that she was suffering intense mental agony, and her feelings of discomfort, on the very evening of the day of her marriage to Bothwell, are described by the French ambassador Le Croc, who visited her in the Palace at her own request. He says that a strange formality was apparent between the Queen and Bothwell, which she entreated Le Croc to excuse, saying that, if he ever saw her sad, it was because she had no wish to be happy, which she never could be, as she wished only for death. Le Croc also mentions that on a certain day, when alone with Bothwell in a closet, she called aloud for a knife to kill herself, which was heard by some of the household in an adjoining room. Sir James Melville states that the Queen was so "disdainfully handlit," and with such "reproachful language," that in the presence of himself and Arthur Erskine she demanded a knife to "stick herself"—"or else," she said, "I shall drown myself." Mary had many warnings not to marry Bothwell, and she was now rapidly approaching the crisis of her fate in Scotland.

For a short period after their marriage the Queen and Bothwell publicly conducted themselves as if they had no enemies; and when informed of the private meetings of their opponents, Mary spoke of them with contempt, observing on one occasion—"Atholl is feeble; for Argyll, I know well how to stop his mouth; as for Morton, his boots are new pulled off, and still soiled; he shall be sent back to his old quarters"—alluding to his recent return from banishment to England; but an alarum was soon to be sounded to the nation, calling on all true subjects to rescue the Queen from the power of the man to whom she had so fatally allied herself. A formidable confederacy was organized for seizing her and Bothwell

within the walls of Holyrood—for there they both resided, the latter being too cautious to leave Mary at liberty, and appearing, indeed, to think it necessary to watch her with the greatest strictness. The Earl of Argyll sent private information to the Queen of the meditated assault on the Palace, and, in consequence, she and her vile husband removed to Borthwick Castle on the 6th of June. From this place she fled, in the disguise of a page, to Dunbar Castle on the 11th of June, and on the 12th a proclamation, following on an act of the Privy Council, summoned the lieges to convene from all the principal towns to liberate the Queen from the thralldom of the detested Bothwell. Finding that her army, though well disposed to fight in her own cause, was reluctant to support her husband, Mary surrendered herself to the confederated nobility at Carberry hill, near Musselburgh, on the 15th of June 1567. She never again saw Bothwell, for he fled with precipitation before the Queen surrendered herself; and, sailing to the north, became a corsair among the Orkney islands, till, having been seized by a Danish vessel, he was immured in a dungeon, where he terminated his guilty life; solemnly declaring before his death that the Queen was innocent of complicity in the murder of Darnley.

Mary, now the captive of her own subjects, was brought to Edinlurgh, where the lower classes received her with insult and cries of indignation. Almost naked, and disfigured with dust and tears, she rode between the Earls of Morton and Atholl, through the pressure of the infuriated multitude, and was lodged in a house in the High Street, known by the name of the Black Turnpike. She was afterwards removed to Holyrood, and the citizens who had apparently relented to-

wards her in her now defenceless position, were assured by the insurgent lords that she should speedily be liberated. Her confinement had, however, been determined on, and, accordingly, on the night of the 16th of June she was hastily conveyed to Lochleven Castle, under the charge of Lords Ruthven and Lindsay. Before issuing from the Palace she was compelled to relinquish the apparel suited to her rank and disguise herself, so as not to be recognized, and was not permitted even to carry a change of dress along with her.

Thus did Mary Stuart bid adieu to Holyrood, the Palace of her fathers, whose halls were never again to be brightened with the lustre of her presence, though destined, in after ages, to be lit by the twilight of her memory, and visited by pilgrims from every clime, the votaries of her beauty and her sufferings. Her subsequent career may be told in a few words. In the rude tower of Lochleven, on an islet where she could scarce walk fifty yards in one direction, she was detained for nearly a year. While in this miserable abode, the Lords of the Secret Council despatched Lord Lindsay, the sternest of the insurgent nobles, to compel her to renounce the crown in favour of her infant son. Mary, it would appear, though desolate and depressed, displayed considerable reluctance to acquiesce in this extreme measure; and Lindsay, with a brutal unmanliness, that ill became the chivalry of his house, squeezed the arm of the lovely Queen in his iron glove, to compel her to subscribe the deed of renunciation. On the 2d of May 1568 she escaped from her prison-house, and was received on the opposite shore by a powerful band of the Hamiltons, her faithful followers, who escorted her to a place of safety. Multitudes rushed to arms at the news of her deliverance. Her beauty, and

the gentleness of her manners, were fresh in the memory of all, and her errors were almost obliterated by the severity of the punishment by which they had been followed. Her army, however, was defeated chiefly by its own rashness, on the field of Langside, on the 13th of May, and she was compelled to be a fugitive. At this moment of peril she might have escaped to France, the country of her happiest hours and fondest recollections, where she was assured of a cordial reception. Unhappily, however, she preferred throwing herself on the generosity of Queen Elizabeth, and fled into England, against the entreaties of her kneeling followers—there to be the victim of one long train of dissimulation and vindictiveness; and, at length, after a weary imprisonment of more than eighteen years, to perish on the block, by the cruel and unjustifiable mandate of that

———false woman,
Her sister and her foe.

CHAPTER XI.

HOLYROOD IN THE REIGN OF JAMES VI.

THE minority of James VI. was passed in Stirling Castle. About the end of September 1579, the King, then in his fourteenth year, made his first public entry into Edinburgh, and proceeded direct to Holyrood. On this occasion the office of Lord High Chamberlain was revived, and conferred on Esme Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny, the King's cousin, who had recently arrived from France, and was soon afterwards created Duke of Lennox. James VI., however, was not often a resident in Holyrood till some years afterwards. The seizure of his person in the Raid of Ruthven, in August 1582, enabled the parties connected with that affair to bring him to Edinburgh; and in a convention held in the Palace, it was proposed to raise two hundred horse and two hundred foot, nominally for his protection, though the real object was to secure his detention. The King contrived to escape from his keepers in the following year in Fifeshire, and the next notice which occurs of him in connection with Holyrood is on the 13th May 1586, when he convened in the Palace all the Nobility who were at feud, and, after a banquet, caused them to "shake hands togidder, and to drink ane to ane ither." He then caused them to form a procession to the Cross in the High Street, walking hand in hand, he himself ac-

companying them, that the citizens might witness the apparent reconciliation he had effected. The Town-Council were as usual compelled to be parties to this exhibition, by providing copious libations of wine at the Cross.

On the 6th of May 1590, James VI. brought his Queen, Anne of Denmark, to Holyrood, and on the 17th of that month she was crowned in the Chapel-Royal. On the 19th they publicly entered Edinburgh by the West Port, and proceeded through the city to the Palace, amid great rejoicings. It is recorded of the pageant by an eye-witness, that "young boys, with artificial wings, at her entrey did flee towards her, and presented her two silver keys of the city; the Castell shot off all its ordnance five several times, and at night the towne was put full of bonefyres."* On this occasion the Magistrates proceeded to the Palace, and presented the Queen with a rich jewel, which James had deposited with them as security for a considerable sum of money he had borrowed from them; and they were compelled to take his verbal promise as a pledge of payment, which, however, he never found it convenient to recollect. James had rather a defective memory in regard to such matters.

The feasting and rejoicings continued at Holyrood and in the city for a month, when the Danish attendants of the Queen departed, amply stored with presents. Nevertheless the King's pecuniary raids against the Magistrates continued; and, summoning them one day to the Palace, he obliged them to borrow from him £40,000 Scots, a part of the Queen's marriage-portion recently paid him, exacting from them double the rate of interest for which they could have borrowed the money elsewhere.

* Birrel's Diary, p. 25.

In all his speculations with the Town-Council, the King was zealously supported by the Incorporated Trades, the deacons of which he had contrived to attach to his interest.

The violent conduct of Francis, Earl of Bothwell, was at this time conspicuous. One of his projects was to secure the King's person. On the 22d of June 1591, he escaped from Edinburgh Castle, and, after a brief sojourn in Caithness, he repaired to the English Border, where he endeavoured to raise a force to overawe the King. Under the pretence of expelling his enemy, the Sub-Chancellor Maitland, from the royal councils, and favoured, also, by some of the King's attendants, Bothwell appeared in Edinburgh on the 27th of December 1591, and was admitted, late in the evening, into the court-yard of Holyrood. His adherents immediately raised the cry—"Justice! justice! a Bothwell! a Bothwell!" The forfeited Earl then hastened to the King's apartments, the doors of which he found carefully secured—notice of his intended assault having been received by Sir James Melville, and his brother Sir Robert two days previously, and the King also having received sufficient warning, which he thought proper to disregard. Bothwell called for fire to burn the doors, which resisted his weapons, and the Queen's apartments were also attacked, on the supposition that the King would be found in one of them. The door of a gallery was successfully defended by Henry Lindsay, Master of the Queen's Household, and the King was conveyed to a turret of the Palace, which he reached opportunely while the invaders were still assailing the doors with hammers, and calling for fire to consume them. During this tumult, the brother of Scot of Balwearie was shot in the thigh, and two of the King's domestics were

killed on the south side of the Palace. Bothwell was at length compelled to retire, leaving nine of his followers in custody, who were hanged without trial next day betwixt the Girth Cross and the porch of the Palace.

The King went on the day after this attempt to St. Giles's Church, and made a speech to the congregation in reference to his deliverance. The outrage revived the prosecutions against Bothwell and his accomplices, among whom are enumerated his Countess, James Douglas of Spott, Archibald Wauchope, younger of Niddry, and several other persons. On the 5th of June 1592, the Parliament ratified the forfeiture of Bothwell and several others, for "invading his Majesty's maist noble person by fyre and sword, breaking up his chamber-doors with fore-hammers, and cruelly slaying his highness' servants."

Bothwell either cared little for those proceedings against him, or he was rendered desperate by being outlawed and attainted. Although he escaped with difficulty from the outrage in Holyrood, he made a second unsuccessful attempt to secure the King's person on the 17th of July 1592 in Falkland Palace, where James usually resided during the summer and autumn months. So numerous are the denouncings of Bothwell, his partisans, and "resetters," that one would almost think the Government did nothing else than level anathemas against them. Yet he had many powerful friends, and he formed a party in his favour among the Presbyterian ministers, whose influence was so considerable, that whenever they were pleased to annoy the King they could defy the Government. It is said that Queen Elizabeth interceded for him, and that he was invited from exile by the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Atholl, and Lord Ochiltree. The repeated proclamations against him had apparently excited a sympathy in his favour, es-

pecially among the secret enemies of the court favourites. Bothwell soon returned to Edinburgh, and it was arranged that he should present himself before the King in Holyrood on the 24th of July 1593, some weeks after his attainder in the High Court of Justiciary. It is stated that Bothwell seized the gates of the Palace, and was followed by a number of armed retainers into the royal apartments. He had lodged the preceding night in Lady Gowrie's house behind the Palace. He found the King coming from the back stair in the utmost consternation, carrying his "breeks in his hand;" and James, without attendants, and unable to resist a band of armed men, called on him to consummate his treason by piercing his sovereign to the heart. Bothwell, however, laid down his sword, fell on his knees, and implored pardon. James yielded from necessity to his entreaties, and a few days afterwards actually signed a capitulation with this rebellious and outlawed peer, to whom he was now in reality a prisoner, in which he pledged himself to remit all his past offences, Bothwell on his part promising to withdraw from the court, and live peaceably on his own estate. This state of things was of short duration, and it was evidently impossible for him to remain in quietude. He eventually fled to England, from which Elizabeth expelled him in compliance with the urgent request of James VI., who had adjusted his quarrels with the preachers, and induced them to excommunicate the fugitive. Bothwell retired to the Continent, and lived several years in obscurity and indigence, plunging into the lowest and most infamous debauchery, in which condition he died, the King refusing to listen to any intercession on his behalf, or to be influenced by offers of submission.

James VI. continued to reside in Holyrood, at times

varying the scene by resorting to Linlithgow, Stirling, Falkland, and to Dunfermline, which was his Queen's jointure palace, and the birth-place of some of his children. The birth of his son Prince Henry, in 1594, induced the Magistrates of Edinburgh to send ten tuns of wine to Holyrood, and they commissioned a hundred of the citizens to be present at the baptism. As the gift was unexpected and peculiarly acceptable, James invited the Magistrates to the baptism of the Princess Elizabeth in Holyrood, on the 28th of November 1596. This was considered so complementary an act by the civic functionaries, that they engaged to give the Princess 10,000 merks on her marriage-day, which they honourably fulfilled, adding 5000 to the sum.

On the 17th of December 1596 occurred the serious riot, in which the mob attacked the King, who was transacting some state business in the Tolbooth. This disorder was occasioned by the Presbyterian ministers, between whom and the King a mortal feud had existed for some time, and who were then assembled in St. Giles's Church. It was announced to the King that they were coming to murder him, and the utmost excitement prevailed, some exclaiming—"For God and the King!" and others—"For God and the Kirk!" The room in which the King sat was thronged with a tumultuous assemblage, and the building surrounded by an infuriated mob, and James's person might have been endangered, "had not his Majesty's standard-bearer, John Wat, deacon-conveener of the trades, drawn up his lads, the soldiers of the Blue Blanket, and kept the rabble back till their fever cooled, and the Earl of Mar, from the Castell, sent a company of musquiteers to guard the King."*

* Pennecuik's Historical Account of the Blue Blanket.

Early on the following morning, however, James and his Privy Council departed to Linlithgow, and a proclamation was issued, declaring Edinburgh to be a dangerous residence for the court, and for the administration of justice, and ordering the judges, the nobility, and others, to retire from the city, and not to return without the royal permission. On the 20th the Magistrates were ordered to apprehend and commit to the Castle ten of the leading Presbyterian preachers, who were summoned to appear before the Privy Council on the 23d, to answer for their seditious conduct, and on the 25th they and some of the citizens were denounced as rebels. Edward Johnnes-toune, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, was tried for being art and part with the "seditious raskallis," and was fined 3500 merks.* Those proceedings were followed by several stringent measures against the city; and the inhabitants were in a state of despair at the threat to deprive Edinburgh of its advantages as the seat of the court and of the Supreme Judicature. On the last day of December the King returned to Holyrood, and appointed several noblemen to take possession of the city gates, while he proceeded to St. Giles's Church to hear a sermon by Mr. David Lindsay of Leith; after which he rose and addressed the congregation, denouncing the seditious ministers. The interposition of Queen Elizabeth afforded James, who was actuated more by policy than inclination, a pretext for abating his resentment; and a reconciliation was effected on certain conditions, one of which was that the city should pay a fine of 20,000, or, according to Birrel, 30,000 merks. This was willingly done, although the coffers were in a deplorably low condition, and the quarrel ended in a carousal of the Town-

* Pitcairn's Trials, vol. ii. p. 29.

Council, at which the King was present, drinking with the "Baillies and Deacons," while the bells of St. Giles's sounded their peals, and bands of music paraded the streets.

In 1598 Holyrood received a royal visitor in the person of Philip, Duke of Holstein, the brother of Queen Anne, who arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of March. The Town-Council invited him to a banquet in "Macmorran's lodging" on the 2d of May, at which the King and Queen were present, and on the 3d of June the Duke embarked at Leith for Denmark.

The death of Queen Elizabeth, on the 24th day of March 1603, obtained for James VI. the great object of his ambition, the crown of England. Sir Robert Carey, unknown to the English Privy Council, instantly left London for Edinburgh, and arrived at Holyrood with remarkable celerity, considering the state of the roads in those times. Carey was well known to James VI., into whose good graces he had insinuated himself, when he came to Scotland with Secretary Walsingham. The King had retired before Carey appeared at Holyrood, but he was quickly admitted, and conveyed to the royal bed-chamber, where he knelt, and saluted James as King of England. He was thus the first person to announce to James VI. his accession. The King gave him his hand to kiss, and bade him welcome. Carey, after narrating the particulars of Elizabeth's decease, told the King, that, instead of bringing letters from the English Privy Council, he had purposely avoided them; but he could produce an undoubted evidence of his veracity, and thereupon he presented a sapphire ring. This ring was from Lady Scroope, Carey's sister, a lady connected with Elizabeth's Court, with whom James had

maintained a constant correspondence for some years, and it had been sent to her by the King, with positive instructions to return it to him by a special messenger, as soon as the Queen expired. Lady Scroope had no opportunity of delivering it to her brother while he was in the Palace of Richmond, but, waiting at the window till she saw him outside of the gate, she threw it to him, and he well knew what it intimated. James, still in bed, took the ring, carefully examined it, and said—"It is enough; I know by this you are a true messenger." Carey was entrusted to the charge of Alexander, sixth Lord Home, who was ordered to treat him hospitably. The King sent his own surgeons to assist in curing a wound, which he had received by a fall and a stroke from his horse after he left Norham, and when he kissed the hand of James at retiring for the night he was told--"I know you have lost a near kinswoman and a loving mistress; but, take here my hand, I will be as good a master to you, and will requite this service with honour and reward." A few days afterwards Carey was sworn one of the gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber; but, notwithstanding the above royal pledge, he himself observes—"I only relied on God and the King. The one never left me: the other, shortly after his coming to London, deceived my expectations, and adhered to those who sought my ruin."

Three days after Elizabeth's death, the keys of Berwick were presented to James VI. in Holyrood, and, on the 28th, John Bothwell, Commendator of Holyrood, took possession of that town. On the same day James sent a letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, dated from Holyroodhouse, thanking them for their activity in proclaiming him King. He now made arrangements for

a speedy departure to London. On Sunday the 3d of April he went to St. Giles's Church, and after the sermon, which he is said to have taken in "good part," [which of course intimates that the preacher had indulged in some liberties], he rose and addressed the congregation, who are said to have been deeply affected, and to have expressed their grief by sobs and tears. The vast accession of dignity and wealth which had fallen to the lot of James, in which all hoped, to some extent, to participate, seems to have had a strong effect upon the tender feelings of his Presbyterian auditors. On the 5th of April the King left Holyrood for England, attended by a numerous cavalcade of Scottish nobility and gentry, and several English knights. He was followed on the 1st of June by the Queen and Prince Charles, who on the 28th of May came to Holyrood from Stirling, and on the 30th, took leave of the citizens in St. Giles's Church, to which the local chronicler says, her Majesty was "weill convoyit with coaches, herself and the Prince in her awn coache, quhilk came home with her out of Denmark, and the English gentlewomen in the rest of the coaches. They heard ane guid sermone in the kirk, and thereafter raid hame to Halyrud-house."*

The promise of James, in St. Giles's Church, to visit Holyrood every third year, was not realized, and it was not till 1617 that he was enabled to revisit his native kingdom.

His intention to proceed to his ancient capital had been officially announced to the Scottish Privy Council in 1616, and on the 24th of December, a "Direction" was issued, ordering the Magistrates to procure a list of all the lodgings and stables within Edinburgh, the Canon-

* Birrel's Diary, pp. 59, 60.

gate, and suburbs, to "foresee and provide that there be good ludgeings within the saidis boundis for fyve thousand men, and stables for fyve thousand horse;" and, if accommodation to that extent could not be obtained, commanding temporary stables to be erected. The King entered Edinburgh on the 16th of May, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm. Drummond of Hawthornden had composed a speech, which he intended to recite at the West Port; but by some means or other he was prevented from delivering his laboured oration. The king proceeded to Holyrood by the Grassmarket, the West Bow, the High Street, and the Canongate, after hearing a sermon by Archbishop Spottiswoode in St. Giles's Church, and knighting William Nisbet of Dean, the Provost. Mr. John Hay, Clerk Register-Depute, welcomed the King at the Palace, in an address containing the grossest adulation, and James then repaired to the Chapel-Royal to hear another sermon preached by Archbishop Spottiswoode. Returning to the Palace, the King was presented, at the gate of the inner court, with a book of Latin poems, which is preserved in the Library of the British Museum, beautifully bound in crimson velvet and superbly gilt. The authors of these laudatory effusions were the Professors in the University of Edinburgh, and a Latin speech was delivered in their name by Mr. Patrick Nisbet. The Magistrates afterwards entertained the King and his retinue at a sumptuous banquet.

Having already compelled the Presbyterians to adopt the Episcopal form of church government, the King was resolved to assimilate, as far as lay in his power, the Scottish Kirk to her English sister; and the Church of the Abbey was the chief scene of his bold experiment. This edifice, since the period of the Reformation, had been

used as the parish church of the Canongate, a district to which, of course, its ministrations had been partially devoted, while in the hands of the Canons Regular.

As early as 1559 the service of Common Prayer, which was at first approved of by the leaders of the Presbyterian party, was performed within its walls. In that year, Spottiswoode informs us* that the officers of the French troops, whom the Queen Regent had brought over, made a practice of going into the reformed churches, and interrupting the service by laughing and talking "so loud all the time, as the preacher could not be heard" "the like they did in the Abbey Church, forcibly abolishing the service of Common Prayers, which there was ordinarily used." In 1562 Mr. John Craig appears, from the records of the Church of Scotland,† to have been "minister at Halierudehouse," and in the same year he was conjoined with Knox "in the ministry of Edinburgh."‡ In 1573 we read of the "parochiners of Halyrudhouse;" and in the year following we find that Mr. Johne Brand was minister, and that there was also an Alexander Thomsoun, "Reidare at Halyrudhous," whose salary was to be paid by the "Cannogait."§ The Church in Scotland for several years exhibited a strange medley of Episcopalian and Presbyterian elements: the services partaking principally of Presbyterian forms, but the clergy themselves being frequently invested even with Episcopal dignity. Such appears to have been the condition of the Church of Holyrood in the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the end of the year 1615 till the com-

* Vol. i. p. 287. Spottiswoode Society's Edit.

† The Booke of the Universall Kirk, i. p. 13.

‡ Idem. p. 17.

§ Miscellany of Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 363.

mencement of 1619, when he died, William Coupar, Bishop of Galloway, whom the General Assembly had recommended to the King for elevation to the Episcopal office,* officiated as Dean of the Chapel-Royal.

Before the King's arrival in Edinburgh, in 1617, he sent workmen from London to repair the Church of Holyrood, and ornament its interior. Among other decorations there was certain carved and gilt woodwork, consisting of figures of the Apostles, which was "to be set in the pews or stalls;" and an organ also was ordered to be erected in a gallery, above the grand western entrance. These measures threatening to excite a popular commotion, a letter of remonstrance was written by the Dean, and signed by Archbishop Spottiswoode and several of the Bishops, and the decorations objected to appear not to have been introduced into the Chapel. The organ, however, was erected in a short time. We learn the state of the Chapel in June 1617, in a letter from Secretary Lake, written at Edinburgh, to Sir Dudley Carleton:—"His Majesty," he says, "hath set up his chapel here in like manner of service as it is in England, which is well frequented by the people of this country." The Earl of Dunfermline, writing in December of the same year to King James, speaks of his Majesty's "Chappell in Halyrudhous, builded up of new, with all ornaments, and due furnitour [which] might be required in ane royal chappell, and maist magnificklie deckt and set furth."† Calderwood informs us that "upon Saturday, the 17th of May, the English service, singing of choristers, playing on organs, and surplices were first heard and seen in the Chapel-Royal." Row, speaking of James's alterations on the

* Keith, p. 280.

† Melrose Papers, printed for Abbotsford Club, vol. i. p. 298.

Chapel, says "quherin wis a glorious altar sett up, with two closed bybles, two unlightened candles, and two basins, without water, sett thereon."* On Whitsunday, the 8th of June, when Bishop Andrewes, a learned English prelate, preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal, the communion was taken in a kneeling posture; and this, it is said by some writers, was the first time since the Reformation that it had been so administered within this church. Bishop Coupar, the Dean, at first opposed the innovation, but was at length persuaded to acquiesce in it.

It would be out of place to enumerate the progresses of James during this visit to Scotland, with all the fulsome adulation of the addresses, and the self-satisfied pedantry of the replies. On the 11th of June the King went to the Castle of Dalkeith, then the seat of William, seventh Earl of Morton. The Parliament had met on the 27th of May, in the "Over Tolbooth," and, from the 17th to the 28th of June, the king attended daily, riding thither the first day in great state. He left Holyrood immediately after the rising of the Parliament, on the 28th of June, and entered Stirling on the 30th, and then returned to England by Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, and Dumfries.

* Row's History, vol. i. p. 113.

CHAPTER XII.

CORONATION OF CHARLES I. AT HOLYROOD.

ON the 15th of June 1630, Sir James Balfour, who has left behind him a minute description of the Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood, was solemnly inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms in the Chapel-Royal by the Lord Chancellor Dupplin, the King's Commissioner; and the Lord Lyon, after the ceremony, banqueted the Commissioner, the Privy Council, and the Judges of the Court of Session, in the Earl of Linlithgow's house adjoining to the Palace. Conventions of the Estates were held at Holyrood on the 28th of July, the 3d of November 1630, the 31st of March, the 20th of April, the 26th of July 1631, and the 7th of September 1632, but nothing of importance occurs in the history of the Palace and its Chapel-Royal till 1633, when they were the scene of the coronation of Charles I., and the subsequent festivities. On Saturday, the 15th of June, the King, accompanied by Laud, then Bishop of London, White, Bishop of Ely, and a number of the English nobility and gentry, entered Edinburgh on horseback, with the greatest pomp and magnificence,* and arrived at Holyrood by the same route through the city which his father had traversed in 1617. On Sunday he attended divine

* *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 196, 7, 8; vol. iv. p. 354.

service in the Chapel-Royal, which was performed by his chaplain, Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane. On Monday the 17th, William, Earl of Angus, was created Marquis of Douglas, and George, Viscount Dupplin, was created Earl of Kinnoull, in the drawing-room of the Palace, and eleven gentlemen were knighted; after which the King went privately in his coach to the Castle, in which he passed the night, and on the following day the coronation took place.

On the occasion of that ceremonial, a stage, or platform was erected in the centre of the Chapel-Royal, four feet above the floor, and twenty-four feet in length and breadth, and fastened to the four centre pillars of the church. This platform was surrounded by a railing, and covered with carpets. In the centre, looking towards the west, and fronting the organ gallery, was an entrance to the platform with three steps, and there was the same egress towards the east, fronting the altar or communion table, which was of course under the east window. On this platform was another elevation two feet in height, which was reached by two steps, richly decorated, and on it the throne was placed. A chair, covered with crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, was placed on the right, between the platform and the communion table, with a footstool and cushions, and before this chair was a small table covered with crimson velvet, fringed and laced with gold, on which lay a richly ornamented bible.

The pulpit, which was covered with crimson velvet, was placed near the communion table, on the north side of the Chapel-Royal, and on the west of the pulpit were placed two seats for the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews and the other officiating prelates. Immediately in front

of the communion table was placed, what Sir James Balfour calls, a little desk, covered with a rich embroidery of gold and green silk, and before it were cushions on which the King knelt during divine service.

On the morning of the 18th a splendid procession of the Nobility, Officers of State, and public functionaries, preceded the King from the Castle to Holyrood. Six trumpeters first issued from the Castle gate, two and two, clothed in scarlet and gold lace; and then came the Barons in scarlet robes, followed by the Bishops in their robes. Next were the Viscounts and Earls, followed by Dr. Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow, unattended. The Great Officers of State succeeded, who were followed by six pursuivants, two and two; York Herald of England, alone; then six heralds, two and two, preceding Norroy, King of Arms of England. The Master of Requests came next, attended by the celebrated Dr. John Guthry, Bishop of Moray, who acted as Almoner for that day. Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, followed, supported by two gentlemen ushers, after whom came in order the Earl of Eglinton bearing the spurs, the Earl of Buchan bearing the sword, and the Earl of Rothes bearing the sceptre. The crown was carried by the Earl of Arran, supported on his right hand by the Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable, and on his left by the Duke of Lennox and the Earl Marischal. All these noblemen were on horseback, the Earls, Viscounts, and Lyon-King-at-Arms, says Sir James Balfour, having "ther crounes and capes carried by gentlemen on the left syde of ther horses, hard by the stirupe." Then appeared the King, dressed in crimson velvet, his train carried by several noblemen and gentlemen. After the King came the Marquis of Hamilton, Master of his Majesty's Horse;

next the Earl of Suffolk, Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners; and last of all the Earl of Holland, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, followed by the yeomen.

The pavement of the great court of the Palace was covered with blue cloth, on which the King walked till he reached the grand western door of the Chapel-Royal. A canopy of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold, was carried over the King, by the eldest sons of six Earls and a Viscount, supported by six Barons. At the door of the Chapel-Royal the King was received by Dr. John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord Primate of Scotland. When he entered the sacred edifice, the King knelt down in a devotional manner for a short space, and, then rising, a procession was formed towards the elevated platform in the middle of the church, composed of the Archbishop, the Dean of the Chapel-Royal, several bishops, preceded by the choristers of the Royal Chapel, and followed by the King, supported by the Nobility and great Officers of State. His Majesty was then conducted to a chair placed against the western pillar of the church on the north side, where he sat down, and was addressed in a short speech by the Rev. James Hannay, preacher of the Chapel-Royal. The King then rose, and moved forward along the church, the choir receiving him with the anthem on the organ—"Behold, O Lord, our Protector, and look upon the face of thine Anointed; because one day in thy court is better than a thousand." The King ascended the elevated platform in the middle of the church, and seated himself in the royal chair.

The crown, sceptre, sword, and spurs were delivered by their respective noble bearers to the chief gentleman usher, who laid these insignia of royalty on a small table, covered with green velvet, laced and fringed with gold,

which was placed on the south side of the communion table. Sir James Balfour, as Lord Lyon, then appeared carrying a gold ampulla, or vessel containing the anointing oil, which he had received from the Dean of the Chapel-Royal at the great western door. This he delivered to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who deposited it on the communion table.

The King, after reclining a short time in the chair on the platform, now left it, and moved to the chair of state opposite the pulpit. The ceremony commenced with a sermon, preached by Dr. David Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin, from the First Book of Kings, i. 39. When this was concluded the King returned to his chair on the platform. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, accompanied by the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marischal, and the Lord Lyon, who went before the Primate, addressed the people from each corner of the platform:—"Sirs, I present unto you King Charles, the rightful heir of the crown and dignity of this realm. This day is by the peers of the kingdom appointed for the coronation of his Majesty. Are you willing to acknowledge him as your sovereign, and to be dutiful and obedient subjects?" The people responded with loud acclamations—"God save King Charles!" During the Archbishop's announcement to the assemblage, the King stood, and turned himself in the direction of the Primate at every corner. The choir then commenced the anthem,—“Let thy hand be strengthened,” and the 80th Psalm, concluding as usual with the “*Gloria Patri.*” When the anthem was sung, the Archbishop returned to the communion table.

The King now approached the communion table, supported by Dr. Adam Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel-Royal, on the right, and by

Bishop Guthry of Moray on the left, where he made his oblation, which was received in a gold cup by the Primate. His Majesty then knelt at the desk already mentioned, during which time the Archbishop said a prayer. He then sat down in his chair, and the Archbishop approached him from the communion table, and asked if he were ready to take the oaths appointed to be put on such occasions. An answer was returned in the affirmative, and the Archbishop proceeded—"Sir, will you promise to serve Almighty God to the uttermost of your power, as He hath required in His most holy Word, and according to the same Word, maintain the true religion of Christ now preached and possessed within this realm, abolishing and withstanding whatsoever is contrary to the same; and will you diligently oppose all heretics and enemies of the true worship of God who shall be so convicted by the true Church of God?"

The King answered—"I promise faithfully so to do."

The Archbishop again demanded—"Sir, will you promise to rule the people subject to you according to the laws and constitution of this realm, causing justice and equity to be administered impartially; and to procure peace to the uttermost of your power to the Church of God, and amongst all Christian people?"

The King answered—"I grant and promise so to do."

The Archbishop next demanded—"Sir, will you likewise promise to preserve and keep inviolate the privileges, rights, and revenues of the crown of Scotland, and not to transfer and alienate them in any way?"

The King answered—"I promise so to do."

The Archbishop finally said—"We also beseech you to grant and preserve unto us of the clergy, and to the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privi-

leges, and that you will defend and protect us, as every Christian and pious King ought in his kingdom to defend his bishops and the churches under their government."

The King answered—"With a willing heart I grant the same, and promise to maintain you all and individually, with all the churches committed to your charge, in your whole rights and privileges, according to law and justice."

His Majesty, rising from his chair, now approached the communion table, and laying his hand on the Bible, he said with an audible voice—"All the things which I have now promised I shall observe and keep, so help me God, and by the contents of this book." He returned to the chair of state, and the hymn *Veni Creator* was sung by the choir. The King then knelt, while the Archbishop said a prayer appropriate for the occasion; and the Litany was read and chanted by Bishop Guthry of Moray and Dr. John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland. The service of the Church of England was used throughout, with the addition of some prayers adapted to the occasion, which were composed by the Archbishop.

After a short repose, during which the choir sung another anthem, the King again approached the communion table, standing with his back towards it, where he was prepared for the anointing by the Duke of Lennox. He then sat down in his chair of state near the pulpit, and the ceremony of anointing him was performed by Archbishop Spottiswoode, during which there was a canopy supported over the King's head. The choir here commenced the anthem—"Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed King Solomon, and all the people rejoiced, and said, God save the King for

ever." The Archbishop first anointed the palm of the King's hands in the name of the Holy Trinity, repeating suitable passages from Scripture. Another prayer for the divine blessing on the King was here introduced, and the Archbishop then proceeded with the rest of the ceremonial. When it was concluded, the Lord Chamberlain adjusted the King's dress, and the Archbishop pronounced a fervid benediction.

The special act of coronation now commenced, and was conducted by Archbishop Spottiswoode, assisted by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, Bishop Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Bishop Lindsay of Brechin, Bishop Guthry of Moray, and Dr. Maxwell, Bishop-elect of Ross, in their episcopal robes. After several preliminaries and devotional exercises, the Archbishop crowned the King, the oath of allegiance was administered, and the usual homage was rendered by the nobility. The sword and sceptre were placed in the King's hands, with an appropriate address and invocation, and the archbishop and the other bishops were kissed by the King, who then ascended the platform, where he was solemnly enthroned. The Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor, now proclaimed at each corner of the platform the royal pardon under the Great Seal to all who required it, and the Archbishops and Bishops knelt and did homage, repeating the words after the Earl Marischal, and kissing the King's left cheek. At the conclusion, the King entered the Palace bearing the crown, sceptre, and sword, amid the sound of trumpets and the discharge of the Castle artillery.

On the day of the coronation one gentleman was knighted at Holyrood, on the 20th, another, on the 22d, five, in the private gallery of the Palace, and two on the 23d. On the 12th of July four others were knighted at

Holyrood. Numbers of the Barons were created Earls on the occasion. Those so elevated at Holyrood were the Earls of Kinnoull, Elgin, Southesk, Traquair, Ancrum, Wemyss, and Dalhousie; Lord Gordon of Lochinvar was created Viscount Kenmure, Lord Douglas of Spott was created Viscount Belhaven, and eight gentlemen were created Barons.

On the 18th, 19th, or 20th of June, the Parliament met in the Tolbooth. The ceremonial of the "Riding" from Holyrood was a grand procession, in which the King appeared, and on the 19th a sermon was preached by Archbishop Spottiswoode. On the 24th, which was St. John the Baptist's Day, the King attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal, preceded by the nobility. On this occasion the ceremony of touching, to cure the disease known as the King's evil, was performed on about a hundred persons. Charles again attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal on the 25th, when Dr. William Forbes preached. The Liturgy of the Church of England was read, and Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane appeared in his episcopal robes, the other bishops present wearing gowns. On the 28th all the Acts of the Parliament, many of them most important, were ratified; and on Sunday the 30th Archbishop Laud preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal, which "scarce any Englishman," says Clarendon, "had done before him." On the 1st of July the King proceeded from Holyrood on a progress to Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, and Perth, returning to the Palace on the 10th, and narrowly escaping death in a fearful storm, when crossing the Frith of Forth from Burntisland to Leith—a boat, with some of his plate and money, and eight of his servants, being lost. On the 18th of July the King left Holyrood for England.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOLYROOD UP TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

BY a charter dated 29th September 1633, Charles I. erected Edinburgh into a bishopric. The parish of Holyroodhouse, and a great portion of the old Abbey lands, were conveyed to the new see; and the minister of Holyroodhouse was created one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral of St. Giles.

After the King's visit to Scotland, those ecclesiastical measures, connected with the introduction of the Book of Canons and the Scottish Liturgy, were concerted, which caused the great rebellion in the lowland counties. The mode of conducting divine service in the Chapel-Royal, and the conduct of Bishop Bellenden the dean, were the subjects of special correspondence. On the 8th of October 1633 the King wrote to Bishop Bellenden, ordaining that divine service should be performed twice daily according to the form of the English Liturgy, till "some course be taken for making one that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church" [of Scotland]—that the communion should be received kneeling, and administered on the first Sunday of every month—that the Dean should preach in his "whites" on Sundays and the Festivals, and be as seldom absent as possible; and that the Privy Council, Officers of State, Judges, and members of

the College of Justice, should communicate in the Chapel-Royal once every year, or be reported to the King by the Dean in case of refusal. This was followed by a letter to the Lords of Session, dated at Greenwich, 13th May 1634. Bishop Bellenden, however, was refractory, or perceived that it was impossible to fulfil the King's orders, and soon fell into disgrace with the Court. The correspondence with him on the subject was chiefly carried on by Archbishop Laud, and became at last conciliatory in its terms in reference to those whom the English Primate describes as having "disobeyed his Majesty's commands in receiving the communion in the Chapel-Royal."

In 1635 Bishop Bellenden was translated to Aberdeen, and was succeeded by Dr. James Wedderburn, Prebendary of Wells. When the Scottish Liturgy was announced in 1636, the Chapel-Royal was among the first of the churches supplied with it, for which Robert Bryson, bookseller, and Evan Tyler, printer, granted a receipt on the 15th of April for the sum of £144 Scots.

In May 1638, James, third Marquis of Hamilton, created in 1643 Duke of Hamilton, whose fate was as disastrous as that of his sovereign, was appointed Lord High Commissioner to Scotland by Charles I., to allay the religious and political distractions excited by the attempt to introduce the Scottish Liturgy. The nomination of the Marquis was by no means popular among the Covenanters, though some have doubted his sincerity, and accused him of secretly favouring the movement. His mother, Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James, seventh Earl of Glencairn, was a most zealous adherent of the insurgents; and in 1639, when he arrived in the Frith of Forth with a force to overawe them, she appeared on horseback at the head of a body of mounted troopers on the shore, drew

a pistol from her saddle-bow, and declared that she would be the first to shoot her son, if he landed and attacked his countrymen.

The Marquis reached Berwick on the 3d of June, and he soon arrived in Dalkeith Castle, whither he summoned the Privy Council. A deputation from the Corporation of Edinburgh had an audience, and entreated him to reside in Holyroodhouse, which would be more convenient for the public. The Marquis at first refused to enter Edinburgh, because the city was in the hands of open resisters of the King's authority; but he at length consented, on condition that the peaceable conduct of the multitudes then in the capital was guaranteed, and the guards at the gates and the Castle withdrawn. To this they agreed, and Friday the 9th of June was appointed for his arrival in Holyrood, when the Covenanters resolved to display their great numerical force. For some reasons of his own, instead of proceeding direct from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, the Marquis diverged by Inveresk to Musselburgh, four miles from the former town, and six miles from Edinburgh. From Musselburgh he and his cortege rode along the shore, passing over the ground on which the town of Portobello is now built, and the heath called the Figgate Whins, to the common of Leith Links. When approaching the Links he was met by thirty of the Covenanting nobility; and the gentry of the same party marshalled themselves in a line along the seaside, extending to nearly two miles. Passing through this array, and attended by upwards of 20,000 men and women, he perceived on an eminence, near the east end of the Links, several hundreds of their preachers dressed in their black Geneva cloaks. It was intended that he should listen to an address by Mr. William Livingstone, then a preacher at Lanark, and brother

of the noted Mr. John Livingstone; but the Marquis avoided this, by advice of Dr. Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester, who attended him as chaplain, and who whispered to him that Livingstone, whom he described as "one of the most seditious of the whole pack," would deliver a very offensive invective. The Marquis, therefore, merely bowed to the minister, observing that "harangues on the field were for princes, and above his place," and what he had to say he should hear gladly in private. The crowd on the Links and the road to Edinburgh was now immense, and followed the Marquis to the Watergate of the Canongate, close to Holyroodhouse, where he was received by the Magistrates of the city. Under such circumstances, and greatly affected, the Commissioner entered the Palace.

The Marquis had resolved to attend divine service in the Chapel-Royal, where Dr. Balcanqual was to officiate, who was particularly obnoxious to the Covenanters; and to prevent this, or to shew their animosity, some of them secretly entered the edifice, nailed up the organ, and announced to the Marquis, that if the "English Service Book" was again used, the person who did so would run the hazard of his life. The residence of the Marquis at Holyrood failed to influence the Covenanters, and the Civil War ensued, which was precluded by the Glasgow General Assembly.

The next occupant of Holyrood, during this unhappy contest, was the King himself, who arrived in Edinburgh accompanied by his nephew the Elector Palatine, on Saturday the 14th of August 1641. His reception was very different from that of 1633. The prerogatives of the Crown were now usurped by the Estates, and Charles was compelled to enter the Palace, under the

banner of the Solemn League and Covenant. No public procession greeted his arrival, no demonstrations of joy were exhibited, and at six in the evening he approached Holyrood rather as a private individual than as the sovereign of Scotland. On the following day the King heard a sermon preached by Alexander Henderson in the Chapel-Royal, and was obliged to conform himself to the service of the Presbyterian Church. On Monday it was debated before the King at a meeting of the Privy Council, whether or not the Parliament ought to "ride" anew; and it was arranged that the King, after a sermon in the Chapel-Royal, should proceed to the Parliament in his coach, alight at the Lady's Steps on the north-east corner of St. Giles's Church, where he was to be met by the Regalia, the Marquis of Hamilton carrying the crown, the Earl of Argyll the sceptre, and the Earl of Sutherland the sword, and thence walk to the Parliament House, which had been erected by the citizens in 1636. The King addressed the Parliament in a conciliatory speech, and returned to the Palace. On Sunday the 29th, Mr. Andrew Cant from Aberdeen preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal in the afternoon, and on the following Sunday afternoon Mr. Andrew Fairfoull from North Leith. As the proceedings of Parliament appeared interminable, and the affairs of Ireland were alarming, the King, on Monday the 15th, announced that the first thing he would do was to sign the warrant for the "Riding of the Parliament." This concluding pageant was held on Wednesday the 17th November. A sermon by Alexander Henderson, on whom had been conferred the revenues of the Chapel-Royal, closed the proceedings, though the Parliament virtually continued its sittings till June 1644. The King gave a supper to the nobility in the great hall of

the Palace, when he solemnly took leave of them, and left Edinburgh on the following day for England, where he was soon involved in the fearful struggle of the great Civil War.

Scotland was now under the rule of a Parliamentary Committee of the Estates, controlled by the Covenanters; and the war which ensued left Holyrood unnoticed and deserted. After the execution of Charles I., the Covenanters induced Charles II. to appear in Scotland, proclaimed him King, and brought him to Edinburgh; but the English army under Cromwell prevented him from residing in Holyrood. After the battle of Dunbar, on the 3d of September 1650, Cromwell quartered a part of his forces in the Palace. While thus occupied, the edifice was, on the 13th of November that year, either by accident or design, set on fire, and the greater part of it consumed. On the 7th of February 1652, the royal arms were removed from Holyrood and other public buildings in Edinburgh, and destroyed by order of the Commissioners of the English Parliament, then sitting at Dalkeith. Cromwell, ordered the Palace to be restored in 1658, and certain buildings were erected, which, however, were afterwards removed.

The Restoration now took place, and on the 31st of December 1660, John, Earl of Middleton, the Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, arrived at Holyrood, where he resided during the meeting of the Estates, which assembled on the 1st of January 1661. A few days afterwards, the mangled remains of the great Marquis of Montrose were disinterred from the Boroughmuir, his head removed from the Tolbooth, his limbs brought from the towns to which they had been sent, and the whole deposited in a sumptuous coffin, which lay in

state in Holyrood, preparatory to a splendid funeral in St. Giles's Church. On the 23d of April 1661, the coronation of Charles II. in London was celebrated by a banquet, given by the Earl of Middleton in the Palace.

On Wednesday the 7th of May 1662, George Halyburton, Bishop of Dunkeld, David Strachan, Bishop of Brechin, John Paterson of Ross, Murdoch Mackenzie of Moray, Patrick Forbes of Caithness, Robert Wallace of the Isles, and David Fletcher of Argyll, were consecrated in the Chapel-Royal by Archbishops Sharpe of St. Andrews and Fairfoull of Glasgow, and Bishop Hamilton of Galloway. A great number of the nobility, gentry, and others, were then in Edinburgh to attend the approaching meeting of the Parliament, and the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town-Council attended in their robes. The two Archbishops and the Bishop of Galloway entered the church from the Palace, wearing, says the local diarist, their "white surplices under their black gowns, except their sleeves, which were all of them white, or delicate cambric and lawn." The sermon was preached by Mr. James Gordon of Drumblade in Aberdeenshire. The Archbishop of St. Andrews sat "covered with his episcopal cap, or four-nooked bonnet; all that was said by the Bishop was read off a book, and their prayers likewise were read."*

Another grand riding of the Parliament from Holyrood occurred on the 9th of October, when the Earl of Rothes, afterwards created a Duke, was Lord High Commissioner. A fortnight previous Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo had been inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms by the Earl of Rothes, in the Palace. The Duke of Rothes died at Holyrood on the 27th of July 1681, and

* Nicoll's Diary, pp. 365-6.

His body was conveyed to St. Giles's Church on the 23d of August, from which it was brought in state to the Chapel-Royal, attended by numbers of the nobility and gentry. On the following day the body was conveyed to Leith, and shipped for Burntisland, to be interred in the family vault at Leslie.

After the Restoration it was determined to erect a new Palace, and Sir William Bruce of Kinross, an architect of considerable celebrity in his day, designed the present quadrangular edifice, which he connected with the original north-west tower. In 1672 the Lord Commissioner and Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, considering that it was "necessary and suteing to his Majesty's [Charles the Second's!] pious and religious disposition, that some convenient place be designed and sett apairt, wherein his Majesty and those of his family at his Palace of Halirudhous may worship God," set apart and appropriate the said church for the use of the Royal Family; and declare the same to be his Majesty's Chapel-Royal in all time coming, discharging the Magistrates of Edinburgh or the Canongate from using it as a parish church, and that, notwithstanding "any former tolleration or possession they may pretend in and to the said church."

The parishioners were enjoined to attend Lady Yester's Church till the existing parish church of the Canongate was erected. In 1649 Thomas Moodie, merchant, bequeathed 20,000 merks for building a church in or near the Grassmarket. This sum had been allowed to accumulate, and, in 1681, the Parliament placed it at the disposal of Charles II. The whole was ordered to be appropriated according to Moodie's intentions; and, from this fund, the present parish church of the Canongate was

erected after the Revolution. A number of years previously—namely, in 1609, North Leith had been disjoined from the parish of Holyroodhouse.

In 1679 the Duke of York, afterwards James II., visited Edinburgh, and occupied the Palace. While at Holyrood, the Duke became unpopular by his encouragement of the drama and other amusements to which the citizens were generally opposed. The Duke again took up his abode in the Palace in 1680 as a kind of exile from the English court, on account of his religious opinions, accompanied by his Duchess, and his daughter, the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen. The *Duke's Walk*, the general designation of one of the royal parks at the base of Arthur's Seat east of the Palace, was so called because it was the ordinary promenade of the Duke of York and his family.

The large room originally designed for a Council Chamber, and now called the Picture Gallery, in which the election of the sixteen Representative Peers of Scotland is held, was fitted up by the Duke of York as his private chapel, in conformity with the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church—a purpose to which it was again appropriated upwards of a century afterwards, during the first residence at Holyrood of Charles X., when Count D'Artois. On the 27th of July 1681, the Duke of York inaugurated Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Bart., as Lord Lyon, in the Palace, and on this occasion the usual sermon preached by the Dean in the Chapel-Royal, before the King or his Commissioner and the nobility, was omitted. On the 25th of September 1686, the Duke of York, then James II., issued his warrant to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to continue this room as a private chapel; and on the 19th of May 1687 he signed another warrant

authorising the payment of £100 sterling annually to the persons employed for the service of the music.

At last he directed that the Chapel-Royal should be fitted up exclusively for the Roman Catholic ritual, and as the chapel of the Knights of the Thistle. This was on the 3d of December 1687; and the King intimated that he expected the church to be repaired and altered according to his directions before the 1st of May 1688, under pain of his severe displeasure.

The "Most Ancient Order of the Thistle," whose knights were thus to be installed in the Chapel-Royal, is undoubtedly one of considerable antiquity. It, like the old Abbey on whose church it intruded, is said to have had a "miraculous foundation." Achaius, who, it seems, was the sixty-fifth King of Scotland, when about to join battle with Athelstane, an English King, in the year 819, in the neighbourhood of Haddington, beheld a bright cross in the heavens, like that on which St. Andrew was said to have suffered martyrdom, and heard the voice of the Apostle announcing that the Scots would be victorious in the conflict. The issue of the fight was, of course, such as the Saint had predicted, and Achaius, repairing forthwith to the well-known church dedicated to him in Fife, vowed, in the name of himself and his royal successors, that the cross of St. Andrew should be blazoned on the flag of Scotland for ever. Such is one legend; and there is another, only a little less improbable, which tells us that the order derived its origin from certain interchanges of friendship between the same Achaius and the great Emperor Charlemagne.

Whoever was the founder of the order, it would appear that James V. was its restorer, about the year 1540. In his time it seems this chivalric society was

intended to consist of the sovereign and twelve knights; and one historian conjectures that the companions, originally, were all of kingly rank. It would appear that James had been incited to this act, by having been himself invested with the Order of the Garter by his uncle, Henry VIII., that of the golden Fleece by the Emperor, and that of St. Michael by the King of France; and he caused the badges of these foreign orders, along with that of St. Andrew, to be sculptured over the Palace Gates of Linlithgow. The collar of the order was of gold, with thistles and sprigs of rue linked together, "the two ancient emblems of the Scots and Picts," and from it was suspended the badge, on which was portrayed St. Andrew with his cross. On the star and jewel was engraved the famous motto "Nemo me impune lacessit." James, however, was soon carried to the vault of his fathers in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and his knightly institution was forgotten.

James VII. anxious to conciliate the leading nobility of Scotland by every means in his power, revived the Order in 1687, and created the following eight knights:—

George Gordon, Duke of Gordon.

John Murray, Marquis of Atholl.

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton. Killed in a duel in 1712.

Alexander Stuart, Earl of Moray.

James Drummond, Earl of Perth. Attainted.

Kenneth Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth. Attainted.

George Douglas, Earl of Dumbarton.

John Drummond, Earl of Melford. Attainted.*

* Queen Anne re-established the order in 1703. George IV., in 1827, increased the number of knights to sixteen.

The Chapel-Royal was entirely repaired, and decorated with a splendour suitable to its new destination. At the east end, under the great window, a throne was erected for the sovereign, and near it were ranged richly carved stalls, over which were suspended the banners and armorial bearings of the several knights.

These costly preparations were nearly completed, when the events of the Revolution deprived James of his throne. Much excitement had been caused in Edinburgh by the King's evident determination to overthrow the Protestant religion. The attendance of the Officers of State at mass caused a tumult; and the Countess of Perth, and other persons of distinction, were insulted while returning from church. When the landing of the Prince of Orange was announced in Edinburgh, the Earl of Perth retired from the city, and the first strong intimation of public feeling was the assembling of a numerous mob on the 10th of December, for the purpose of burning down the Chapel-Royal, and destroying the King's private chapel in the Palace, which was still kept open for the celebration of the Romish service. The rage of the multitude against Holyrood and its chapels was exacerbated by the facts, that a College of Jesuits was known to be lodged in the Chancellor's apartments, on the north side of the Abbey Porch, for purposes of proselytism; and, that a printing-press, from which issued polemical tracts in defence of Catholicism, existed within the walls. At this time Holyrood was garrisoned by a party of about sixty regular troops, under the command of a Captain Wallace, a person of considerable personal courage. When the multitude advanced to their work of destruction, Wallace ordered his men to fire upon them from the windows of the Palace, and a few of the assailants were

killed and wounded. The alarm spread through the city—the better classes were moved by the intelligence—a quorum of the Privy Council issued orders to Wallace to surrender the Palace, but these he refused to obey; and the Magistrates ordered the city guard and the trained bands to march to Holyrood. Wallace drew out his men in front of the Palace gate, and fired upon the assailants; but the commandant of the city guard, entering by a back way into the Palace, attacked him in the rear, and compelled him to surrender. The populace, infuriated more than ever by the fall of several of their companions, now rushed into the Palace, plundered, burned, and destroyed the Chapel-Royal, and the King's Chapel, till nothing remained but the bare walls; and, violating even the sepulchre of the Kings, wrenched open the leaden coffins, and scattered the bones of James the Fifth and Magdalene of France, with those of other Royal personages, over the paved aisles of the Abbey Church.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FABRIC OF THE PALACE AND ITS RECENT HISTORY.

WE have already stated, on the authority of Fordun and the chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood, that the Abbey was founded in the year 1128. What may have been the precise period of the settlement of the Canons in the valley below Arthur's seat is, however, a question of very considerable difficulty. It has been conjectured by Father Hay that they did not remove thither till the reign of William the Lion;* and he is undoubtedly correct in this supposition; for in one of Malcolm the Fourth's charters,† which cannot be of earlier date than 1164, the year before William's accession, the Canons are still designated as being "of the castle of Edinburgh;" and in a charter by William de Vipont, in which a confirmation of King William's is specially mentioned, they are likewise so designed.‡ We have stated in the first chapter that it is generally believed that, in the meanwhile, they occupied some building on the summit of the castle rock. We, however, venture, with diffidence, to conjecture that the first Abbey of Holyrood stood at the *base* of the fortress, and that its

* Father Hay's MS. Notes quoted in Lib. Cart. Sanct. Cruc. p. xxii.

† Lib. Cart. Sanct. Cruc. p. 18.

‡ Ibid. p. 28.

ruins were discernible centuries after its pious occupants had left it.*

Without dwelling, however, on this point, we now proceed to speak of the small portion that remains of the great structure in which they were eventually placed. In the first instance, we must remark, that, of the entire range of conventual buildings devoted to the *domestic* uses of the Canons, not a vestige has been left. We have evidence, however, on the wall of the south aisle of the nave of the church, that it and the west wall of the adjoining transept, formed, as was not uncommon in monastic edifices, two sides of the Great Cloister, leaving the others to the chapterhouse, refectory, and other principal apartments of the establishment. Doorways led into the Cloister from the eastern and western extremities of the south aisle, to allow continuous egress and ingress to solemn processions issuing from the church; and one of these entrances, as will be afterwards seen, is still in excellent preservation. The existing Royal Palace undoubtedly covers to a considerable extent the site of the domestic buildings of the Abbey; but a large portion of these extended further toward the east than any part of the present great quadrangle.

The choir and transepts of the Abbey Church have also disappeared, and the nave, as it now stands, ruined and roofless, is itself almost the sole record of that which is gone. We are told, however, by various authorities, that the sacred edifice, when entire, was an august and magnificent building. We are also informed that it was divided longitudinally into three portions—the “Sacramentum,” elevated some steps above the level of the rest of the edifice, in the centre of which stood the high altar [sacra

* Vide Note A.

mensa]—the Choir, and the Nave. A screen or grating (clathri) divided the nave from the rest of the church, and in the side aisles were numerous small chapels. In the nave a large ring or crown, elegantly worked in brass, was suspended from the roof by a massy chain, and filled with tapers on the greater festivals; and before the altar stood a tree of brass, of elaborate workmanship, adorned with precious gems, the lustre of which was brilliantly displayed by numerous lamps pendent from the branches.

In Scotland, as in all European countries, during the middle ages, Kings and Princes very frequently sojourned within monastic walls. When travelling over the country, these building were almost the only ones of sufficient extent to accommodate them and their retinues. The strong walls, and sacred character of these great edifices afforded also a certain amount of protection to the royal person. Doubtless the conventual kitchen and cellars, too, though not stored with such refined luxuries as in richer lands became the bane of the religious orders, would yet be sufficiently provided with the means of good cheer to cause a King of Scots, who had been riding from dawn, up hill, through river, and over muirland, to hasten briskly forward, about meal-time,

“Unto the saintly convent, with the good monks to dine,
And quaff to organ music the pleasant cloister wine.”

The Prince, at his departure, was expected, probably, to present an oblation to the patron saint of the house, to compensate for the great outlay caused by his reception. Accordingly we find Jocelin of Brakeland com-

plaining of King John of England's shabbiness in this respect, he having availed himself of the hospitality of the monks of St. Edmund's Bury, and given nothing "save thirteen easterling pence, which he offered at his mass on the day of his departure," while Jocelin and his worthy brethren were confidently expecting "some great matter."

The Abbey of Holyrood was very frequently thus honoured, with the presence of its Kings. At last, in later times, when Edinburgh became the acknowledged capital, James III. resided almost constantly within its walls; and to his chivalrous but ill-fated son, James IV., is to be ascribed the foundation of the first Palace of Holyrood. Several years of the Lord High Treasurer's accounts during his reign have unfortunately been lost, but, in those which remain, we have distinct evidence that a building of importance was in progress for a considerable time, both before and after his marriage with Margaret of England. We read in them in 1502-3 of the construction of a "new hall," "the gallery, and boss windoes," and "the turatis of the for-yet." This last was probably the vaulted gateway, which, till the middle of the eighteenth century, formed the entrance from the Canon-gate to the great area in front of the Palace. The keeper had formerly his residence over this porch, but when it was removed in 1755, a suite of apartments was assigned him in the edifice itself. The remains of the arches of the porch are still distinctly visible on the wall of the small building used as the Abbey court-room and gaol. In 1504 and 1505 there are entries of payments made for "aiding and topping of the chimmis," and for "completing of the toure in Halyrudhous," and in the former of these years a precept is "made to Maister Leonarde Logy," granting him £40 yearly for his diligence and

labour "in the bigging of the Palace beside the Abbey of the Haly Cross." Mention is also made in these accounts of "the Queen's great chamber," of the "King's Oratory," and of the "Queen's Oratory," the latter of which was glazed with a hundred feet of common glass, and with seven pieces of glass painted with chaplets.*

During the minority of James V., the Regent, Duke of Albany, resided at Holyrood, and appears to have made additions to the Palace buildings. There are notices of certain sums expended by his orders in the construction of "ane turnpek in the Palis." An annalist,† cited in the preface to the "*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*," speaks of the Duke of Albany committing the "Lord Houme" in 1515 to the "*auld touer of Holyrudhouss*, which wes foundit by the said Ducke." From its name this would appear to be the tower built by James IV., to which, perhaps, Albany had made some additions.

James the Fifth did not pass a great portion of his time at Holyrood, but various sums of money were paid during his reign for repairs on the Palace, and for "the new werk." This latter was, in all probability, the great towers which form the north-west quarter of the existing Palace, and on which the legend "*Jac. V. rex., Scotorum*," was legible till a few years ago. The architect is stated to have been that Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, who

* When speaking of the treasurer's accounts in James the Fourth's time, we may mention that there are a few entries in them which illustrate the King's singular *penchant* for attempting surgical operations. In 1491 and succeeding years, are entries of "18s. to Dominico [a minstrel] to gif the King leve to lat him blud;" "13s. giffin to the blind wif that hed her eyne shorne;" and "13s. to ane fallow, becaus the King pullit furth his tuith."

† Marjoreybank's Annals.

built or repaired the Palaces of Falkland and Linlithgow, and the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Rothesay, and who was afterwards beheaded on a charge of fabricating an engine for shooting the King from the tower of Linlithgow.* James the Fifth's Palace is stated by a contemporary to have been very large and magnificent [amplissimum et superbissimum].† We have an outline of it on a very small scale in the sketch prepared for the Earl of Hertford's expedition, already alluded to. It appears to have consisted of several courts, but it is impossible to distinguish which belonged to the Palace, and which to the Abbey. The north-western towers are very conspicuous, rising like a keep above the other buildings; and the *place* or outer court is also distinctly visible with its "Foirwerk" or gateway towards the Canongate. In the rear of the north-west towers, a low building runs in a straight line up to the base of the south-west tower of the Abbey Church, with its eastern extremity resting apparently on the west wall of that fabric.

In 1543 the Earl of Hertford's army "brent the abbey called Holyrode House, and the pallice adjonyng to the same;" but their destruction could not have been complete, for in the English invasion of 1547 Sir Walter Bonham and Edward Chamberlayne found the monks gone; "but the church, and much part of the house," well covered with lead. The lead they stripped off, "and took down two bells, and, according to the statute, did somewhat hearby disgrace the hous."

By these grievous assaults, the fabric of the church was so much shaken as to be in an insecure state; but

* *Memorie of the Somervills*, vol. i. pp. 315-316.

† *Edinburgi Reg. Scot. urbis descriptio*. Bannatyne *Miscel.* i. p. 187,

still we find it in a few years occupied as a place of worship. Of the Palace of the Jameses, all that survived was probably the north-western towers, whose massy strength had resisted the action of the flames, and which the English had not thought of blowing up with gunpowder. Not only must any internal injuries sustained by this portion of the building have been speedily repaired, but a large and somewhat imposing edifice must have been reared on the site of the demolished buildings; for, in 1561, Brantome, who came over from France with Queen Mary, and who speaks in anything but flattering terms of what he saw in Scotland, says, "it is a handsome building, and not like anything else in the country." No material alteration was made on the edifice till the great Civil War—and, very luckily, we have a drawing of the front elevation, taken before that period, by James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay. From it, therefore, and from his map of Edinburgh, engraved in Holland by De Witt, we can form a correct idea of the Palace of Holyrood, as it existed in the interesting times of Queen Mary. From the north-western tower a range of building of no great height extended towards the south, with four turret-like projections, filled with windows glazed in small diamond-shaped compartments, as was also the main wall, the two projections at the extremities being three-sided, and those in the centre, between which was the great entrance, being of a semicircular form. These, and the north-western towers, were ornamented with a profusion of small spires and royal crowns; and a row of these imperial emblems, probably cast in iron, ran along the ridge of the sloping roof, with the intention, probably, of giving an appearance of greater elevation to the building. This portion of the edifice, we think, must have had rather a flimsy and fantastic look,

when compared with the sturdy solidity of the north-western tower.

The Palace comprehended five courts or enclosures. The largest of these was the *place* to the west of the principal front, which formed one of its sides, the boundaries of the three others being walls, those on the north and south dividing it from two royal gardens, and that on the east from the houses of the Canongate. At the north-west corner was the vaulted and turreted porch, to which we have already alluded as being built in the reign of James IV., and removed, when in a dismantled condition, about the middle of the last century. The next court to the east of this was surrounded by buildings, and apparently occupied the space on which the inner part of the present quadrangle stands, its northern and eastern sides advancing up to the west and south walls of the south-western tower of the Abbey Church, the lower part of which, in fact, appears in De Witt's map to have been built into this portion of the Palace. On the south there were two other courts also surrounded by buildings, and the fifth court lay toward the east, immediately to the south of the Abbey Church.

We have already stated that, from the termination of Mary's reign to the period of the Commonwealth, no material change took place in the structure of the Palace. Before James the Sixth's visit to Scotland, however, in 1617, we learn from a "Warrant for repairing his Majesty's Houssis," issued by the Scottish Privy Council, that certain renovations, of no great importance, were effected. A commission was granted to the King's Master of Works to take down the roof of the lodging above the detached outer porch, called the *Chancellor's Lodging*, and as much of the stone wall as was necessary, and to

rebuild the same in a substantial manner. The apartment within the Palace known as the *Steward's Chalmer* was also to be taken down, and not to be rebuilt, on account of the "deformitie and disproportion that it has with the rest of the building thair;" the apartment called *Sir Roger Ashtor's Chalmer* was to be taken down and rebuilt in a "convenient forme," as was also *Chancellor Maitland's Kitchen*, at the end of the *Duke's Transe*; and the "too-falls" and "dykes," in an enclosure at the back called the *Bake-house Yard*, were to be removed, so that "of the yard ane perfyte cloise may be made."

John Taylor, the Water Poet, was in Scotland in 1618, and, in his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage," he relates the impressions which the country had left on his mind. He says that, when in Edinburgh, he went down the "streete which they call the Kenny-hate," and then, he says, "I was at his Majesty's Palace, a stately and princely seate, wherein I saw a sumptuous chapell, most richly adorned with all appurtenances belonging to so sacred a place, or so Royall an owner. In the inner court I saw the King's Armes cunningly carved in stone, and fixed over a doore aloft on the wall, the red Lyon being the crest, over which was written this inscripton in Latine:—*Nobis hæc invicia miserunt 106 Proavi*. I enquired what the English of it was? It was told me as followeth, which I thought worthy to be recorded:—106 *forefathers have left this to us unconquered*."

Charles I., notwithstanding the adulatory inscription over the west door of the church, appears only to have caused some trivial repairs to be made upon that building; but it is highly probable that, before his Scottish coronation, he had expended considerable sums in adorning the interior of the Palace; and the ceiling of Queen

Mary's bed-room still bears on its ornamented roof his initials and those of his son—"C. R." "C. P." [Carolus Rex—Carolus Princeps.]

The next event of importance in the history of the fabric of the Palace occurred on the 13th of November 1650, when it was set on fire by accident or design, while occupied by the soldiery of the Commonwealth, and destroyed, "except a lytill," as a contemporary diarist says. This "lytill" comprehended undoubtedly the great north-western tower, which has survived so many disasters. The portion of the Palace which remained standing must have been soon in a habitable state, for it appears to have been used as a place of confinement in 1655, as is evident from a petition presented by certain prisoners immured therein, to the clergy of the Presbytery of St. Andrews, praying them to use their good offices in obtaining their release.* In 1658 Cromwell ordered the edifice to be restored, but no portion of the Protector's erection now remains. It would appear from the statement of Nicoll the diarist, that the portion of the Palace rebuilt by the Protector and his son Richard, consisted only of the western *front* up to the north-west tower. He says, in September 1659, that the "hole *foir-wark* . . . quhilk was brint in November 1650, was compleitlie biggit up."

In 1671 King Charles II. determined to rebuild the palace of his forefathers, in accordance with a plan submitted for his consideration by his "surveyor," Sir William Bruce of Kinross, a distinguished Scottish architect; and before 1679 the present Royal House of Edinburgh was completed. Charles bestowed great attention on the designs of his new Palace, and suggested a few alterations, some of which were happily not adopted.

* MS. record, cited in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 404.

From the union of the two kingdoms till 1745, Holyrood was entirely neglected and abandoned to a solitude, disturbed only by the occasional meetings of the Scottish nobility, for the election of the Representative Peers. In September of that year, however, these deserted halls once more resounded to music and the dance, when the beauty, rank, and chivalry of the Jacobite party thronged in passionate devotion round the young and luckless Prince Charles—scenes of gaiety brief, and, in the circumstances, almost as startling as laughter in the chamber of death—to be followed by the bloody horrors of Culloden, the scaffolds of Tower Hill, exile, forfeiture, want, the extinction of kith and kin, and many a blazing roof-tree, and desolated valley, over the broad Highlands of Scotland. Prince Charles arrived at Holyrood on the 17th of September, and his army encamped on the south-east side of Arthur's Seat, above the village of Wester Duddingstone. On the day after the battle of Prestonpans, the Prince returned to the Palace, flushed with victory; and a succession of festivities ensued till the 31st of October, when the Jacobite forces marched for the English frontier. After the battle of Culloden, in the spring of 1746, the Duke of Cumberland resided in the Palace for a few days, and is said to have slept in the same bed which the unfortunate Pretender had previously occupied.

From this period till the end of the 18th century, no person of exalted rank resided within the walls of Holyrood. In 1795, the exiled representative of that royal family of France, which had offered an asylum to the last king of the Stuart dynasty, himself sought refuge in the Palace of the Stuarts, and found a St Germain in Scotland. The apartments on the east side of the quadrangle were prepared for the reception of Charles X., then known

as the Count D'Artois; and he continued to reside there till 1799, occasionally holding levees, which were attended by the higher classes of the citizens. The Duchess de Grammont, a relation of the Bourbon family, dwelt there till May 1803, when she died, and was buried in the royal vault. Her remains, however, were subsequently removed to France, after the accession of Charles X. to the throne.

In 1822 George IV. visited Edinburgh, and the whole Scottish nation, of every class and party, throwing for the moment all the acerbities of political feeling to the winds, rushed with enthusiastic loyalty to behold a King once more throned in the halls of their ancient Palace. After the King's visit, the sum of £24,000 was granted for external and internal repairs on the Palace; and the adjacent grounds were surrounded by a very elegant iron railing. In 1831 Charles X., again a fugitive, resumed his old apartments in Holyrood, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess D'Angoulême, the Duchess de Berri, her son the Duke of Bourdeaux, and a numerous suite.

In September 1842, Queen Victoria and her Consort visited Edinburgh, but did not upon that occasion reside within the Palace. In August 1850, however, her Majesty once more visited her "own romantic town," and dwelt within her ancient Palace. On the morning after her arrival, the Queen, accompanied by Prince Albert and the Royal children, ascended Arthur's Seat, and beheld, for the first time, the matchless panoramic prospect which its summit affords. Since that period her Majesty has annually honoured Holyrood with her presence on her way to and from her Highland residence at Balmoral.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ROYAL APARTMENTS.

THE principal entrance to Her Majesty's apartments is in the south-west corner of the quadrangle, but we shall describe them in their order, beginning at the door leading from the east end of the Picture Gallery.

The first is that now known as the **QUEEN'S BREAKFAST-ROOM**. This apartment measures twenty-four feet by nineteen feet six inches; the height being sixteen feet eight inches. The ceiling is coved and deeply coffered, having a circular panel in the centre, enriched with wreath-like mouldings, formed of lime and fashioned by the hand. In the spandrils are drums, axes, and other warlike emblems, wrought in the same manner. The walls are covered partly with oak panelling, and partly with a green and gold flock paper. The chimney-piece and the panel above it are fine bold specimens of carving in oak, the ornaments being of the same warlike character as those of the roof. In this panel a painting, representing the Finding of Moses, has been inserted. The furniture of the room is modern.

We next enter the **VESTIBULE**, a small square apartment, with walls covered with oak panelling, and having a richly ornamented roof, in the centre of which is a dome, painted of an azure colour and studded with silver stars.

We next come to **PRINCE ALBERT'S DRESSING-ROOM**, which measures twenty-six feet five inches by twenty-four

feet, the height being sixteen feet eight inches. The ceiling of this room is also fine. In the centre is a rich oval panel, containing a picture representing the Expulsion of Vulcan from heaven. The walls are covered with green and gold flock paper. The doors, door-pieces, and mantel-piece of this room are elaborately carved, and in the panel above the last is a picture of the Infant Hercules strangling the serpents.

The next apartment is the QUEEN'S BED-ROOM, a handsome room hung with tapestry, representing the destruction of Niobe's Children by Apollo and Diana, and other subjects. The ceiling has in the centre an octagonal panel, deeply coffered and enriched with mouldings. In the panel above the mantel-piece, is a picture of Venus rising from the sea.

We next enter the QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM, a very fine apartment, thirty-eight feet six inches long by twenty-nine feet eight inches broad. The height is sixteen feet six inches. The ceiling is especially fine. The large centre panel is deeply coffered and the hand-wrought mouldings around it, representing heavy festoons of leaves and fruit, are admirably modelled. The ceiling within this panel is painted of a very delicate greenish tint, with a monogram of Victoria and Albert, roses, thistles, shamrocks, and fleurs-de-lis in gold. The smaller corner panels are filled with beautifully relieved ornaments, principally regal insignia and the monogram C. R. The entablature and cornice have highly relieved floral ornaments. The oak mantel-piece and panel above it are fine specimens of elaborate carving. In the centre of the panel is inserted a large oval mirror. There are several large pieces of tapestry in this apartment, representing scenes in the mythological history of Diana.

We next enter the **EVENING DRAWING-ROOM**, a handsome apartment, forty feet by thirty, and seventeen feet high. The panelled ceiling of this room is ornamented with rich mouldings, like the others in the suite. On the walls are hung four pieces of tapestry, recently brought from Buckingham Palace. The remainder of the wall is covered with crimson and gold flock paper. The windows of this room look towards the quadrangle, whereas, all the apartments of this suite which we have described, look towards the pleasure ground to the east of the Palace.

The next apartment is that commonly called the **THRONE-ROOM**, which is used by her present Majesty as a dining-room. It is fifty-six feet by twenty-nine, and sixteen feet six inches high. The walls are covered with crimson damask, and, at one end of it is a throne, surmounted by the royal arms, which was used at the levees of George IV. in 1822. There are several portraits in this room—a fine one of George IV. in the Highland costume, by Wilkie, and others of William and Mary, and Anne and Prince George of Denmark.

Issuing from this room, you come to a vestibule, which is the landing-place to the grand staircase. Turning to the left, you find a door on your right hand, which is the entrance to what is now called **PRINCE ALBERT'S DRAWING-ROOM**, a fine apartment, forty-seven feet by twenty-seven, which occupies the south-western tower, and has two small rooms opening off it at the external angles. It has an ornamented ceiling in the same style as most of the others, having a large oblong panel in the centre, studded with delicate stars, and bearing the monogram of Victoria and Albert. The walls are covered with a crimson and gold flock paper.

There are some other plain rooms in the suite occupied by the Prince of Wales and the junior members of the Royal Family, which it is unnecessary to particularise. Retracing our steps along the vestibule, we descend the GRAND STAIRCASE, the ceiling of which, with its circular panel, and beautifully elaborate ornaments, is worthy of attention, and issue into the quadrangle at its south-west corner.

The Duke of Hamilton, in virtue of his office of Keeper of the Palace, has a suite of apartments on the first and second floors of the west and north sides of the edifice.

CHAPTER XVI.

ENVIRONS OF HOLYROOD—ROYAL PARK—BURGH OF CANONGATE, AND SANCTUARY.

WHEN David I. founded the Abbey of Holyrood he granted to its canons a considerable tract of land lying between the town of Edinburgh and the base of Arthur's Seat. He also conveyed to them, in the foundation charter, a certain portion of the craggy heights which overlooked their monastery; but it is now impossible to indicate with precision the limits of the ancient conventual demesne. When King James IV. and his son built their palace close to the Abbey walls, they doubtless added very considerably to the extent of what then became the Royal Park. We find in the reign of James V. that there was a "New"* as well as an "Old" Park, the latter probably indicating the original demesne of the abbots, and the former the addition made to it by the kings. In the Lord Treasurer's accounts in 1541, there is an entry, also, of £400 paid to "Schir David Murray of Balwaird, knycht, in recompense of his landis of Dudingstoune tane into the New Park besyde Haly-

* Accounts of Lord High Treasurer. Pitcairn's Trials, Appendix, p. * 321.

rudehous." This, of course, indicates that the New Park extended toward the south-east of the royal demesne. In James the Fifth's time the Palace appears to have been surrounded by very extensive gardens. We are told by a contemporary that James's palace was very large and magnificent, and that the gardens around it were delightful, and extended as far as the "lake," or marshy ground [lacus] at the foot of Arthur's Seat.* It appears from an entry in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts that "the loch beside the Abbey" had been drained in the time of James IV., as a site for a garden. Probably a portion of it towards the foot of the hill had been left undrained. James V. also caused a wall to be built round the whole park, and, probably, invested some gentleman in the neighbourhood with the office of keeper. During his daughter's reign we find in the Records of Justiciary the trial of certain persons for "hurting and wounding of William Ahannay, servant of the Laird of Craigemyllare, being his *deputy in keeping the Queen's Park*, near Edinburgh;"† and about the same period sheep must have pastured on a portion of the enclosure, for in the same Record we find that, in 1556, Thomas Bullerwell was "delaittit of the thiftuous steling of certane schein fra the Quenis Grace furthe of hir park."‡ In Queen Mary's time there were probably in the immediate vicinity of the Palace, not only the north and south gardens, of which the remains still exist, but others laid out in elegant designs in St. Ann's Yards, to the south-east of the Palace.§ In the reign of James VI. Fynes Moryson [in 1598] speaks of the Palace as being surrounded by "a

* Edinburgi Reg. Scot. urbis descriptio. Bannatyne Miscel. i. 187.

† Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. *381. † *Ibid.* vol. i. *388.

§ *Vide* De Witt's Map, published in 1647.

park of hares, conies, and deare.*" In 1671, when Charles II. resolved to rebuild the Palace of his ancestors, he issued a warrant for the purchase of the "grounds and houses belonging to the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh adjacent to the said Palace." It appears that Charles planned a new garden, probably to the north and north-east of the Palace, for it is stated in the warrant that "his Majestie's designe is by this purchase to have ane access from his new garden, marked 10, into the Great Park; and therefore it would be seen to whom the grounds marked 16 and 17 doe belong; that, if they be not the King's already, they may be purchased, together with the ground on the east side betwixt the Deane's House and the Old Park dyke, as farr as the Clockmill, to the end the King's passage to the Great Park may be uninterrupted."

The Royal Park, as it now exists, embraces a circuit of about four and a half miles. Within this extensive space are included the well-known hill called Arthur's seat, the summit of which, bearing a striking resemblance to a lion couchant, is 822 feet above the sea level; and that wild crescent of perpendicular cliffs called Salisbury Crags, which towers so conspicuously over the city. The close proximity of these two rugged and rocky eminences to the busy streets of the town below, forms one of those grand and striking features that render the aspect of Edinburgh so romantic and beautiful in its variety. Between the two hills lies the valley called the Hunter's Bog, about a mile and a half in circumference, in the seclusion of which the stranger might imagine himself to be wandering in some remote glen of the Highlands. These heights are also interesting ground for the natural-

* Itinerary, p. 273.

ist. Beautiful crystals are occasionally found in the rocks of Arthur's Seat, and jasper, in veins of considerable extent, of sufficient hardness to take a fine polish. A writer of the sixteenth century, whose description of Edinburgh we have already quoted, informs us that "in this hill are found precious stones, radiant as light, especially diamonds [adamantes]."* Four hundred plants have been enumerated as growing on the declivities, though not all, perhaps, strictly indigenous; and insects are abundant, especially three different species of ants; and we are informed that the rare butterfly the *Papilio Artaxerxes* is frequently seen. †

The level meadows below, which extend from the back of the Palace eastward to the gate near Parson's Green, are known by the names of St. Ann's Yards and the Duke's Walk. The origin of the former of these names is rather doubtful, but probably it had some connexion with the "Altar of St. Ann" in the Abbey Church. The Duke's Walk, we have already mentioned, was so named from its green sward being the favourite place of exercise of James VII. while resident in Holyrood, before his accession to the throne. Arnot, who published his history towards the end of the last century, states that, in the memory of persons not long deceased, this level meadow was still dotted with tall oaks. ‡ In Edgar's map of Edinburgh, executed about the middle of last century, the ground at the back of the Palace, and to the south of the Abbey Church, which is now laid out as a garden, is called "The Bowling Green." It is probable that this spot was dedicated to the same purpose in the time of Charles I., for he authorised the Duke of Hamilton, in the

* Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i.

† Rhind's Excursions, p. 1-20.

‡ Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 237.

charter which created him hereditary keeper of the Palace, to appoint persons for cultivating and superintending all the gardens and orchards, “ac parvo horto infra idem Palatium, *sphaeristerio lie bowling-green*,” &c.

On the north-west declivity of Arthur's Seat, on a projecting rock overlooking the Duke's Walk, are the ruins of St. Anthony's Chapel. This small building, when entire, was about forty-three feet in length, eighteen feet in breadth, and the same in height; and had at its west end a tower nineteen feet square, and supposed to have been forty feet in height. Arnot asserts that it was “a beautiful Gothick building, well suited to the rugged sublimity of the rock;” but its remains are now too scanty to admit of our forming a judgment as to its architectural merits. A fragment of the tower is all that time and reckless violence have left; but less than a century ago the whole building was in excellent preservation.* At a few yards distance, among scattered grey rocks, once stood a little hermitage, which is said to have been inhabited by several recluses in solitary succession. Of the history of this chapel and hermitage almost nothing is known; but the former is supposed to have been a cell of the preceptory of St. Anthony in Leith. From an entry in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, we learn that King James IV., on the 1st April 1505, gave 14s. “to St. Antoni's Chapell of the Crag.” A little below is St. Anthony's Well, a spring of pure, cold water, which flows from the rock into a hollow stone basin, and which, in former times, doubtless served for the pious uses of the chapel above, and the refreshment of the occupier of the hermitage. This old fountain has long been a favourite haunt of the burghers of Edinburgh on Sundays and holi-

* Chambers's Gazetteer of Scotland, vol. i. p. 341.

days, and is alluded to in a well-known ballad of exquisite pathos, founded on the desertion of Lady Barbara Erskine by her husband James, second Marquis of Douglas, a man of violent character, on a false charge of conjugal infidelity.

“Now Arthur’s Seat shall be my bed;
 The sheets shall ne’er be prest by me;
 St. Anton’s Well shall be my drink,
 Since my fause luv’e’s forsaken me.”

To the west and south-west of Salisbury Crags lie the old road of the Dumbiedykes and the locality called St. Leonard’s, both immortalized in the fictions of the great novelist of Edinburgh; and at the other extremity of the Royal Park, near the east end of the Duke’s Walk, and close to the gate at Parson’s Green, formerly stood the pile of stones, called Muschet’s Cairn, a place of blood also familiar to the readers of the “Heart of Mid-Lothian.”

Round Arthur’s Seat and through the Parks now sweeps the magnificent carriage drive, called “the Victoria Road,” which was commenced in 1844. It mounts the hill at either end by an easy ascent, and commands a magnificent panoramic prospect of the Firth of Forth, the cultivated and wooded country to the south, the chain of the Pentland hills, and the stony acclivities and declivities of the fair metropolis of Scotland. It is no exaggeration to assert that, probably, no other capital in Europe is possessed of a carriage-way commanding so extensive, varied, and magnificent a series of rural and urban prospects.

In 1646, Charles I. granted a charter to Sir J. Hamilton of Prestonsfield, a younger brother of the second Earl of Haddington, conveying to him the office of heritable keeper and ranger of the “Park de Halyrudehouse,” with

the whole rents, privileges, and emoluments thereto belonging. This grant was conferred in payment of a debt due by the King to Sir J. Hamilton. In 1690, Thomas, Earl of Haddington, acquired right to the office, and obtained a charter from William and Mary, destining it to the heirs of entail of the honours and estates of Haddington. This hereditary office, with its emoluments, was retained by that noble family till the year 1843, when the Crown resumed the gift, paying the sum of £30,674 to the Earl of Haddington in name of compensation; and the Royal Park of Holyrood is now under the surveillance of the office of woods and forests, like her Majesty's other demesnes. In an action raised by the minister of the Canongate in 1829, against the Earl of Haddington, the Court of Session decided that "immemorial consuetude has established an exemption from payment of tithe in favour of the Crown for these lands called the King's Park."

On the north-west of the ruined Abbey Church is a large garden used in the eighteenth century as a botanic garden, in which is the curious old horologe, commonly denominated Queen Mary's dial, which is ascertained to have been erected in the reign of Charles I.¹ It forms the apex of a richly ornamented pedestal, which rests on a hexagonal base, composed of three steps. The form of the horologe is multangular, presenting no fewer than twenty sides, on which are placed twenty-four dials, inserted in circular, semicircular, and triangular cavities. Few of the gnomons remain, although the structure itself, which is about ten feet high, is still in a good state of preservation. Between the dials are sculptured the royal arms of Scotland, St Andrew and his cross, St George and the dragon, the rose, thistle, harp, fleur-de-lis, and port-

¹ To John Mylne, "maissoune," for working and hewing the dyell in the North Yaird, L.408, 15s. 6d. Scots.

cullis crowned, with the initials "C. R."—"C. P."—and "M. R." The two outer limbs of the M are made conspicuous, by being richly carved and in higher relief than the centre ones, from the latter being evidently intended to represent in a monogram "H. M." the initials of Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles I. This reading is confirmed by a shield, charged with the fleurs-de-lis of France, being sculptured beneath the initials in question. The original doorway, with the royal arms sculptured on the lintel, surmounted by a thistle in high relief, still remains in the garden wall, facing the "place" or courtyard in front of the Palace. A small irregularly-shaped building connected with the west wall of the garden, and abutting on the street called the Abbeyhill, is pointed out by the finger of tradition as being the bath-house where Mary used to indulge in her milky ablutions.

On the west side of the lane called "Croft-an-Righ," locally Croftangry, leading from the park to the Abbeyhill, is an old edifice, which was occupied as a residence by the Regent Moray. Tradition again alleges that a tree in the garden behind the house was planted by the fair hand of Mary Stuart herself.

In the precincts of the Palace, at the foot of the Canongate, formerly stood the Tennis Court, a place, of course, originally intended for the well-known pastime from which it derived its name. It was burnt to the ground in the latter part of the last century. James IV. and his son were both passionately fond of the game of tennis, as appears from various entries in the old records in reference to "Caitchepell, caiche, kache," &c. In the Lord Treasurer's accounts, under the date 29th June 1527, we find an entry of twenty shillings paid "for ballis

in Crummise* cache-puyll, quhen the Kingis Grace playt with the Lord Glammise." On the same day there is a curious entry of "15s. 6d. gevin for eggis to bikkir the Castell;" and on the 17th of July there is another of twenty shillings "gevin at the Kingis command till puyre wivis that come gretand apone his Grace for eggis takin fra thaim be his servandis." From these notices, it would appear that a foolish game had been devised for the amusement of the young King, in a mock assault on a fortress, raised very probably on the tennis ground, the offensive weapons on both sides being eggs. Mr. Pitcairn, in a note to these entries, observes that "it may easily be imagined in what a plight both victors and vanquished would be after a cessation of hostilities." The Tennis Court was the scene of the first theatrical performances after the Reformation in 1599, when Queen Elizabeth, at the request of James VI., sent a company of actors to Edinburgh, who were licensed by the King, to the great annoyance of the city clergy, who in vain hurled their anathemas at the votaries of Thespis. In 1680 the Duke of York brought a part of his own company to amuse him during his exile in Scotland; and in Queen Anne's reign concerts, conjoined with theatrical representations, were given in the Tennis Court.

We now come to the Burgh of the Canongate; but concerning it, as not necessarily forming a part of our subject, our limits permit us to say only a few words.

We have seen, in the first chapter, that David I. granted permission to the canons to found a burgh between their Abbey, or intended Abbey, and his Burgh of

* This was perhaps a John Crummy or Crummys, who, on the 31st May 1544, obtained the gift of "ye Abbot's Medow . . wyten the park [of Halyruidhouse] for all the days of his life."

Edwinsburg. Of this grant the monks, of course, would not be tardy in availing themselves, since it conferred on them not only territorial jurisdiction, but an immediate accession of revenue. The first street built was naturally that leading from "Edwinsburg" down to the monastery, which was named the "Canongate," or "Street of the Canons," and gave its appellation to the future burgh. The little village of the monastery, thus fostered by royal immunities, and protected by the potent arm of the Church, speedily grew into a town, the inhabitants of which repaired to the Abbey Chapel for religious services, as Roman Catholics, up to the period of the Reformation; and, as Protestants, up to the time of James VII., whose intention apparently was to close the edifice to all except the Knights of the Thistle. In the reign of James V., the Cowgate, now one of the most miserable streets in the old town, the haunt of dealers in second-hand furniture and old clothes, was the residence of the *elite* of the Scottish nobility; but in a short time thereafter, the main street of the Canongate, with its numerous closes, succeeded to the honour of being the chosen abode of the northern aristocracy. The Union of the two kingdoms, however, inflicted a severe blow on its prosperity; and the rise of the New Town, and the opening up of the road along the Calton Hill in 1817, which rendered it no longer the principal approach to Edinburgh from the east, completed the downfall of the ancient burgh of the canons, and gave its honoured but incommoious 'dwellings to be the habitations of penury and vice. Still, however, till the middle of the last century, some of the Scottish nobility clung to their old residences; and, even at the commencement of the present, a few spinster and bachelor members of ancient but decayed families, and two or three

feeble advocates of the divine right of the Stuarts, might be found lingering in these dingy closes, preferring the grand old associations of the Canongate to the actual comforts and free air of the New Town, their residences being externally distinguished from those of their squalid neighbours in the same "lands" only by the brass knocker scrupulously polished, and the white-washed landing-place outside the door. With one such remnant of the old times we were intimately acquainted in our boyhood, —a humourist full of antiquated prejudices, who had his hair cut by an Old Town barber, and his clothes fashioned by an Old Town tailor; who worshipped in an Old Town chapel; pointed with admiration to the prospect of the tall smoky chimneys of the same Old Town, as seen from the small windows of his residence in Ramsay's Court; and who actually would not venture to walk abroad during George the Fourth's visit to Edinburgh, lest his eyes might be contaminated by looking on the descendant of that "puir German lairdie" who had deprived the Stuarts of their inheritance.

The burgh seal of the Canongate, an engraving of which is appended to the present chapter, displays the stag of St. David with the cross between its antlers, and the Abbey and a portion of the forest of Drumselch in the back ground, with the legend "S. coie. burgi. vicicanonicor. monasterii. sancte. crucis." The motto of the burgh is, "Sic itur ad astra" [thus we go to the stars], which, being conspicuously painted on the walls of the Canongate Jail, has been the subject of many a sarcastic jest as to the singular pathway to heaven thus indicated by the magistrates of the bounds.

After the Reformation, the superiority of the Canon-gate passed into the hands of Sir Lewis Bellenden of

Broughton, by whom it was disposed in 1627 to the Earl of Roxburgh, from whom it was acquired for 42,000 merks Scots by the city of Edinburgh in 1636, along with the town of North Leith, that portion of the barony of Broughton adjoining the Water of Leith, and "that part of the town, houses, and gardens, in St. Leonards, called Dearenough, or the Pleasance."* The remainder of the Abbey's Barony of Broughton was disposed at the same time to the magistrates, council, and ministers of Edinburgh in trust for the use and behoof of Heriot's Hospital;† and on the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, the trustees of that establishment claimed £5000 as compensation, and were awarded £486 : 19 : 8.‡

At the foot of the Canongate, and opposite the old Gothic archway which formerly was the entrance to the "place" or court-yard in front of the Palace, stood at one time the Girth Cross, the position of which is still indicated by a cross in the causeway. This structure, as its name imports, was the sacred boundary of the Sanctuary of Holyrood, which, when touched by the hand of a fugitive, declared him to be within the limits of the city of refuge; but at the present day the boundary is a few yards to the eastward of this point. This sanctuary for insolvent debtors is the only one now existing in Scotland, and embraces the whole range of the Royal Park, and a small portion of the Canongate, commencing at the Watergate, a few yards to the north-east of the

* Maitland's History, p. 149. The "Pleasant" is a corruption of the name of the ancient nunnery dedicated to St. Mary of Placentia.

† Chartulary of City of Edinburgh, vol. iv. p. 349.

‡ Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 580.

Girth Cross, and following a line running southward across the main street, by the strand at its foot, proceeding through the centre of the Horse Wynd, and onward in the same direction till it reaches the meadow ground at the foot of Salisbury Crag. As the limits of the sanctuary are distinctly marked out by a dotted line in the map prefixed to the present volume, it is unnecessary to give a more minute verbal description of them.

It has been a disputed point whether this sanctuary derives its peculiar privileges from the ancient monastery, or from the more recent Royal Palace. The learned editor of the "Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis," in the preface to that valuable collection of charters, states it to be his opinion that, "in spite of the arguments that have been founded on the peculiar terms of the great charter of King David, . . . it will be the more admitted the more the subject is investigated, that the sanctuary for debtors . . . is founded on the privileges attached by usage to the royal residence, unconnected with the ancient protection, which the Abbey, like other churches, afforded to criminals."

Without entering more minutely into the subject, we may, perhaps, be permitted to add, in corroboration of this opinion, the important fact that the actual limits of the sanctuary are the marches of the Royal Park, not of the demesne of the abbots. We have already seen that in James the Fifth's time, there was a *New Park* as well as an *Old Park*, and that the King, moreover, made certain payments to Sir David Murray of Balwaird for a portion of the lands of Duddingstone, to be added to the former. Now the sanctuary embraces *all these* within its bounds; while, had it been an institution founded on the rights of the Abbey, it could have included only the "Old Park," or that portion of the ground, by whatever title denomi-

nated, which David originally granted to his canons of Holyrood. Besides this, if the "prohibeo ne aliquis capiat pandum" of David's charter had any relation to protection from personal diligence, and if the present sanctuary derived its existence, as has been alleged, from that charter, then should the whole bounds of the burgh of Canongate also be sanctuary, because David's grant was not a partial one, but applied as cogently to the open space between the Abbey and the "Burgh of Edwinsburg" as to that between the Abbey and the neighbouring hills.

Charles I. by a charter dated 10th November 1646, created James Duke of Hamilton hereditary keeper of the Palace, an honorary dignity which has been possessed by that noble family up to the present time. The Duke, in virtue of his office, grants a commission to a judge called the "Baillie of the Abbey," whom he empowers to hold courts "within any place or part of the Palace of Holyroodhouse or pertinents thereof," and to appoint "fiscals, sergeants, officers, and dempsters, and all other necessary members of court, excepting the clerk, the nomination of whom is reserved." This functionary is chief magistrate of the sanctuary, and his court is that in which many questions affecting persons, who reside or take refuge within its bounds, are, in the first instance, determined. The elections of the Representative Peers of Scotland, we have already mentioned, take place in the Picture Gallery of Holyrood,—and on these occasions, it is the duty of the Baillie to summon the inhabitants of the Abbey to appear marshalled under their officers, and form a guard at the Palace gates. The Baillie is, of course, always a member of the legal profession, and, among the individuals who have successively discharged the duties of the office, we may particularise James Hamilton of Pencait-

land, afterwards a Lord of Session from 1712 to 1729, and Mr. Jeffrey a depute-clerk of the same court, the father of the late illustrious Lord Jeffrey.

When an individual avails himself of the privilege of sanctuary, he has twenty-four hours allowed him for the purpose of procuring a residence and obtaining a regular protection, or being "booked," as it is termed. If he neglect to procure this within the specified period, he is subject to the ordinary operation of the law. Householders within the Abbey bounds are required to give in a list of their lodgers to the bailie or the clerk of court, and there are many instances in the record of persons being fined for having failed to obey this regulation. If a debtor absent himself from the sanctuary for fourteen days continuously, it would appear that he loses the benefit of the protection, and, if he return, must obtain a renewal of it. Crown debtors cannot avail themselves of the sanctuary, for, as Mr. Erskine says, "that would be in effect to use a privilege, which arises merely from the respect due to the sovereign, against the sovereign himself." On Sundays, the debtor is privileged to walk beyond the limits of the sanctuary without fear of apprehension; and we are assured that at one time a clergyman resided within the bounds, who left the Abbey late every Saturday night, preached to his congregation on the following day, and betook himself forthwith to his asylum, having travelled in going and returning fully forty miles.

If the creditors of a party who has taken sanctuary aver that he has absconded, taking with him large sums of money, in order to defraud them of payment of their just claims, the bailie may grant warrant to search the person of the individual complained against. By the "act for declaring notour bankrupts," passed in 1696, it

was declared that any debtor, liable to personal diligence, who should "retire to the Abbay, or any other priviledged place," should, *ipso facto*, be reputed a "notour bankrupt." The Court of Session has decided that, by this statute, if a debtor have gone to reside within the Abbey bounds, he has thereby incurred bankruptcy, even although he may not have been regularly "booked." In 1751, Mr. Sommerville of Castle Sommerville disposed his estate to a creditor, John Mitchell of Alderston, as for a price paid, but, before the legal formulæ were entirely completed, left his country residence and took lodgings in the Abbey. Mr. Sommerville's other creditors objected to the validity of this disposition, on the ground that, before it was duly executed, he was a "notour bankrupt," in terms of the Act of 1696; and the Court of Session sustained the objection, on the ground that it was not necessary, in order to subject a debtor to the provisions of the statute, that he should be entered in the clerk's books.

Singularly enough, within the sanctuary stands a gaol, and in this place of durance the protected denizens of the Abbey may be confined, on a decree obtained in the Abbey Court, for debts contracted to any party while resident within the bounds. In 1810, Richard Perry Ogilvie, an English refugee, was incarcerated in this prison for a debt incurred to Richard Townley, a draper in the Canongate. A petition was presented to the Court of Session by Perry Ogilvie, praying for a reversal of the bailie's judgment, on the ground, principally, that although that official might be entitled to grant warrant of imprisonment for alimentary debts incurred to the retail dealers of the precincts, he could not take cognizance of actions raised against his protegees by parties beyond the bounds of the sanctuary, especially when the

ground of debt was, as in this instance, a bill. The judges of the Supreme Court, however, confirmed the decision of the bailie of the Abbey. It is, of course, almost unnecessary to remark, that persons confined in this gaol can, like all Scottish prisoners for debt, avail themselves of the provisions of the "Act of Grace," and compel the incarcerating creditor to aliment them.

It has also been decided that the furniture and other property of persons, occupying apartments in the Palace of Holyrood, cannot be poinded by authority of any court whatever. This point was decided in 1826, in an action raised against the Earl and Countess of Strathmore. The Court of Session had previously found that the furniture of these noble persons, including several valuable paintings, was liable to be attached by poinding; but the House of Lords reversed that decision. It will be observed, however, that the plea successfully urged in this case, was founded on the privileges, not of the sanctuary, but of the Royal Palace.

The only other remark we think it necessary to make in relation to this subject is, that a fraudulent debtor, being considered as a criminal, is not protected by the "Girth" of Holyrood, nor any one who meditates flight from the kingdom, in order to deprive his creditors of all chance of coercing him to discharge his just debts, for he is exposed to the diligence of the law, as being, what Scottish lawyers term, "in meditatione fugæ," and may be apprehended within the bounds of the sanctuary even on Sunday.

The protected denizens of Holyrood appear to have been long known by the *soubriquet* of "Abbey Lairds." The term appears in an old song published in Herd's Collection—*

"The Borrowstoun merchants
 Will sell you on tick ;
 For we maun hae brow things,
 Albeit they sould break.
 When broken, frae care
 The fools are set free,
 When we mak them Lairds
 In the Abbey, quoth she."

In old times many and desperate were the races between these "landed proprietors" and the lynx-eyed and swift-footed officers of the law—the former rushing on, hat in hand, panting and perspiring at every pore, to gain the longed-for *strand*, the sacred limit of their "property," and the latter bounding forward, followed by maudlin "concurrents," eager to intercept the fugitives. Such tales may now be almost said to be among the myths and traditions of the Abbey, to be related by degenerate tongues over a glass of sanctuary ale or toddy, with all the reverence due to grey-haired antiquity. There is a story current within the bounds, that on one occasion a fugitive, flying from a "Messenger," fell across the "strand," with his head and shoulders in the Abbey, and the rest of his person in the Canongate, and was there seized by his ruthless pursuer; and we are told that the judge, to whom the question was referred, considering that the nobler parts of the debtor's person were in sanctuary, decided that his lower extremities ought, in equity, to participate in the privilege.

The number of persons betaking themselves to the sanctuary has recently been much reduced, especially since the passing of the Statute 6th and 7th Will. IV. cap. 46, in relation to the process of "*Cessio Bonorum.*" The Records of the Abbey Court are in existence only from A.D. 1686. In that year seventy-five persons were

entered in the books. The Records from 1712 to 1775 are amissing; but, allowing the moderate average of thirty-seven for the lost years [the entries in 1712 were forty-seven; in 1775, twenty-seven], the gross number of persons who have taken sanctuary in Holyrood from 1686 to the present date is 7042. In 1788, the number, which for some time had been small, began to rise, with one or two exceptional years, till it reached the highest point in 1816, when 118 protected persons were resident within the bounds. The number continued high till 1823, when (with the exception of 1826 and 1827, when the amounts were eighty-seven and sixty-three respectively) it commenced again to descend till it reached the lowest recorded point, namely, thirteen in 1838. The number of persons who have taken refuge in the sanctuary during the last fourteen years is 274.



G U I D E

TO THE

PALACE AND CHAPEL ROYAL.

THE Palace and ruined Abbey-Church of Holyrood are situated at the east end of the ancient street called the Canongate, or Way of the Canons-Regular of St Augustine. How many wanderers from every region of the earth have traversed that old thoroughfare, to visit these venerable piles ! In the words of an American poet,

Pilgrims, whose wandering feet have pressed
The Switzer's snows, the Arab's sand,
Or trod the piled leaves of the West,
My own green forest-land ;

and assuredly no student, either of history or romance, will leave the time-honoured precincts of Holyrood without experiencing the sad yet pleasing sensations which these, the most interesting remnants of Scottish antiquity, are calculated to educe.

In the *Place*, or open square in front of the Palace, is a handsome Gothic Fountain erected in 1859 after the style of the one formerly existing in the quadrangle of Linlithgow Palace. The plan is octagon at the base, surrounded by a large circular basin. It is divided into three stages in the height. The first is enclosed by a beautifully cut rail, with floriated pinnacles, and figures of animals at the alternate angles, having a basin behind ; the second has eight figures of Musicians, &c. ; while the third is surmounted by an Imperial crown, supported by four Yeomen of the Guard. The crown forms a cistern, from which the water flows into

the basins in the lower stages, and is then projected from lions' heads into the circular basin at the base.

The existing Palace consists of the north-western towers, to the left of the spectator (the remnant of the royal dwelling of Queen Mary), and the more recent structure erected by Charles II. In 1671 Charles determined to rebuild the palace of his forefathers, in accordance with a plan submitted for his consideration by his "surveyor," Sir William Bruce of Kinross, a distinguished Scottish architect, and before 1679 the present Royal House of Edinburgh was completed. Charles bestowed great attention on the designs of his new Palace, and suggested a few alterations, some of which were happily not adopted; as, for instance, his proposal to raise the curtain between the northern and southern towers to the same height as the buildings on the other sides of the quadrangle. Sir William Bruce had designed the interior of the quadrangle to be highly decorated; but this part of the plan was not carried into execution, for "his Majesty thinks the way proposed for the inner court would be very noble, but he will not go to that charge, and therefore his pleasure is that it be plain ashlar, as the front is, with table divisions for storeys." The builder of the Palace was Robert Milne, the descendant of a family of distinguished "masons," whose connection with the edifice is commemorated by an inscription in large letters on the interior surface of the north-west pillar of the piazza of the quadrangle—"FVN. BE. RO. MILNE. M.M. I. JVL. 1671." The initials represent the words "Master Mason."

The Palace thus built by command of Charles II. is a quadrangular building, having a court in the centre 94 feet square. The principal front is towards the west, and extends to the length of 215 feet. At either extremity is a massive square tower, four storeys high, having three circular towers or turrets at its exterior angles, which rise from the ground to the battlements of the main tower, and terminate in conical roofs. A glance at the northern and southern towers of the western front is sufficient to assure the spectator that the former is a portion (indeed the only remaining one) of the Palace of James V., while the latter

is merely an imitation of it, built in the time of Charles II. These two great towers are connected by a receding screen, or range of building, of mixed architecture, which is considerably lower than the interior sides of the quadrangle, so that the pediment of the eastern side is distinctly visible to one looking at the western elevation. In the centre of this front is the grand entrance, composed of four Roman Doric columns, over which are sculptured the royal arms of Scotland, below an open pediment, on which are two reclining figures, the whole surmounted by a small octagonal tower, terminating in an imperial crown. Passing through the gateway, you enter the inner court, which is surrounded by a piazza, having nine arches on each side. The east, north, and south sides of the quadrangle are three storeys high, and over the centre of the east side is a pediment, in which are sculptured the royal arms of Britain. The eastern front of the Palace, which looks towards the Park, consists of three storeys, like the interior sides of the quadrangle, which we have just described. Between the windows of these three storeys are ranges of pilasters, the lowest Doric, the second Ionic, and the third Corinthian, corresponding also with those of the quadrangle. It has been remarked that this façade is not unlike the less ornamented portions of the French palaces.

The visitor, on entering the Palace by the front gateway, turns to his left hand, and the first door he comes to is that leading to

THE PICTURE GALLERY.

This great chamber is not within the tower of James V. and Mary, but is a portion of Charles the Second's Palace. It measures 150 feet in length by 24 broad, and its height is about 20 feet. It is hung round with portraits of a hundred reputed kings of Scotland, from the misty times of Fergus I. down to the end of the Stuart dynasty, which were painted by a Fleming named James De Witt.* Several

* The contract by James de Witt with the Government in February 1684. for the painting of these pictures, still exists. De

of these paintings were slashed by the sabres of Hawley's valiant dragoons after their defeat at Falkirk, but were subsequently repaired. This apartment is historically interesting from having been used by the Pretender as a ball-room during his occupation of Holyrood. It is the room in which the great ball was given, so familiar to the admirers of "Waverley," and to such visitors its floor will still seem to be trod by the unfortunate Prince, the bold, devoted Fergus M'Ivor, the noble, high-minded Flora, and the gentle, woman-like Rose Bradwardine. Since the Union, it has been the scene of the elections of the Scottish representative peers, and is also used for the levees of the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

NOTE.—*The names of the Kings, and the dates of their accession, are printed exactly as they are given on the pictures. The figures within brackets are the numbers on the originals themselves.*

- 1 (97) Robert Bruce, 1306. (B. of Bannockb. 1314.)
- 2 (47) Congallus II. 558.
- 3 (57) Eugenius VI. 688.
- 4 (56) Eugenius V. 684.
- 5 (100) Robert Stewart, 1371.
- 6 (61) Etfinus, 730.
- 7 (60) Mordacus, 715.
- 8 (64) Solvathius, 767.
- 9 (96) John Baliol, 1292.

Witt became bound to paint one hundred and ten portraits in two years, he supplying the canvass and colours; and the Government, on their part, agreed to pay him one hundred and twenty pounds sterling yearly, and to supply him with the "Originals" from which he was to copy.

This contract, and other documents connected with it, appeared in volume Third of the Bannatyne Miscellany.

- 10 (101) Robert III. 1390.
 11 (36) Romachus, 348.
 12 (102) James I. 1424. (Murdered, 1437.)
 13 (91) David I. 1124. (Founder of the Abbey.)
 14 (59) Eugenius VII. 699.
 15 (63) Fergus III. 764.
 16 (62) Eugenius VIII. 761.
 17 (103) James II. 1437. (Killed, 1460.)
 18 (68) Alpinus, 831.
 19 (67) Dongallus. Sive Dugallus, 824.
 20 (66) Convallus III. 819.
 21 (104) James III. 1460. (Murdered, 1488.)
 22 (73) Gregory, 876.
 23 (71) Constantinus, II. 859.
 24 (70) Donald V. 854.
 25 (105) James IV. 1489. (Killed at Flodden, 1513.)
 26 (79) Culenas, 966.
 27 (72) Ethus cognomento Alipes, 874.
 28 (75) Constantine III. 904.
 29 (106) James V. 1514.
 30 (89) Edgar, 1098.
 31 (80) Kenneth III. 970.
 32 (76) Malcolm I. 943.
 33 (107) Mary Stuart, 1543. (Beheaded 8th Feb. 1587.)
 34 (95) Alexander III. 1219.
 35 (94) Alexander II. 1214.
 36 (90) Alexander I. 1107.
 37 (108) James VI. 1566.
 38 (83) Malcolm II. 1004.
 39 (82) Grimus, 996.
 40 (74) Donald VI. 904.
 41 (109) Charles I. (Beheaded 30th Jan. 1649.)
 42 (86) Malcolm III. 1057.
 43 (85) Macbeath, 1040.
 44 (84) Duncan I. 1034.
 45 (110) Charles II.
 46 (52) Ferchardus I. 621.
 47 (111) James VII.

- 46* James III. of Scotland, his son afterwards James IV.,
(circa) 1484.—On the reverse,
The Holy Trinity.*
- 47* Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, (circa),
1484.—On the reverse,
Sir Edward Boncle, Provost of Trinity
College Kirk, Edinburgh.*

* These highly interesting memorials of Scottish history were in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court, but at what period they were removed from Scotland has not been clearly ascertained. In a Catalogue of Pictures belonging to James II., before his abdication in 1688, under the head Hampton Court, they are there enumerated; No. 955, one of the kings of Scotland at devotion, crowned by St Andrew, James IV. No. 960, one of the queens of Scotland at devotion, a saint in armour by her. But no mention is made of the paintings on the reverse. In a late Catalogue of the paintings at Hampton Court they were numbered 509 and 510, and are said to be by Jan de Mabuse; but this appears to be a mistake. In 1857, these pictures were sent to the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, and in their Catalogue they were ascribed to Hugo Van Der Goes.

Through the enthusiastic zeal of David Laing, Esq., F.S.A., and of W. B. Johnstone, Esq., R.S.A., a Memorial, signed by the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and other persons of distinction, was addressed to the Queen at Balmoral, praying Her Majesty to allow these paintings, at the close of the Exhibition, to be transferred to Holyrood Palace.

On her return from Balmoral, Her Majesty, through Sir Benjamin Hall, First Commissioner of Public Works, was graciously pleased to comply with the prayer of this Memorial; and, in consequence of a subsequent representation to Lord John Manners, then First Commissioner of Public Works, permission was granted to restore their proper names. Having now reached their most appropriate place, the Scottish people cannot but feel grateful to Her Majesty for having restored to this country a work of so much importance for illustrating the history of art in Scotland.

In a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries, at their meeting, November 1857, and printed for private circulation (to which we are indebted for the following notices), Mr Laing clearly shows that the leading portraits could not at any time represent James IV. and his Queen, nor could Mabuse have been the artist. But the Arms of Scotland and Denmark impaled being exactly blazoned, prove them to be portraits of James III. and his Queen Margaret of Denmark. In the first quarter the latter exhibits three Crowns for the three United Kingdoms of

- 48 (93) William, 1165.
 49 (32) Donald II. 264.
 50 (48) Kinnatellus, 569.
 51 (88) Duncan II. 1094.
 52 (92) Malcolm IV. 1153.
 53 (35) Fincormacus, 301.
 54 (77) Mainus, 291 B. C.
 55 (98) David Bruce, 1333
 56 (99) Edwardus Balliollus, 1332.
 57 (2) Feretharus, 305 B.C.
 58 Fergus I. 330 B.C.
 59 (5) Nothatus, 233 B.C.
 60 (4) Dornadilla, 262 B.C.
 61 (3) Indulfus, 969.
 62 (18) Caratacus (*sic*) 35.

Denmark, Sweden, and Norway ; the second has the three Lions of Denmark ; the third the Lion and Axe of Norway ; and the fourth the Dragon for Slavonia, with an escutcheon of pretence surmounted by Oldenburg. The banner borne by the Saint in Armour is the common cross of the Crusades, with the inscription AVE MARIA.

The marriage of James III. and Margaret of Denmark took place in the Abbey Church of Holyrood in July 1469, and the birth of the young Prince James, who was born in the year 1471-2, and is here represented as a youth of about twelve years of age, serves to fix the probable date to the year 1484.

The Arms on the reverse, three Buckles and a Cheveron, were those of the Boncle Family, and serve to prove that these portraits were painted not later than the above date as an altar-piece for the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, by an artist of the Van Eck school, and that the ecclesiastic kneeling was Sir Edward Boncle, the first provost of that establishment, and, as such, the Queen's confessor. Having thus identified the ecclesiastic, a key is furnished to the entire composition. If in the principal figure seated at the organ, in the character of St Cecilia, we recognise the deceased Queen Mary of Gueldres, by whom the church was founded in the year 1462, accompanied by one of her daughters, and the Provost as her confessor, offering up his devotions to the Holy Trinity, in whose honour that church was consecrated, the propriety of such a decoration becomes at once apparent. The Coronet denotes her royal rank, and her age is that of a person not less than thirty, which she had attained at the time of her decease.

- 63 (9) Josina, 169 B.C.
 64 (8) Thereus, 171 B. C.
 65 (6) Rutherus, 231 B. C.
 66 (27) Donaldus I. 199.
 67 (25) Ethodius I. 165.
 68 (19) Corbredus I. 55.
 69 (14) Evenus II. 77 B. C.
 70 (40) Fergusius II. 404.
 71 (15) Ederus, 60 B. C.
 72 (65) Achaius 787. (Said to have been ally of Charlemagne's.)
 73 (11) Durstius 10 B. C.
 74 (12) Evenus I. 98 B.C.
 75 (13) Gillus, 79 B. C.
 76 (16) Evenus III. 12 B. C.
 77 (20) Dardanus.
 78 (24) Conarus, 149.
 79 (23) Mogaldus, 113.
 80 (22) Lugtacus, 110.
 81 (21) Corbredus (Galdus) 76.
 82 (31) Findocus, 253.
 83 (29) Athirco, 231.
 84 (37) Angusianus, 321.
 85 (33) Donald III. 265.
 86 (34) Crathilinthus, 277.
 87 (41) Eugenius II. 420.
 88 (38) Fetheimachus, 354.
 89 (39) Eugenius I. 357.
 90 (42) Dongardus, 451.
 91 (44) Congallus I. 479.
 92 (45) Goranus, 501.
 93 (46) Eugenius III. 535.
 94 (49) Aidanus, 570.
 95 (50) Kennethus I. 605.
 96 (58) Amberkeletus, 697.
 97 (54) Ferchardus II. 648.
 98 (55) Malduinus, 664.
 99 (69) Kennethus II. 834. (Conqueror of the Picts.)
 100 (51) Eugenius IV. 606.

On leaving the Picture Gallery, you return to the great staircase.

103 St Mark's Place, Venice.

You then advance to the door on your left hand, and enter

LORD DARNLEY'S ROOMS.

These, of course, are in the more ancient portion of the building; and the first apartment visited is the

AUDIENCE CHAMBER.

This room contains three fine specimens of ancient tapestry. The first, on the left, represents, in the foreground, a vineyard, with the vines entwining four oak-trees. Nude figures of boys, like cupids, are seen sporting on the ground, climbing among the branches, plucking the ripe clusters, and throwing them to their companions. In the background is an ancient hamlet, beyond which may be discerned a river and a bridge.

The next of these tapestries also exhibits in front four oak-stems encircled by vines. At the foot of one tree is a basket filled with grapes, while strawberries here and there peep from their leaves. Here, too, nude boys sport among the branches, pluck grapes, and throw them to companions on the ground. Through the trees may be traced, in long perspective, an elegantly-built street, with human figures apparently crossing each other.

The third design in this series depicts, in the background, a lake, commanded at one extremity by a castle. The lake contains two islets, planted with trees, reflected in the still water. The front scene contains a large orange-tree, with nude boys, perched upon its branches, plucking the fruit and flinging it to a companion on the ground. At the foot of this tree are other boys variously employed. One is performing a somersault, a second is carrying a comrade on his back, a third is manufacturing soap-bubbles, a fourth is blowing a bubble into the air, a fifth is trying to catch it, and a sixth is riding on a stick, while he watches the others.

105 James Stewart, when young.

106 The Admirable Crichton.

107 Charles II. in armour.

- 108 The Queen of James VI., by Van Somer.
- 109 James VI., by Van Somer.
- 110 The Queen of Bohemia, by C. Janssen.
- 111 The King of Bohemia, by C. Janssen.
- 112 The Children of Charles I., after Vandyke.
- 113 Charles II., by Russell.
- 114 James VII., by Russell.
- 115 Queen Mary.
- 116 Henry, Prince of Wales.
- 117 Female Head.

The visitor, leaving this apartment by a door on his left, enters

A ROOM

in that portion of the Palace built by Charles II. In this chamber there are two fine pieces of ancient tapestry. The one on your right as you enter, represents the well-known historical story of the appearance of the flaming cross in the heavens to Constantine the Great some days before the battle between him and Maxentius for the imperial crown. The motto "*in hoc signo vinces*" is conspicuously embroidered in one of the upper corners. The other piece of tapestry occupies the wall immediately to the left, and represents the engagement between these contending claimants for the empire of the world. The miraculous cross is conspicuous on the shields and standards of Constantine's troops. The battle was fought below the walls of Rome, A.D. 312.

- 118 James, 4th Duke of Hamilton.
- 119 Lady Ann Spencer, Duchess of Hamilton.
- 120 Henry, 2d Earl of Pembroke, in armour.
- 121 William, 2d Duke of Hamilton.
- 122 King James VI.
- 123 King Charles II.
- 124 Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton.
- 125 William, 3d Duke of Hamilton.
- 126 King James VII.
- 127 James, 2d Marquis of Hamilton.
- 128 King Henry VI.
- 129 Lord John Bellasys.

The visitor now returns to Lord Darnley's rooms, and, passing through the Audience Chamber, enters by a door on his left, what was in all probability

LORD DARNLEY'S BED-ROOM.

In this apartment is an elaborate piece of tapestry, resembling, in design and texture, the specimens contained in the Audience Chamber. The picture sets before us a pleasure-ground, an alcove, and an orangery. In the foreground are four orange-trees, with nude boys mounted on the branches, and plucking the fruit, while their companions are dancing below to the music of their own pipes. This room also contains a screen which belonged to Charles I., an inlaid cabinet, and some ancient chairs.

- 130 Cardinal Beaton.
- 131 First Duke of Hamilton.
- 132 Lord Darnley and his Brother, by L. de Heere.
- 133 First Duke of Hamilton.
- 134 A Hermit at his Devotions.
- 135 Portrait of a Lady unknown.
- 136 Female Figure and Child.
- 137 Nymphs and Satyrs.
- 138 Sir William Hamilton.
- 139 Pastoral Scene, with Ruins in the background.
- 140 Queen Mary, Consort of William III.
- 141 The Countess of Lennox, by Sir A. More.
- 142 John Knox.
- 143 Queen Mary.
- 144 Countess of Cassillis.
- 145 King William III in armour.

LORD DARNLEY'S DRESSING-ROOM.

The turret-room on the left was Lord Darnley's dressing-room.

- 146 Lady Mary Fielding, first Duchess of Hamilton.
- 147 Lady Ann Cochrane, Duchess of Hamilton.
- 148 Female Figure, with a large shell at her feet.

QUEEN MARY'S PRIVATE STAIR.

This stair, which entered on the east side of James V.'s towers, leads up from a turret-room, on the right, to Queen Mary's apartments. By this stair the assassins of Riccio mounted to the apartments of Darnley, where, in concert with him, they assembled to consummate their plan for the murder of the unfortunate Secretary.

The walls of this room are covered with tapestry, illus-

rating the classic story of Meleager and Atalanta. In the foreground Meleager presents the boar's head to Atalanta; on the left is a huntsman, with two hounds in the leash; while forest scenery and ancient architecture fill up the background of the picture.

Returning through Lord Darnley's rooms, and leaving them by the *left*-hand door of the Audience-Chamber, the visitor ascends a staircase, and enters what historians, poets, and novelists have combined to render perhaps the most interesting suite of rooms in Europe—THE APARTMENTS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The first is that commonly called

QUEEN MARY'S AUDIENCE-CHAMBER,

a room measuring twenty-four feet by twenty-two, and lighted by two windows, one of which looks towards the north, the other towards the south. The roof is divided into panelled compartments, adorned with the initials and armorial bearings of royal personages: and the walls are hung with ancient tapestry, the colours of which, however, have been almost obliterated by the uncourtly hand of Time. In this apartment is the bed of Charles I. when resident in Holyrood. It has evidently been, at one time, a magnificent piece of furniture; and its curtains, now mouldering and moth-eaten, are of embossed velvet. On this couch Prince Charles, the unfortunate descendant of its former occupant, reposed in September 1745; and, after the battle of Culloden, his conqueror, the Duke of Cumberland, placed his head upon the same pillow. This room contains also some richly-embroidered chairs and other articles of furniture of the period of Charles I. But it, of course, derives its chief interest from its fair but unfortunate occupant, Mary, of whose distressing altercations with Knox it was too frequently the scene.

149 Battle of the Boyne.

150 Head of a Boy.

151 Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland.

152 Hortense Machini, niece of Cardinal Mazarin.

153 A Magdalen.

154 A Bacchic Festival.

155 A Game at Nine-pins.

156 Duke of Lauderdale.

157 Duchess of Lauderdale.

Issuing from this apartment you enter

QUEEN MARY'S BED ROOM.

a chamber twenty-two feet one inch, by eighteen feet six inches, lit by two windows looking toward the south and west. The ceiling is divided into panelled compartments, of diamond and hexagonal form, adorned with the emblems and initials of Scottish sovereigns; and the walls are hung with tapestry, illustrative of the mythological tale of the Fall of Phaeton, who, according to the poetical belief of the Greeks, lost his life in rashly attempting to drive the chariot of his father, the god of the Sun. Here stands what, we are told, was the bed of Queen Mary, the decayed hangings of which are of crimson damask, with green silk fringes and tassels. The historical and romantic associations connected with this room render it, undoubtedly, the most interesting apartment in Scotland; and the melancholy and faded aspect of the chamber itself is in admirable keeping with its tale of sorrow and of crime. On the north side of the room is a small door, half hidden by the tapestry, opening on the secret stair by which Darnley and his infamous associates ascended to the royal apartments to assassinate Riccio.

158 Queen Elizabeth.

159 Henry VIII.

160 Portrait of a Lady unknown.

161 Queen Mary.

At the south-west corner of this chamber a narrow door leads to

THE DRESSING-ROOM

of the lovely Queen, a little apartment about ten feet six inches square, hung with decayed tapestry.

Passing to the north-east corner of the bed-chamber, close by the door of the private staircase, is the entrance to another room or closet, commonly called

QUEEN MARY'S SUPPING-ROOM,¹

the little apartment so famous in Scottish story as the scene of the assault upon the unfortunate Italian in the presence of the Queen. Every one whose imagination is at all vivid will

¹ It may be proper to remind the visitor who may be surprised at the smallness of this royal apartment, that the Queen received in it only her most familiar and attached friends and attendants, the great rooms being in the other portion of the Palace, which was burned in the time of the Commonwealth.

here easily realise the particulars of that terrible event—the Queen forcibly restrained by Darnley—the overthrown table, and scattered viands—the fierce and scowling conspirators, pressing into the little room, and the dagger left sticking in the body of Riccio, who crouches behind Mary for protection. From this closet the assassins dragged their victim through the other royal apartments, stabbing him as they went, till he fell dead at their feet at the top of the staircase, by the door of the audience-chamber. To this room the brutal Ruthven, reeking from the slaughter, returned and demanded a cup of wine, and here it was probably that the conspirators threatened to cut the Queen “into collops” if she dared to address the populace from the window.

The frames on the walls contain fragments of the figured silk hangings which originally adorned the room.

162 Portrait of a Youth unknown.

The visitor returns, through the Bedroom and Audience-Chamber, to the top of the principal staircase, where the conspirators finally despatched Riccio; and, descending to the piazzas of the Inner Court, and turning to his left, proceeds to the north-east corner of the quadrangle, and enters

THE CHAPEL ROYAL.

This is the sole remaining portion of the great church of the Monastery of Holyrood. Fire and time have totally obliterated the transepts and the choir; and the ignorance of a builder of the last century has rendered even that which remains a roofless though not a tottering ruin. But the shattered church of King David is still a deeply interesting relic to every student of architectural and ecclesiastical antiquity. The monastery was founded in the commencement of the twelfth century, dilapidated by Edward II. in 1322, burned by Richard II. in 1385, renovated by Abbot Crawford towards the end of the fifteenth century, again mutilated in the English invasion of 1547, when the transepts and choir were destroyed, stripped of its ecclesiastical furniture at the outbreak of the Reformation, desecrated, even to the tomb of the kings, in 1688; and, last scene of all, when reduced to the dimensions of its nave, crushed to the ground, in irretrievable ruin, by the folly of a self-styled architect.¹

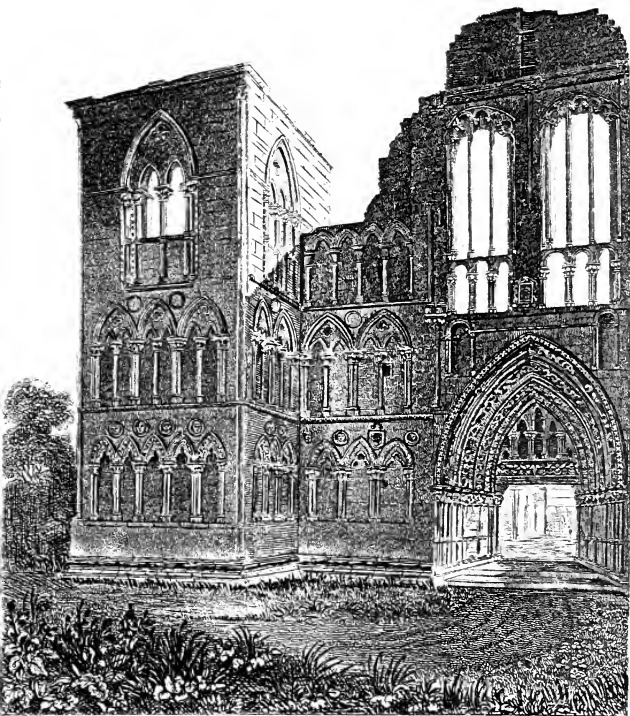
¹ In 1758, the roof having become ruinous, the Barons of Ex-

But many are the historical associations connected with it. Within these walls many Kings and Queens of Scotland were crowned—here James II. was married to Mary of Gueldres, and James III. to Margaret of Denmark—this was the scene of that high ceremonial, at which the Papal Legate presented to James IV., in the name of Pope Julius II., a purple crown, and that richly ornamented sword, which, under the name of the “Sword of State,” is still preserved among the Regalia of Scotland—and, at the eastern extremity of the existing church, under the great window, Mary, in an evil hour, plighted her troth to the foolish and dissipated Darnley.

During the middle ages, conventual churches and chapter-houses were much used as places of interment for persons of rank and opulence; and large bequests were frequently made to monastic establishments, on the condition that the remains of the donor should be buried within the sacred precincts. The Abbey Church of Holyrood appears to have been the last resting place of many of the great of former times; but the destruction of the choir and transepts included also the demolition of many of the more ancient memorials of the departed. We are informed that within this church were deposited the remains of David II.¹ James II., and James V., Kings of Scotland, Magdalene of France, the Queen of the last, and several youthful members of the blood-royal. Of the tomb of David, however, which was built of stone brought from Flanders, not a vestige remains; and the precise spot where James II. was interred, is still a matter of considerable doubt.

In order that the visitor may form a correct idea of the general style and details of the ruined chapel, we should advise him, on entering, to turn to his left, and going out by the great western door, to examine the principal features of the western front. This consists now, it will be observed, of only one tower to the north, and the great gateway with the two curious windows above it. The site of the other tower is occupied by a portion of the palace built by Charles II. The

chequer employed a builder to renew it. This individual, instead of putting a new wooden roof with slates over the building, covered it with flagstones and a quantity of stone work. The old walls bore up for a time against this monstrous infliction, but at last gave way during the night between the 2d and 3d of December 1768.



ABBAY OF HOLYROOD

surviving tower, which is dismantled, is a fine specimen of the style of architecture belonging to the period of transition from the Romanesque to the first pointed or early English style in Scotland, (from about A.D. 1170 to 1175.)

It was lit by four large windows, one on each side, divided by a single shaft. Below these, on the west and south sides, it is adorned by two storeys of arcades, with a row of sculptured heads between them, to correspond with the enrichments of the main wall of the nave, of which that portion still remains which connects the tower with the north side of the gateway. The lower range of arcades is richly ornamented, and is composed of trefoiled arches resting on clustered shafts.

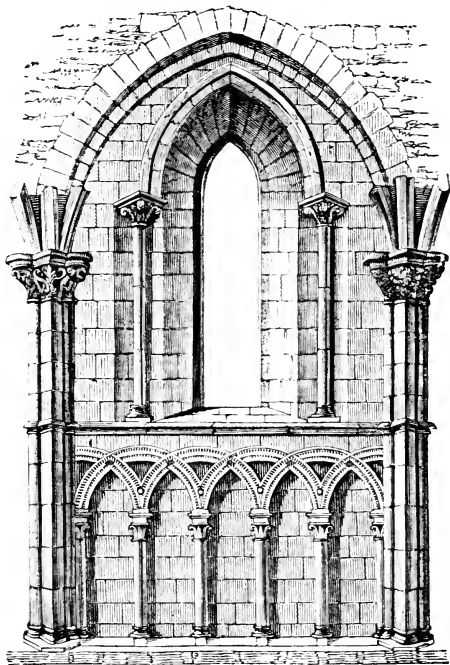
The doorway is a noble, high arched, and deeply recessed one, having eight shafts on either side, with capitals composed of birds and grotesques, and mouldings rich with flowered and toothed ornaments, and belongs to the best years of the early English style in Scotland, namely, about 1181. The tympanum, or space between the lintel and the curved mouldings above, is adorned by an arcade of five pointed arches, and below this, by a row of cherubs, sculptured on the architrave. The central western windows are in a style somewhat allied to the perpendicular, but are very peculiar in their character, having flat, segmental arches adorned with six pendent cusps or fleurs-de-lis, instead of tracery, and slender mullion shafts receding from the external surface of the wall.

Above the doorway, and between the central windows, is a tablet, inserted by Charles I., bearing the following inscription, which, in the circumstances, is peculiarly striking.

HE SHALL BUILD ANE HOUSE
FOR MY NAME, AND I WILL
STABLISH THE THRONE
OF HIS KINGDOM
FOR EVER.

BASILICAM HANC SEMI
RUTAM CAROLUS REX
OPTIMUS INSTAURAVIT
ANNO DONI
CIC. 10CXXXIII.

The visitor now re-enters the Chapel, and stepping a short way towards the left, takes a general survey of the interior, remembering, of course, that what now remains was only the nave of the original edifice. On the north side of the church, all that remains are two shattered piers, out of the seven



that originally divided the body of the nave from the aisles, and the outward wall of the latter, which, however, is now standing only as far up as the "table," which runs along above the lancet-shaped windows, and belongs to the transition style above described.

On the interior surface of this wall, immediately below the



ABBAY OF HOLYROOD

windows, is an arcade of circular arches, intersecting each other, and resting on single shafts, having a square abacus, and variously ornamented capitals. This arcade is an excellent specimen of that peculiar style to which has sometimes been ascribed the original idea of the pointed arch.

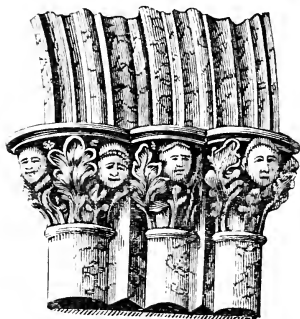
Towards the western end of the north wall there is a doorway, which appears to have been the one commonly used by all persons who were not inmates of the Abbey.

A great part of the east end of the existing church is occupied by a window 34 feet 2 inches high, by 20 feet broad, built, of course, since the demolition of the choir and transepts, as is also that portion of the wall immediately beneath, which every observer will remark, is entirely composed of the debris of other portions of the edifice. This window, which is, therefore, comparatively modern in date, is filled above for about two-fifths of its height with quatrefoil tracery, and below, it is subdivided by four mullions and a transom. It was blown in by a violent storm in 1795, but restored from its own ruins, which still lay scattered on the ground, in the year 1816. This window, and the wall beneath it, occupy the western arch of the great central tower of the church, which is generally supposed to have been taken down along with the choir and transepts, by the directions, or at the suggestion of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, the commendator of Holyrood, about the year 1570; but we are inclined to hazard an opinion that it had been removed by Abbot Crawford towards the end of the fifteenth century, and never rebuilt.¹

The eastern ends of the aisles of the nave, where they communicated with the transepts, have been filled up with windows, each resting on a wall, as in the case of the great central arch, —and that on which the window of the north aisle stands is principally composed of screen work, taken evidently from some other portion of the building.

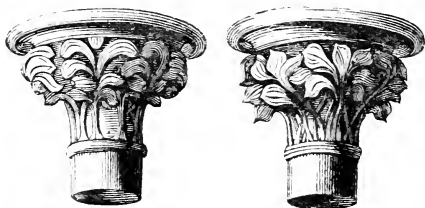
¹ *Vide* Note B.

On the south side of the building the roof of the aisle and the piers which supported the nave still remain, together with the arches of the triforium, and a few small fragments of the clerestory. On most of the piers the commencements of the ribbed vaultings of the roof of the nave are still visible. The following is a representation of the capitals of one of the clustered columns of the south aisle.



the capitals of one of the clustered columns of the south aisle.

On the inner surface of the wall of the south aisle is an arcade, as on the north side, but the arches which compose it are quite in a different style, being Pointed. Each of the shafts has a distinct capital. Two specimens are engraved below.

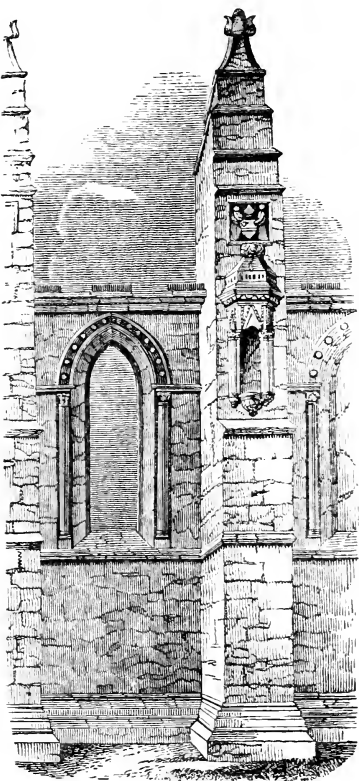


The western extremity of this aisle is encroached upon to a small extent by the wall of the Palace. Here there is a door which communicates with the quadrangle of the royal residence, and near it, but on the west wall, is a doorway, now

built up, which formerly led into the south-west tower of the church, and communicated also through the tower with those buildings of the Palace which existed prior to Charles the

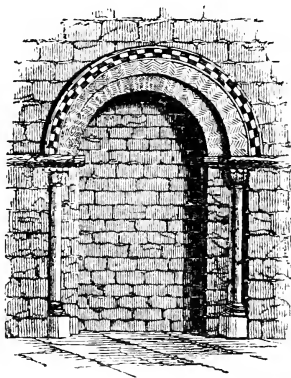
Second's time. The wall of the *north* aisle is supported externally by seven upright buttresses, adorned with canopied niches and pinnacles. The ornaments of the doorway, at the west-end of this aisle, are elaborate, and evidently in the same style with the buttresses,—being, in all probability, built by Abbot Crawford in the fifteenth century.

At the east-end of the *south* aisle, and at the back of the square mass of masonry which surmounts the Royal Vault is a small doorway, now built up, which communicated with the old cloisters of the Abbey. This door and the portion of the wall immediately adjoining it are the most ancient portion of the edifice now existing, plainly belonging to the last



years of the Norman or Romanesque epoch, and cannot be of

later date than 1160. The doorway is composed of a round-headed arch, with zigzag and billet mouldings, resting on two single shafts with the square abacus. On the outside of this aisle there remains the lower stage of five flying buttresses, but they are not very elegant in their proportions.



They spring from piers about 10 feet distant from the wall, and, crossing what was formerly the roof of the cloister, rest against flat pilasters on the wall of the aisle. Both from these and the upright buttresses of the north side there sprung a second

stage, which, spanning the roof of the aisle and triforium, supported the wall of the clerestory. Distinct indications of this second stage of buttresses are visible on the south wall. In niches cut in the lower stage, on either side of the building, are sculptured the arms of Abbot Crawford.

A large portion of the north and south aisles of the Abbey Church are paved with gravestones of that peculiar class called Incised or Engraved slabs. This species of sepulchral memorial, which was exceedingly common in France and other continental countries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is also not unfrequently to be met with in Scotland, down to a period comparatively recent. Besides those at Holyrood, there are good specimens at Ratho and Roslin, near Edinburgh, Seton in East Lothian, Kinkell and Foveran in Aberdeenshire, Kildalton in the Island of Islay, and various other places in Argyleshire. The slabs of Holyrood have an average breadth of about three feet, and vary from six to seven feet in length. Many of them are broken, and the inscriptions on several of the more ancient have been rendered illegible by the action of the weather. A considerable number, however, still present inscriptions which can be deciphered in whole or in part, with numerous engraved devices, such as crosses,

decorated or plain, swords, chalices, coats of arms, hammers, squares, &c. Two or three have merely an inscription round the border without any device whatever; others have an incised cross only, without any legend. The oldest of them which presents a legible date is of the year 1455.

We shall now describe the more remarkable tombs, both ancient and modern in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, commencing with those to the left of the great western entrance, and advancing by the north aisles.

The first in order is that of

No. 1. Lord and Lady Reay.

This is a plain altar tomb, bearing the following inscription.

Under this stone
Are laid the remains of
The late Right Honourable GEORGE, LORD REAY,
And ELIZABETH FAIRLEY, his wife,
In the grave thus undivided,
As in life they were united

In that Divine bond
Of Christian Faith and Love,
Which ennobled their earthly affection,
By elevating each view and desire
In one undeviating course,
Towards another and a better world.
GEORGE, LORD REAY died 27th February 1768,
Aged 34.
ELIZABETH, LADY REAY, died 10th November 1800,
Aged 61.
This stone is Inscribed, January 1810,
In token of grateful respect and affection,
By their Daughters,
The Honourable Mrs H. FULLARTON,
And the Honourable GEORGINA M'KAY.

No. 2. The imposing mural monument of Viscount Belhaven in the north-west tower. It was erected by his nephews, Sir Archibald and Sir Robert Douglas. The monument, which may be more properly called an altar tomb, is formed of

Italian marble, and is on the whole a meritorious work of art. It displays a recumbent figure of his Lordship the size of life, arrayed in his robes of state, and wearing his coronet, his right arm resting on a cushion, the head raised in an attitude of attention, and the left arm supporting a sword in a direction parallel with the figure. On either side of the figure rises a fluted column supporting an open pediment, over which are placed his Lordship's arms.

This is the nobleman of whom Bishop Burnet tells a singular story, in reference to Charles the First's revocation of the tithes in Scotland. The Scottish nobles who had got possession of the church property, were frantic at the idea of this resumption, and resolved to "knock out the brains" of the Earl of Nithsdale, Charles's commissioner, if he persisted in the matter. A meeting was appointed, at which Lord Belhaven, who had become blind, desired to be seated close to one of Lord Nithsdale's adherents, of whom he said he would "make sure." He was accordingly placed beside Viscount Ayr, whose hand he grasped during the conference. When the Viscount asked him the cause of his holding him so firmly, Belhaven replied that his loss of sight always caused him to be apprehensive of falling. In reality, however, he held in his other hand a dagger, with which he intended stabbing the Viscount if any discussion ensued. Within the recess, above the figure, is engraved, on one side, an inscription in Latin, of which the following is a translation.

"Here are interred the remains of Robert, Lord Viscount Belhaven, Baron of Spot, &c., Counsellor to King Charles, and most intimately in favour with him, because formerly he had been most dear to Henry, Prince of Wales, and Master of his Horse. But he being dead, and Charles his brother now reigning, he was made chamberlain to the king's household, and entertained with a singular degree of favour, and advanced to great honours and wealth. In his youth he enjoyed the sweet society of Nicholas Murray, daughter to the Baron of Abercairney, his only wife; who lived with him not above eighteen months, and died in child-bed with her child. When grievous old age came upon him (as weary of bad times and customs), withdrawing himself from the noise of the court, he returned to his country. He nominated Sir Archibald and Sir Robert Douglasses, baronets, sons to his eldest brother, to be his heirs, dividing equally amongst them all his lands and goods, except some legacies; and they erected this monument to his memory, as a token of their gratitude.

Nature supplied in him by sagacity, what his mind wanted of education. He was inferior to none in a good capacity and candour. He would soon be angry, but was as soon calmed. This is one thing he had in his life, which scarcely could be alike acceptable to all; for loyalty towards his prince, love to his country, kindness to his relations, and charity to the poor, he was singular. In prosperity he was meek and moderate; in adversity his constancy and magnanimity prevailed to his very end. He died at Edinburgh the 12th day of January, and from the incarnation of the Messiah 1639, and of his age 66, being the third year above his great climacteric."

No. 3. On this slab is an ornamental cross, the stalk of which passes through an elegantly formed chalice. The base of the stone is broken, and no portion of the inscription is legible.

No. 4. A floriated cross with an ornamental base. The following is the inscription round the edge of the stone:—
"Hic jacet dns. Robertus Cheyne, XII. prior hujusce monasterij qui obiit XVII. die Sept. An. Dni. MCCCCLV."

No. 5. A plain cross and calvary, surrounded by the following inscription:—Hic jacet Marjoria Duncan uxor Thome Duncan qui obiit XVI. die me. Octob. A. D. MC***."

No. 6. In the centre is a shield between the letters M. E., shewing a pale charged with a cross crosslet fitchy, issuing out of a crescent. Below the shield are a skull and a bone. and the words "memento mori." The inscription round the edge of the stone is "Heir lyes ane honourable woman callit Margaret Erskin Lady Alerdes and Dame XVII. July 159*."

No. 7. On this ancient slab are engraved two large two-handed swords, about five feet long, and surrounded by a border of two parallel lines, without date or inscription. There are several examples elsewhere of a single sword placed by the side of a cross, but we are not aware of any other stone on which two large swords appear side by side, without any other device or inscription to explain the cause of their united presence. It has been conjectured, not without probability, that this slab indicates the resting-place of two warriors of one house, brothers, or father and son, who have fallen on the same field.

No. 8. A floriated cross and calvary without date or inscription.

No. 9. A stone with the inscription "Heir lyis ane Honest man Robert Votherspone, Burgis and Deacon of ye Hammermen in ye Canogait, R. V. 1520."

No. 10. An imperfect slab with a plain cross and calvary. On the dexter side of the cross is a mallet surmounted by a crown; on the sinister side a peculiar and indistinct device. The inscription is illegible, except the date, which is 1543.

No. 11. The first part of the legend on this slab, goes round the border of the stone, and the rest runs in parallel lines across the body of it, "Heir lyes ye noble and poton Lord James Douglas, Lord of Cairlell and Torthorall, wha marrid Daime Elieizabeth Cairlell, air and heretrix yarof; wha was slaine in Edinburghe, ye xiii day of July in ye zeier of God 1608. Was slain in 48 ze." At the bottom of the slab is a shield, but, with the exception of three mullets in chief on the dexter side, the charges are obliterated.

This Lord Douglas, who was only a territorial baron, not a peer, was Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, a nephew of the Regent Morton. His lady was the only child of William, Master of Carlyle, who died in the lifetime of his father Michael, fourth and last Lord Carlyle. In 1596 Sir James killed Captain James Stewart, Earl of Arran and Chancellor of Scotland, an unworthy favourite of James VI. to avenge the wrongs sustained by his uncle, the Regent. Twelve years afterwards he himself was run through the body on the High Street of Edinburgh by William Stewart, the nephew of Arran. Sir James's son was created Lord Carlyle of Torthorall in 1609.

No. 12. A plain cross and calvary. On the dexter side a pair of compasses over a device which resembles a book, and on the sinister side a carpenter's square over a mallet. All that is legible of the inscription is "Hic jacet honorab. Vir Johannes . . . et . . . Anno dni 1543."

No. 13. At the top of this stone is the date 1592. Immediately below is a hammer surmounted by a crown, and having the letters B. H. on either side. Beneath, in the centre of the slab, is a shield charged with a ship and three cinquefoils in chief. At the bottom are the skull, bone, and "memento mori." The inscription round the border is

“ Heir lysis ane honest woman calet Marget Baxter spous to Bartel Hamelton Dakmaker Burges of ye Canengait.”

No. 14. The mural monument of George Wishart, Bishop of St Andrews, a sufferer in the cause of Charles I., and chaplain to the great Marquis of Montrose, the history of whose warlike achievements he composed in Latin. The following is the quaint translation of the Latin inscription given in Menteith's “ Theater of Mortality.”—

“ Another famous Doctor Wiseheart, here
 Divine George Wiseheart lies, as may appear ;
 Great orator, with eloquence and zeal,
 Whereby on hardest hearts he did prevail.
 Three Wisehearts, Bishops, so the third was he,
 When Bishop of fair Ed'nburgh's diocie.
 Candour in him was noble ; free of stain ;
 In cases all, the same he did remain—
 Above four hundred years great *Wiseheart's* name,
 For honours, has pure and untainted fame ;
 While one thereof both purse and mitre bore,
 Chancellor and Bishop near St Andrew's choir ;
 And when brave *Bruce* did for his nation plead,
 At Norham, with undaunted hand and head.
 Then Robert Wisheart sat in Glasgow's chair,
 With courage for his bounty singular.
 To these great *George* was not inferior
 In peace, and was elsewhere superior.
 High, without pride ;—his bounty had no guile,
 His charity to th' poor nought could defile,
 His loyalty untainted—faith most rare,
 Athenian faith, was constant every where,
 And though a thousand evils did controul,
 None could o'ercome his high and lofty soul—
 To King and Country he was faithful still ;
 Was good and just, ev'n from a constant will.
 Thrice spoil'd and banish'd, for full fifteen years,
 His mind unshaken,—cheerful still he bears
 Deadly proscription, nor the nasty gaol
 Could not disturb his great seraphic soul.
 But when the nation's King, CHARLES the second blest
 On his return from sad exile to rest ;
 They then received great *Doctor Wiseheart*—HE
 Was welcome made, by church and laity ;
 And where he had been long in prison sore,
 He nine years Bishop, did them good therefore.

At length he dy'd in honour : where his head
 To much hard usage was accustomed.
 He liv'd 'bove seventy years—and Edinburgh town
 Wish'd him old *Nestor's* age, in great renown ;
 Yea Scotland, sad with grief, condol'd his fall,
 And to his merits gave just funeral.
 Montrose's acts, in Latin forth he drew ;
 Of *one* so great, ah ! monuments so few."

No. 15. A small neat cenotaph to the memory of George, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland. On the top are placed the arms of this illustrious house, quartered with those of various other noble families. On the pillars are placed the names of several of the noble families of Scotland with which they are connected—*Gordon, Lennox, Elphinstone, Perth, and Eglington.*

"To the memory of the most illustrious Lord George, Earl of Sutherland, Lord Strathnavar, &c. heritable Sheriff of said lands, and lord of the regality thereof; one of the Keepers of the Great Seal, under the most renowned Prince KING WILLIAM, one of the Lords of Privy Council, and the nineteenth Earl descended in a right line from ALLAN, Thane of Sutherland, whom MACBETH, in the rage of his usurping tyranny, about the year of Christ 1057, made away with for endeavouring to restore the Kingdom to MALCOLM III. lawful heir to the Crown. His mournful widow JEAN WEMYSS, eldest daughter to David Earl of Wemyss, erected this monument of everlasting fame.

"To the defunct Earl she brought forth John, now Earl of Sutherland, and Anne, Viscountess of Arbutnot. And to her former husband, Archibald, Earl of Angus, eldest son to the Marquis of Douglas, she brought forth Archibald, Earl of Forfar, and Margaret, given in marriage to the Viscount of Kingstoun. Five other children of the said Lady Dowager died in their nonage. The Earl himself was born in his own Castle of Dornoch 2d November 1633, and died at Edinburgh, 4th March 1703."

Here are also deposited the remains of William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, and his amiable Countess Mary, daughter of William Maxwell of Preston, Kirkcudbright. His Lordship died at Bath, June 16th, 1766, just after he had completed his 31st year; and the Countess, June 1st, 1766, in her 26th year, 16 days before the Earl.

The bodies of this illustrious and affectionate pair were brought to Scotland, and interred in one grave in Holyrood Abbey, 9th August 1766.

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

No. 16. A flat stone. At the top a viscount's coronet surmounting a shield, which displays, quarterly, 1st and 4th, the sun in splendour, 2d and 3d, three mullets on a chevron between a chief, charged with as many mascles, and a unicorn's head erased in base. The following inscription surrounds the shield: "Heir lyeth ane noble lady D. Isobel Ker Viscountess of Drumlanreg 1628." She was the fourth daughter of Mark Ker, 1st Earl of Lothian, and wife of William Douglas, 1st Viscount Drumlanrig (afterwards Earl of Queensberry). One of her elder sisters, Lady Margaret, whose husband was James, seventh Lord Yester, founded in 1647 the church in Edinburgh which still bears her name.

No. 17. The mural monument of the Countess of Eglington. The following inscription, though nearly obliterated, is placed within an arched recess:

D I. H.

Here lyes ane Nobil and maist
vertuous Ladie, Deame Jeane
Hamilton, Countas of Eglington,
Dochtor to JAMES Duke
of Schattillarot, sometyne
Governor of this Realme.
She deceast in December
MDXCVI.

No. 18. The tomb of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, a man eminent as a philanthropist, and a writer on agriculture, statistics, and other subjects.

No. 19. The Royal Vault, at the south east corner of the Chapel. Its early history is involved in considerable obscurity. We have already described the wanton destruction of its coffins by the infuriated multitude in 1688. In the circumstances it is fortunate that there is preserved in the Advocate's Library a manuscript, containing an authentic account of a search made in the vault by authorized persons, about five years prior to the sacrilegious violation of its mouldering relics of Scottish royalty. The narrative of the inquisition is as follows:—

“ Upon ye xxiv of January MDCLXXXIII. by procurement of ye Bishop of Dumblayne, I went into ane vault in ye south-east corner of ye Abbey Church of Halyrudehouse, and yr. were present, ye Lord Strathnavar and E. Forfare, Mr Robert Scott, minister of ye Abbey, ye Bishop of Dumblayn, and some uthers. Wee viewed ye body of King James ye Fyft of Scotland. It lyeth within ane wodden coffin, and is coveret wyth ane lead coffin. There seemed to be haire upon ye head still. The body was two lengths of my staf, with two inches more, that is twae inches and mare above twae Scots elne; for I measured the staf with ane elnwand efterward.

“ The body was coloured black with ye balsom that preserved it, which was lyke melted pitch. The Earl of Forfare tooke the measure with his staf lykeways. There was plates of lead, in several long pieces, louse upon and about the coffin, which carried the following inscription, as I took it from before the bishop and noblemen in ye isle of ye church :—

“ ILLVSTRIS SCOTORVM REX JACOBVS EJVS NOMINIS V. ETATIS
SUE ANNO XXXI REGNI VERO XXX MORTEM OBIIT IN
PALACIO DE FALKLAND 14 DECEMBRIS ANNO DNI. MDXLII
CVJVS CORPVS HIC TRADITVM EST SEPVLTVRE.

“ Next ye south wall, in a smaller arch, lay a shorter coffin, with ye teeth in ye skull.

“ To the little coffin in the narrow arch, seemeth to belong this inscription made out of long pieces of lead in the Saxon character :—

“ **MAGNETICA FRANCESCE REGES FRACCFAC**
Primo-genita Regina Scotia, Sponsa Jacobi V.
Regis. A.D. MDXXXVII. OBIIT.

“ There was ane piece of a lead crown, upon the syde of whilk I saw two *floor de leuces* gilded: and upon ye north side of ye coffin lay two children, none of the coffins a full elne long, and one of them lying within ane wod chest, the other only the lead coffin.

“ Upon the south syde, next the King's body, lay ane gret coffin of lead, with the body in it. The muscles of the thigh seemed to be entire; the body not so long as King James the Fyfth, and ye balsam stagnating in sum quantity at ye foote of ye coffin; there appeared no inscription upon ye coffin.

“ And at ye east syde of the vaults which was at ye feet of ye other coffins, lay a coffin with the skull sawen in two, and ane inscription in small letters, gilded upon a square of ye lead coffin, making it to be ye bodye of *Dame Jane Stewart, Countesse of Argyle*, MDLXXXV, or thereby, for I do not well remember ye yeare. The largest coffin, I suld suppose to be that of Lord Darnley's,¹ and the short coffin, Queene Magdalene's.”

¹ It is now understood that the body of Darnley was disinterred by command of James VI. and removed to Westminster Abbey, where it was reburied.

In July 1848 the body of Mary of Gueldres, the Queen of James II., was removed from its original resting-place in the Trinity College Church, which she had founded (which was then being taken down), and reinterred in the Royal vault.

No. 20. The vault of the Roxburgh family. In it lies Jane, Countess of Roxburgh, daughter of Patrick, third Lord Drummond, governess to the family of King James VI. She died on the seventh October 1643.

No. 21. A plain tablet on the third pillar from the east end of the South aisle, in memory of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney and Shetland, and Commendator of Holyrood, who celebrated the marriage between Mary and Bothwell. His arms are cut within a circular tressure, beneath which are two Latin inscriptions, of which the following are translations.

M. H. R.

Here lies interred a most noble man, LORD ADAM BOTHWELL, Bishop of Orkney and Zetland ; Commendator of the Monastery of Holy Rood, Senator of the College of Justice, and one of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council ; who died in the 67th year of his age, 23d day of the month of August, in the year of our Lord 1593.

TRANSLATION OF THE VERSES GIVEN IN THE "THEATER OF MORTALITY."

Thy praise is triple sure ; thyself, thy Sire,
 Thy Son, all Senators, whom men admire.
 The stagg'ring state by thee was quickly stay'd,
 The troubled church from thee got present aid.
 Thou livedest at thy wish ; thy good old age
 In wealth and honours took thee off the stage.
 Thine aged corps interred here now lie,
 Thy virtues great forbid your name to die.
 Go ! happy soul, and in thy last repose,
 Vanquish thou death, and all its fatal blows ;
 Thy fragrant frame shall thus eternal be,
 Unto thy country and posterity.

No. 22. Monument on the south wall with a Latin inscription, of which the following is a translation : " Here lies Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk Register, who died 19th September, A.D. 1594."

No. 23. A flat slab towards the west end of the South aisle, exhibiting a plain cross and calvary, with a simply-shaped chalice on the sinister side. The stone has a border formed of two parallel lines, but bears no date or inscription.

The stone coffins were discovered towards the east end of the Chapel Royal during the alterations in the garden in 1857. From their position, and also the broken state of the tops or stone-covers, it was evident that these coffins had previously been disinterred, as they contained only a few human bones, with no other remains. There was no inscription or other device on either of them, but it is probable they may have originally contained the remains of some of the Abbots or other dignitaries of the Monastery. Their dates are probably between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1350.

The ancient shield on the wall, bearing on it the Lion Rampant of Scotland, is of oak, and formerly hung over the great western entrance to the Chapel-Royal.

The Unicorn carved in stone, which leans against the wall, was one of the supporters of the Royal Arms of Scotland. From the initials below, it probably formed part of the "King's Armes cunningly carved in stone," which adorned the palace of James V. and which are described by John Taylor, the Water Poet, as still existent in 1618.

To the east of the Chapel, on the site of the ancient choir, stands a Monument to the memory of Alexander Milne.

A. (*Motto*). Tam arte, quam marte. M.

In clarissimum virum, *Alexandrum Milnum*, Lapididam egregium, hic sepultum, Anno Dom. 1643 Febr. 20.

Siste Hospes ; clarus jacet hoc sub Marmore *Milnus* ;

Dignus cui Pharius conderet ossa labor :

Quod vel in ære Myron fudit, vel pinxit Appelles,

Artifice hoc potuit hic lapicida manu.

Sex lustris tantum vixit, sine labe, senectam

Prodidit, et medium clauserat ille diem.

The translation which follows is also on the stone :—

Here is buried a worthy man and an

Ingenious Mason, *Alexander Milne*, 20th Feb. A.D. 1643.

Stay Passenger, here famous Milne doth rest,

Worthy to be in Ægypt's Marble drest ;

What Myron or Appelles could have done

In brass or paintry, he could that in Stone ;

But thretty yeares hee (Blameless) lived ; old Age

He did betray, and in's Prime left this stage.

Restored by Robert Mylne,
Architect, MDCCLXXVI.*

* This monument was removed in 1857 to the north-east corner of the Chapel-Royal, and in its place a flat tomb stone was substituted.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

It is, after all, not impossible that the "Miracle of the Holy Rood" was founded on some accident which really befel the King, the peril attendant on which may have appeared, to his superstitious mind, to have been averted by a direct exhibition of supernatural agency. To those who so interpret the legend, it has appeared remarkable that David should at first have established his Canons on the fortified rock of the castle, where the event in question could not possibly have occurred.

It appears to the writer of these pages to be within the verge of probability that the Canons of the Holy Rood were first settled by David at the *base* of the Castle rock, and on the precise spot where the good King encountered the "wyld hart," according to the legend.

Froissart, in describing the Knight of Liddesdale's capture of the Castle by stratagem, in 1341, speaks of the Scottish ambuscade as being placed in "an OLD ABBEY that was ruined and uninhabited; near the foot of the hill on which the Castle is situated."* Now it is evident that the spot where the Scots lay concealed must have been near the *east* end of the rock, in order that they might rush, immediately on the signal being given, to the gate of the Castle. The "ruined abbey" was therefore not only *near* the Castle, but toward the *east* of it.

The legend states that the King was "at the fute of the crag" when the stag assailed him, and that the creature vanished at the spot "quhare springis the Rude well." Now, at the very place where Froissart's Abbey must have stood, we find a "*crag*," and near it also a "*well*." The former appears in David's own Charter

* Froissart's own words are "Et puis envoyèrent leurs compagnons embusher en une Abbaie destruite et gastee, la ou nul ne demouroit, et estoit assez pres du pie de la montagne, la ou le chastel seoit."—T. i. p. 71, Edit Lyon, 1559.

to the Monks of Holyrood as "unam Craggam que est sub eodem castello versus *Oriente*," (a crag which is under the Castle toward the east), and the latter is the spring which gave its name to the Well-house or Wallace tower of the Castle, and also appears as a boundary in the same charter.

On this little eminence, then, forming the last swell of the castle-hill, and known, perhaps, by the name of "the Crag of the Holy Rood," we are disposed to believe that David founded his monastery in 1128; and that the "ruined abbey" of Froissart was the wreck of this forsaken house of the Canons. Thus situated, it might be designated with propriety either by Fordun's name of "the Monastery of the Crag of the Holy Rood," or by the Charter appellation of "Monastery of the Castle of Maidens."* This site, however, may have been afterwards found to be inconvenient. There was not, perhaps, sufficient space for those gardens and orchards which recluses loved, nor for a cemetery sufficiently removed from the cottages of "Edwinesburg;" and, besides, the place was necessarily exposed to violence when hostilities were directed against the fortress above. Convinced, probably, of the unsuitableness of the site, King David bestowed on the Canons, in the year 1143-7 the retired and spacious meadow below Arthur's seat—a locality to which, after the lapse of several years, they finally withdrew; and, when the old tale was partially forgotten, transferred to the rugged precipices above their new dwelling the marvellous associations connected with the Crag of the Castle. Another migration of a religious fraternity, under similar circumstances, occurred in David's reign. He founded a monastery for Tyronensian monks at Selkirk; but afterwards, "quia

* Lord Hailes, we must observe, has misquoted Fordun in relation to the name of the Abbey, and later writers have adopted his lordship's error. Lord H. says (vol. i. p. 112, note) that it is called by Fordun l. v. c. 48, "*Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Crag*," or "Monastery of Holyrood of the Crag;" whereas, the proper reading is "*Monasterium de Crag Sanctæ Crucis*," or "Monastery of the Crag of the Holy Rood." The difference is not unimportant, inasmuch as the true reading records the fact that there was a "crag" known by the name of that of the "Holy Rood."

locus non erat conveniens abbaciæ" (because the site was not convenient for an abbey), he removed the establishment to Kelso.

This, we think, accounts for the hitherto unexplained anomaly, that, while the combined evidence of history and chronicle distinctly indicates the year 1128 as being the date of the foundation of the Abbey, the writ, which has evidently always been regarded as the Foundation Charter, appears not to have been granted for a period of at least fifteen years afterwards. It has been maintained, however, that the phraseology of the charter itself is evidence that the Abbey was founded where its ruins now stand, before it was written. We, however, are not disposed to attach much importance to certain dubious expressions in that writ; for these, if interpreted as certain writers would wish, might have been used, with equal plausibility, to persuade us that the Canons were *fairly established* below Arthur's Seat at the date of the charter; while we have incontestible evidence that they were not there for at least thirty years afterwards. Besides, that clause in the charter itself, which gives a right to the Canons to take timber from the royal woods for the *erection of their church and houses*, is surely sufficient evidence that these edifices were not yet in existence. We would suggest, however, that all difficulties on this point may be obviated by supposing that David had, a short time before, conveyed to the Monks of Holyrood the ground on which their new monastery was to be erected; and, therefore speaks of it in the Great Charter as a fixed and understood locality, though as yet the conventual buildings had not been actually commenced.

It may perhaps be objected that, if the first House of the Canons had been placed on or close to the "Crag" mentioned in David's charter, that locality would hardly have been described by the indefinite designation of "a crag;" and that some allusion would certainly have been made to the existing monastic building in the narrative of that portion of the boundary. We think, however, this objection is obviated by presuming that the "land below the Castle" was the pious King's first gift to his Canons, conceded probably in 1128; that this part of the charter, consequently, is only a confirmation of a previous grant, and that therefore, as usual in such a case, the *ipsissima verba* of the original charter are adhered to.

NOTE B.

We have seen that Abbot Crawford, about the year 1460, laboured with singular zeal and success in upholding the fabric of his venerable church, which appears to have been in a very ruinous condition when he succeeded to the Abbacy—a state of disrepair easily accounted for by the fact of its having been burned by Richard II. in the invasion of 1385, and never afterwards thoroughly repaired. It seems to us to be not improbable, that, at this period, the central tower was of itself so ruinous, or its weight appeared so dangerous to the dilapidated lower-parts of the edifice, that the Abbot may have caused it to be taken down, and satisfied with putting the choir, transepts, and nave in a good state of repair, may have made no attempt to rebuild it. If any confidence can be placed in the Plan of Edinburgh, prepared for the direction of the Earl of Hartford's invading army in 1543,* this supposition would appear not to be without foundation. In this sketch, while the choir, transepts, nave, and western towers are distinctly depicted, though not, perhaps, in very correct perspective, there is no appearance whatever of the great central tower, the roof running in an unbroken line from east to west. Now, this sketch was very probably done from *memory*, but we can hardly imagine that a person who had so distinct a recollection of the two western towers, with their short square spires, could have quite forgotten the great central one, if it had existed in his time. It appears also, to be a corroboration of our conjecture, and of the correctness of this sketch, that when, in 1570, articles were presented in the General Assembly,† against Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, for allowing the church of the Abbey to be in so dilapidated a condition, he says nothing, in his laboured Reply,‡ of the injury inflicted on the weakened walls, by the great superincumbent weight of the central tower, and, that even when he proposes to remove the "superfluous ruinous parts" in order to repair the remainder sufficiently, while he talks of taking down the choir and transepts, he never speaks of the removal of the tower in question—a circumstance which could

* Preserved in the British Museum (Cotton MS., Augustus L. vol. ii.) and engraved in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i.

† Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. p. 163.

‡ Ibid vol. i. p. 167.

hardly have occurred, if so important a part of the fabric had been standing in his day.

NOTE C.

We subjoin a portion of an epitaph on David II., taken from the *Scotichronicon* of Fordun, as a curious specimen of Mediæval Latinity.

Hic rex sub lapide David inclitus est tumulatus,
 Vir stirpis nitidæ, per climata magnificatus.
 Non vixit cupide, sed dapsilitate probatus :
 Gesturæ lepidæ dulcedine mellificatus.
 Miles munificus, mitis moderamine, lætus,
 Pulcher, pacificus, placida probitate facetus :
 Ductor dignificus, in se pietate quietus ;
 Fragrans, fructificus, flos fertilitate repletus.

* * * *

Suis visceribus sapientia nidificavit,
 Amplis muneribus adventitios recreavit ;
 Sub verbis brevibus sapide responsa paravit
 Fidis faminibus discordes unificavit.
 Prælatos coluit cleri, tractando decenter
 Et proceres voluit sibi circumstare potenter ;
 Burgenses statuit sua commutare licenter,
 Et populum studuit sub jure tenere patenter

* * * *

Anglis diligitur, et pro valido veneratur,
 Verax assertitur, et pro bonitate beatur ;
 Scotia jam quæritur, quia fertilis aura fugatur,
 Et timor ingeritur, ac defectus sociatur,
 O dolor ! o gemitus ! premitur princeps pretiosus ;
 O furor ! o fremitus ! decessit dux dominosus ;
 O stupor ! o strepitus ! o miles deliciosus !
 Ipse fuit penitus decor in regno rutilusus.
 Ergo pater veniæ, qui misit aroma reorum,
 Ad loca lætitiæ trahat illum rex superiorum :
 In jubilo patriæ, cum principe pacificorum,
 Sub cultu latriæ quiescat in regno polorum.*

* *Scotichronicon*, lib. xiv. cap. 35.

NOTE D.

The dimensions of the Abbey Church are as follow:—

	Feet. In.
Length within walls	127 0
Breadth within walls	59 0
" of the Middle Aisle	29 6
" " North Aisle	14 9
" " South Aisle	14 9
Height of the East End Wall, to the top of the Fleur-de-lis	70 0
Height of the Great East Window	34 2
Breadth of it	20 0
Width of the original Arch in which it is placed	21 9
Height to the point of the Arch, being the original height of the inner vaulting, about	60 0
Height of Columns	28 6
Girth of each	16 8
Width of the Arches	10 0
Height of the Side Walls	28 0
" " West End Wall	59 0
" " Arch over West Entrance . (inside)	22 4
Width of the West Door	9 6
Height of the North-West Square Tower	52 0
Breadth of it outside (square)	23 0
" " inside (square)	15 6
Width of the Windows in the North and South Aisles	2 11
Except the two eastmost in the south wall next the cloister, one of which is	4 0
And the other	4 7
Width of North Side Door	6 4
Depth of Piers of Buttresses in the Cloister	6 6
Breadth of these Piers	4 3
Width of the Walk in the Cloister	10 1

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