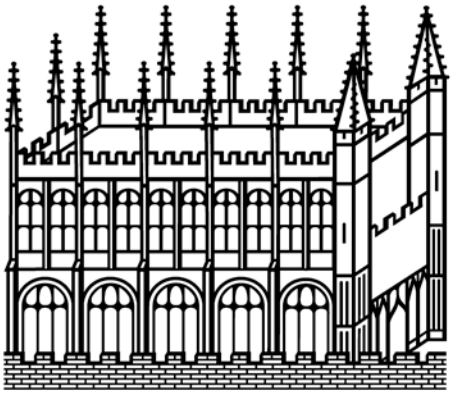

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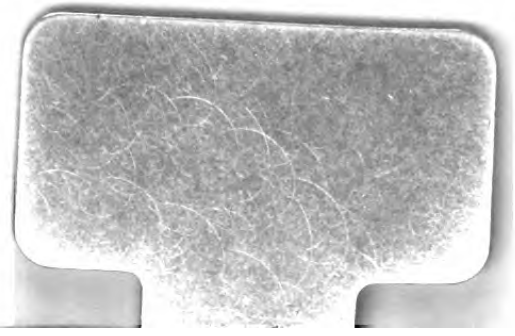


REEKIANA.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY M. AITKEN, 1, ST JAMES'S SQUARE.

MINOR ANTIQUITIES

OF EDINBURGH.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH," &c.

EDINBURGH:
WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS,
WATERLOO PLACE.
MDCCCXXXIII.

PREFACE.

THE present volume is chiefly composed of matters collected during the composition of the "Traditions of Edinburgh," and which the limited space of that work would not admit of. These are now published as a third, or supplementary volume of "Traditions," and also as a complete and independent work for the guidance of strangers and natives through the ancient part of our city; which, however pregnant with old historical and family reminiscences, is rapidly becoming an unknown country to a great part of even our settled population. The volume is accompanied by a republication of Edgar's unrivaled map of the city, drawn immediately before the commencement of the modern im-

provements, and when all the features and limits of the Scottish capital were exactly as they had been for ages before. Upon this sheet are marked a series of numbers, in a direction parallel with the length of the plate, which lead to articles in the volume, (the numbers being there placed at the end of each notice;) and as an opportunity thus occurred of fixing many localities, somewhat loosely indicated in the "Traditions," it was judged by the writer as not only allowable, but highly proper, to fix the character of the present volume as a guide to the Old Town, by briefly recapitulating, in various important instances, the notices given in the former work, even where there was neither anything new to tell, nor anything to correct.

In another particular, the "Traditions" is intimately connected with the present volume, namely, in the index at the conclusion, which is made to include the matter of the former work, as *volumes first and second*, and the matter of the present, as *volume third*. In

connexion with some of the most remarkable objects alluded to in both works, wooden engravings are here given, which may perhaps tempt a few to explore the venerable city, while others who cannot, or choose not to do so, will have their curiosity partly satisfied without that trouble. It may be mentioned, that the floors of the Tolbooth and Parliament House are represented with the most exact fidelity, the measurements having been supplied by a professional hand.

REEKIANA—a title once contemplated for a similar work by Sir Walter Scott, and which he good-humouredly surrendered to me some years ago—is probably the last contribution I shall make to the history of Edinburgh—perhaps, also, to the antiquities of Scotland. The pursuit of literary objects of more extensive utility, and requiring a greater exertion of moral reflection, calls me, at a mature period of life, from what I have all along felt to be merely a youthful amusement, or the recreation of a

mind of poetical tendencies, but which was too much engaged in the business of life to dress its pinions for a more ambitious flight. By this I mean to imply, that antiquities have not been to me a dry and painstaking study, as some may imagine, but a recreation abounding in sentiment, and proving as much its own reward as the composition of that more express poetry which bewrays so many youthful intellects. I think it the more necessary to point out this, as it explains something which appears to have been generally misunderstood, and which may perhaps rank among some of the less important paradoxes of mind. It was the prevailing impression, at the first appearance of the "Traditions of Edinburgh," that it must have been the composition of a person in extreme old age, as if it was not to be supposed that the minutiæ of the domestic life and manners of past generations, could be detailed with so much unction, and, perhaps I may add, so much garrulous simplicity and

naïveté, by any other kind of person. Now, so different have I always found the taste of old persons to be—so commonplace in general are their feelings respecting what they have themselves witnessed in early life, and what they have heard from their fathers respecting those early romantic times, to which we now look back as to a kind of fairyland—that I would say there was much more likelihood in what really was the case, that the work took its rise from the ardent and unworldly feelings of one-and-twenty, than in the supposition that it sprung from the desire of old age to describe that with which it was once familiar.

EDINBURGH, *June* 1833.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH Edinburgh is one of the oldest royal burghs in the kingdom, and was in the twelfth century one of four such towns honoured with a kind of jurisdiction over the rest, it is not one of the earliest settlements of population in Scotland. Passing, however, over the early ages, where history is half conjecture, we find it, in 1128, a king's burgh, or town of the royal demesne, extending between the Castle, which must have been the cause of its existence, and a point halfway down the hill towards the Abbey of Holyrood. The style of domestic building which obtained in the better order of burghs about that time, was just one advance beyond the primitive cottages which gave shelter to the

peasantry. From a specimen in the town of Perth, which was only destroyed in the last age, after having existed by the unquestionable evidence of charters since the early part of the thirteenth century,* it would appear that a good house, such as might be occupied by one of the better order of merchants, consisted in one strongly built ground-flat, with a more flimsy superstructure, perhaps of wood, having an open gallery or balcony in front. Specimens of such buildings exist to this day, in the Grassmarket, Cowgate, and Pleasance of Edinburgh, with apparently little alteration from their original condition, except what consists in the substitution of slate for thatch. "Very lately," says Mr Gilbert

* Statistical Account, xviii, 505. The building here alluded to is thus described, in the charter by which the proprietor granted it to the Monastery of Scone—"duas bothas meas, cum solario superposito," *i. e.* my two booths, with the gallery placed above them. It was from a house of this kind, in Linlithgow, belonging to the Archbishop of St Andrews, that Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh shot the Regent Murray.

Laing Meason, in a note communicated in 1824, "Leith Wynd and the Pleasance afforded ex-

amples of what the houses prior to the conflagration of 1544 were, even in the High Street; viz.

detached stone houses, of two stories, thatched, the upper story made by storm or garret windows in the roof; sometimes the front, and in other cases a wooden gable end, looked to the street. The houses of this kind which stood in Leith Wynd, are now all removed by stone *lands* of respectable appearance." There also seem to have been varieties from this description. For instance, a house in Musselburgh, which, in 1332, must have been the best in the town, as it was selected to accommodate the Regent (Randolph) Earl of Moray, who took ill and died there on his march to England, consisted of but one flat; a door and passage in the centre, and on each side a small room, vaulted above, and lighted by a window to the street. If we may judge, moreover, from some of the old specimens mentioned as existing in Edinburgh, the second story sometimes projected over the first, so as to form a sheltered piazza, possibly used for the exhibition of merchandise. Perhaps such superstructures were sometimes after-

thoughts, and were simply reared by projecting strong beams into the street, raising a skeleton wall upon what already existed, for the support of the new roof, and then enclosing the front with deals.

Thus the earliest idea we can form of Edinburgh would represent it as a hill-built hamlet in the shape of a double row of one-story, or at most two-story houses, extending from the esplanade in front of the Castle, down to the present Netherbow—on the north side a ravine filled by a lake, on the south a similar hollow filled perhaps by a marsh—one entrance to the town by the bottom of the declining street, another by a narrow crooked pathway, which ascended from the south, near the Castle, (since formed into a street, and called the West Bow)—in all directions around, the forest of Drumsheuch, through which yet roamed the white Caledonian bull, the wolf, the elk, the boar, the deer, with many other animals, now hardly known in Scot-

land, which, we are assured, did then form the objects of the chase.

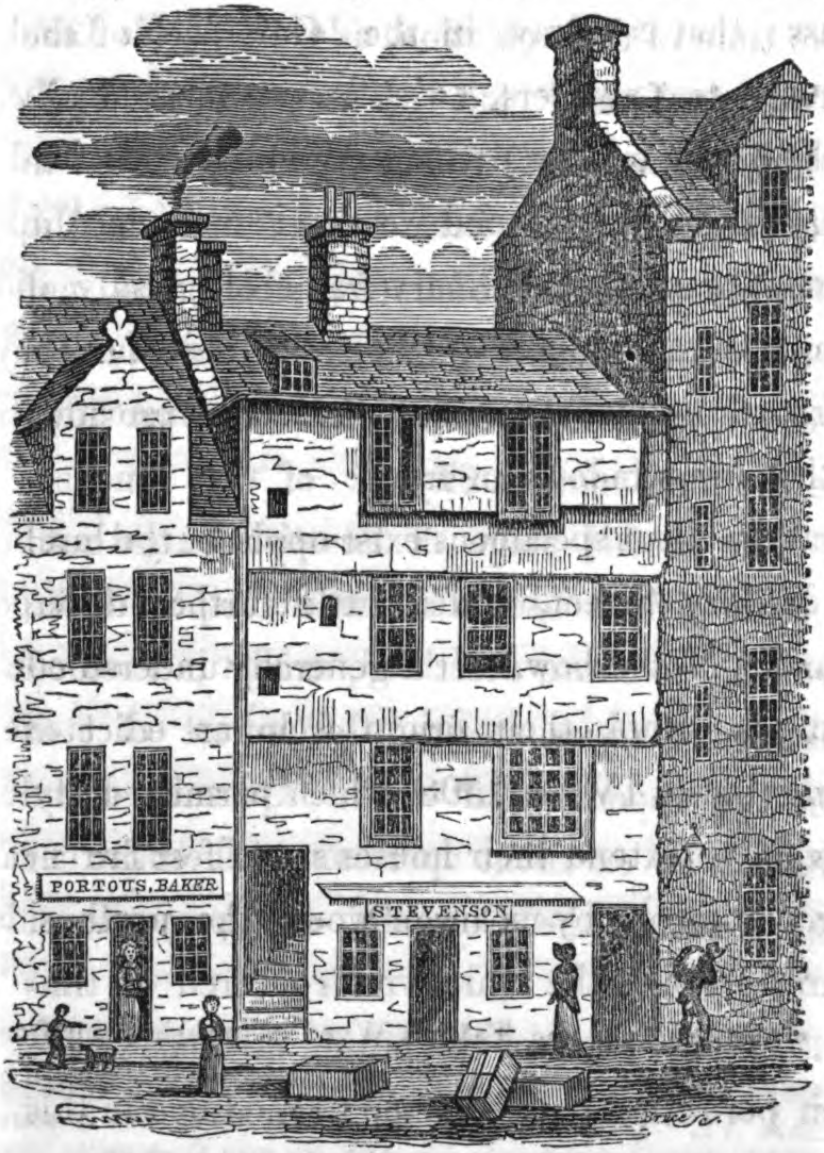
The buildings, such as we have described them, were all reared upon pieces of ground, which it was necessary to feu from the burgh, by an arrangement styled, in the old charters, a tenement or *holding* of land. Hence, by a curious metonomy, the houses themselves came to be called by the word *tenement* or the word *land;* which are still, both of them, but especially the latter, part of the familiar language of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. *Tenement*, as a word for house, is used every where in Scotland, in reference to any species of street building; but *land*, from its being so long applied exclusively to the tall houses of the old town, which were so invariably divided into flats, is only at this day applicable to that description of mansion, and is confined to Edinburgh. Formerly, when houses were not numbered as now, many of the houses of the Old Town were

generally known by some far-descended name which had been attached to the word *land* at the time of their erection, as Gavinloch's Land, Todrig's Land,* &c. The word *turnpike*, which properly referred to the spiral stair leading to the different flats, was another word applicable to those buildings; which really did require some such distinctive appellation, as they were in many cases as populous as some streets in the more modern city.

The second stage of Scottish burgal architecture gives houses which in no respect differed from those above described, except in their consisting of *three* stories, the lowest of stone, the two uppermost of wood. Of such a style, there is an excellent specimen still entire near the head of the Cowgate, on the north side

* Todrig's Land and Todrig's Wynd take their name from George Todrig, a wealthy citizen and magistrate of the reign of James VI. Over the door, till lately, there was a stone exhibiting his armorial bearings, with the initials G. T.

of the street. The stair is generally lighted by round or square holes in the wooden



deal front, which used to be called *shots*, or shot-windows, and never were glazed, though in some

cases provided with sliding shutters. The other windows were generally half of wood, half of glass: that is to say, in the lower part of the window two shutters, (with an ornamented upright in the middle,) which might be closed in bad and opened in good weather; while in the upper part was an ordinary frame of glass, not formed for opening. Others of these houses were of loftier structure, and were provided with more windows in front: of that kind several excellent specimens exist opposite the head of Niddry Street, and a little further down, near the Netherbow. It is generally understood that they took their origin from an edict of King James IV, in 1508, which permitted the citizens to extend their houses seven feet farther into the street, by means of wooden projections, in order to get the Burrowmuir cleared of timber. By the laws of the burgh, no houses have been permitted to be erected or modified in this fashion since 1677, on account of the danger they are under from fire.

The extent of Edinburgh in the middle of the fifteenth century is indicated very nearly by the wall then built around it. It as yet consisted chiefly of the High Street, from the head of the present Castle Hill to the bottom of the Netherbow, with perhaps a few short alleys on both sides, the increase, hitherto, having taken a direction upwards into the air, instead of extending over more ground. Between 1450-1, the date of the wall, and 1513, when it was necessary to extend it, the Cowgate and the Grassmarket had been added, or had increased sufficiently to require their being included; and the town then measured nearly half a mile every way, exclusive of the Canongate, which also must have been advancing in density and space. The cause of this sudden start in the prosperity and extent of the town may be traced to the favour of royalty, which began to be showered more particularly upon Edinburgh after the murder of James I, at Perth. This is the era of its acquiring a metropolitan cha-

racter—the time when parliaments began to be regularly held in it—the time when a royal palace was first built at Holyrood. Now also was the parish-church of Edinburgh rendered collegiate; now were its artisans incorporated. Judging from a document given in Maitland's history of the city, its streets by day must have been one universal market. At the same time, from the imperfect notions of the people as to cleanliness, dunghills must have contended for place with merchandise, and stacks of wood, peat, and other fuel, rendered the passage along the street as difficult and devious as walking in a farm-yard.

The third stage of street architecture in Edinburgh presents us with stone buildings of three or four stories. Of such a sort was the *Black Turnpike*, a fine old house formerly existing near the Tron Church, and which was erected in the year 1461. But it is not to be supposed that buildings of this order were com-

mon in Edinburgh at that period. It is rather to be imagined that they were very rare. At least it is certain, from a particular circumstance, that houses having wooden galleries in the front of the second story were common in the very centre of the town, anno 1513. In that year, very shortly before the battle of Flodden, we are told by Lindsay of Pitscottie that Mr Richard Lawson, provost of Edinburgh, was walking by night in his gallery opposite the Cross, to enjoy the air, when he saw the well-known apparitional ceremony of a proclamation, by which it is supposed some patriotic spirits endeavoured to frighten the king from his intended expedition into England. But even at this day there are some specimens of such houses existing in Edinburgh. One in every respect similar, but perhaps raised to a greater height, stands *third* from the head of North Bridge, reckoning down the High Street. The celebrated *rows* of Chester are constructed upon the same principle, though different

in so far as the galleries extend in an open way along a whole street, and are much wider. Whether of stone or wood, the houses in the High Street of Edinburgh would appear from Sir David Lindsay's poem on the pageant of Queen Magdalene's public entry in 1537, to have then been composed of goodly buildings, which the inhabitants were able, on occasions of ceremonial rejoicing, to garnish with tapestry. Nor were the houses of the front street more elegant than those behind, for it is understood that the closes were then inhabited chiefly by noblemen, gentlemen, and persons unconnected with business, while the others were the residence of tradesmen and merchants.

It would be difficult, however, to state any particular kind of building as predominating at this period. The truth is, various orders of building must have now been mixed up together. There would here and there be seen a low-roofed tenement of the thirteenth century, surviving all its immediate neighbours; while

close by its sides might spring up the tall edifices of wood or stone, which had successively come into fashion at more recent periods. It must be mentioned that a very general variety, at this period, consisted in having piazzas below, wherein merchandise was exposed; of such there are examples still existing in the High Street, near the Fountain Well. A remarkable peculiarity, arising from the custom of projecting houses seven feet farther into the street, must also be noticed. The gates, with which most of the closes were shut up for protection from the *tulyiers* and *spulziers* of those times, were, in all cases, seven feet within the mouth of the close, having been so left at the time of the projection. Many traces of this may be seen at the present day; for, though the gates exist no longer, the gateways and the hooks for the hinges have been mostly left undisturbed. Another peculiarity was the prevalence of outer stairs. These led up to the gallery in the second story in the wooden

houses, or a doorway in those of stone, and a spiral stair ascended within to the remaining flats. The people stood on these stairs to see processions. A historian of Queen Mary's time, tells us that, when that unfortunate lady was brought along the street, after being taken into the keeping of the confederate lords at Carberry, the women stood on these stairs, and reviled her with vulgar abuse, in reference to her late infamous marriage. Some of them yet remain, and are a decided nuisance, from the obstruction they give in passing along the pavement.

Several houses yet exist in the Old Town, bearing date from the reign of Queen Mary; but are not remarkable for elegance of appearance. We find several, however, of the reign of King James, which present a massive and dignified aspect, being built entirely of polished stone, and rising to a great height. These houses, also, possess as good internal accommodation as any in the same district of the town,

of whatever age. In many cases, the rooms are paneled, the ceilings decorated with plaster figures, and the doorways ornamented with mouldings, not to speak of the quotations from Scripture which so universally distinguish the architraves. A house in the Canongate, built (as we should suppose) at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for the family of the Earl of Moray, is a most respectable specimen of the taste of the time. We now find, moreover, that travellers who happened to visit the town, speak of the houses on the main street as singularly tall and elegant. In De Witt's bird's-eye view of the town, taken at the middle of the seventeenth century, we have a portraiture of the north side of the street, which certainly answers to this description. Some houses built in the main street during the reign of King William III. are in a style which has never been surpassed in the Old Town; we would instance—if the reader will excuse such minute detail—the building op-

posite to the head of the West Bow,* and Gavinloch's land in the Lawnmarket. James's Court, built in 1727, is an excellent specimen of the taste of the succeeding generation.

Such was Edinburgh, in its general aspect, about the time to which our map refers—the era immediately preceding the rise of the New Town and Southern Districts. For an account of these large additions to the ancient city, and the objects contained in them, we must refer to the works entitled "Traditions of Edinburgh," and "Walks in Edinburgh." But it may be worth while, in order to show what has been the practical result of these changes upon the system of domestic accommodation, to give the following contrast between the house, or rather palace, at present

* The stone with which this house and also that in front of Milne's Square were built, was procured from a quarry near Bruntisland, which boasted that the longer the stone was exposed to the air in a building, the harder it grew. The same species of stone seems to be used in many other houses in the High Street.

required by a person of first rank in Edinburgh, and the *flat* which was deemed sufficient in days not yet long past: At present a gentleman of the best order in Edinburgh, say a judge of the Court of Session, finds it necessary to have a self-contained house in Moray Place, or some equally splendid district, for which he pays a rent of about L.160, (the very feu-duty, perhaps, costing L.35 annually,) and which consists of four flats, containing the following apartments—on the sunk floor, a complete suite of culinary apartments, with accommodation for servants—on second floor, dining-room in front, business-room or library, and a bed-room behind—on third floor, drawing-room occupying the whole front of the house, with two large apartments behind, generally occupied as bed-room and dressing-room, but which may be added to the drawing-room, upon occasion, by means of large doorways—fourth flat, a nursery and a number of good bed-rooms, besides which there is perhaps a

suite of small rooms immediately under the slates. The furniture of such a house would not cost less than fifteen hundred pounds, but more generally is purchased at the rate of two thousand.

In opposition to this picture, we give the accommodation which satisfied a most respectable judge and landed gentleman of the latter part of the last century, namely Lord Kennet. [It was, to be sure, while in business as an advocate—but still he was a gentleman of good estate.] This eminent person lived in a flat in Forester's Wynd, Lawnmarket, which he either rented, or might have rented, at about L.15,* and which contained the following apartments, as described by a member of his lordship's family. The rooms were three—the kitchen one. One room was "my lady's," another was the gentleman's consulting-room or

* We may judge of the value of houses in the sixteenth century by what Magnus, the envoy of Henry VIII, offered for one in 1525; this officer tells Wolsey in a letter, that he had offered 20 merks of yearly rent for his house.

study; the third was their bed-room. The servant-girl, who, besides the nurse, was their only female attendant, slept under the dresser in the kitchen. Their single man-servant slept out of the house; and the nurse and children had beds in the study, which, during the day, were removed into the bed-room! In his latter days, when raised to the bench,* his lordship, by way of making a corresponding step in gentility, removed to a house of *two* flats—in the *Horse Wynd!*

The moral of this contrast, which, every body will acknowledge, might easily be extended to every rank in Scottish society, is a sufficient proof, if proof were wanting, of the prodigious advance made, during the last fifty years, in all that regards domestic circumstances in Scotland. The cry of evil times and a necessitous population is now as loud as ever; but a few statistical facts like the above are only required to prove

* Mr Robert Bruce of Kennet was raised to the bench, July 4, 1764—died April 8, 1785.

it destitute of foundation. Men may now live as near the verge of their income as before, and may therefore feel as often the twinge arising from inadequate funds. But it is clear that the style of existence is in every respect universally improved.

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DESCRIPTIONS OF EDINBURGH

AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

1255.

In a representation of grievances made by Margaret, the first consort of Alexander III., in 1255, to the Scottish Estates, it is set forth, "that she is confined in the castle of Edinburgh, *a sad and solitary place*, without verdure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome."—*Dalrymple's Annals*, i. 165, 166. Queen Margaret was the daughter of Henry III. of England, and was then very young.

1384-5.

Froissart, the French historian, who himself visited Scotland about the year 1360, thus speaks of the arrival of his countrymen at Edinburgh in 1384-5, in order to assist the King of Scots (Robert II.) against the English, with whom France was then at war:—

"They arrived at Edinborowe, the chief town in Scotlande, and wherin the king in time of peace most comonly lay. And as sone as the Erle Duglas and the Erle Morette (Douglas and Moray) knew of their comynge, they wente to the hauyin and mette with them, and received them sweetly, saying, howe they were rycht welcome into that country: and the barons of Scotlande knew richt well Sir Geffray de Charney, for he had been the somer before two months in ther company. Sir Geffray acquainted them with the admyrall and the other knychtes of France; as at that tyme the king of Scottes was not there, for he was in the wyld Scottyshe [the Highlands]. But it was showed these knychtes that the kyng wold be ther

shortly; wherewith they were well content, and so were lodged thereabout in the villages; for Edinburgh, though the kyng kept there his chief residence, and that it is Paris in Scotlande, yet it is not like Tournay or Vallenciens, for *in all the town there is not four thousand houses.* Ther it behoved these lordes and knychtes to be lodged about in villages, as at Donfermelyne, Cassell [Kelso], Donbare, Alquest [Dalkeith], and such other."—*Berners' Translation.*

Immediately after, Froissart represents the Scots as displeased at the arrival of the French, dreading more the mischief they would do by eating up the country than the English could by burning it, seeing that they could build up their burnt houses again in three days, if they only had four or five sticks, and boughs to cover them. Perhaps this is a somewhat loose indication of the way in which the roofs of the houses in Edinburgh were constructed; but yet it is confirmed in some measure by the testimony of an English historian. Walsingham, speaking in his Annals* of the invasion of

* P. 334.

Scotland by the Duke of Lancaster, the very year before that alluded to by Froissart [1384], says, in regard to Edinburgh, " Ad quam cum venissent, nihil præter domos vacuas invenerunt, et non tantum vacuas, sed omne stramentum tectorum depositum propter incendium, et detractum ;"—*to which city when they came, they found nothing but empty houses, and not only empty, but all the straw with which they had been covered, was either deposited ready for burning, or taken away ;*—the inhabitants having entirely deserted the town, in order that the English army, finding no food or shelter, might the sooner retreat to their own country. Pinkerton thinks that the inhabitants of Edinburgh, at this time, could not be above sixteen thousand in number, calculating each family at four persons. Chalmers, calculating upon five to a family, conjectures that the aggregate number might be twenty thousand. It is not credible, considering the circumstances of the country, that the number reached to either of these sums : indeed we suspect that the French historian must have substituted, by mistake, the word *thousands* for *hundreds.*

1478.

Edinburgh is spoken of by an English contemporary as at this time a place of opulence—"OPPIDUM DITISSIMUM."—*Cont. ann. Croyland, apud Gale*, i. 563. The author, in a subsequent part of his work, speaks of the visit which the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III.) paid to the city in 1482, for the purpose of settling a peace, and he blames him for not sacking it: the first and only time, we believe, that ever honest Dickon was found fault with for an error on the side of tenderness. Hall informs us, in his Chronicle, that Gloucester, on this occasion, took only such presents as the merchants of the town "*genteelly offered him.*"

ABOUT 1500.

The following poem by Dunbar, never before published, gives a striking picture of the city about the end of the fifteenth century.

Quhy will ye, merchants of renown,
Lat Edinburgh, your nobill town,

For laik of reformation,
The commone proffeitt tyne and fame ?
Think ye not schame
That uther regioun
Sall with dishonour hurt your name ?

May nane pass throw your principall gaitis,
For stink of haddockis and of scaittis,
For cryis of carlingis and debaittis,
For fensum flyttings of defame :
Think ye not schame,
Befoir strangeris of all estaitis,
That sic dishonour hurt your name ?

Your stinkand scuil, that standis dirk,
Haldis the lycht fra your parroche kirk ;*
Your foirstairs makis your houses mirk,
Lyk na cuntray bot heir at hame :
Think ye not schame,
So litill polesie to work,
In hurt and sklander of your name ?

At your hie croce, quhair gold and silk
Sould be, thair is bot crudis and milk ;
And at your trone bot cokill and wilk,
Panshes, puddingis of Jok and Jame :
Think ye not schame ?
Sen as the world sayis that ilk,
In hurt and sklander of your name.

* This would indicate that the city school was then kept in the building called the Luckenbooths, if there were not a doubt that for *scuil* should be read *stile*.

ABOUT 1532-50.

The following is a translation of the first geographical account of Edinburgh—namely, a description of the city, written in Latin by Alexander Alesse, for Sebastian Munster's COSMOGRAPHY, published at Basle in 1550.*

"Edinburgh is situated in the district of Lothian, an Italian mile to the south of an arm of the sea, into which the river Forth runs from the west. The city has two hills towards the east; the more southerly is called Arthur's Seat [*Cathedra Arthuri*]; that to the north, the hill of the Wild Boar [*Collis Apri*].† On all sides there is an extremely fertile

* Alexander Ales or Alesse was born at Edinburgh in 1500, and became a canon at St Andrews. Being persecuted for Protestant principles, he left his native country for ever in 1532; which we esteem a sufficient reason for inserting that date in the title, as it is to be supposed that his description, though perhaps written so late as 1550, contained in a great measure his own recollections, united, perhaps, with information more recently acquired.

† The Calton Hill. How it acquired this name, or when it ceased to bear it, we are alike ignorant. In our own map, the hill is called Caltoun Craigs, *i. e.* rocks.

country—pleasant meadows, woods, a lake, rivulets, and more than a hundred castles, belonging to the citizens, within a German mile.* About an Italian mile† to the north, as already mentioned, is an arm of the sea, close to which is situated the town of Leith, in the middle of which is a harbour, where you may see a hundred vessels of large burden. Edinburgh is placed on a hill like Prague, and is one mile in length, and half a mile in breadth. The length is from west to east. At the west end rises a hill and lofty rock, and a castle upon that rock, under which there is a deep valley on every side except that towards the city; wherefore the castle is impregnable unless from that point, nor can any one scale it even with ladders, so precipitous and hard is the rock. In this precipice do the vultures build; and the more daring of the young men spoil the nests of these birds, let down from the castle in baskets.‡ The castle is called *Castrum Puellarum*,

* Six English miles.

† An ordinary English mile.

‡ Perhaps it was at this spot that Alesse met with an accident, which, in the words of the poet, "almost did befall." He tells us in one of his dedications, that when a child, diverting himself with other children, he rolled himself to the very

and it shuts in the city on the west. At the east end of the city is the magnificent monastery of the Holy Cross, having a royal palace contiguous to it, with the most pleasant gardens, bounded in by a lake at the bottom of Arthur's Seat. In this hill are found precious stones, radiant as light, particularly diamonds [*adamantes*]. In the city are two streets reaching from the Castle to the Monastery, paved with square stones, especially the High Street [*Regia Via**]. There is a suburb to the west, half a mile long, called St Cuthbert's Road. In the city

edge of a high rock, when he was snatched up by an invisible hand, and carried to a place of safety. "Some," says he, "attributed this to several portions of Scripture hung about my neck: it being then a custom to hang some passages of Scripture about children's necks. Others thought it was done by my guardian angel. But I myself am of opinion, that it proceeded from the faith of my parents." Certainly the most sensible of the three reasons! The reader will be amused to find that our ancestors, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had a superstitious custom, which travellers now think curious when they find it in the centre of Africa.

* Regia Via is the constant expression in old writs for the king's highway, or street. We therefore presume that it here signifies *the High Street*, more especially as the same street is afterwards styled Vicus *Regius*. This affords an explication of the term High Street, showing it to be simply of the same origin and meaning as the word "highway."

there are many monasteries and churches, especially the Grey Friars', the Black Friars', the Church of Mary of the Fields, the College of Priests, the Collegiate Church of the Trinity,* and the Hospital of St Thomas.† This city is not built of bricks, but of unhewn and square stones, so that few cities can compare with it in large palaces. In the midst of the city is the Town-house [*Capitolium*], and the Collegiate Church of St Giles. Bishops, dukes,‡ earls, lords, and the grandees of the whole kingdom, have their palaces in this city when they attend Parliament. A large and most superb palace for the king is placed close to the monastery, and from it there extends one continuous street to the Castle, called the High Street, *(Vicus Regius,)* but which is wider towards the Castle than towards the Monastery; and this street has some fine houses on both sides, and the most of them built of polished stone. There is another street of considerable length, called the Canongate, *(Vicus Canonicorum,)* which is

* At the bottom of Leith Wynd.

† Near the Water-gate.

‡ At this period there was only one duke in Scotland—the Duke of Chatelherault.

narrower, and is separated from the High Street by a wall, with a gate and tower, and is considered as a suburb. From the High Street there extend both to the north and south many alleys; all of which are replenished with lofty houses; as is also the Cowgate, *(Vicus Vaccarum,)* in which dwell the great men and senators of the city, *(Patricii et Senatores,)* and in which there are palaces belonging to the princes of the kingdom—nothing *there* being humble or plain, but all magnificent. Among the larger churches of Edinburgh, next to the grand church of the Monastery, the Collegiate Church of St Giles, built in the middle of the High Street, holds the first place. Next to it, in the street which divides Edinburgh from the Canongate, is a magnificent church called the Queen's College within the Walls.* Then, between the Black Friars' and Grey Friars' Monasteries, is situated the church of Mary of the Fields, where is also the College of Priests.† Finally, under the

* Previously styled the Collegiate Church of the Trinity; being what is now generally termed the College Kirk. It here receives the name of the Queen's College, as having been built by Queen Mary of Gueldres, consort of James II.

† Styled in the original, COLLEGIUM SACERDOTUM. We

castle rock, is the new parish church of St Cuthbert's."

1598.

Fynes Moryson, gentleman, who travelled over a great part of Europe, and published the result of his observations in one volume folio, 1617, did not, like many other general travellers of that time, overlook Scotland. He made an excursion into this northern land from Berwick, and has given us an exceedingly graphic and curious account of all that he saw and learned, both respecting the appearance of the country, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. As it is not long, we give it almost entire:—

find no trace of such an institution in either Maitland or Arnot's Histories. But we should suppose, from the situation indicated, that the curious old building which existed some time ago in the east side of the College Wynd, was the Collegium Sacerdotum. Arnot speaks of this house as a part of the buildings belonging to the Black Friars; which, however, is far from likely, as the monastery itself stood at the head of the High School Wynd, to the east of the present Infirmary. Over the door-way was the following religious inscription, now transferred to another part of the building:—

"Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum."

"My selfe upon occasion of businesse in the month of Aprill, and the yeere 1598, tooke a journey to these said confines, namely, to Barwicke, a towne then very strongly fortified by the English, to restraine the sudden incursions of the Scots, and abounding with all things necessary of food, yea with many dainties, as salmons and all kindes of shell-fish, so plentifully, as they were sold for very small prices. And here I found that for the lending of sixtie pound, there wanted not good citizens who would give the lender a faire chamber and good dyet as long as he would lend them the mony. Being to returne from Barwicke, I had an earnest desire first to see the King of Scots Court. So from hence I rode in one day fortie miles to Edinborrow, the chiefe citie of that kingdome. And in this said daies journey after foure miles riding I came to Aton, a village where the Lord of Humes dwelles, whose family was powerfull in those parts. After sixteene miles more I came to Dunbar, which they said to have been of old a towne of some importance, but then it lay ruined, and seemed of little moment, as well for the povertie, as the small number of inhabitants. After the riding of eight

miles more, on the left hand towards the west, and something out of the high way, the pleasant village Hadrington lay, which the English, in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth, tooke, and kept against the French, who, drawne over in the time of faction, kept the towne of Dunbar, and fortified the same. When I had ridden five miles further, I came to the ancient and (according to the building of that kingdome) stately pallace of the L. Seton, beautified with faire orchards and gardens, and for that clime pleasant. Not farre thence lyes the village Preston-graung, belonging to the family of the Cars, powerfull from these parts to the very borders of England within land. After I had ridden three miles more, I came to the village Fisherawe, neere which, beyond a brooke, lyes the village Musselborow, in a stony soyle, famous for a great victorie of the English against the Scots. On the left hand, towards the west, and something out of the high way, the Queene of Scots then kept her Court (in the absence of the King) at the village Dawkeith, in a pallace belonging to the Earle of Murray.*

* A mistake for Morton.

From the said village Fisherawe, I rode the rest of the way, being foure miles, and so in one dayes journey (as I said) came to Edenborow, seated in Lodoney, (of old called Pictland,) the most civill region of Scotland, being hilly and fruitfull of corne, but having little or no wood. This city is the seat of the King of Scotland, and the Courts of Iustice are held in the same. Of old, according to the changeable fortune of warre, it was sometimes in the possession of the Scots, sometimes of the English inhabiting this easterne part of Scotland, till the English kingdome being shaken with the invasions of the Danes, at last, about the yeere 960, it became wholly in the power of the Scots. This city is high seated, in a fruitful soyle and wholsome aire, and is adorned with many noblemens towers lying about it, and aboundeth with many springs of sweet waters. At the end, towards the east, is the Kings Pallace joyning to the Monastery of the Holy Crosse, which King David the First built, over which, in a parke of hares, conies, and deere, an high mountaine hangs, called the Chaire of Arthur, (of Arthur the Prince of the Britaines, whose monuments, famous among all ballad-makers,

are for the most part to be found on these borders of England and Scotland.) From the Kings Pallace at the east, the city still riseth higher and higher towards the west, and consists especially of one broad and very faire street, (which is the greatest part and sole ornament thereof,) the rest of the side streets and allies being of poore building, and inhabited with very poore people, and this length from the east to the west is about a mile, whereas the bredth of the city from the north to the south is narrow, and cannot be halfe a mile. At the furthest end towards the west, is a very strong Castle, which the Scots held unexpugnable. Camden saith this Castle was of old called by the Britaines, Castle Meyned Agned, by the Scots the Castle of the Maids or Virgines, (of certaine virgines kept there for the Kings of the Picts,) and by Ptolomy the Winged Castle. And from this Castle towards the west, is a most steepe rocke pointed on the highest top, out of which this Castle is cut: But on the north and south sides without the wals, lie plaine and fruitful fields of corne. In the midst of the foresaid faire street, the Cathedrall Church is built, which is large and lightsome, but little state-

ly for the building, and nothing at all for the beauty and ornament. In this church the Kings seate is built some few staires high of wood, and leaning vpon the pillar next to the pulpit: And opposite to the same is another seat very like it, in which the incontinent vse to stand and doe pennance; and some few weekes past, a gentleman, being a stranger, and taking it for a place wherein men of better quality used to sit, boldly entred the same in sermon time, till he was driven away with the profuse laughter of the common sort, to the disturbance of the whole congregation. The houses are built of unpolished stone, and in the faire streete good part of them is of free stone, which in that broade streete would make a faire shew, but that the outsides of them are faced with wooden galleries, built upon the second story of the houses; yet these galleries give the owners a faire and pleasant prospect, into the said faire and broad streete, when they sit or stand in the same. The wals of the city are built of little and unpolished stones, and seeme ancient, but are very narrow, and in some places exceeding low, in others, ruined.

From Edenborow there is a ditch of water, (yet

not running from the inland, but rising of springs,) which is carried to Lethe, and so to the sea. Lethe is seated upon a creek of the sea, called the Frith, some miles from Edenborow, and hath a most commodious and large haven. When Monsieur Dessy, a Frenchman, did fortifie Lethe, for the strength of Edenborow, it began of a base village to grow to a towne. And when the French King Francis the Second had married Mary Queene of the Scots, againe the French, (who now had in hope devoured the possession of that kingdome, and in the yeere 1560 began to aime at the conquest of England) more strongly fortified this towne of Lethe: but Elizabeth Queene of England, called to the succour of the Lords of Scotland against these Frenchmen, called in by the Queene, soone effected that the French returned into their countrey, and these fortifications were demolished.

[*Here follows a brief account of his trip to Fife.*]

The houses in villages, and scattered in the countrie, are like to those in England; but the gentlemens and noblemens houses are nothing so frequent, nor so stately built as the better sort of the English. Neither are their townes and cities in number,

building, or pleasantnesse, comparable to those in England. Lastly, the villages of clay, covered with straw, are much more frequent then in England, and farre less commodious within. Among the Kings pallaces, that at Edenburg and that of Sterling for the building, and Fawland for the pleasure of hunting, are the chiefe.

In Scotland a horse may be hired for two shillings the first day, and eight pence the day until he be brought home, and the horse-letters use to send a footeman to bring backe the horse. They have no such innes as bee in England; but in all places some houses are knowne, where passengers may have meate and lodging: but they have no bushes or signes hung out, and for the horses, they are commonly set up in stables in some out-lane, not in the same house where the passenger lyes. And if any man bee acquainted with a townes-man, hee will go freely to his house, for most of them will entertaine a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for oates and straw (for hay is rare in those parts) some eight pence day and night, and he shall pay no lesse in summer for grasse, whereof they have no great store. Himself at a common

table shall pay about sixe pence for his supper or dinner, and shall have his bed free; and if he will eate alone in his chamber, he may have meate at a reasonable rate. Some twenty or thirty yeers agoe the first use of coaches came into Scotland, yet were they rare even at Edenborough, at this day. Since the kingdomes of England and Scotland were united, many Scots by the Kings favour have been promoted both in dignitie and estate, and the use of coaches became more frequent, yet nothing so common as in England. But the use of horse-litters hath been very ancient in Scotland, as in England, for sickly men and women of qualitie.

Touching their diet: They eate much red cole-wort and cabbage, but little fresh meate, using to salt their mutton and geese, which made me more wonder that they used to eate beefe without salting. The gentlemen reckon their revenewes, not by rents of monie, but by chauldrons of victuals, and keepe many people in their families, yet living most on corne and rootes, not spending any great quantity of flesh.

My self was at a knights house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meate

with their heads covered with blew caps, the table being more then halfe furnished with great platters of porredge, each having a little piece of sodden meate; and when the table was served, the servants did sit downe with us; but the upper messe, in steede of porredge, had a pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no art of cookery, or furniture of houshold stuffe, but rather rude neglect of both, though myselfe and my companion, sent from the Governour of Barwicke about bordering affairs, were entertained after their best manner. The Scots, living then in factions, used to keepe many followers, and so consumed their revenew of victuals, living in some want of money. They vulgarly eate harth cakes of oates, but in cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by courtiers, gentlemen, and the best sort of citizens. When I lived at Barwicke, the Scots weekly upon the market day, obtained leave in writing of the governor, to buy pease and beanes, whereof, also of wheate, their merchants at this day send great quantity from London into Scotland.

They drinke pure wines, not with sugar as the English, yet at feasts they put comfits in the wine,

after the French manner; but they had not our vinteners fraud to mixe their wines. I did never see nor heare that they have any publike innes with signes hanging out, but the better sort of citizens brew ale, their usuall drinke (which will distemper a strangers bodie), and the same citizens will entertain passengers upon acquaintance or entreaty. Their bedsteads were then like cubbards in the wall, with doors to be opened and shut at pleasure, so as we climed up to our beds. They used but one sheete, open at the sides and top, but close at the feete, and so doubled. Passengers did seeke a stable for their horses in some other place, and did there buy horse-meat, and if perhaps the same house yeelded a stable, yet the payment for the horse did not make them have beds free as in England. I omit to speake of the innes and expenses therein, having delated the same in the itinerary of the First Part, and a chapter in this Part expressly treating thereof. When passengers goe to bed, their custome was to present them with a sleeping cup of wine at parting. The country people and merchants used to drinke largely, the gentlemen some-what more

sparingly, yet the very courtiers, at feasts, by night meetings, and entertaining any stranger, used to drinke healths not without excesse, and (to speake truth without offence) the excesses of drinking was then farre greater in general among the Scots then the English. My selfe being at the Court invited by some gentlemen to supper, and being forewarned to fear this excesse, would not promise to sup with them, but upon condition that my inviter would be my protection from large drinking, which I was many times forced to invoke, being curteously entertained, and much provoked to garaussing, and so for that time avoided any great intemperance. Remembring this, and having since observed in my conversation at the English Court with the Scots of the better sort, that they spend great part of the night in drinking, not only wine, but even beere, as my selfe will not accuse them of great intemperance, so I cannot altogether free them from the imputation of excesse, wherewith the popular voice chargeth them.

The husbandmen in Scotland, the servants, and almost al in the country, did wear course cloth

made at home, of gray or skie colour, and flat blew caps very broad. The merchants in cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour or mingled black and blew. The gentlemen did weare English cloth, or silke, or light stuffes, little or nothing adorned with silke lace, much lesse with lace of silver or gold, and all followed at this time the French fashion, especially in Court. Gentlewomen married did weare close upper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeves, after the French manner, short cloakes like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands about their neckes. The unmarried of all sorts did goe bareheaded, and weare short cloakes, with most close linnen sleeves on their armes, like the virgins of Germany. The inferior sort of citizens wives, and the women of the countrey, did weare cloakes made of a course stuffe, of two or three colours in checker worke, vulgarly called plodan. To conclude, in generall they would not at this time be attired after the English fashion in any sort, but the men, especially at Court, follow the French fashion, and the women, both in Court and City, as

well in cloakes, as naked heads, and close sleeves on the armes, and all other garments, follow the fashion of the women in Germany."

1600.

In a journey made this year by the Duc de Rohan, and afterwards published in French,* Edinburgh is described. The author thus speaks of the High Street :—

"As to the buildings, they are not very sumptuous; for almost all the houses are formed [*faites*] of wood. But to make up for this, they are so well filled with inhabitants, that I believe there is no city so populous as this, considering its size. It is a much more mercantile town than any other in the kingdom. But it would be against all reason if it were otherwise ; for, in the first place, it is situated in the more fertile regions of Scotland—as is demonstrated by there being more than a hundred gentlemen's seats within two leagues [six miles]

* Voyage faict en l'an 1600, en Italie et Ecosse, par le Duc de Rohan. 12mo. Amst. Elzevir, 1640.

of the city.* And then it is the principal seat of the Court."

[The third and best reason he holds to be the propinquity of the city to the harbour of Leith.]

1618.

In this year Edinburgh was visited by that rare and eccentric genius, John Taylor, commonly styled the Water-poet, from his being originally a waterman of London. In his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage," published in 1618, he thus describes the city, beginning with the CASTLE :—

"Among the many memorable things which I was showed there, I noted especially a great piece of ordnance of iron. It is not for batterie, but it will serve to defend a breach or to tosse balls of wild-fire against any that should assail or assault the castle; it now lyes dismounted. And it is so great within, that it was told me that * * *

I descended lower to the city, wherein I observed the fairest and goodliest street that ever mine eyes

* This fact was probably borrowed from Alesse's description.

beheld, for I did never see or hear of a street of that length (which is half an English mile from the castle to a faire port which they calle the Neather Bow,) and from that port, the street which they call the Kenny-kate is one quarter of a mile more, down to the King's Palace, called Holyrood-House, the buildings on each side of the way being all of squared stone, five, six, and seven stories high, and many by-lanes and closes on each side of the way, wherein are gentlemen's houses, much fairer than the buildings in the High-Street, for in the High-Street the merchants and tradesmen doe dwell, but the gentlemen's mansions and goodliest houses are obscurely founded in the aforesaid lanes: the walles are eight or ten foote thicke, exceeding strong, not built for a day, a weeke, a monthe, or a yeere, but from antiquity to posteritie, for many ages. There I found entertainment beyond my expectations and merit; and there is fish, flesh, bread, and fruit, in such variety, that I think I may offencelesse call it superfluity and satietie. The worst was, that wine and ale was so scarce, and the people then such misers of it, that every night before I went to bed, if any man had asked me a civil

question, all the wit in my head could not have made him a sober answer.

I was at his Majestie's palace, a stately and princely seat, 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 door aloft in the wall, the red lion being the crest, over which was written this inscription in Latin,

'*Nobis haec invicta miserunt* 106 *proavi.*'"

1619.

The following act of Privy Council will enable the reader to form a sufficiently distinct idea of the state of the city, so far as its streets were concerned, in the year above mentioned :—

"FORASMEKLE as the burgh of Edinburgh, quhilk is the chief and principall burgh of this kingdome, quhair the soverane and heich courtes of Parliament, his Majesties Preuie Counsall and Colledge of Justice, and the Courtis of Justiciarie and Admiralitie ar ordinarlie haldin and keipt, and quhairunto the

best pairt of the subiectis of this kingdome, of all degreis, rankis, and qualities, hes a commoun and frequent resorte and repare,—is now become so filthie and vncleine, and the streittis, venallis, wyndis, and cloissis thairoff so overlayd and coverit with middingis, * * * * * * * * * as the noblemen, counsellouris, servitouris, and uthers his Majesties subiectis, quha ar ludgeit within the said burgh, can not have ane cleine and frie passage and entrie to thair ludgeingis; quhairthrow thair ludgeingis ar becum so lothsume vnto thame, as they ar resolved rather to mak choice of ludgeingis in the Cannongate and Leyth, or some utheris pairtis about the towne, nor to abyde the sycht of this schamefull vncleanes and filthiness; quhilk is so universall and in such abundance throuch all the pairtis of this burgh, as in the heitt of somer it corruptis the air, and gives greit occasioun of seikness: and forder, this schamefull and beistlie filthines is most detestable and odious in the sicht of strangeris, quho, beholding the same, are constrayned with reassoun to gif oute mony disgracefull speiches aganis this burgh, calling it a most filthie pudle of filth and vncleannes,

the lyk quhairof is not to be seine in no pairt of the world; quhilk being a greate discredite to the haill kingdome, that the principall and heid burgh thairof sould be so void of pollice, civilitie, ordour, and gude governement, as the hie streittis of the same cannot be keipit cleine; and the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, vnderstanding perfytelie that the said burgh, and all the streittis and vennallis thairof, may very easilie, and with litill ado, be keipit and haldin cleine, gif the people thameselffis wer weill and civillie disposit, and gif the Magistratis tuk caire to caus thame, and every ane of thame, keip the streittis foranentis thair awin boundis clein, as is done in vther civill, handsome, and weill governeit cities: THAIRFOIR, the Lordis of Secreit Counsall commandis and ordanis, be thir presents, the Provest and Baillies of Edinburgh to tak and set downe sum setled and solide ordoure and course how the said burgh and the cloissis, wyndis, and streittis thairof may be haldin and kepit cleine, the middingis, and all uther filthe and vncleannes removed, and tane away, by appointing every neichbour of the toune to keip the streittis foranent his awin dwelling cleane; and that no nichtbour lay thair

middingis, souppingis of thair housis, nor na uther filthe, vpoun his nichtbouris boundis and hie streittis, under some ressonable paines, to be imposit and exactit of the contravenaris; and that the saidis Provest and Baillies appoynt a constabill for every closse to sie thair ordinance putt in executioun, and the contravenaris punnist, be exacting of the saidis paines from thame; certifeing the saidis Provest and Baillies, gif they be remiss, or negligent heirin, the saidis Lordis will tak thame to thame, and, accordinglie, will tak such ordour heirin as they sall think expedient."—(*Reg. Sec. Conc. Mar.* 4. 1619.)

1642-51.*

* * * "Upon this ascent was built the city —certainly not in one day; for the first settlers

* We here translate from a Latin description of the province of Edinburgh, ("Provinciæ Edinburgenæ Descriptio,") supposed to have been written by David Buchanan, and which is preserved in manuscript in the Advocates' Library. The work is ascertained to have been written within the period above signified, by mention being made of the Castle of Dalkeith as belonging to the Earl of Buccleugh. The Dalkeith property was acquired by that family in 1642, and after 1651 there was no *Earl* of Buccleugh.

erected their small dwellings near the Castle, that under its shadow they might be more safe from the attacks of their enemies. And as the number of the citizens increased, the number of the houses also increased, till the whole reached from the Castle to the lowest extremity of the hill, a distance of nearly three thousand paces. Now, if we include the suburb of Canongate, both sides of the hill, from the top to the bottom, are clothed with lofty houses in a long chain, leaving a wide street in the middle, extending from one end of the city to the other. The buildings are distinguished by streets and closes, almost all of which are narrow, so as to prevent a free circulation of air, and thus materially to injure each other. I do not know that there are any where to be found so many houses and so many people pent up in such a narrow space. There are two things chiefly, which, in former days, caused this city to increase to the magnitude we now observe; first, that from a very early period our kings were wont to dwell more here than elsewhere; second, that in a late age, under the care of James V., it became the regular station of the supreme civil court of the kingdom,

which formerly was ambulatory, even as a change of the same sort once took place among the French, whose example, in this instance, was followed by our monarch. Formerly, the hill on which the city is built, had, and it still has, on the north side, a standing pool, commonly called the North Loch. On the south side of the hill, there was also a piece of water called the South Loch; and these two lochs bounded the city on both sides, as one still does on the north. But, in an age long past, the South Loch was drained, and where its banks once were, there are now lines of houses from east to west, betwixt which runs, on the very site of the lake, * the Cowgate, [*Platea Vaccina sive Boum.*] And thus the bounds of the city are drawn out in breadth towards the south, and in length towards the west, much beyond the ancient limits. For now the Grass-market and the Horse-market are within the walls of the city, which, after the manner of the nation, are not so strong as to endure a siege by battery; for the Scots have always

* As afterwards adverted to, this notion is completely exploded. The present notice, however, shows at how early a period the tradition was in vogue.

been accustomed to defend themselves by arms, not by walls. The gates are four; two towards the east, of which one is called the Netherbow, opening upon the principal street, or High Street; the second is the Cowgate Port. There are also two towards the south, of which the most easterly is called the Potterrow Port: the second is called the Society Port; that is, the Port of the Society of Brewers. The Castle was, by various late sovereigns, improved and repaired, and fortified with breastworks towards the east. There is in the city one large church, which lately was divided into three churches; namely, the east, middle, and west. Near the church is the Parliament House, where the three estates of the kingdom meet to consult about its affairs; and where, also, the court meets to give justice to the people." * * *

The following passage respecting the Water of Leith, from another part of the manuscript, is somewhat curious:—

"Upon the Water of Leith stand forty-three mills, and one recently erected manufactory. The west bank is occupied by various houses, castles, and villages,—namely Ravelrig, Curriehill, with the hamlet of that name, Baberton, Stenhope-mill,

Saughtonhall, Dean, Innerleith [*" sive Letha interior,"*] Warriston, Bonniton [*Pulchella,*] and North Leith. To which correspond, on the east bank, Cairnie, Bevilly, Ballernie, Currie, Kinleith, Woodhall [*Aula sylvia,*] Collinton, Redhall, the village and mill of Gorgie, Dalry Mill, and the castle of the same name, Coates [*Ovilia,*] Water of Leith, Canonmills, Pilrig, Bonniton Mill, and the town of Leith."

1693.*

" Edinburgh is situated in Mid-Lothian, a shire of Scotland. It is the chief city of the kingdom, and royal seat. It far surpasseth all the other cities of the kingdom in the stateliness of its churches, the beauty and neatness of its public and private buildings, the pleasantness of its site, the largeness of its precincts, the number and opulency of its inhabitants, and dignity of its rulers. By the most ancient inhabitants it was called Dun Edin; by the Latins, Edinodunum; and by the Germans, Edinburghen; all which signifie the same thing. * * *

* From Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, a folio volume, containing views of the most remarkable places in Scotland, with letterpress descriptions.

The ascent on which the city now stands had, and yet hath upon the north side, a standing pool, which is commonly called the North Loch. Upon the south side of the hill there was likewise another standing pool, called the South Loch; the veritie of which, the rights and leases of some houses in St Ninian's Row do testifie, which are let with the privilege of a boat annexed;* and these two lochs or lakes bounded the city upon these two sides, as the North Loch does it at this day upon the north side; but the South Loch was drained a hundred years ago, and upon the banks thereof are built two several tracts of houses, between which (in the place where the loch itself stood) is a street called the Cowgate. And so the breadth of the city toward the south is far extended beyond its former limits; as likewise the length thereof toward the west is much enlarged, for the Grass-market and Horse-market are now within the city wall. * * *

The greater part of the city is built upon the

* All this is a blunder. St Ninian's Row adjoined to the North Loch, not to the South, which, in reality, filled the site of Hope Park. The notion that it occupied the situation of the Cowgate is completely disproved.

ascent, and it is very probable that the castle has been the cause of building the city: For first, the neighbours have built a few houses near the castle, that, under the reach thereof, they might be defended from the injuries of their enemies. The number of the people growing apace, the number of the houses likewise increased, and stretched forth to the very foot of the ascent toward the east; by which the city, together with the suburbs of the Canongate and King's Palace, is become one entire Scotch mile in length; but in breadth it is less by half, notwithstanding the suburbs be included. The High Street from the Castle to the Abbey is adorned with stately buildings, which are of late made of hewn stone, since that, by the act of the Town Council, it hath been prohibited (for the frequent burnings which happened) to build any more timber houses either in the city or suburbs.

The great breadth of the High Street, and of the many lanes which lie on each side of the same, from the north to the south, (which send up the air, as it were, in pipes into the High Street,) and the nearness of the two hills called Neil's Craigs on

the north, and Salisbury Craigs on the south, (so named from the sometime owners thereof,*) do always refresh the town with air; which conduces not a little to the wholesomeness hereof, and it never was heard that the plague raged in it, except brought in thither by infected wares, which purity of the air is daily encreased since the time that excellent fresh water was brought into the city, from a fountain three miles distant from the same, and that, by a most wise act of council, all nastiness is removed."

[*Here follows an enumeration of the city gates.*]

"There are two streets extending the whole length of the town. The chief street, which is called the Higher, is one of the broadest in Europe: from it there run many lanes on both sides. The Nether or Lower Street hath also many lanes running to the south."

* This may be true respecting Neil's Crags, which seems to have been a temporary name of the Calton Hill (an eminence, nevertheless, styled "the Caltown Craigs" in maps of older date than Slezer's book;) but it is certainly untrue of Salisbury Crags, which Lord Hailes shows to be derived from *Seles*, a wilderness.

[*Here follows an enumeration of the churches.* In reference to the *College Kirk, it is mentioned*—"Over against this church is the Correction House, commonly called *Paul's Work,* in which there are divers manufactories of linen, wool, and silk, where dissolute persons are forced to earn their living with their labour."]

"Near unto the Cathedral Church is the Parliament House, where the three estates of the kingdom do convene. It stands in a great court, the north side whereof is bounded by the church itself; the west side is inclosed by the Council House, where the Town Council assembles; the south side is enclosed by the Sessions House, where the judges and lords of Session sit to give justice to the people. In the upper part of this building are the Privy Council and Exchequer Chambers. The rest of the south and east side of this court is inclosed with the Upper and Lower Exchange, and with a tract of most stately buildings. There is one of the highest houses in the world, mounting seven stories above the Parliament Court, and, being built upon a great descent of the hill, the back part of it is far

below it, so that from the bottom to the top one staircase ascends 14 stories high."*

[*The remainder of the article relates to the public buildings of the city.*]

1704.†

"I came to Leyth, a good Scotch town, and a seaport; and thro' it runs a river that comes from out of the country, and emptyes itselfe here into the sea, and makes a harbour for shipping. The buildings here are old, but mostly tall, and in the fronts of the houses are a sort of boarded balconys.

A mile from this town is Edinburgh; and at the north side of the road at the way from thence thither, is a raised walke, very even at the top, for people on foote to walke on. Now help me, Art, to describe this mighty city and university, the metropolis of this

* This lofty house was burnt down in the great fire of February 1700. The building afterwards erected on the same spot was one or two stories less, but continued to be a popular wonder, as the tallest house in the city, till destroyed, like its predecessor, by fire, November 1824.

† From a small volume, printed from MS. in 1818, under the title of "North of England and Scotland in 1704."

ancient kingdom of Scotland, that tooke me up a full halfe day to see thoroughly. This town extends itselfe east and west in length, and consists chiefly of one wide streete of tall buildings, with some piazzas on the sides. Its scituation is on a steep hill between 2 larger hills, and so the ffronts of the houses towards the streetes are not so high as the backward parts are, they being left further down the sides of the hill, according to the precipice of the hill on which part they stand. And some of these houses are 7 and 8 storys high towards the streete; and more backward, and in the Parliament Close, it seems there were houses 14 storys high before they were burnt down by a late fire; but I suppose it was of the back parts they were so high, for the hill there is very steep.

On the east end of this town stands the Queen's House, called the Abbey, or Holy Road House, a regular handsome square building of free-stone; 'tis built about a square court, which is in the middle of it, with piazzas about it, but it is but small for such a queen: the rooms of it are good for what there are of them, and the Duke of Hamilton inhabits there now.

Of the west end of this town is a large castle on a steep stone rock, they say the strongest in the world, unless that at Namur outdoes it, but they have no water in it other than which falls from the clouds, by reason of its situation. At the entrance into it is placed a vast large gun they call Muns Megg, and * * * * * * * * * Here is likewise in this castle a brass gunn they call the Green Dragon, which they say shoots the best of any gun in Europe, with a great many other fine pieces both of brass and iron. Here is also a good armory; and the castle seems very strong, and is well fortified, especially of the south side.

Of the upper end of the great streete, towards this castle, is the Parliament House, where the Lords and Comons sitt together in the form of an halfe moon below stairs; and above stairs sitt the Commissioners for hearing causes; and in another room the Lords of the Treasury meet about their business.

Of the back side of this building (the Parliament House) is a small open square they call the Change, and of the fore part of it a larger, called the Parlia-

ment Close; and further behind it is a large library, called the Advocates Library. Of the fore part (another side) of the Parliament House, is a church they call the High Church, which was a cathedrall, but is now divided into 4 parts, and serves 4 severall parishes. On the tower of this church is fine arch'd work, with 4 supporters, which represents a crown every way, and I think is before that on St Nicholas Church at Newcastle.

This town consists of 8 parishes; and the High Church serving for 4 parish churches, there are but 4 more, which are of no great note, and so there are, in all this city, but 5 churches.

On the hill of the south side of the town is a pretty bagnio, and an hall belonging to the Society of Chirurgions. This hall is newly built, and the rooms of it are hung round with pictures of some of the great men of the country, and of most of the surgeons belonging to it, and here is somewhat of a collection of anatomys, &c.

On the same hill is the college belonging to the university of this citty, which is a large but ordinary building, and has in it a good library. The

scholars do not inhabit this college, but are lodged about the town.

On this same hill, more westward, and over against the castle, is a fine stone building, founded by one Harrett for the education of poor boys. I had good French wine at this town, and payd 20d. a quart for Burdeaux wine, and 40d. for Burgundy and Champaign.

This town is very populous, and has abundance of poor people in it, so that the streetes are crowded with beggars; but I don't take it to be so large as York or Newcastle, tho' indeed neither of them have so wide a streete, or are of so tall buildings as the great streete here. The people here are very proud, and they call the ordinary tradesmen merchants; there is no large rivers up to this town, but of the north side of it, at some distance, is a small one. Att the best houses here they dress their victuals after the ffrench method, tho' perhaps not so cleanly, and a soop is comonly the first dish, and their reckonings are dear enough. The maid servants attended without shoes or stockings."

ABOUT 1740.*

"When I first came into the High Street, I thought I had not seen any thing of the kind more magnificent: the extreme height of the houses, which are, for the most part, built with stone, and well sashed; the breadth and length of the street, and (it being dry weather) a cleanness made by the high winds, I was extremely pleased to find every thing look so unlike the descriptions of that town which had been given me by some of my countrymen.

Being a stranger, I was invited to sup at a tavern. The cook was too filthy an object to be described; only, another English gentleman whispered me and said, he believed, if the fellow was thrown against the wall, he would stick to it. Twisting round and round his hand a greasy towel, he stood waiting to know what we would have for supper, and mentioned several things himself; among the rest, a *duke*, a *fool*, and a *meer-fool*. This was nearly

* From the admired work, entitled, "Letters from the North of Scotland," first published in 1754, and reprinted with notes in 1815.

according to his pronunciation; but he meant a duck, a fowl, and a moor-fowl, or grouse.

We supped very plentifully, and drank good French claret, and were very merry till the clock struck ten, the hour when every body is at liberty by beat of drum to throw their filth out at the windows. Then the company began to light pieces of paper, and throw them upon the table to smoke the room, and, as I thought, to raise one bad smell with another.

Being in my retreat to pass through a narrow *wynde* or alley, to go to my new lodgings, a guide was assigned me, who went before me to prevent any disgrace, crying out all the way, 'Haud your haunde!' The throwing up of a sash, or otherwise opening a window, made me tremble, while behind and before me, at some little distance, fell the terrible shower.

Well, I escaped all danger, and arrived, not only safe and sound, but sweet and clean, at my new quarters; but when I was in bed, I was forced to hide my head between the sheets; for the smell of the filth thrown out by the neighbours at the back of the house, came pouring into the room to

such a degree, I was almost poisoned with the stench.

I shall here add to my letter, as I am making a copy of it, a few observations.

When I was last in Edinburgh, I set myself to consider of this great annoyance, and, in conclusion, found it remediless. The city, it seems, was built upon that rock for protection, by the castle, in dangerous times; but the space was too narrow to contain a sufficient number of inhabitants, otherwise than by very high buildings, crowded close together, insomuch that there are hardly any back yards. Eight, ten, and even twelve stories, have each a particular family, and perhaps a separate proprietor; and therefore any thing so expensive as a conveyance down from the uppermost floor could never be agreed on; nor could there be made, within the building, any receiver suitable to such numbers of people. * * *

I have said thus much upon this melancholy subject, only, as you may have heard some maliciously, or at best inconsiderately, say, that this evil proceeds from (what one should think nobody could believe) a love of nastiness, and not necessity. I

shall only add, as it falls in my way, that the main street is cleaned by scavengers every morning early, except Sunday, which therefore is the most uncleanly day."

[It may seem more chivalric than wise to attempt to say any thing in extenuation of the unsavoury reputation of Old Edinburgh; which, like the odour that hangs round the broken vase, even survives after all occasion for it has been swept away. Yet there is reason to believe that, at no distant period, the same practice obtained in most of the large towns of Europe; seeing that we find it made the subject of a chapter in a book of general (criminal) law, printed at Antwerp in the year 1570, under the title of "Praxis Rerum Criminalium," &c., being the composition of that very grave author, Jodocus Damhouderius. This chapter we shall transcribe for the amusement of the reader, giving at the same time a translation. It may also be mentioned that this chapter of the work, in common with all the rest, is headed by an illustrative wood-cut, representing a gentleman tapping at a door upon the street, while a woman above is emptying a large vessel, the con-

tents of which hit him right between the shoulders. The title of the chapter is—

DE DAMNO PER EJECTA.

Si quis è fenestris suis, aut ex ostiis suis, aut aliter, sordes, lotium, stercora, aut alia quævis ejiceret, aut immunda, aut noxia, in plateam aut viam publicam, quibus pileum transeuntis, aut togam, aliam vel vestem laceret, contaminet, aut corrumpat: is transiens, ita læsus, bono jure damni sui reparationem duplam reposcere potest. Sed hæc dupla compensatio non addiceretur, si via non fuisset publica, aut si prius, seriò et sine fraude, proclamasset aquam ejiciendam fugito, (vulgo) *garde l'eau!* Si quispiam domo ejiceret os, aut lignum, aut simile quippiam, non ex malitia, sed ex inadvertentia, in viam aut plateam publicam: ex qua ejectione quispiam lederetur et moreretur: tum is ejector condemnandus esset civiliter mulcta quinquaginta aureorum. Si verò tantum læsio citra mortem secuta fuisset: tum eam læsionem duplo impendio omnium detrimentorum resarciat, oportet d. l. r. in princ. Si autem in eadem domo multi essent, nec sciretur quis ejecisset: tum omnes in domo præsentes in

eandem mulctam et reparationem incidunt. Si tamen unus omnium plenè et in solidum solvisset, reliqui liberi essent et immunes in mulcta. Cæterum si talis ejectio contigisset in publicis cauponis, ac œnopoliis: tum solus caupo ac hospes in culpa esset, et ad reparationem damnandus: interim tamen actionem haberet idem damnum repetandi et resarciendi à suis potoribus et hospitibus. Sed is: si præterea in eadem domo duæ essent diversæ familiæ, atque ea domus distincta esset in duas partes inhabitantium: tum ob ejectionem lædentem ea pars et familia damnanda esset ad damni reparationem, unde constaret ejectionem esse factam. Sic, ad superiorem modum, si aut convictor, aut discipulus, aut operarius quippiam ejiceret, unde aliquis damnum consequeretur: tum puniendus esset ad resarciendum damnum præceptor, herus, et dominus operarii operam conducens: sed ipsi jus interim servatur resarciendi idem damnum à suo convictore, discipulo, aut operario.

CONCERNING DAMAGE BY THINGS THROWN OUT OF HOUSES.

If any one, from his windows, or doors, or otherwise, shall throw sweepings, foul water, or other

nastiness, or any things whatsoever that are uncomely and offensive, upon the street or public way, by which he tears or defiles the cap or coat of any one passing, that passenger, so injured, may demand and make good in law a double compensation for his damage. But this double reparation cannot be awarded, if the way was not a public one, or if the individual solemnly and fairly proclaimed what was coming, by crying, "*Garde l'eau.*" If any one shall throw out of his house a bone, or a piece of wood, or any such thing, not out of malice, but through inadvertency, into the road or public street, by which proceeding any one is hurt and killed, then the offending party may be condemned in civil process to pay a fine of fifty gold pieces. If, indeed, such hurt be not followed by death, then he shall make amends for the injury by paying double the cost of all damages. If many persons live in the house, and it is not known which committed the offence, then the whole shall be liable to pay the said fine and reparation. If, however, any one of the number pay the whole fine, the rest shall be free. If such throwing of matters be from a tavern or wine-shop, the land-

lord alone shall be held in fault, and liable for the reparation; he may have his action, however, for levying the damages from his guests. If, in the same house, there shall be two divers families, and the parts occupied by each be distinguished, then that part of the house, and that family, from or by whom it shall appear that the stuff was thrown, shall be condemned for the reparation. So, also, if the guilty person be a boarder, scholar, or a workman, then the fine or punishment shall fall upon the master of the house, the teacher, or the individual who had the workman in his hire; always allowing that such parties may bring another action against the boarder, scholar, or workman.]

"But to return:—Having occasion, the next morning after my arrival, to enquire for a person with whom I had some concerns, I was amazed at the length and gibberish of a direction given me where to find him. I was told that I must go down the street, and on the north side, over against such a place, turn down such a *wynde;* and on the west side of the *wynde,* inquire for such a *launde* (or building) where the gentleman *stayd,* at the *third stair*

it is, three stories high. This direction, in a language I hardly understood, and by points of the compass which I then knew nothing of, as they related to the town, put me to a good deal of difficulty. At length, I found out the subject of my enquiry, who was greatly diverted when I told him (with as much humour as I was master of) what had been my perplexity. Yet in my narrative I concealed the nauseous inconvenience of going down the steep narrow *wynde,* and ascending to his lodging.

I had then no knowledge of the *cawdys,* a very useful blackguard, who attend the coffee-houses* and public places to go errands; and though they are wretches, that in rags lie upon the stairs and in the streets at night, yet they are often considerably trusted, and, as I have been told, have seldom or

* Coffee-houses were established in Edinburgh at an earlier period than might have been supposed, and not long after such establishments had been set up in the sister country. On the 20th January 1681, when the persecution was raging, the Privy Council of Scotland ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh "to call all the masters of coffee-houses before them, and oblige them to come under a bond of 5000 merks, to suffer no newspaper to be read in their houses but such as are approved of by the officers of state."—*Cruickshank's History of the Church of Scotland.*

never proved unfaithful. These boys know every body in the town who is of any kind of note, so that one of them would here form a ready kind of guide to the place I wanted to find; and I afterwards wondered that one of them was not recommended to me by my new landlady.*

* The amusing account which Smollett gives, in Humphrey Clinker, of this "useful species of blackguard," will probably be in the recollection of the reader. The incidental notice of them at this place, brings to our mind a very curious paragraph of news, in which they make a conspicuous figure, and which appeared about the period referred to in the text, being inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1738:—

"*Edinburgh.*—Complaint being made the 8th instant, to the Magistrates, that a mad bull-bitch belonging to a butcher had bit many dogs in the Fleshmarket; to prevent the fatal consequences that must very justly be apprehended from such a number of furious mastiffs in this populous place, the Magistrates issued a proclamation, ordering all dogs belonging to that incorporation to be forthwith put to death, under penalty of L.5 sterling, and imprisonment to the owners for 12 kalendar months; nor are they to keep dogs for 30 days to come: Also, ordering all citizens and inhabitants to remove their dogs from the city and liberties, and empowering the city-guard and town-officers to kill all dogs that should be seen on the streets after next day at noon, and requiring the town-treasurer to pay one shilling sterling reward for each dog so killed. The street cadies, &c. went very early in obedience to this edict, for the drum had scarce gone round to intimate the same, when they fell a knocking o' the head all the suspicious or ill-affected curs,

This corps has a kind of captain or magistrate presiding over them, whom they call the Constable of the Cawdys, and in case of neglect or other misdemeanor he punishes the delinquents, mostly by fines of ale and brandy, but sometimes corporeally. They have for the most part an uncommon acuteness, are very ready at proper answers, and execute suddenly and well whatever employment is assigned them.

Whether it be true or not I cannot say, but I have been told by several, that one of the judges formerly abandoned two of his sons for a time to this way of life, as believing it would create in them a sharpness which might be of use to them in the future course of their lives."

some of which they hanged on sign-posts, &c. and with difficulty could they be restrained from killing the dogs that lead the blind about the streets, or attacking the ladies with their lapdogs. A detachment of the city-guard was ordered down to the butcher-market, when they made very clean havoc of all the dogs there. Saturday at noon, the town-officers being provided with large oaken clubs, went a dog-hunting, and killed every cur they could see or hear of. The Magistrates of Leith ordered all the dogs of their town to be put to death. Accordingly, the curs were drove into the harbour and drowned, or knocked on the head. Several gentlemen and others sent off their dogs to the country, to avoid the act; and a certain writer sent his favourite dog, Tipsie, to Haddington in a cloak-bag."

1774.*

"The situation of Edinburgh is probably as extraordinary an one as can well be imagined for a metropolis. The immense hills, on which great part of it is built, though they make the views uncommonly magnificent, not only in many places render it impassable for carriages, but very fatiguing for walking. The principal or great street runs along the ridge of a very high hill, which, taking its rise from the palace of Holyrood House, ascends, and not very gradually, for the length of a mile and a quarter, and after opening a spacious area, terminates in the castle. On one side, far as the eye can reach, you view the sea, the port of Leith, its harbour and various vessels, the river of Firth, the immense hills around, some of which ascend above even the Castle; and on the other side you look over a rich and cultivated country, terminated by the dark, abrupt, and barren hills of the Highlands.

You have seen the famous street of Lisle, la

* From Topham's Letters from Edinburgh.

Rue Royale, leading to the port of Tournay, which is said to be the finest in Europe; but which I can assure you is not to be compared either in length or breadth to the High Street at Edinburgh: and would they be at the expense of removing some buildings which obstruct the view, by being placed in the middle of the street, nothing could be conceived more magnificent. Not content, however, with this, they suffer a weekly market to be held, in which stalls are erected nearly the whole length of it, and make a confusion almost impossible to be conceived. All sorts of iron and copper ware are exposed to sale; here likewise the herb market is held, and the herb women, who are in no country either the most peaceable or the most cleanly beings upon earth, throw about the roots, stalks, &c. of the bad vegetables, to the great nuisance of the passengers.

The style of building here is much like the French: the houses, however, in general are higher, as some rise to twelve, and one in particular to thirteen stories in height. But to the front of the street nine or ten stories is the common run; it is the back part of the edifice which, by being built on

the slope of an hill, sinks to that amazing depth so as to form the above number. This mode of dwelling, though very proper for the turbulent times to which it was adapted, has now lost its convenience: as they no longer stand in need of the defence from the castle, they no more find the benefit of being crowded together so near it. The common staircase which leads to the apartments of the different inhabitants, must always be dirty, and is in general very dark and narrow. It has this advantage, however, that, as they are all of stone, they have little to apprehend from fire, which, in the opinion of some, would more than compensate for every other disadvantage. In general, however, the highest and lowest tenements are possessed by artificers, while the gentry and better sort of people dwell in fifth and sixth stories.

In London you know such an habitation would not be deemed the most eligible, and many a man in such a situation would not be sorry to descend a little lower. The style of building here has given rise to different ideas: Some years ago a Scotch gentleman, who went to London for the first time, took the uppermost story of a lodging-house, and

was very much surprised to find what he thought the genteelest place of the whole at the lowest price. His friends who came to see him, in vain acquainted him with the mistake he had been guilty of; '*He ken'd vary weel,*' he said, '*what gentility was, and after having lived all his life in a sixth story, he was not come to London to live* UPON THE GROUND.'

The New Town has been built upon one uniform plan, which is the only means of making a city beautiful. Great part of this plan as yet remains to be executed, though they proceed as fast as their supplies of money will allow them. The rent of the houses in general amounts to L.100 per annum, or upwards, and are most of them let to the inhabitants by builders, who buy the ground, and make what advantage they can of it. The greatest part of the New Town is built after the manner of the English, and the houses are what they call here, 'houses to themselves.' Though this mode of living, one would imagine, is much preferable to the former, yet such is the force of prejudice, that there are many people who prefer a little dark confined tenement on a sixth story, to the convenience of a

whole house. One old lady fancies she should be lost if she was to get into such an habitation; another, that she should be blown away in going over the new bridge; and a third lives in the old style, because she is sure that these new fashions can come to 'nae gude.' But different as their sentiments are in regard to living, they are not more different than the buildings themselves. In no town that I ever saw can such a contrast be found betwixt the modern and ancient architecture, or any thing that better merits the observation of a stranger.

The pavement of the whole town is excellent; the granite, which long supplied London till Jersey and Guernsey robbed them of those advantages, is dug from the hills close to the town, and brought at very small expense. Maitland, in his history of this town, calls it 'grey marble;' but without disputing about the propriety of the name, every one must allow it the very best stone possible for the purpose. They finish it with an exactness which the London workmen are indifferent about, and which indeed London would not admit of, from the

number of weighty carriages that continually go over it.

From the left of the High Street you pass down by a number of different alleys, or, as they call them here, Wynds and Closes, to the different parts of the old town. They are many of them so very steep, that it requires great attention to the feet to prevent falling; but so well accustomed are the Scotch to that position of body required in descending these declivities, that I have seen a Scotch girl run down them with great swiftness in pattens.

This town has long been reproached with many uncleanly customs. A gentleman who lately published his travels through Spain, says, 'that Madrid, some years ago, might have vied with Edinburgh in filthiness.' It may probably be some pleasure to this author, and to those who read him, to learn that his remarks are now very erroneous.

But if a stranger may be allowed to complain, it would be, that in these wynds, which are very numerous, the dirt is suffered to remain two or three days without removal, and becomes offensive to more senses than one. The magistrates, by

imposing fines and other punishments, have long put a stop to the throwing any thing from the windows into the open street; but as these alleys are unlighted, narrow, and removed from public view, they still continue these practices with impunity. Many an elegant suit of clothes has been spoiled; many a powdered, well-dressed maccaroni sent home for the evening: and, to conclude this period in Doctor Johnson's own simple words, 'many a full flowing periwig moistened into flaccidity.'

Such particulars, however, as these scarce merit observation: they are circumstances resulting from the peculiar inconveniency of the buildings, and not from the natural disposition of the Scotch, who love cleanliness, and practise it. They lament the impropriety of these customs, and join in the laugh at the accidents they occasion.

It has been the misfortune of almost every nation to be prejudged at a distance, or to be visited by a number of men whose resolutions are too strong for conviction. They come with a fixed idea, that the Scotch are a dirty people; they probably meet with some person who is so, and would be so in any country, and away they hurry back, and give, as

they think, the just character of the whole nation. It has been the peculiar fortune of the Scotch to have been thus treated: but they are a sensible and ingenious people, and look upon these hasty censures in the manner they deserve. But to you, who are 'Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,' and who are bigoted to no particular customs, I make no scruple of declaring, that this metropolis is not, as some of our countrymen please to say, dirty and disagreeable; but adorned with many elegant and beautiful structures, the seat of several of the most ingenious men in Europe, and who are an honour to the age they live in, abounding in many of the politer embellishments of life, and well deserving the attention of a traveller."

To conclude this series of notices, may be quoted the panegyric which Mr David Wilkie, the distinguished painter, passed upon the city, in a speech delivered at a dinner of the newly-elected magistracy, October 1829. "What the tour of Europe was necessary to see elsewhere," said Mr Wilkie, "I now find congregated in this one city. Here

are alike the beauties of Prague and of Saltzburg—here are the romantic sites of Orvietto and Tivoli—and here is all the magnificence of the admired bays of Genoa and Naples—here, indeed, to the poetic fancy, may be found realized the Roman Capitol and the Grecian Acropolis."

MINOR ANTIQUITIES OF EDINBURGH.

POSTERN OF THE CASTLE.

At the part of the exterior wall of the Castle indicated in the map, is a small posterior gateway, which for many years has been built up. It was here that Viscount Dundee held his conference with the Duke of Gordon, March 18, 1689, when on his way to raise the Highlands in favour of King James. The Convention was then sitting in the Parliament House, for the purpose of settling the new government, and Dundee, finding his party outvoted, resolved to go to the north, and try what arms could do in behalf of his expatriated master. With only thirty of his dragoons, he rode down Leith Wynd, and along what was called the Long-

gate, a road nearly on the present line of Princes Street, while the town was beating to arms to pursue him. Leaving his men at the end of the Long-gate, he clambered up the rock at this place, and conversed with the Duke, whom he endeavoured to prevail upon to go along with him to the Highlands, in order to raise his immense band of dependents. The Duke, however, resolved rather to remain in the Castle, and hold it out for the terror of the Convention. That body was thrown into great alarm by the retirement of Dundee, and sent a Major Bunting with eighty horse to command his return, or bring him back by force. Dundee, who was now on his way to Stirling, coolly told this officer to go back to the Convention without attempting any violence, as, otherwise, he would "send him back to them in a pair of blankets." He was then permitted to pursue his way, and the Convention proceeded to settle the crown upon William and Mary.

When Queen Margaret, consort of Malcolm Canmore, died here in 1093, the Castle was besieged by Donald Bane, the usurper, so that her body could not obtain egress by the front gate. It was,

however, carried away by the postern at the west side of the rock, and so transported to Dunfermline for burial.

1

ROOM

In the palace of the Castle, in which King James VI. of Scotland and I. of Great Britain was born, June 19, 1566. This palace was rebuilt in its present form by his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and over the principal doorway there is still observable a cipher composed of her initial (M), with that of her husband (H), and A, probably for the conjunction *and*. When James VI. and I. paid a visit in 1617 to his native kingdom, he went on his birthday to celebrate it in this his natal apartment. It is remarkable that George IV., in visiting the Castle in 1822, had not the curiosity to see this room, or was not informed of its existence.

2

THE CASTLE HILL.

This esplanade was the principal promenade of the citizens of Edinburgh during the last century.

In an act for the better keeping of the Lord's Day, passed in the reign of Queen Anne, the *Castle Hill*, the King's Park, and the Pier of Leith, are pointed at as the principal promenades of the metropolitan population. Thus, also, in the song entitled "the Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy:"—

"Wat ye wha I met yestreen,
Coming down the street,* my jo?
My mistress in her tartan screen,
Fu' bonny, braw, and sweet, my jo.
My dear, quoth I, thanks to the nicht,
Which never wish'd a lover ill,
Since ye're out o' your mother's sicht,
Let's tak a walk up to *the Hill.*"

ALLAN RAMSAY.

It is needless to say how often this esplanade has been the arena of hostile contention. It was the scene of unusually extensive military transactions during the siege carried on by the Covenanters in 1640.

The Castle Hill was also, in former times, a place of execution, particularly for witches. In 1469, during the minority of James III., Sir Alexander

* The High Street, then almost the only one in Edinburgh, and therefore very properly called, *par excellence*, "the Street."

Boyd, brother of Robert Lord Boyd, governor of Scotland, was beheaded on this spot. In Birrel's Diary, a curious chronicle of local events by a citizen of Edinburgh, occur many instances of executions on this spot during the reign of James VI. For instance, "1603, the 20 day of November, Johne Stewarte hangit on the Castell Hill, for steiling twa ky fra the lairde of Braid." *—"The 31 of January, one Lawrence Man, ane boy of 16 yeirs of age, beheidit on the Castell Hill, for the murther of James Young, a card and dice player." —"1605, the 24 day of Julii, Henry Lourie brunt on the Castell Hill for witchcraft committed and done by him in Kyle."

In the reign of Charles I., when a court nobleman, the Earl of Stirling, obtained leave to colonize Nova Scotia, and to sell the honour of knighthood to two hundred imaginary colonists, it being somewhat difficult to infeoff them with the earth and stone of the real property on the other side of the Atlantic, the King granted permission that the soil of the Castle Hill of Edinburgh should be held to

* A small estate two miles to the south of Edinburgh.

represent that of Nova Scotia; and the knights were accordingly invested with the honours on this spot.*

Although of old a favourite walk, the esplanade used to be kept in a very disorderly state. It experienced hardly any repair from the time of the siege in 1689 till 1753, when it was for the first time levelled; the earth taken from the foundations of the Royal Exchange being deposited here. As it had previously been an accustomed arena for the airing and training of horses, the magistrates then ordered that practice to be discontinued; and they further designed to lay the ground out in walks—which, however, was never done. Previously to this improvement, the ground between the town and castle was very hollow, not much higher, we have been told, than the bottom of the fosse, and there was a stair leading up to the drawbridge. Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, mentions a curious circumstance respecting the high winds to which Edinburgh is exposed—namely, that on the 3d of January 1778, the Leith guard, consisting of

* Douglas's Baronage.

a sergeant and twelve men of the 70th regiment, were all of them blown off the Castle Hill, and some of them sorely hurt. The esplanade has of late years been put into excellent condition.

3

HOUSE OF ALLAN RAMSAY, THE SCOTTISH POET.

He made a small fortune as a bookseller and poet, and built this villa out of the proceeds.* Here Ramsay died, January 7, 1757. The house was subsequently occupied by his son, portrait-painter to their Majesties George III. and Queen Charlotte.†

4

* See *Walks in Edinburgh*, p. 64, and *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 156.

† "About the middle of June, (1754,) some workmen employed in levelling the upper part of Mr Ramsay's garden in the Castle Hill, fell upon a subterraneous chamber, about fourteen feet square, in which were found an image of white stone, with a crown upon its head, supposed to be the Virgin Mary, two brass candlesticks, about a dozen of ancient Scottish and French coins, and some other trinkets scattered among the rubbish. By several remains of burnt matter, and two cannon balls, it is guessed that the building above ground was destroyed by the Castle in some former confusion, it having been the most westerly house in the city."—*Scots Magazine, June*, 1754.

HOUSE OF DR WEBSTER,

An eminent divine of the evangelical party, who died in 1784, and of whom many popular anecdotes are related. In 1832, the house was used as a cholera hospital.

5

PART OF THE FIRST WALL OF EDINBURGH,

Built in 1450, and which included only the High Street—running in a line between that street and the Cowgate, which was then a suburb. This fragment of old wall was demolished in 1829, to make way for the western approach to the High Street, under the Improvements Act.

The wall in question crossed the West Bow at the first turn from the top, where there was a gate, visible in De Witt's map, 1648, and of which one of the hooks for supporting a hinge is still to be seen in the front of an adjacent house. This gate, for some reason not easily to be understood, appears to have been kept up long after another wall had, in 1513, been extended in a wider circuit around the

city. It used to be the scene of certain ceremonials, at the entry of our sovereigns into Edinburgh ;* and it is evident, from the records of the Society of High Constables, that it existed, and was regularly closed, in the year 1725.

From this crook of the Bow, the wall stretched directly eastwards, at about an equal distance from the High Street and Cowgate. In 1832, when the workmen were digging for the foundations of a new Lock-up-house, in connexion with the Parliament House, a fragment of the wall, about fifty feet long, and twenty feet in height, was discovered in a line parallel to the south end of that building, and about ten feet from the windows of the manuscript room of the Advocates' Library, being, in fact, exactly on the line of the middle part of the old passage, called the Back Stairs. It was speedily closed over by the new walls, and will, of course, continue

* "1617. The samyn day ordanis William Adamson, baillie of the zeir past, to deliver to the violeris and sangsteris at the Kingis entrie abone the Over Bow, the soume of thre pundis for thair dayes wages thairof, thretty shillings to the violeris, and thretty shillings to the sangsteris, and the samyn sal be allowit to him in his comptes."—*Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland.* 4to. p. 25.

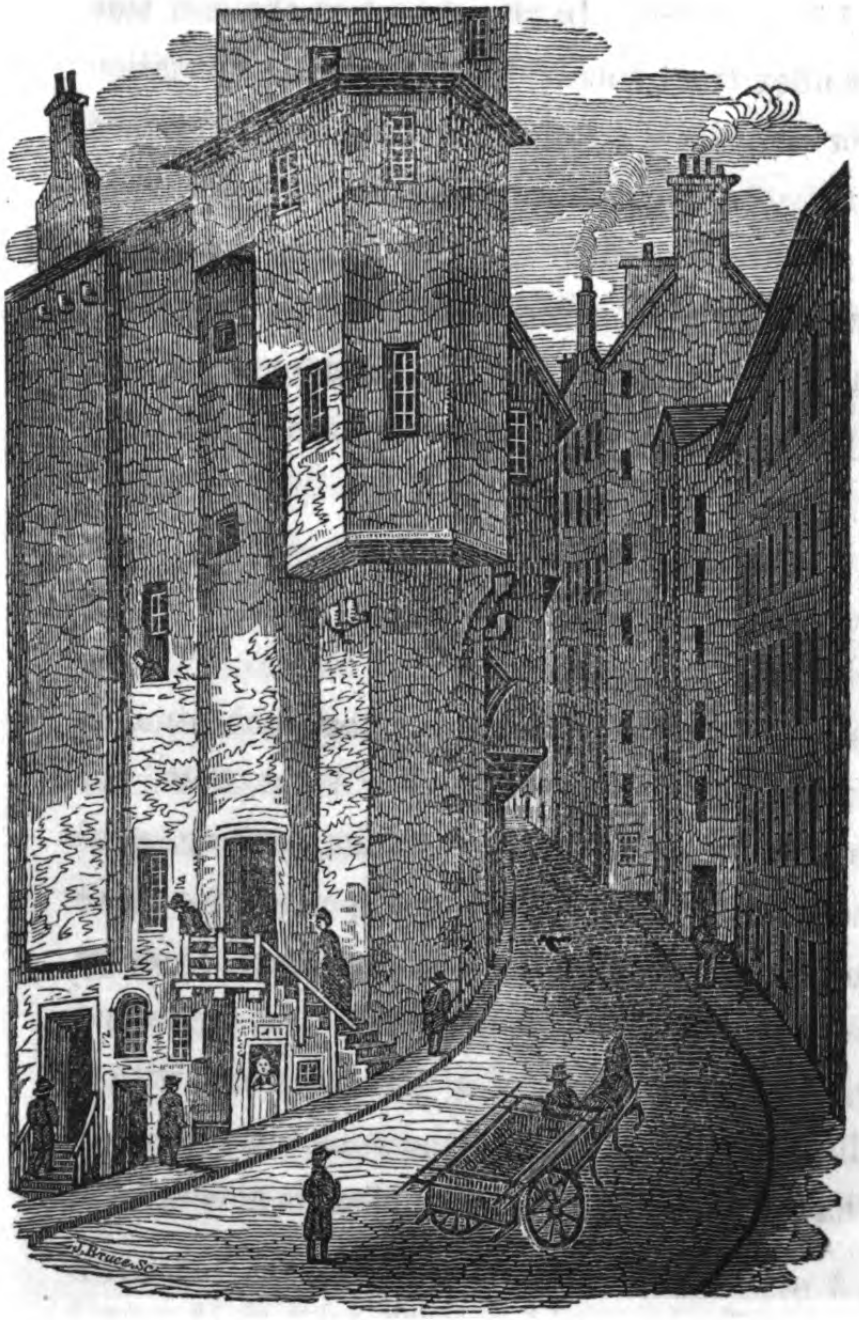
to exist, in all probability, for several ages. In De Witt's map, there appears, at this spot, a piece of ruined wall, which is evidently the same with that just described. It must have cut the ancient churchyard of St Giles into two parts, perhaps forming the upper division into a kind of terrace.

6

PALACE AND CHAPEL OF MARY OF GUISE,

Widow of James V., and Queen Regent of Scotland from April 1554, to her death, June 10, 1560. As the Reformation was effected in Scotland by a rebellion against this sovereign, it was probably in this now obscure and wretched house that all the councils were held for resisting that grand national object, the importance of which, both to the temporal and spiritual interests of this kingdom, does not require to be commented on. It is understood that the building on the west side of the close was the Queen's house, or palace; while that on the opposite side was her chapel. Over the door of the former is the inscription "LAUS ET HONOR DEO," with the cipher of the Queen; and in the vestibule, immediately within the door of the second floor, is

PALACE and ORATORY of MARY of LORRAINE,
(QUEEN REGENT.)



First Assembly Room in Edinburgh.

a rudely sculptured recess, supposed to have contained holy water. In the chapel on the east side of the alley (now subdivided for the accommodation of poor people,) is a large recess, probably designed also for some sacred purpose. In the wall at the back of that recess, there was found, about the middle of last century, a curious little iron box, supposed to have been used to keep the sacerdotal trinkets, and which is now in the museum at Abbotsford.*

7

OLD ASSEMBLY ROOM.

In the house which rises upon the right hand, at the first turn in descending the West Bow, the Assembly, or association for public dancing, used to hold its revels, down to a period, we have reason to believe, later than the accession of George III. There is still some appearance, in the second floor, of the ornaments of a dancing-room, with a small apartment to which the musicians were in the habit of retiring; but the place is now divided

* A very minute account of this group of old buildings is given in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 78.

into small rooms, each presenting its own little scene of squalor and wretchedness.*

Dancing, although said to be a favourite amusement and exercise of the Scottish people, has always been discountenanced, more or less, in the superior circles of society, or only indulged after a very abstemious and rigid fashion, until a comparatively late age. Every thing that could be called public or promiscuous amusement was held in abhorrence by the Presbyterians, and only struggled through a desultory and degraded existence by the favour of the Jacobites, who have always been a less strait-laced part of the community. Thus, there was nothing like a conventional system of dancing in Edinburgh till the year 1710, when at length a private association was commenced under the name of "the Assembly," and probably its first quarters were in this humble domicile. The persecution which it experienced from rigid thinkers, and the uninstructed populace of that age, would

* It would appear that the house has been originally devoted to a higher purpose than even that of a public dancing-room, as the arms of the Lords Somerville are visible over the doorway, indicating that it must have been their town mansion.

appear to have been very great. On one occasion, we are told, the company were assaulted by an infuriated rabble, and the door of their hall perforated with red-hot spits.* Allan Ramsay, who was the friend of all amusements which he conceived to tend only to cheer this sublunary scene of care, thus alludes to "the Assembly:"—

"Sic as against the Assembly speak,
The rudest sauls betray,
When matrons, noble, wise, and meek,
Conduct the healthfu' play.
Where they appear nae vice daur keek,
But to what's gude gies way,
Like night, sune as the morning creek
Has usher'd in the day.

"Dear En'burgh, shaw thy gratitude,
An' o' sic friends mak sure,
Wha strive to mak our minds less rude,
And help our wants to cure;
Acting a generous part and gude,
In bounty to the poor:
Sic virtues, if right understood,
Should every heart allure."

We can easily see from this and other symptoms, that the Assembly had to make many sacrifices to

* Jackson's History of the Stage, p. 418.

the spirit which sought to abolish it. In reality, the dancing was conducted under such severe rules, as to render the whole affair more like a night at La Trappe than any thing else. So lately as 1753, when the Assembly had fallen under the control of a set of directors, and was much more of a public affair than formerly, we find Goldsmith giving the following most graphic acoount of its meetings, in a letter to a friend in his own country. The author of the "Deserted Village" was now studying the medical profession, it must be recollected, at the University of Edinburgh :—

——— "Let me say something of their balls, which are very frequent here. When a stranger enters the dancing-hall, he sees one end of the room taken up with the ladies, who sit dismally in a group by themselves; on the other end stand their pensive partners that are to be; but no more intercourse between the sexes than between two countries at war. The ladies, indeed, may ogle, and the gentlemen sigh, but an embargo is laid upon any closer commerce. At length, to interrupt hostilities, the lady-directress, intendant, or what you will, pitches on a gentleman and a lady to walk a minuet, which

they perform with a formality approaching to despondence. After five or six couple have thus walked the gauntlet, all stand up to country dances, each gentleman furnished with a partner from the aforesaid lady-directress. So they dance much and say nothing, and thus concludes our Assembly. I told a Scotch gentleman, that such a profound silence resembled the ancient procession of the Roman matrons in honour of Ceres; and the Scotch gentleman told me (and, faith, I believe he was right) that I was a very great pedant for my pains." * *

In the same letter, however, Goldsmith allows the beauty of the women and the good-breeding of the men.

In all probability, it was in this very dingy house that Goldsmith beheld the scene he has so well described. At least it appears that the improved Assembly Room in Bell's Wynd (where the Commercial Bank now is,) was not built till 1766, when the corporation of the Royal Infirmary, as trustees for the Assembly, obtained sasine of a lodging in the back part of the tenement of land called *Maison de Dieu,* at that spot, as appears

from the Register of Sasines of the county of Mid-Lothian. Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, describes the Assembly Room in Bell's Wynd as very inconvenient, which was the occasion of the present one being built in George Street in 1784.*

* Although improvement has of late been almost universal in Edinburgh, it is hardly more conspicuous in any thing than in the music which is provided for dancing-parties of all kinds. Formerly, in the department of ball music, there were no performers with any knowledge of the science, or able to accompany each other, if thrown into a company without premeditation. Perhaps, in the case of a band accustomed to associate, they were so used to each other's perversities as to get on pretty well. But under no other circumstances could they act in concert. They were totally incapable of that very ordinary movement called changing the hand. The most of the professional bands about the beginning of this century were poor old stupid men, who never dreamed of any thing above reels, strathspeys, and country-dances. Their motto was from Burns :—

"Nae cotillons new brent frae France!"

They knew absolutely nothing of foreign music ; and quadrilles, waltzes, &c., were neither given nor required. Old John C———, being disappointed on one occasion of an engagement to a particular ball, described his more fortunate but equally execrable brethren in the following fanciful but too just terms :—

"There's Geordie Menstrie—he plays rough, like a man sharping knives wi' yellow sand. Then there's Tammie Corrie, his playing's like the chappin o' mince-collops—sic short

The house immediately *without* the port of the West Bow, on the east side of the street, was occupied, about the beginning of the last century, and perhaps at an earlier period, by Paul Romieu, an eminent watchmaker, supposed to have been one of the French refugees, driven over to this country in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. This is the more likely, as he seems, from the workmanship of his watches, to have been a contemporary of Tompion, the famous London horologist of the reign of Charles II. In the front of the house, upon the third story, there is still to be seen the remains of a curious piece of mechanism. This was a gilt ball representing the moon, which was made to revolve by means of a clock. This information was derived, fifty years ago, from a man who was then eighty years of age.

8

bows he taks. And then there's Donald Munro, his base is like wind i' the lum [chimney,] or a toom cart gaun down Blackfriars' Wynd !"

To contrast the members of the Professional Society with this set, would be comparing the British army to Falstaff's ragged company.

HOUSE OF MAJOR WEIR,

Celebrated in the annals of sorcery and Scottish superstition in general. He was the son of a small farmer near Lanark, and served as a private soldier in the Scottish troops sent over to assist in quelling the Irish rebellion of 1641. Having afterwards risen to the rank of major in the Town-guard of Edinburgh, he became distinguished for a life of peculiar sanctity, even in an age when that was the prevailing tone of the public mind. According to a contemporary account, "His garb was still a cloak, and somewhat dark, and he never went without his staff. He was a tall black man, and ordinarily looked down to the ground—a grim countenance and a big nose. At length he became so notourly regarded among the Presbyterian strict sect, that, if four met together, be sure Major Weir was one. At private meetings he prayed to admiration, which made many of that stamp court his converse. He never married, but lived in a private lodging with his sister, Grizel Weir. Many resorted to his house to hear him pray, and join with him;

MAJOR WEIR'S HOUSE.

but it was observed that he could not officiate in any holy duty without the black staff, or rod, in his hand, and leaning upon it, which made those who heard him pray admire his flood in prayer, his ready extemporary expression, his heavenly gesture; so that he was thought more angel than man, and was termed by some of the holy sisters, ordinarily, *Angelical Thomas.*" It is even stated, by popular tradition, that this magical staff possessed properties of a still more inexplicable kind. It could run a message to a shop for any article which its proprietor wanted; and, though it might be supposed that the tradesmen to whom it applied would naturally look upon it as a rather ugly customer, its appearance in that capacity seems to have excited no suspicions—or else, perhaps, the neighbours were too much under fear of the Major to venture upon making any remark. According to the same veracious authority, this extraordinary stick could answer the door when any one called upon its master; and it used to be often seen running before him, in the capacity of a link-boy, as he walked down the Lawnmarket.

After a life characterized externally by all the

graces of devotion, but polluted in secret by crimes of the most revolting nature, and which little needed the addition of necromancy to excite the horror of all living men, Major Weir fell into a severe sickness, which affected his mind so much, that he made open and voluntary confession of all his wickedness. The tale was at first so incredible, that the provost, Sir Andrew Ramsay, refused for some time to take him into custody. At length, himself, his sister, (partner of one of his crimes,) and his staff, were secured by the magistrates, together with certain sums of money, which were found wrapped up in rags in different parts of the house. One of these pieces of rag, being thrown into the fire by a bailie who had taken the whole in charge, flew up the vent, and made an explosion like a cannon. While the wretched man lay in prison, he made no scruple to disclose the particulars of his guilt, but refused to address himself to the Almighty for pardon. To every request that he would pray, he answered in screams, "Torment me no more—I am tormented enough already!" Even the offer of a Presbyterian clergyman, instead

of an established Episcopal minister of the city, had no effect upon him. He was tried, April 9, 1670, at the instance of Sir John Nisbet, King's Advocate, before a learned civilian, Mr William Murray, and Mr John Preston, advocates, who were made judges by commission for the purpose; and, being found guilty, was sentenced to be strangled and burnt between Edinburgh and Leith two days after. His sister, who was tried at the same time, was sentenced to be hanged in the Grassmarket. The execution of the profligate Major took place, April 14th, at the place indicated by the judge.* When the rope was about his neck, to prepare him for the fire, he was bid to say, "Lord, be merciful to me!" but he answered, as before, "Let me alone—I will not—I have lived as a beast, and I must die as a beast!" After he had dropped lifeless in the flames, his stick was also cast into the fire; and, "whatever incantation was in it," says

* A gentleman, who had the spot pointed out to him by his father sixty years ago, mentions that it is now occupied by the buildings and court-yard of Messrs Crichton, Gall, and Thomson's coach-work, on the declivity of Greenside, opposite to the end of York Place, and visible from the Calton Hill.

the contemporary writer above quoted,* "the persons present own that it gave rare turnings, and was long a-burning, as also himself."

For upwards of a century after Major Weir's death, he continued to be the bugbear of the Bow, and his house remained uninhabited. His apparition was frequently seen at night, flitting, like a black and silent shadow, about the purlieus of that singular street. His house, though known to be deserted by every thing human, was sometimes observed at midnight to be full of lights, and heard to emit strange sounds, as of dancing, howling, and, what is strangest of all, spinning. Some people also occasionally saw the Major issue from the low close, at midnight, mounted on a black horse without a head, and gallop off in a whirlwind of flame. Nay, sometimes the whole of the inhabitants of the Bow together were roused from their sleep at an early hour in the morning, by the sound as of a coach and six, first rattling up the Lawnmarket, and then thundering down the Bow, stopping at the head of

* The Rev. Mr Frazer, minister of Wardlaw, in his "Divine Providences," (MS. Adv. Lib.,) dated 1670.

the terrible close for a few minutes, and then rattling and thundering back again—being neither more nor less than Satan come in one of his best equipages to take home the ghosts of the Major and his sister, after they had spent a night's leave of absence in their terrestrial dwelling. In support of these beliefs, circumstances, of course, were not wanting. One or two venerable men of the Bow, who had, perhaps, on the night of the 7th of September, seventeen hundred and thirty-six, popped their nightcapped heads out of their windows, and seen Captain Porteous hurried down their street to execution, were pointed out by children in the last age as having actually witnessed some of the dreadful doings alluded to. One worthy, in particular, declared that he had often seen coaches parading up and down the Bow at midnight, drawn by six black horses without heads, and driven by a coachman of the most hideous appearance, whose flaming eyes, placed at an immense distance from each other in his forehead, looked for all the world like the night-lamps of a modern vehicle.

About fifty years ago, when the shades of superstition began universally to give way in Scotland,

Major Weir's house came to be regarded with less terror by the neighbours, and an attempt was made by the proprietor to find a person who would be bold enough to inhabit it. Such a person was procured in William Patullo, a poor man of dissipated habits, who, having been at one time a soldier and a traveller, had come to disregard in a great measure the superstitions of his native country, and was now glad to possess a house upon the low terms offered by the landlord, at whatever risk. Upon its being known in the town that Major Weir's house was about to be re-inhabited, a great deal of curiosity was felt by people of all ranks as to the result of the experiment; for there was scarcely a native of the city who had not felt, since his boyhood, an intense interest in all that concerned that awful fabric, and yet remembered the numerous terrible stories which he had heard told respecting it. Even before entering upon his hazardous undertaking, William Patullo was looked upon with a flattering sort of interest—an interest similar to that which we feel respecting a culprit under sentence of death, a man about to be married, or a regiment on the march to active conflict. It was the hope of many that he

would be the means of retrieving a valuable possession from the dominion of darkness. But Satan soon let them know that he does not ever tamely relinquish the outposts of his kingdom.

On the very first evening after Patullo and his spouse had taken up their abode in the house, a circumstance took place which effectually deterred them and all others from ever again inhabiting it. About one in the morning, as the worthy couple were lying awake in their bed, not unconscious of a considerable degree of fear—a dim uncertain light proceeding from the gathered embers of their fire, and all being silent around them—they suddenly saw a form like that of a calf, but without the head, come through the lower panel of the door, and enter the room: a spectre more horrible, or more spectre-like conduct, could scarcely have been conceived. The phantom immediately came forward to the bed, and setting its fore-feet upon the stock, looked steadfastly in all its awful headlessness at the unfortunate pair, who were of course almost ready to die with fright; when it had contemplated them thus for a few minutes, to their great relief it at length took itself away, and, slowly retiring,

gradually vanished from their sight. As might be expected, they deserted the house next morning; and for another half century no other attempt was made to embank this part of the world of light from the aggressions of the world of darkness. The house was at length occupied, first as a workshop, and finally, within the last year, as a dwelling of human beings.

It may appear strange that any thing like superstition should exist in Edinburgh, where, in the words of the poet,—

> "Justice from her native skies
> High wields her balance and her rod,
> And Learning, with his eagle eyes,
> Seeks Science in her coy abode;"

but when the reader is informed that such beliefs are only cherished among a very humble or very old-fashioned class of people, his surprise will vanish. The truth is, that Edinburgh is at present two cities—two cities not less differing in appearance than in the character of their various inhabitants. The fine gentlemen, who daily exhibit their foreign dresses and manners on Princes Street, have no idea of a race of people who roost in the tall

houses of the Lawnmarket and the West Bow, and retain about them many of the primitive modes of life, and habits of thought, that flourished among their grandfathers. Such a race, however, certainly still exists; and in some of the sequestered closes and back courts of the Old Town, there may at this very day be found specimens of people bearing nearly all the characteristics of the seventeenth century. Edinburgh is in fact two towns more ways than one. It contains an upper and an under town,—the one a sort of thoroughfare for the children of business and fashion, the other a den of retreat for the poor, the diseased, and the ignorant. The one is like the gay surface of the summer sea, covered with numerous vehicles of commerce and pleasure; while the other resembles the region below the surface, whose dreary wilds are peopled only by the wrecks of such gay barks, and by creatures of inconceivable hideousness and surpassing horror. In short, "the march of intellect" proceeds along the South Bridge, without ever once casting a side look to the Cowgate.

Such being the state of matters, it will no longer seem incredible that legendary superstition should exist in Auld Reekie. There are in fact several

houses in the Old Town, which have the credit of being haunted. There is one at this day in the Lawnmarket, (a flat,) which has been shut up from time immemorial. The story goes, that one night as preparations were making for a supper party, something occurred which obliged the family, as well as all the assembled guests, to retire with precipitation, and lock up the house. From that night to this it has never once been opened, nor was any of the furniture withdrawn:—the very goose which was undergoing the process of being roasted at the time of the dreadful occurrence, is still at the fire! No one knows to whom the house belongs; no one ever enquires after it; no one living ever saw the inside of it; it is a condemned house! There is something peculiarly dreadful about a house under these circumstances. What sights of horror might present themselves, if it were entered. Satan is the *ultimus hæres* of all such unclaimed property.

Besides the numberless old houses in Edinburgh that are haunted, there are many endowed with the simple credit of having been the scenes of murders and suicides. Some contain rooms which had particular names commemorative of such events, and these

names, handed down as they had been from one generation to another, usually suggested the remembrance of some dignified Scottish families, probably the former tenants of the houses. There is a common stair in the Lawnmarket, which was supposed to be haunted by the ghost of a gentleman who had been mysteriously killed, about a century ago, in open daylight, as he was ascending to his own house: the affair was called to mind by old people, on the similar occasion of the murder of Begbie. A deserted house in Mary King's Close, (behind the Royal Exchange,) is believed by some to have met with that fate for a very fearful reason. The inhabitants at a remote period were, it is said, compelled to abandon it by the supernatural appearances which took place in it, on the very first night after they had made it their residence. At midnight, as the goodman was sitting with his wife by the fire, reading his Bible, and intending immediately to go to bed, a strange dimness which suddenly fell upon his light caused him to raise his eyes from the book. He looked at the candle, and saw it was burning blue. Terror took possession of his frame. He turned away his eyes from the

ghastly object; but the cure was worse than the disease. Directly before him, and apparently not two yards off, he saw the head as of a dead person, looking him straight in the face. There was nothing but a head, though that seemed to occupy the precise situation in regard to the floor which it might have done had it been supported by a body of the ordinary stature. The man and his wife fainted with terror. On awaking, darkness pervaded the room. Presently the door opened, and in came a hand holding a candle. This came and stood—that is, the body supposed to be attached to the hand stood—beside the table, whilst the terrified pair saw two or three couples of feet skip along the floor as if dancing. The scene lasted a short time, but vanished quite away upon the man gathering strength to invoke the protection of Heaven. The house was of course abandoned, and remained ever afterwards shut up.

9

THE WEIGH-HOUSE.

A plain old building, used for the public weighing of goods, under the direction of the Magistrates.

A *Tron*, or public beam for weighing, formerly stood on the High Street, near the present Tron Church, which took its name from that humble object. Here, at one time, false notaries and perjurers used to be exhibited. Nichol, the Diarist, speaking of a time which is generally reputed as the most virtuous and religious ever known in Scotland,—viz. the year 1649,—says, "Much falset and cheitting was dailie deteckit at this time by the Lords of the Sessioune; for the whilk there was dailie hanging, skurging, *nailing of lugs, and binding of pepill to the* TRONE, and boring of tongues; so that it was ane fatal year for false notaries and witnessess, as dailie experience did witness."

The Weigh-house was probably built, as a substitute for the Tron, in the early part of the seventeenth century. It is at least spoken of as "NOVUM LIBRIPENDIUM," in a manuscript written between 1642 and 1651.* It was originally adorned

* Advocate's Library, W. 4, 21. The date of the MS. is ascertained, so far as stated, by its making mention of Dalkeith Palace as the property of the Earl of Dalkeith. That property was purchased in 1642, by Francis, the second Earl, who died in 1651, after which there never was another Earl.

with a steeple, as appears in the old view of the city at the corner of our map. This, however, was taken down about the year 1672. The whole edifice, which had been long felt as an encumbrance to the street, was demolished, in order to make way for the royal procession to the Castle, which took place on the 22d of August, 1822.

10

HIGHLANDERS' GUARD-HOUSE IN 1745.

The second flat of this house was so occupied by Prince Charlie's troops, in connexion with the post which they kept up on the narrow part of the street, immediately below, for the blockade of the Castle. It appears that the proprietor or previous tenant of the house was the Rev. George Logan, author of various controversial works, obnoxious to the Jacobite party, who had found it prudent to quit the town while the Highlanders were in it, lest they might have answered his pamphlets in a way less respectful than his literary antagonist, the gentle Thomas Ruddiman. After the Highlanders had left the town, Mr Logan inserted an advertisement in the newspapers for the recovery of some articles taken

away by his late guests—a satire much more poignant than any of his more laborious publications.

11

HOUSE OF JAMES BOSWELL, THE BIOGRAPHER OF DR JOHNSON,

Consisting of the floor level with the court, and that below, entering from the east side of the passage. Here Boswell entertained Johnson, from Saturday August 14, 1773, to Wednesday the 18th, previous to their setting out on their tour to the Western Islands. Here he also entertained Paoli, the Corsican patriot chief, on his visiting Edinburgh in September 1771 : Paoli was the godfather of Napoleon Bonaparte. The house was formerly entailed, but was sold by the late Sir Alexander Boswell, in terms of an Act of Parliament, which permitted the sale of property of that kind, in order to redeem the land-tax from the rest of the estate.*

The large buildings forming the north part of

* The reader is referred to an article farther on in this little volume, for some notice of the residence of David Hume in James's Court.

James's Court, were built in 1727, by James Brownhill, wright, and, before the erection of the New Town, were devoted exclusively to the occupation of very dignified persons, many of whom are enumerated in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Vol. I. 219—22. In the same place are some notices of distinguished persons who dwelt in the houses that formerly occupied the same site. To that list may now be added, Lord Fountainhall, so distinguished as an able, liberal, and upright judge, and still more so by his industrious habits as a collector of historical memorabilia, and of the decisions of the Court of Session. Though it is considerably upwards of a century since Lord Fountainhall died,* a traditionary anecdote of his residence in this place has been handed down till the present time by an amazingly small number of persons. The mother of the present Miss Innes of Stow, and of the late Mr Gilbert Innes, was a daughter of his Lordship's son, Sir Andrew Lauder, and she used to describe to the

* His Lordship died September 20, 1722.—*Brunton and Haig's Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice.*

lady above mentioned, as well as the rest of her children, the visits she used to pay to her venerable grandfather's house, which, as she said, was situated in a close on the site of James's Court. She and her sister, who was, like herself, a little girl, always went with their maid on the Saturday afternoons, and were shown into the room where the aged Judge was sitting—a room covered all over with gilt leather,* and containing many huge presses and cabinets, one of which was ornamented with a death's head at the top. After amusing themselves for an hour or two with his Lordship, they used to get each a shilling from him, and retire to the anteroom, where, as Mrs Innes well recollected, the waiting-maid invariably pounced upon their money, and appropriated it to her own use. It is curious to think that the mother of a gentlewoman living in 1833, should have been familiar with a lawyer who entered at the bar soon after the Restoration, (1668,) and acted as counsel for the unfortunate Earl of Argyle in 1681; a being of an

* A stuff brought, we believe, from Spain, and which was at one time considered very high style in Scotland.

age as different in every respect from the present, as the wilds of North America are different from the long-practised lands of Lothian or Devonshire.

12

BIRTH-PLACE OF DAVID HUME.

The house which tradition and general report has pointed out as that in which David Hume first saw the light, April 26, 1711, stood here, (*i. e.* between the head of the Old Bank Close, and that styled in the map Walter Wille's Close, but now Buchanan's Court,) till destroyed by fire in 1725. It is certain that the house rebuilt on the same site after the fire, contained on its fifth floor the mansion of the family of Hume of Ninewells, of which the celebrated historian was a younger son, till destroyed by a second fire in 1771. In addition to the weight of the tradition, there is much general probability that the family might rebuild, after 1725, on the same site which they had formerly in part occupied; and, as the philosopher is known to have been born in Edinburgh, the fact amounts nearly to certainty.

Hume, in his earlier years, lived with his mother and brother, but chiefly at Ninewells. He does

not appear to have become himself an independent householder in Edinburgh till the year 1751, when he at length became convinced that the city is "the true scene for a man of letters." [*His Life, written by himself.*] He probably took up his residence, on this occasion, in Jack's Land, near St John's Cross in the Canongate, from which place at least he is found dating a letter to Mr Oswald of Dunnikier, in June 1753. The house called *Jack's Land* is a large building of the second rate even for the Old Town; yet it was occupied in those days by persons of much greater fortune than Hume could then pretend to: about 1750, it was the residence of the elegant Susanna, Countess of Eglintoune. During his residence at this time in Edinburgh, and probably while living in Jack's Land, Hume published his Political Discourses, and commenced his History of England.

About the year 1761 or 2, Hume purchased a floor in the more dignified *lands* of James's Court, where he was living very contentedly, and resolved to spend all the rest of his days in philosophical leisure, when he was induced to go to Paris as interim secretary to the embassy of the Earl of Hert-

ford. From 1763 till 1766, he lived in high diplomatic situations at Paris; and thinking to settle there for life, for the sake of the agreeable society, gave orders to sell his house in Edinburgh. He informs us, in a letter to the Countess de Boufflers, [*General Correspondence*, 4to, 1820, p. 231,] that he was prevented by a singular accident from carrying his intention into effect. After writing a letter to Edinburgh for the purpose of disposing of his house, and leaving it with his Parisian landlord, he set out to pass his Christmas with the Countess de Boufflers at l'Isle Adam; but, being driven back by a snow-storm, which blocked up the roads, he found on his return that the letter had not been sent to the post-house. More deliberate thoughts then determined him to keep up his Edinburgh mansion, thinking that, if any affairs should call him to his native country, "it would be very inconvenient not to have a house to retire to." On his return, therefore, in 1766, he re-entered into possession of his *flat* in James's Court, but was soon again called from it, by an invitation from Mr Conway to be an under secretary of state. At length, in 1769, he returned permanently to his native

city, and still, though in the enjoyment of a thousand a-year, the result of his literary and political labours, he was content with this homely mansion, where now any man above the condition of a tradesman would scorn to dwell.

The philosopher, however, was soon after struck with the rage, then in its commencement, for building in the New Town; and, in 1771-2, he erected a house at the corner of South St David Street, adjoining to St Andrew Square, where he resided till his death, in August 1776. He informs us that he found for himself some amusement in superintending the business of building this mansion.

13

MURDER OF PRESIDENT LOCKHART.

At the head of this alley, styled the Old Bank Close, Sir George Lockhart, President of the Court of Session, was assassinated, on Sunday the 31st of March 1689, by Chiesly of Dalry, an irritated litigant. Chiesly shot him in the back with a pistol, as he was entering the close, having previously dodged him from church. The murderer made no attempt to fly, but waited to be seized; and, on be-

ing told that the President was dead, he remarked, that "he was not used to do things by halves!" The cause of his perpetrating this wicked deed, was an award by the President, decreeing him to pay an aliment of 1700 merks, or L. 93 sterling, out of his estate, for the support of his wife and ten children. He was tried by the magistrates of Edinburgh, and executed on the 3d of April, with the pistol hanging from his neck, after which he was exposed in chains on the Gallow-Lee.

14

ANCIENT TOLBOOTH.

This house was styled, in the time of James VI., the TOLBOOTH. The Earl of Morton was kept here under a guard, from the 29th May to the 2d of June 1581, previous to his execution. [*Moyses's Memoirs*, p. 53.] Here also, according to the same authority, the French ambassador, La Motte, was lodged, on the 7th of January 1582.

The initials R. G., over the doorway, are those of Robert Gourlay, citizen of Edinburgh, the original proprietor of the whole or part of this huge mass of building. It was purchased in 1637 by Sir Thomas

Hope, King's Advocate, the principal adviser of the Covenanters in their first movements. Here, therefore, were probably held those bold insurrectionary councils, which, in 1638, led to the formation of the National Covenant, and ultimately brought on the civil war in both countries. In all probability, the National Covenant itself was drawn up here—that bond which, for fifty years, exercised so strong an influence over the fate of Scotland, and is even yet a subject of the most endeared and sacred recollection.

15

THE BANK OF SCOTLAND,

Instituted in 1695, and styled in the original references to the map, "The Old Bank," which was its popular designation, to distinguish it from the Royal Bank of Scotland, a later institution. The Bank of Scotland was kept here till 1805, when the business was transferred to the elegant modern building in Bank Street. As the earliest institution of this important kind in the country, the OLD BANK is an object of some interest.

16

BURNS'S FIRST LODGING IN EDINBURGH.

The house in which Robert Burns first lodged when he came to Edinburgh, viz. during the winter of 1786-7 is here indicated. He afterwards resided with a Mr Cruikshanks, in 2, James's Square.

17

JOHNNIE DOWIE'S TAVERN.

A curious and comfortable *howff* of the citizens of Edinburgh during the last century. The house consisted chiefly of a series of small unlighted rooms, or rather cells, the least of which was so *very little*, that it got the descriptive appellation of "The Coffin." Johnnie sold good ale, and his dens were chiefly resorted to by persons who wished to enjoy themselves in a moderate way. Among these were several men of letters, such as the poets Fergusson and Burns; Herd, the collector of the Scottish Songs published in 1769; Paton, the bibliomaniac and antiquary;* Mr Cummyng of the Lyon Office, and

* This gentleman lived for many years in Lady Stair's Close, and there collected his extensive and valuable library. "Let

JOHNIE DOWIE'S TAVERN.

Mr Hunter of Blackness; the last of whom celebrated the house in a humorous poetical description, which is subjoined:—

it not be supposed," says the editor of a late collection of letters addressed to Paton, "that honest George indulged in habits of intemperance; such was not his custom; one bottle would suffice him—certainly not more; and when his usual system of privation is considered, it is surprising how moderate his desires were. He rose early in the morning, and went to the Custom-house without tasting any thing. Between four and five he uniformly called at the shop of a well-known bibliopolist of those times, (which was immediately under the gallows,) from whom he was in the habit of picking up rarities, and refreshed himself with a glass of cold water. He then said, 'Well, I'll go home and take my breakfast.' His breakfast consisted of one cup of coffee and a slice of bread. Between seven and eight, he adjourned to the usual place of meeting, and some of the dainties enumerated in the poem, and a bottle of 'strong ale,' formed the remaining refreshment of the day. The moment eleven 'chappit on St Giles,' he rose, and retreated to his domicile in Lady Stair's Close. His signal for admittance was the sound of his cane upon the pavement as he descended. In this way this primitive and excellent person spent the best part of his days. Upon a salary of L.80 a-year, he lived contented, happy, and universally respected."—*Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D., &c., to George Paton, Edinburgh*, 1830.

JOHNNIE DOWIE'S ALE.

A' ye wha wis', on e'enings lang,
To meet and crack, and sing a sang,
And weet your pipes for little wrang
To purse or person,
To *sere* Johnnie Dowie's gang,—
There thrum a verse on.

O Dowie's ale! thou art the thing,
That gars us crack and gars us sing,
Cast by our cares, our wants a' fling
Frae us wi' anger;
Thou e'en mak'st passion tak' the wing,
Or thou wilt bang 'er.

How blest is he wha has a groat
To spare upon the cheering pot!*
He may look blythe as ony Scot
That e'er was born:
Gie's a' the like, but wi' a coat,
And guide frae scorn.

But thinkna that strong ale alone
Is a' that's kept by dainty John;
Na, na, for i' the place there's none,
Frae end to end,
For meat can set ye better on
Than can your friend.

* This will remind the reader of a similar idea in English poetry:—
"Happy the man, who, void of cares and strife,
In silken or in leathern purse retains
A splendid shilling! He nor hears the cry
Of oysters fresh, nor sighs for cheerful ale," &c.
PHILIPS'S *Splendid Shilling*.

Wi' looks as mild as mild can be,
An' smudgin' laugh, wi' winkin' ee,
An' lowly bow down to his knee,
He'll say fu' douce,
" Whe, gentlemen, stay till I see
What's i' the house."

—Anither bow—" Deed, gif ye please,
Ye can get a bit toasted cheese,
A crum o' tripe, ham, dish o' pease,
(The season fitten,)
An egg, or, cauler frae the seas,
A fluck or whitten ;

A nice beefsteak, or ye may get
A gude buff'd herring, reisted skate,
An' ingans, an' (tho' past its date)
A cut o' veal ;
Ha, ha, it's no that unco late,
I'll do it weel."

O, Geordy Robertson, dreigh loun,
An' antiquarian Paton soun',
Wi' mony ithers i' the town,
What wad come o'er ye,
Gif Johnnie Dowie should stap down,
To th' grave before ye ?

Ye sure wad break your hearts wi' grief,
An' in strong ale find nae relief,
War ye to lose your Dowie—chief
O' bottle keepers ;
Three years at least, now, to be brief,
Ye'd gang wi' weepers.

But gude forbid ! for your sakes a',
That sic an usefu' man should fa' ;
For, frien's o' mine, between us twa,
Right i' your lug,
You'd lose a howff baith warm an' braw,
An' unco snug.

Then pray for 's health this mony a year,
Fresh three'n-a-ha'penny, best o' beer,
That can (though dull) you brawly cheer,
Recruit you weel up ;
An' gar you a' forget your wear,
Your sorrows seal up.

—— —— " Another bottle, John !"
" Gentlemen, 'tis past twelve, and time to go home."

The concluding dialogue is what took place every night in the world in John's house. He would sell no liquors after twelve o'clock : the *preces et lachrymæ* of the most determined toper would have been of no avail against this excellent rule of his household. Honest John was not only an exceedingly decent person after this fashion, but he was a really conscientious and worthy man : witness the following little anecdote. David Herd was one night prevented by illness from joining in the malt potations of his friends. He called for first one and

then another glass of spirits, which he dissolved, *more Scotico,* in warm water and sugar. When the reckoning came to be paid, the antiquary was surprised to find the second glass charged a fraction higher than the first—as if John had been resolved to impose a tax upon excess. On enquiring the reason, however, honest John explained it thus:—"Whe, sir, ye see, the first glass was out o' the auld barrel, and the second ane was out o' the new; and as the whisky in the new barrel cost me mair than the other, whe, sir, I've just charged a wee mair for't." It is obvious that an ordinary host would have equalized the price, by raising that of the first glass to a level with the second.

Good Mr Dowie eventually retired with a fortune said to have amounted to six thousand pounds. He had a son in the army, who attained the rank of major, and was a respectable officer.

It is worth mentioning, by the way, that John used to point out to his antiquarian friends, that his house adjoined in its south gable to the ancient city-wall.

HOUSE OF THE COUNTESS OF STAIR.*

This house was occupied by the dowager of the celebrated general and statesman, John, second Earl of Stair, who died in 1747. Her ladyship, after long exercising a sway over the *haut-ton* of the Scottish capital, died here, November 21, 1759, at a very advanced age. The late Mr Mackenzie, author of the Man of Feeling, informed the author that he recollected her ladyship living in this house. The close takes its name from her ladyship.

Some remarkable circumstances in the early life of this lady, were given in the *Traditions of Edinburgh*, and afterwards formed the groundwork of a tale by the Author of Waverley, under the title of "Aunt Margaret's Mirror." They are now related here, in a more ample form:—

She was the youngest daughter of James,

* Over the doorway is a sculptured stone, containing, in the centre, a small and simple armorial coat—along the top, the pious legend, "Fear the Lord, and depart from evill;" as also the initials W. G. and G. S. probably referring to the original proprietor and his wife—with the date 1622.

House of Eleanor Countess of Stair.

second Earl of Loudoun, and consequently was grand-daughter to that stern old Earl, who acted so important a part in the affairs of the Covenant, and who was Lord Chancellor of Scotland during the troublous times of the Civil War. While very young, (about the beginning of the eighteenth century,) she was married to James, first Viscount Primrose, a nobleman of extremely bad temper, and, what was worse, of very dissolute character. Her ladyship, who had a great deal of her grandfather in her, could have managed most men with great ease, by dint of superior intellect and force of character; but the cruelty of Lord Primrose was too much for her. He treated her so barbarously, that she had even occasion to apprehend that he would some day put an end to her life. One morning, during the time when she was labouring under this dreadful anticipation, she was dressing herself in her chamber, near an open window, when his lordship entered the room behind her, with a drawn sword in his hand. He had opened the door softly, and, although his face indicated a resolution of the most horrible nature, he still had the presence of mind to approach her with the utmost caution.

Had she not caught a glimpse of his face and figure in her glass, he would, in all probability, have approached her near enough to execute his bloody purpose, before she was aware, or could have taken any measures to save herself. Fortunately, she perceived him in time to leap out of the open window into the street. Half-dressed as she was, she immediately, by a very laudable exertion of her natural good sense, went to the house of Lord Primrose's mother, where she told her story, and demanded protection. That protection was at once extended; and, it being now thought vain to attempt a reconciliation, they never afterwards lived together.

Lord Primrose soon afterwards went abroad. During his absence, a foreign conjurer, or fortune-teller, came to Edinburgh, professing, among many other wonderful accomplishments, to be able to inform any person of the present condition or situation of any other person, at whatever distance, in whom the applicant might be interested. Lady Primrose, who had lost all trace of her husband, was incited by curiosity to go with a female friend to the lodgings of this person in the Canongate, for the

purpose of enquiring regarding his motions. It was at night; and the two ladies went, with the tartan *screens* or *plaids* of their servants drawn over their faces, by way of disguise. Lady Primrose having described the individual in whose fate she was interested, and having expressed a desire to know what he was at present doing, the conjurer led her to a large mirror, in which she distinctly perceived the appearance of the inside of a church, with a marriage-party arranged near the altar. To her infinite astonishment, she recognized in the shadowy bridegroom no other than her husband, Lord Primrose. The magical scene thus so strangely displayed was not exactly like a picture; or if so, it was rather like the live pictures of the stage, than the dead and immovable delineations of the pencil. It admitted of additions to the persons represented, and of a progress of action. As the lady gazed on it, the ceremonial of the marriage seemed to proceed. The necessary arrangements had, at last, been all made; the priest seemed to have pronounced the preliminary service; he was just on the point of bidding the bride and bridegroom join hands; when suddenly a gentleman, for whom the rest seemed to

have waited a considerable time, and in whom Lady Primrose thought she recognized a brother of her own, then abroad, entered the church, and made hurriedly towards the party. The aspect of this person was at first only that of a friend, who had been invited to attend the ceremony, and who had come too late; but as he advanced to the party, the expression of his countenance and figure was altered very considerably. He stopped short; his face assumed a wrathful expression; he drew his sword, and rushed up to the bridegroom, who also drew his weapon. The whole scene then became quite tumultuous and indistinct, and almost immediately after vanished entirely away.

When Lady Primrose got home, she wrote a minute narrative of the whole transaction, to which she appended the day of the month on which she had seen the mysterious vision. This narrative she sealed up in presence of a witness, and then deposited it in one of her drawers. Soon afterwards, her brother returned from his travels, and came to visit her. She asked if, in the course of his wanderings, he had happened to see or hear any thing of Lord Primrose. The young man only answered

by saying, that he wished he might never again hear the name of that detested personage mentioned. Lady Primrose, however, questioned him so closely, that he at last confessed having met his lordship, and that under very strange circumstances. Having spent some time at one of the Dutch cities,—it was either Amsterdam or Rotterdam,—he had become acquainted with a rich merchant, who had a very beautiful daughter, his only child, and the heiress of his enormous fortune. One day his friend, the merchant, informed him that his daughter was about to be married to a Scottish gentleman, who had lately come to reside there. The nuptials were to take place in the course of a few days; and, as he was a countryman of the bridegroom, he was invited to the wedding. He went accordingly, was a little too late for the commencement of the ceremony, but, fortunately, came in time to prevent the union of an amiable young lady to the greatest monster alive in human shape—his own brother-in-law, Lord Primrose!

Although Lady Primrose had proved her willingness to believe in the magical delineations of the mirror, by writing down an account of them, yet

she was so much surprised and confounded by discovering them to be consistent with fact, that she almost fainted away. Something, however, yet remained to be ascertained. Did Lord Primrose's attempted marriage take place exactly at the same time with her visit to the conjurer? To certify this, she asked her brother on what day the circumstance which he related took place. Having been informed, she took out her key, and requested him to go to her chamber, to open a drawer which she described, and to bring her a sealed packet which he would find in that drawer. He did as he was desired, when, the packet being opened, it was discovered that Lady Primrose had seen the shadowy representation of her husband's abortive nuptials on the very evening they were transacted in reality.

This story, with all its strange and supernatural circumstances, may only excite a smile in the incredulous reader. All that the narrator desires to say in its favour, is this: it fell out in the hands of honourable men and women, who could not be suspected of an intention to impose on the credulity of their friends; it referred to a circumstance which the persons concerned had the least reason in the

world for raising a story about; and it was almost universally believed by the contemporaries of the principal personages, and by the generation which succeeded.

Lord Primrose died in 1706, leaving a widow who could scarcely be expected to mourn for him. She was still a young and beautiful woman, and might have procured her choice among twenty better matches. Such, however, was the idea she had formed of the married state from her first husband, that she made a resolution never again to become a wife. She kept her resolution for many years, and probably would have done so till the day of her death, but for a very singular circumstance. The celebrated Earl of Stair, who resided in Edinburgh during the greater part of twenty years, which he spent in retirement from all official employments, fell deeply in love with her ladyship, and earnestly sued for her hand. If she could have relented in favour of any man, it would have been in favour of one who had acquired so much public honour, and who possessed so much private worth. But she declared to him also her resolution of remaining unmarried. In his desperation, he resolved upon an expedient

by which he might obviate her scruples, but which certainly marks the age as one of little delicacy. By dint of bribes to her domestics, he got himself insinuated, over night, into a small room in her ladyship's house, where she used to say her prayers every morning, and the window of which looked out upon the principal street of the city. At this window, when the morning was a little advanced, he showed himself, *en déshabillé*, to the people passing along the street; an exhibition which threatened to have such a fatal effect upon her ladyship's reputation, that she saw fit to accept of him for a husband.

She was more happy as Countess of Stair than she had been as Lady Primrose. Yet her new husband had one failing, which occasioned her much and frequent uneasiness. Like all other gentlemen at that period, he sometimes indulged too much in the bottle. When elevated with liquor, his temper, contrary to the general case, was by no means improved. Thus, on his reaching home, after any little debauch, he generally had a quarrel with his wife, and sometimes even treated her person with violence. On one particular occasion, when quite transported beyond the bounds of reason, he gave

her so severe a blow upon the upper part of the face, as to occasion the effusion of blood. He immediately after fell asleep, altogether unconscious of what he had done. Lady Stair was so completely overwhelmed by a tumult of bitter and poignant feeling, that she made no attempt to bind up her wound. She sat down on a sofa near her torpid husband, and wept and bled till morning. When his lordship awoke and perceived her dishevelled and bloody figure, he was surprised to the last degree, and eagerly enquired how she came to be in such an unusual condition? She answered by detailing to him the whole history of his conduct on the preceding evening; which stung him so deeply with regret,—for he was a nobleman of the most generous feelings,—that he instantly vowed to his wife never afterwards to take any species of drink, except what was first passed through her hands. This vow he kept most scrupulously till the day of his death. He never afterwards sat in any convivial company where his lady could not attend to sanction his potations with her permission. Whenever he gave any entertainment, she always sat next him and filled his wine, till it was necessary for her to retire; after which,

he drank only from a certain quantity which she had first laid aside.

The Earl of Stair died in the year 1747, (at Queensberry House, in the Canongate, Edinburgh,) leaving her ladyship again a widow.*

19

THE OLD TOLBOOTH.

Description.

Whosoever is fortunate enough to have seen Edinburgh previous to the year 1817—when as yet the greater part of its pristine character was entire, and before the stupendous grandeur, and dense old-fashioned substantiality, which originally distinguished it, had been broken down by the united efforts of fire and foolery—must remember the Old Tolbooth. At the north-west corner of St Giles's Church, and almost in the very centre of a crowded street, stood this tall, narrow, antique, and gloomy-looking pile, with its black stanchioned windows opening through its dingy walls, like the apertures

* During the interval between the formation of the Earthen Mound and the opening of a communication for it by Bank Street, Lady Stair's Close was the principal thoroughfare between the Old and New Town in this quarter.

OLD TOLBOOTH.

of a hearse, and having its western gable penetrated by a hole which occasionally served for the projection of the gallows. The fabric was five stories high, and occupied an area, over the walls, of sixty feet by thirty-three, including a projection of two stories at the west end, the top of which served as a platform for the parade of an execution; the length was seventy-five feet. The street was narrowed by it, on the north side, to the breadth of fourteen feet, which, at this central part of the town, was certainly felt as a great inconvenience. About a dozen years before the demolition of the building in 1817, a house was attached to it on the east, forming part of the line called the Luckenbooths, but separated from the principal part of the row by a passage termed the Stinking Stile.* As may be observed, in the annexed view, there was a suture or line of division between the eastern and western parts of the building. This marks the separation between what was called, in the language of the jail, the EAST END, from what was termed, in the same lan-

* This passage was once famous for assassinations and personal encounters between persons connected with the Court of Session. —*Vide Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.*

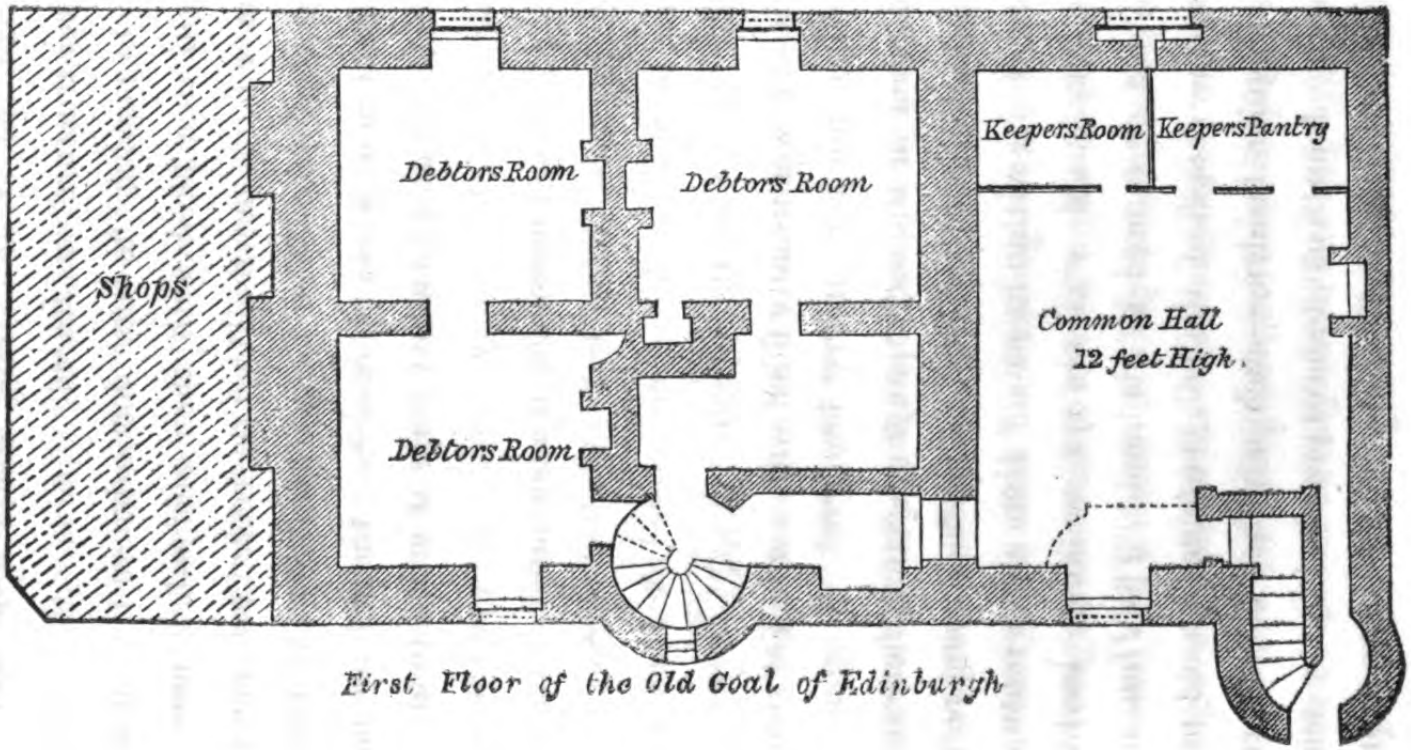
guage, the WEST END. The east end was built with polished stone, and seemed to form in itself an independent building, very like a border town or fortalice: it was chiefly devoted to the reception of criminals. The west end, which was of larger extent, seemed a coarser addition or re-edification of later times, when the whole structure was perhaps abandoned to be used as a jail. The east end had a turnpike stair of access; and, what is worthy of remark, the floors of the west end were about two feet above those of the east, so that the entrance from the common hall to the west end was by a flight of three or four steps.

The principal entrance to the Tolbooth, and the only one used in later days, was at the bottom of the turret next the church. The gateway was of tolerably good carved stone-work, and occupied by a door of ponderous massiness and strength, having, besides the lock, a flap-padlock, which, however, was generally kept unlocked during the day. In front of the door there always paraded, or rather loitered, a private of the town-guard, with his rusty red clothes, and Lochaber axe or musket. The door adjacent to the principal gateway indicates what

was, in the final days of the Tolbooth, "MICHAEL KETTEN'S SHOE-SHOP," but had formerly been a *thief's hole.* The next door to that, stepping westward, was the residence of the turnkey; a dismal unlighted den, where the gray old man was always to be found, when not engaged in unlocking or closing the door. The next door westward was a lock-up-house, which in later times was never used. Under the platform at the west end, were several shops, one of which was occupied at one time by Mr Robert Ross, an eminent dealer in old books. On the north side, towards the street, there had once been shops, which were let by the Magistrates, and one of which was at one time occupied by Messrs Inglis and Horner, silk-mercers, of whom the latter was father to Mr Francis Horner, M.P. These shops, however, were converted about the year 1787 into a guard-house for the city-guard, on their ancient capitol in the High Street being destroyed for the levelling of the streets. The ground-floor, thus occupied for purposes in general remote from the character of the building, was divided lengthwise by a strong partition wall; and communication between the rooms above and these apartments below was effectually

interdicted by the strong arches upon which the superstructure was reared.

On passing the outer door—where the rioters of 1736 thundered with their sledge-hammers, and finally burnt down all that interposed between them and their prey—the keeper instantly involved the entrant in darkness by re-closing the gloomy portal. A flight of about twenty steps then led to an inner door, which, being duly knocked at, was opened by a bottle-nosed personage denominated Peter, who, like his sainted namesake, always carried two or three large keys. You then entered *the Hall*, which, being free to all the prisoners except those of the *east end*, was usually filled with a crowd of shabby-looking, but very merry loungers. A small rail, indicated in the accompanying section, here served as an additional security, no prisoner being permitted to come within its pale. Here also a sentinel of the city-guard was always walking, having a bayonet or ramrod in his hand. The *Hall*, being also the chapel of the jail, contained an old pulpit of singular fashion,—such a pulpit as one could imagine John Knox to have preached from; which, indeed, he was traditionally said to have actually



First Floor of the Old Goal of Edinburgh

done. At the right hand side of the pulpit, was a door leading up the large turnpike to the apartments occupied by the criminals, one of which was of plate iron. The door was always shut, except when food was taken up to the prisoners. On the west end of the Hall hung a board, on which—the production, probably, of some insolvent poetaster—were inscribed the following emphatic lines:

A prison is a house of care,
  A place where none can thrive,
A touchstone true to try a friend,
  A grave for men alive—

Sometimes a place of right,
  Sometimes a place of wrong,
Sometimes a place for jades and thieves,
  And honest men among.

A part of the hall, on the north side, was partitioned off into two small rooms, one of which was the Captain's pantry, the other his counting-room. In the latter hung an old musket or two, a pair of obsolete bandoleers, and a sheath of a bayonet, intended, as one might suppose, for his defence against a mutiny of the prisoners. Including the space thus occupied, the hall was altogether twenty-seven feet long by about twenty broad. The height of the room was twelve

feet. Close to the door, and within the rail, was a large window, thickly stanchioned, and at the other end of the hall, within the Captain's two rooms, was a double window, of a somewhat extraordinary character. Tradition, supported by the appearance of the place, pointed out this as having formerly been a door by which royalty entered the Hall, in the days when it was the Parliament House. It is said that a kind of bridge was thrown between this aperture and a house on the other side of the street, and that the sovereign, having prepared himself in that house to enter the hall in his state robes, proceeded at the proper time along the arch; an arrangement by no means improbable in those days of straitened accommodation. It is also by no means unlikely that the Lords of the Articles, a committee by which all acts were prepared and managed, had an apartment in the house mentioned, and moved along this bridge when about to enter the Parliament Hall.

It must also be mentioned, that a part of the building immediately under this supposed archway got the name of THE PURSES, on account of its having been the place where, in former times, on

the King's birthday, the magistrates distributed the King's bounty to his faithful bedesmen or *blue-gowns,* the number of whom always corresponded to the years of his age. *

* Each bedesman, besides his new gown and badge, had his money delivered in a *purse*, which was usually of leather. In the Lord High Treasurer's accounts, many curious entries occur, and, in Queen Mary's time, *bedes-women* were added to the usual blue-gowns. Some of these entries are as follow:—

1561-2.

March 19. ITEM, to Maister Johnne Balfour, for ye seruice to be done on Skyris Thurisday nixtocume, in Falkland, to xix VIRGINNIS, xxxiiij elnis of Holane claith, - - - - - - - - - - - xvij li.

— *Item*, xxiiij elnis of quhite cairsay, - - - xviij li.

— *Item*, xxx elnis of lynnying, - - - vj li. xv s.

— *Item*, j¼ elne of serge dascot, and j¼ elne of temmyng, - - - - - - - - - xxxvij s. vj d.

— *Item*, ij½ elnis of camrage, - - - iiij li. v s.

1565.

April 11. ITEM, for ye Cene † on Skyre Thurisday, to ye dammes, damosellis, officiaris, and xxiij pure ‡ VIRGINNIS, ij½ of cammorage to be ane aperone, - - - - - - - - v li. xij s. vj d.

— *Item*, lvij½ elnis of Holland claithe to ye dames and officiaris, - - - - - - - - - lxiij li.

— *Item*, l elnis of small lynning to ye said xxiij virginnis and officiaris, - - - - - xij li. x s.

† Lord's Supper. ‡ Poor.

The window on the south side of the hall, as will be observed from the annexed view, overlooked the outer gateway. It was therefore employed by the inner turnkey as a channel of communication with his exterior brother, when any visiter was going out. He used to cry over this window, in the tone of a military order upon parade, "*Turn your hand,*" whereupon the gray-haired man on the pavement below opened the door and permitted the visiter, who by this time had descended the stair, to walk out.

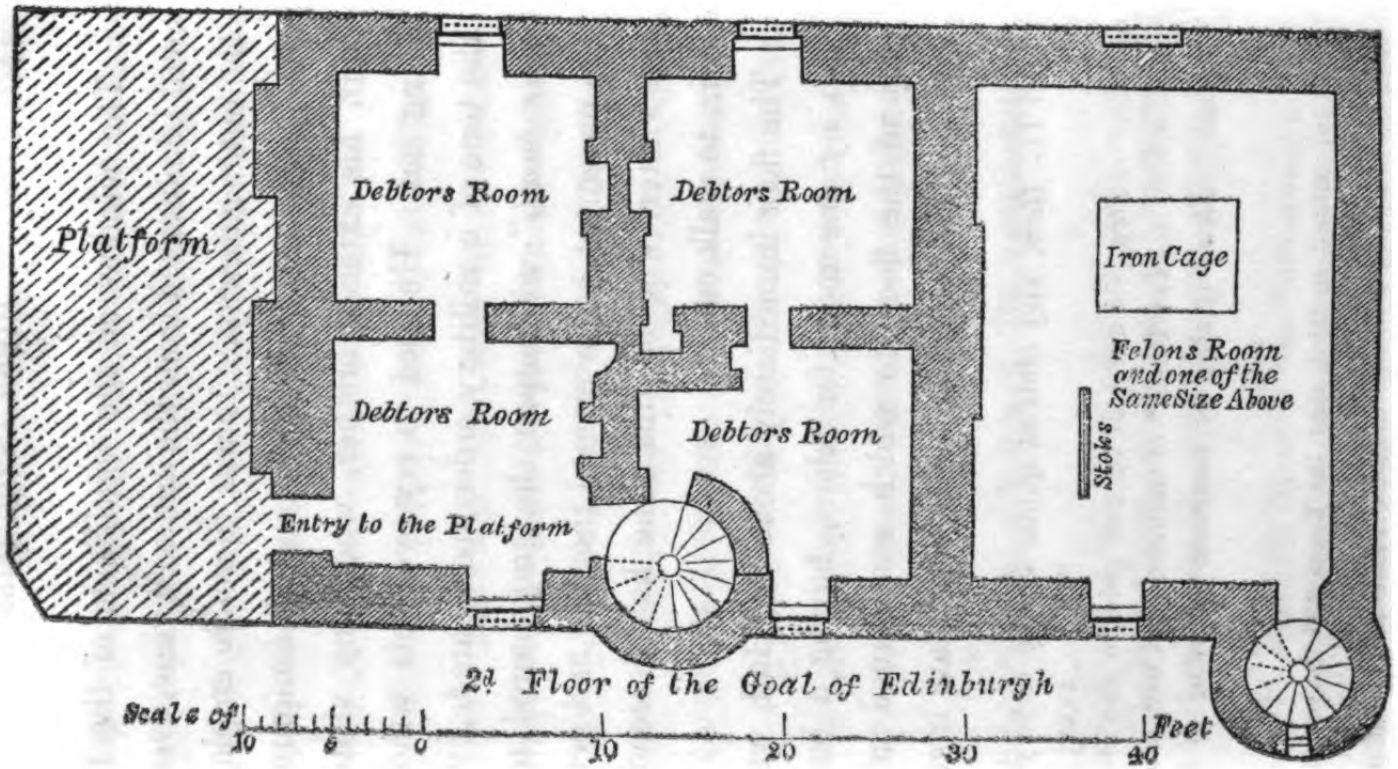
The floor immediately above the Hall, was occupied by one room for felons, having a bar along part of the floor, to which condemned criminals were chained, and a square box of plate iron in the

April 11. *Item*, xlvj elnis of quhite claithe to be yair coitis, xxxvj li. xvj s.

— *Item*, for ane half vnce of gold to ane chene, and for ane Purs * of weluote, lynit with satene, x li.

— *Item*, ij elnis of incarnate stamying to be hoise, viij li.

* I am inclined to think that the Kings and Queens of Scotland officiated *in person*, from an affectation of humility similar to that still practised in Roman Catholic countries, where persons of the highest rank wash the feet of pilgrims at the principal shrines, and even his Holiness himself undergoes this penance once a-year, and washes the feet of these greasy disciples.


Debtors Room
Debtors Room
Platform
Iron Cage
Felons Room
and one of the
Same Size Above
Debtors Room
Debtors Room
Stoks
Entry to the Platform
2d Floor of the Goal of Edinburgh
Scale of
10
5
0
10
20
30
40
Feet

centre, called THE CAGE,* which was said to have been constructed for the purpose of confining some extraordinary culprit, who had broken half the jails in the kingdom. Above this room was another of the same size, also appropriated to felons.

The larger and western part of the edifice, of coarser and apparently more modern construction, contained four floors, all of which were appropriated to the use of debtors, except a part of the lowest one, where a middle-aged woman kept a tavern for the sale of malt liquors. A turnpike stair gave access to the different floors. As it was narrow, steep, and dark, the visiter was assisted in his ascent by a greasy rope, which, some one was sure to inform him afterwards, had been employed in hanging a criminal. In one of the apartments on

* The antiquity of this prison within a prison, seems to have been greater than is generally supposed. The following entry in the Lord Treasurer's Books, July 31, 1554, probably refers to it.

'ITEM to Thomas Hall, keipar of THE IRNE-HOUSE in Edr. for ye sustenyng of Hectour Patersoun & Peter Chaplene, fals Cunzeouris, quhilkis had na thing of yair awin, and war justifyit † yairefter; fra ye x day of Aprile vnto ye xj day of Julij, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - vj li. ij s.

† *Ad mortem justificati*,—executed, put to death on the scaffold.

the second floor, was a door leading out to the platform whereon criminals were executed, and in another on the floor above, was an ill-plastered part of the wall, covering the aperture through which the gallows was projected. The fourth flat was a kind of barrack, for the use of the poorest debtors. It is almost unnecessary to say, that that part of the law of Scotland, which contemplates a punishment to insolvent persons in the *squalor carceris*, was fully answered and fulfilled by the appearance of these apartments, and every thing connected with them. The old Tolbooth was, indeed, as vile a place as could be expected in a town which was itself, in former times, one of the filthiest in the world.

History.

When the assassination of James I. at Perth, caused the rulers of the kingdom to look to Edinburgh as the future capital of the kingdom, the first general council and parliament of the new reign took place in that town. This council, which assembled in November 1438, was held "in *pretorio* burgi de Edinburgh,"* a Latinism for the

* Acts of the Scottish Parliaments, i.

Tolbooth, as all town-houses were then vernacularly called; * *tolbooth* signifying literally the *tax-house*. The first parliament of the same reign, assembled in January 1449, was held also "in *pretorio* burgi de Edinburgh;" and, to indicate more certainly that the Tolbooth is here meant, the parliament of 1451, only two years later, was held "at Edinburgh, in the *tolbooth* of the samyn."

There can hardly be any doubt that the Tolbooth of those days stood, at least, upon the same ground as it did in our own; for, in the statute granted by James III. in 1477, for the street markets, he ordains "the mele-mercat of all grane and cornes," to be "fra the Tolbuth up to Liberton's Wynd."

Throughout the reigns of James II. III. IV. and V. the parliament is always held in the same "pretorium" or "tolbuth."

What was the exact appearance of the Tolbooth in those times, we cannot pretend to have ascertained; but it is evident, that, as in later times, the ground flat was let out by the magistrates in

* The town-house and prison of Greenlaw in Berwickshire, a building as yet not more than a hundred and fifty years old, is styled "Pretorium" in the inscription on the front.

booths or shops to different traders. The following is a schedule of the lease-holders, as they stood in 1482, extracted from the Council Register:—

"The letting of the buithis under the Auld Tolbuith.

Bothi ex boreali parte pretorii.

The eastmost to Maister Richart Lawsoun, - iiij li.
The nixt to Johne of Lawder, - - - - - - - iiij li.
Andrew Bartrame, - - - - - - - - - - - - iiij li.
William Blakfurd, - - - - - - - - - - - - iiij li.
James Aikman, - - - - - - - - - - - - - iiij li.
Issobell Williamsoun, - - - - - - - - - - iiij li.
William Rynd, - - - - - - - - - - - - - iiij li.
Johne Wicht - - - - - - - - - - - - - - iiij li.
The north penteiss under the Tolbuith stair to William Neill, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - xxx sh.
The south penteiss to Williame Morison, - xxx sh.

Ex australi parte pretorii.

Johne Curror, - - - - - - - -
Patrik Forous, - - - - - - - -
Patrick Harlaw, - - - - - -
Robert Foulare, - - - - - -
Henry Foulis, - - - - - - -
} Rents not specified.

Abone the Buith-house stair.

John Laidlaw, - - - - - - - - - - - - - xx sh.
John of Balfour, - - - - - - - - - - - - ——
Nicholl Hannay, - - - - - - - - - - - xxx sh."

It also appears from the Council Register, that the tower of the Tolbooth, having become ruinous in the year 1500, was then pulled down and rebuilt.

In the year 1520, the magistrates were obliged, by want of money, to mortgage or wadset part of the shops beneath the Tolbooth; as is expressed in the following extract from their Register:—

"*May* 19, 1520.—The quhilk day, the provest, baillies, counsall, and dekynes of craftis, consentis that the aught over buthis of their Tolbuith, on the north side, be laid in wadsett upoun the sowme of 1500 and 3 score or 60 frankis under ane reversion, and to be redemit within yeir and day eftir this nixt terme of Whitsunday; and the provest, baillies, counsall, and communitie of merchandis are oblist and stande content to be bound to the hail com-

munitie under the commoun seill for redeimyng of the saidis buithis within the said terme.

"The same day the provest, baillies, and counsall, decerns thir personis underwritten, quhilk have promeist till lend money upoun the commoun buthis, viz. Johne Adamsone, elder, Maister Frances Bothwell, Michael Mackquhen, William Rynd, Alex. Andersoun, James Aikman, Henry Wilson, and Johne Wicht, elder, till compeir on Monday nyxt-to-cum, till mak and tak sesyng of the said buthis."

In the same year, October 6, the market for horse corn was appointed to be held "at the towre abone the Tolbuith stair on the south syde."

The Court of Session held its first sederunt, in presence of the king, May 27, 1532, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.—*See Acts of Sederunt published by Sir Ilay Campbell.* In the first statutes of the Court, it was ordained "that settis [*seats*] be honestlie maid and coverit with grene claith, flokkit, on the kingis expensis, quhar the lordis sal sit; and sal be maid ane burd [table] quadrangulare or round, about the quhilk thair may sit xviij personis esilie, and that thair be maid sett aboun

sett, and ane bell be hungin, to call in maseris, or parteis, as the lordis requiris. *Item,* That all the lordis sall entre in the Tolbooth and counsal-houss at viij howris in the mornyng dayly, and sall sit quhill xi howris be strikin. Alsone as the lordis be enterit in the Tolbuth, that ane maisser ische the counsall-houss, and himself stand at the dur, and let na man entre; and giff ony lord or uthir man cummis to the door and desiris enteres, that he advertiss the lordis thereof, and giff thai have ony matter, thai will propose that silence be had quhill thai have done, and than to remove. That na man entre to pley bot the parteis contenit in thair summondis, and thair procuratouris, giff thai will ony have.* Incontenent, eftir the lordis be enterit, and till the houss ischit, that all billis be first red and exped," &c.

It would thus appear, that the part of the building in which the lords sat was called the council-house, while the advocates, procurators, and clients, remained in an outer apartment or apartments, and were upon no account permitted to intrude into the

* The decisions of the Courts of Session and Justiciary were made up with closed doors till after the Revolution.

presence of the judges during the consultations held upon cases. We afterwards find that lords also sat in this exterior apartment, called the "Uter Tolbuith," probably to hear causes in their primary stage; and this was, without doubt, the origin of the present important division of the court into an INNER and OUTER HOUSE.

It is worth noting, as a curious part of the simple system of things which then obtained, that *summonses* were stuck upon the door of the Tolbooth, and not otherwise held legal.*

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the same building and the same apartments served at this time for the Parliament and the Court of Session. The general law was, that while Parliament sat, all other courts should rise; therefore, there could not be any difficulty in thus compelling the Tolbooth "a double debt to pay." Nor is this

† This only took place when the domicile of the party summoned could not be ascertained, or when he was "furth of Scotland," in which case the citation was *edictal*, and served at the market-cross of Edinburgh, pier and shore of Leith. Absent parties in criminal cases were, after edictal or common citation, thrice called from the "Tolbuyth windo," at separate stages of the proceedings, and then denounced rebel, or declared fugitate.

theory invalidated by the circumstance of the king granting dispensation, in 1538, for the lords to administer justice, notwithstanding the sitting of Parliament, *(Acts of Sederunt, as above;)* for either they might find accommodation elsewhere for one occasion, or they might meet in a different apartment of the same building. In 1528, when James V. held his first council, after his emancipation from the Douglasses, it was in "the upper chamber of the Tolbooth;"* a circumstance sufficient to show, that there was a variety of rooms fit for a considerable assemblage of people in the building. If our opinion be correct, that the EAST END was the tower rebuilt in 1500, then it would appear that the council of James V. was held in the room latterly used for the reception of condemned criminals, and where many gentlemen, certainly, were of late years "entered at the *bar*."

That the Tolbooth was, at this early time, used as a prison, we are not prepared to affirm; but it may at least be said, that nothing can be more probable. When Lord Home and his brother were

* Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 614. The authority is not given.

executed, in 1514, by the Governor Duke of Albany, their heads were stuck upon the Tolbooth;* in revenge for which, David Home of Wedderburn afterwards affixed the head of the Duke's pro-regent, the Sieur Anthony de la Bawtie, upon the battlements of Hume Castle. Although the unfortunate lord and his brother are not described as having been confined in the Tolbooth, but in "the auld towre" of Holyroodhouse, which was built by the Duke of Albany; yet the fixing of their heads on that building, would seem to indicate that it was then a jail, as well as in later times, when the same practice was common, and when the Tolbooth was for certain used in that capacity. Besides, there is still an universal practice in Scotland, of making the jail a part of the town-house. We have the probability of the case further confirmed, by a Parliamentary description of the uses of a Tolbooth in a somewhat later age. The act of 1592, for building one in Clackmannan, proceeds upon this preamble: "Whereas, in all sheriffdomes of this realme, thair ar tolbuithis appointit

* Marioreybanks's Annales.

and biggit within the heid burghis of the same, quhair *courtis may be haldin, justice ministrat,* and *malefactoris and transgressouris may be kepit and wardit,* quhill justice may be ministrat upone thaim, according to thair demerities."

In 1561, the Tolbooth, or the greater part of it, was found to be much decayed by age, and the following precept upon the subject, was sent by Queen Mary to the Magistrates :—

" *Apud Edinburgum, 6to Februarii,* 1561.

" The Queinis Majestie, understanding that the Tolbuith of the burgh of Edinburgh is ruinous, and abill haistelie to dekay and fall doun ; quhilk will be warray dampnable and skaythfull to the pepill dwelland thairabout, and reparand towert the samen, nocht only in destruction of their houses, bot als greit slauchter of sundrye personis happin and chance thairthrow, without haistie remeid be provided thairin. Thairfor, hir Hienes ordanes ane masser to pass and charge the provest, baillies, and counsaill of the said burgh of Edinburgh, to caus put workmen to the taking down of the said Tolbuith, with all possible diligence, for the causes

foresaid, as they will anser to hir Hienes thairupon, at hir utmost charge; and so, in the mean tyme, that thay provide a sufficient hous and rowmes reparit as effeires, for the Lords of Sessioun, Justice, and Sheriff, ministring justice to the lieges of the realme.

"MARIE R."

In obedience to this edict, the town-council, at their meeting on the 29th of the same month, [February 1561-2,] "all in ane vote ordines that the Tolbuith of this burgh be take doun upon bayth sydis *sa fer as sal be neidful*, and to that effect makis David Somer maister of thair warks, and ordinis him to begin upoun Monday nyxt the doun-taking of the sklaittis and rufe thairof, and to proceid as we sal requyre; and siclyke ordinis the baillies, with all diligence, to deliver to the said maister of wark the sowme of six hundreth merks, of the first and readiest of the taxt, for paying of the warkmen, lauboraris at the said Tolbuith, and that the other Tolbuith be maid in the west end of the kirk for the Lords of Sessioun, and gyf the

tymmer of the Auld Tolbuith will serve for the wark of the New Tolbuith, the said maister of warks to take the same as ma serve."

We shall now pursue the history of both the old and new building a little farther, in order to illustrate this curious subject, and also to show to what distress the magistrates of those days were sometimes subjected for want of a little money.

On the 4th of March, hardly a week after the last meeting, Somer, the master of works, appeared before the council, and "protestit, in case the Tolbuith happenit to fall down and danger follow thairupoun, that he be not accusit thairfor, becaus that he has bene slaw the tyme he was nominat maister of warks, as he yet is ready to caus tak down the said Tolbuith, gyf the baillies would gyf him money to pay the warkmen that sould laubor thairat."

"The samyn day the provest, baillies, and counsall, maist ernestlie requyres David Somer, maister of wark, to proceid with all diligence in the townis wark, for satisfying of the Lords of Sessioun; and they fullie obleist thaim to satisfye him for his laubor, at his plesour, according to reasson."

Nevertheless, on the 8th of April 1562,* the council are found committing the famous Friar Black [*de quo vide Knox's Historie of the Reformation*] "to ward in the Tolbuth,"

April 11.—The council hearing that the Lords of Session "are of mynde to remove to Sanct Androis, in defalt of ane houss heir," ordain, "as of before, David Somer, with all diligence possible, to end furth the houss in the west end of the kirk, and tak the readiest tymer, stanes, and other geir necessar of the Auld Tolbuith, and applye to the said new wark; and gyf sufficient tymer can nocht be had, that the said baillies serche and seik throw all the town quhair ony sufficient tymer may be had, and, price beand maid with the awners, deliver the same to the said maister of warks for the caus forsaid," &c.

April 13.—The council "ordines David Somer, with all diligence, to caus tak down the battelling of the Auld Tolbuith and samekill as is ruynous, conforme to the first ordour thairanent, as he will answer," &c.

* The year then ending on the 25th of March.

April 22.—" Ordines David Somer to deliver to the dean of gyld the hale sklaittis takin of the Auld Tolbuith, or sa mony thairof as he myndis, for the thiking, mending, and making of the kirk wall; quhairof he salbe dischargit."—Also order the dean of gyld to use them in theiking the " New Tobuith."

April 24.—Hearing that the bailies have contributed nothing to the tax which they were enjoined to collect, and that the work of the Tolbooth will presently be idle for want of money, they ordain the said bailies to contribute.

May 4.—Another edict for quickening the collection of the tax.

June 19.—The bailies ordained to give two hundred pounds out of the readiest of the tax to David Somer, " for complisching of the wark in the New Tolbuith, sua that the said wark lye not idell."

July 15.—The council met " in the New Tolbuith;" and considering that the work had been left off for want of money, and that that would offend the Queen and the Lords of Session, they

resolved to borrow a thousand pounds for the purpose of carrying on the work.*

Aug. 13.—One hundred pounds paid towards the work of the New Tolbooth.

October 3.—In an act of council respecting the High School, certain persons are ordered to "compeir in the Over Tolbuith of the said burgh—at the west end of the kirk."

October 14.—David Somer gave notice that, "because he had oft and diverse tymes requyrit money and could get nane," his workmen were obliged fairly to give up their work at the New Tolbooth.

January 15, 1562-3.—David Somer is ordered to "take the reddiest jeists upon the fluiring of the Auld Tolbuith, abone the laigh buithis, and obleist thaim to warrand him," &c.

Here, however, a sudden interference took place. The shopkeepers on the ground floor, finding this to be no *jeist* to them, came before the council on

* The value of this money is denoted by an almost contemporary act of the council, declaring one pound sterling to be equal to L. 4, 10s. Scots.

the 3d of March, and gave in a remonstrance against the farther demolition of the building, as injurious to their property and interest. " The quhilk day," says the Register, " the provest, baillies, counsall, and dekynis, efter avisement made with the supplicatioun and complaynt gevin in befoir thame be Jhonne Young, writer, Maister Johnne Prestone, Robert Rynde, and utheris, fewaris and rentallers of the buthis under the Auld Tolbuith, bereing thame to be heuilie hurt be the gude toun, quhilk be thair advyse and consent had, be taking down of the said Tolbuith, maid thair said buthis waist and unhabitabill, to thair greit hurt, and that presentlie the maister of wark was takand away the jeists above their said buthis, quhilk jeists had been bocht be thame and laid thair, and wes thair awin propir guddis; and thairfor desyrit thair wisdomes to caus the said maister of wark to suffer the said jeists to remane still in thair proper places; and further, to suffer thame to mak to-falles and fals rufis abone thair said buthis, sua that thay micht inhabit the samyn, or otherwise be not offendit with thame in case they socht remeid at the heear poweris: To the quhilk it was answerit be the provest, baillies,

counsall, and dekynis foresaid, that becaus it was the Queen's Majesties mynd that the New Tolbuith sould be completit with all diligens, and that at this present na lang tymer could be gottin, quhairfor thay requeistit thame to suffir the maister of wark intromit with the said jeists, and gif be all thair lawbors it mycht be procurit at hir Hienes hand to suffir thame to *big the Auld Tolbuith agane*, thay sould render to thame in the samyn places als mony als gud jeistis as the said maister of wark sould tak off, [and in the] meantyme consentit and grantit to suffir [thame to build] thair said to-fallis, and do thameselffis sik uthir ese [as they] mycht, unto the tyme of the Parliament, as quhile thai knew further of the Queenis Majesties mynd; quhairupon the said rentallers asked instrumentis."*

March 5.—The master of work ordered to "intromitt with the stanis of the chappel in the nether kirk-yard, and bestow† thame on the New Tolbuith."

* The passages here marked within brackets are supplied for certain spaces in the original, rendered blank by a piece being torn off from the corner of a leaf.

† Apparently a building called the Chapel of Holyrood, alluded to by Maitland.

June 18, 1563.—New edict for raising money in order to complete the New Tolbooth.

June 21.—A thousand merks ordained to be raised upon the town mills for completing the New Tolbooth.

June 25.—Maister Thome Prestoun, thesaurer, ordained to "*mend the rufe of the Auld Tolbuith, and mak it waltertycht,* and the expensis disbursit be him to be allowit in his comptis."

September 11.—A deputation sent to Stirling to reason in the action depending betwixt the gude town and the Lords of Session respecting the New Tolbooth.

September 18.—Hearing that the Queen, through anger, would not give "speiche" to this deputation, another was sent to learn the cause. [It seems to have been some matter "tuiching Leyth."]

January, 1563.—A bar ordered to be made for the Court of Session in the "over New Tolbuith."

February 7.—New seats built there for the Lords.

January 31, 1563-4.—The work still uncompleted.

October 12, 1565.—An act respecting the ceremonial of holding a [town] council, ordains that

" the uter north dur, forenent the toure of the Auld Tolbuith," shall be " takkin and haldin fast induring the tyme of the counsall," &c.

October 23.—The council pay forty-five pounds to Maister William Currour, in part payment of a greater sum " restand awand to him for his land quhairupoun the New Tolbuith is biggit."

After this, for many years, there seems to be nothing in the Council Register respecting either the New or the Old Tolbooth. The new building was apparently finished, and the old one permitted to remain as it was. The site of the new building is now partly occupied by the lobby of the Signet Library.

We must now make some further extracts from the Council Register, in order to prove the continued existence of the *Auld Tolbuith* at a later period :—

January 17, 1592-3.—" The same day settis, and for maill and dewtie lettis, to Johnn Wilson, lawfull son of Richert Wilson, skynner, all and haill thair heich buith, under the Auld Tolbuith of this burgh, on the north syde therof, and in the eist end of the samyn, and sam tyme under the bose

wyndow thairof, quhilk the said Richert his father had in rental of the said toun of before; byand betwix the buith of Mungo Scott, &c. * * * Further, the said provest, baillies, and counsall, for guid causses movying thaim, be thir presentis, promiss nocht to remove the said Johnn from the said buith indurying his lyfetyme, except that thair successouris remove any of the occupyaris and rentallaris, and this in process thairuntil," &c.

July 25, 1593.—" Finds that the guid toun might haif lairge profeitt of thair buiths about the Awld Tolbuith, where now thai gett nathing thairof, and thairfor appoynts M. Michael Chisholme, Clement Row, and William Littill, to convene and consult for ane substantial ordour to be tayne with the rentallaris of the said buithis."

November 16, 1593.—A person appointed to take legal measures for removing the rentallaris " under the Auld Tolbuith," for default of rent.

February 1, 1608.—" The bailies, thesaurer, and counsal, statutis and ordanis, that na maner of persons sall tak upoun thame to set any maner of standis, or any othir geir, fra the west syde of

Liberton's Wynd heid to the Auld Tolbuith, bot sic as sall be plaicit thair be the toun."

The most convincing proof, however, of the continued existence of "the Auld Tolbuith," is to be found in an entry, under November 26, 1613, relative to an overruled project for rebuilding it on the same situation, as follows:—"The quhilk day" the bailies and other members of the council "beand convenit, after lang resoning, for dyvers caussis and considerationis moving thame, fynds it *nocht expedient* that their sall be ane Tolbuith biggett and rayset vpoun the present Tolbuith in the west end of yair hie kirk, and als ffynd it veray necessar and expedient that the rwif [*i. e.* roof] of the haill kirk sall be sufficientlie repayrit with all convenient diligence."

It thus appears perfectly plain, that the Old Tolbooth, instead of having been built in 1561, was in reality the same edifice which was then condemned as old and unfit to stand, and which had served as a Hotel de Ville and Parliament House, from a very early period of our national history. It was the *Auld Tobuith* almost three centuries ago;

and, though often since threatened with destruction, it continued to be the *Auld Tolbuith* still—a capital specimen of the solid masonry of past times—till destroyed within the recollection of most of the present citizens of Edinburgh. It continued ever after to be employed in the least noble of its ancient uses, that of a jail, till the erection of the present large building on the Calton Hill, when it was finally resolved by the magistrates to remove the structure, so long before condemned, as a nuisance. The materials of the building having been sold for L.280, and its few prisoners (only twelve) liberated by a subscription kindly set on foot by Mr Robert Johnston, one of the bailies, its demolition took place, September 1817, not without a sentiment of interest, and even regret, in the minds of the spectators, most of whom had been accustomed to look upon it as an antique and curious object since their earliest years. The gateway was re-erected, with the door and padlock, at Abbotsford; and the cage was purchased by the local authorities at Portobello, as sufficient in itself to form a prison for that thriving town. It was discovered that the ancient, most peculiar, and most famous smell,

which always prevailed in the Tolbooth, was chiefly occasioned by the rats, which had burrowed under the building, and which, it is said, migrated in great hordes when they found that they were no longer safe amidst the falling ruins.*

Traditions.

Criminals, notwithstanding every consideration of the meanness which characterizes some crimes, and the wickedness and cruelty of others, are an interesting portion of mankind. The interest respecting them is not confined to the young ladies, who conceive that "the youth in his cart has the air of a lord," and

—— "cry, there dies an Adonis."

It is felt by all mankind. The reasons are, that criminals become distinguished and notable above their fellow-creatures—singled out, as it were, and placed in a conspicuous flock, with a pale around

* In the succeeding year, the Tolbooth was canonized by the genius of Sir Walter Scott, who revived for it the obsolete title of the Heart of Mid-Lothian. The *Mids o' Marr* is, we understand, a title of parallel jocularity for the prison of Aberdeen.

them, which the ordinary people of the world will not, dare not overleap. They are interesting, often, on account of their courage—on account of their having dared something which we timorously and anxiously avoid. A murderer or a robber, is quite as remarkable a person, for this reason, as a soldier who has braved some flesh-shaking danger. He must have given way to some excessive passion—and all who have ever been transported beyond the bounds of reason by the violence of any passion whatever, generally gain the wonder, if not the admiration, of the rest of the species. Among the inmates of the Old Tolbooth, some of whom had inhabited it for many years, there were preserved a few legendary particulars respecting criminals of distinction, who had formerly been within its walls. Some of these I have been fortunate enough to pick up.

One of the most distinguished traits in the character of the Old Tolbooth was, that it had no power of retention over people of quality. It had something like that faculty which Falstaff attributes to the lion and himself—of knowing men who ought to be respected on account of their rank.

Almost every criminal of more than the ordinary rank ever yet confined in it, somehow or other contrived to get free. An insane peer, who, about the time of the Union, assassinated a schoolmaster that had married a girl to whom he had paid improper addresses, escaped while under sentence of death. I am uncertain whether the following curious fact, related to me some years ago by Sir Walter Scott, refers to that nobleman, or to some other titled offender. It was contrived that the prisoner should be conveyed out of the Tolbooth in a trunk, and carried by a porter to Leith, where some sailors were to be ready with a boat to take him aboard a vessel about to leave Scotland. The plot succeeded so far as the escape from jail was concerned, but was knocked on the head by an unlucky and most ridiculous accident. It so happened that the porter, in arranging the trunk upon his back, placed the end which corresponded with the feet of the prisoner *uppermost*. The head of the unfortunate nobleman was therefore pressed against the lower end of the box, and had to sustain the weight of the whole body. The posture was the most uneasy imaginable. Yet life was prefer-

able to ease. He permitted himself to be taken away. The porter trudged along the Krames with the trunk, quite unconscious of its contents, and soon reached the High Street, which he also traversed. On gaining the Netherbow, he met an acquaintance, who asked him where he was going with that large burden. To Leith, was the answer. The other enquired if the job was good enough to afford a potation before proceeding farther upon so long a journey, This being replied to in the affirmative, and the carrier of the box feeling in his throat the philosophy of his friend's enquiry, it was agreed that they should adjourn to a neighbouring tavern. Meanwhile, the third party, whose inclinations had not been consulted in this arrangement, felt in his neck the agony of ten thousand decapitations, and almost wished that it were at once well over with him in the Grass-market. But his agonies were not destined to be of long duration. The porter, in depositing him upon the causeway, happened to make the end of the trunk come down with such precipitation, that, unable to bear it any longer, the prisoner fairly roared out, and immediately after fainted. The

consternation of the porter, on hearing a noise from his burden, was of course excessive; but he soon acquired presence of mind enough to conceive the occasion. He proceeded to unloose and to burst open the trunk, when the hapless nobleman was discovered in a state of insensibility; as a crowd collected immediately, and the City-guard were not long in coming forward, there was of course no further chance of escape. The prisoner did not eventually recover from his swoon till he had been safely deposited in his old quarters; but, if I recollect rightly, he eventually escaped in another way.

In two very extraordinary instances, an escape from justice has, strange as it may appear, been effected by *means* of the Old Tolbooth. At the discovery of the Rye-house Plot, in the reign of Charles II., the notorious Robert Fergusson, usually styled "the Plotter," was searched for in Edinburgh, with a view to his being subjected, if possible, to the extreme vengeance of the law. It being known almost certainly that he was in town, the authorities shut the gates, and calculated securely upon having him safe within their toils. The Plotter,

however, by an expedient worthy of his ingenious character, escaped by taking refuge in the Old Tolbooth. A friend of his happened to be confined there at the time, and was able to afford protection and concealment to Fergusson, who, at his leisure, came abroad, and betook himself to a still safer shelter on the continent. The same device was practised in 1746, by a gentleman who had been concerned in the Rebellion, and for whom a hot search had been carried on in the Highlands.

The case of Katherine Nairne, in 1766, excited, in no small degree, the attention of the Scottish public. This lady was allied, both by blood and marriage, to some highly respectable families. Her crime was the double one of poisoning her husband, and having an intrigue with his brother, who was her associate in the murder. On her arrival at Leith in an open boat, her whole bearing betrayed so much levity, or was so different from what had been expected, that the mob raised a general cry of indignation, and were on the point of stoning her, when she was with some difficulty rescued from their hands by the public authorities. In this case the Old

Tolbooth found itself, as usual, incapable of retaining a culprit of condition. Sentence had been delayed by the judges, on account of her pregnancy. The midwife employed at her accouchement (who continued to practise in Edinburgh so lately as the year 1805) had the address to achieve a jail-delivery also. For three or four days previous to that concerted for the escape, she pretended to be afflicted with a prodigious toothach; went out and in with her head enveloped in shawls and flannels; and groaned as if she had been about to give up the ghost. At length, when all the janitory officials were become so habituated to her appearance, as not very much to heed her exits and her entrances, Katherine Nairne one evening came down in her stead, with her head wrapped all round with the shawls, uttering the usual groans, and holding down her face upon her hands, as with agony, in the precise way customary with the midwife. The inner doorkeeper, not quite unconscious, it is supposed, of the trick, gave her a hearty thump upon the back as she passed out, calling her at the same time a howling old Jezebel, and wishing she would

never come back to annoy his ears, and those of the other inmates, in such an intolerable way. There are two reports of the proceedings of Katherine Nairne after leaving the prison. One bears that she immediately left the town in a coach, to which she was handed by a friend stationed on purpose. The coachman, it is said, had orders from her relations, in the event of a pursuit, to drive into the sea, that she might drown herself—a fate which, however dreadful, was considered preferable to the ignominy of a public execution. The other story runs, that she went up the Lawnmarket to the Castlehill, where lived Mr ———, a respectable advocate, from whom, as he was her cousin, she expected to receive protection. Being ignorant of the town, she mistook the proper house, and, what was certainly remarkable, applied at that of the crown agent, * who was assuredly the last man in the world that could have done her any service. As good luck would have it, she was not recognized by the servant, who civilly directed her to her cousin's house, where

* The large white house, nearest the Castle, on the north side of the street.

it is said she remained concealed many weeks. Her future life, it has been reported, was virtuous and fortunate. She was married to a French gentleman, was the mother of a large and respectable family, and died at a good old age. Meanwhile, Patrick Ogilvie, her associate in the dark crime which threw a shade over her younger years, suffered in the Grassmarket. This gentleman, who had been a lieutenant in the —— regiment, was so much beloved by his fellow-soldiers, who happened to be stationed at that time in Edinburgh Castle, that the public authorities judged it necessary to shut them up in that fortress till the execution was over, lest they might have attempted a rescue.

The Old Tolbooth was the scene of the suicide of Mungo Campbell, while under sentence of death (1770) for shooting the Earl of Eglintoune. In the district where this memorable event took place, it is somewhat remarkable that the fate of the murderer was more generally lamented than that of the murdered person. Campbell, though what was called "a graceless man," and therefore not much esteemed, was rather popular in his profession of exciseman, on

account of his rough, honourable spirit, and his lenity in the matter of smuggling. Lord Eglintoune, on the contrary, was not liked, on account of the inconvenience which he occasioned to many of his tenants by newfangled improvements, and his introduction into the country of a generally abhorred article, denominated rye-grass, which was fully as unpopular a measure as the bringing in of Prelacy had been a century before. Lord Eglintoune was in the habit of taking strange crotchets about his farms —crotchets quite at variance with the old-established prejudices of his tenantry. He sometimes tried to rouse the old-fashioned farmers of Kyle from their negligence and supineness, by removing them to other farms, or causing two to exchange their possessions, in order, as he jocularly alleged, to prevent their furniture from getting mouldy, by long standing in particular damp corners. Though his lordship's projects were all undertaken in the spirit of improvement, and though these migrations were doubtless salutary in a place where the people were then involved in much sloth and nastiness, still they were premature, and carried on with

rather a harsh spirit. They therefore excited feelings in the country people not at all favourable to his character. These, joined to the natural eagerness of the common people to exult over the fall of tyranny, and the puritanical spirit of the district, which disposed them to regard his lordship's peccadilloes as downright libertinism, altogether conspired against him, and tended to throw the glory and the pity of the occasion upon his lordship's slayer. Even Mungo's poaching was excused, as a more amiable failing than the excessive solicitude about the preservation of game, which had always been the unpopular mania of the Eglintoune family. Mungo Campbell was a man respectably connected, the son of a provost of Ayr, had been a dragoon in his youth, was eccentric in his manners, a bachelor, and was considered at Newmills, where he resided, as an austere and unsocial, but honourable and correct man. There can be no doubt that he rose on his elbows and fired at his lordship, who had additionally provoked him by bursting into a laugh at his awkward fall. The Old Tolbooth was supposed by many, at the time, to have had her usual failing in

Mungo's case. The interest of the Argyle family was said to have been employed in his favour; and the body, which was found suspended over the door, instead of being his, was thought to be that of a dead soldier from the Castle substituted in his place. His relations, however, who were very respectable people in Ayrshire, all acknowledged that he died by his own hand; and this was the general idea of the mob of Edinburgh, who, getting the body into their hands, trailed it down the street to the King's Park, and, inspired by different sentiments from those of the Ayrshire people, were not satisfied till they got it up to the top of Salisbury Crags, from which they precipitated it down the *Cat Nick*.

One of the most remarkable criminals ever confined in the Old Tolbooth, was the celebrated William Brodie. As may be generally known, this was a man of respectable connexions, and who had moved in good society all his life, unsuspected of any criminal pursuits. It is said that a habit of frequenting cockpits was the first symptom he exhibited of a decline from virtue. His ingenuity as a mechanic gave him a fatal facility in the burgla-

rious pursuits to which he afterwards addicted himself. It was then customary for the shopkeepers of Edinburgh to hang their keys upon a nail at the back of their doors, or at least to take no pains in concealing them during the day. Brodie used to take impressions of them in putty or clay, a piece of which he would carry in the palm of his hand. He kept a blacksmith in his pay, of the name of Smith, who forged exact copies of the keys he wanted, and with these it was his custom to open the shops of his fellow-tradesmen during the night. He thus found opportunities of securely stealing whatever he wished to possess. He carried on his malpractices for many years, and never was suspected, till having committed a daring robbery upon the Excise-office in Chessels's Court, Canongate, some circumstances transpired, which induced him to disappear from Edinburgh. Suspicion then becoming strong, he was pursued to Holland, and taken at Amsterdam, standing upright in a press or cupboard. At his trial, Henry Erskine, his counsel, spoke very eloquently in his behalf, representing in particular, to the jury, how strange and improbable a

circumstance it was, that a man whom they had themselves known from infancy as a person of good repute, should have been guilty of such practices as those with which he was charged. He was, however, found guilty, and sentenced to death, along with his accomplice Smith. At the trial he had appeared in a fine full-dress suit of black clothes, the greater part of which was of silk, and his deportment throughout the whole affair was completely that of a gentleman. He continued during the period which intervened between his sentence and execution, to dress himself well, and to keep up his spirits. A gentleman of his own acquaintance, calling upon him in the condemned room, was astonished to find him singing the song from the Beggar's Opera, "'Tis woman seduces all mankind." Having contrived to cut out the figure of a draught-board on the stone floor of his dungeon, he amused himself by playing with any one who would join him, and, in default of such, with his right hand against his left. This diagram remained in the room where it was so strangely out of place, till the destruction of the jail. His dress and deportment at the gallows were equally gay with those which

he assumed at his trial. As the Earl of Morton was the first man executed by the Maiden, so was Brodie the first who proved the excellence of an improvement he had formerly made on the apparatus of the gibbet. This was the substitution of what is called the *drop,* for the ancient practice of the double ladder. He inspected the thing with a professional air, and seemed to view the result of his ingenuity with a smile of satisfaction. When placed on that terrible and insecure pedestal, and while the rope was adjusted round his neck by the executioner, his courage did not forsake him. On the contrary, even there, he exhibited a sort of joyful levity, which, though not exactly composure, seemed to the spectators as indicative of indifference; he shuffled about, looked gaily around, and finally went out of the world with his hand stuck carelessly into the open front of his vest.

As its infirmities increased with old age, the Tolbooth showed itself incapable of retaining prisoners of even ordinary rank. Within the recollection of people still living, a youth named Hay, the son of a stabler in the Grassmarket, and who was under sentence of death for burglary, effected his

escape in a way highly characteristic of the Heart of Midlothian, and of the simple and unprecise system upon which all public affairs were managed before the present age.

A few days before that appointed for the execution, the father went up to the condemned room, apparently to condole with his unhappy son. The irons had been previously got quit of by files. At nightfall, when the jail was getting thin of visiters, old Hay invited the inner turnkey, or man who kept the hall door, to come into the room, and partake of some liquor which he had brought with him. The man took a few glasses, and became mellow just about the time when the bottle was exhausted, and when the time of locking up the jail (ten o'clock at that period) was approaching. Hay expressed unwillingness to part at the moment when they were just beginning to enjoy their drink; and the turnkey, who had a propensity to convivial pleasures, felt by no means disposed to dissent from a declaration so congenial to his own feelings. Hay then took a crown from his pocket, and proposed that the turnkey should go out and purchase a bottle of good rum at a neighbouring

shop. The man consented, and, staggering away down stairs, neglected to lock the inner door behind him. Young Hay followed close, as had been concerted, and after the man had gone out, and the outer turnkey closed the outer door, stood in the stair just within that dread portal, ready to spring into the street. Old Hay then put his head to the great window of the hall, and cried, "Turn your hand!"—the usual drawling cry which brought the outer turnkey to open the door. The turnkey came mechanically at the cry, and unclosed the outer door, when the young criminal sprang out, and ran as fast as he could down Beth's Wynd, a lane opposite the jail. According to the plan which had been previously concerted, he repaired to a particular part of the wall of the Greyfriars' Churchyard, near the lower gate, where it was possible for an agile person to climb up and spring over; and so well had every stage of the business been planned, that a large stone had been thrown down at this place, to facilitate the leap.

The youth had been provided with a key which could open Sir George Mackenzie's mausoleum—a place of peculiar horror, as it was supposed to be

haunted by the spirit of the bloody persecutor, but to which the love of life seems to have reconciled him. Young Hay had been brought up in the hospital of George Heriot, in the immediate neighbourhood of the churchyard, and had many boyish acquaintances still residing in that munificent establishment. Some of these he contrived to inform of his situation, enjoining them to be secret, and beseeching them to assist him in his distress. The Herioters of those days had a very clannish spirit—insomuch, that to have neglected the interests or safety of any individual of the community, however unworthy he might be of their friendship, would have been looked upon by them as a sin of the deepest dye. Hay's confidants, therefore, considered themselves bound to assist him by all means in their power against that general foe—the public. They kept his secret most faithfully, spared from their own meals as much food as supported him, and ran the risk of severe punishment, as well as of seeing ghosts, by visiting him every night in his horrible abode. About six weeks after his escape from jail, when the hue and cry had in a great measure subsided, he ventured to leave the tomb,

and it was afterwards known that he escaped abroad.

So ends our gossip respecting a building which has witnessed and contained the meetings of the Scottish Parliament in the romantic days of the Jameses—which held the first fixed court of law established in the country—which was looked to by the citizens in a rude age as a fortified place for defence against external danger to their lives and goods—which has immured in its gloomy walls persons of all kinds liable to law, from the gallant Montrose, and the faithful Guthrie and Argyle, down to the humblest malefactor in the modern style of crime—and which, finally, has been embalmed in the imperishable pages of the greatest fictitious writer our country has ever produced.

20

THE TOLBOOTH KIRK.

This quarter or limb of St Giles, renowned in the last age for the evangelical prelections of Dr Webster, has had rather a curious history.

The New Tolbooth, so often alluded to in the

preceding article, was apparently that building which, till a late period, accommodated the Town Council in its lower floor, and the High Court of Justiciary in the upper, and was removed to make way for the library of the Writers to the Signet, the eastern part of which is placed exactly upon the same site. The upper floor of this building extended across the dark and narrow passage, which formed the western access to the Parliament Close, and adjoined to the western gable of the Tolbooth Kirk, with which it seemed to have at one time communicated by a door. A memorial of the former more intimate connexion of the two buildings was kept up to the very last, in the circumstance that a part of the Council House, on the opposite side of the alley, served as a vestry to the church, there being no room in the latter building for such an accommodation.

It would appear that the New Tolbooth had not long been found sufficient for the Court of Session; for it is an incontestable fact, that, during most of the reign of James VI. and Charles I., *that supreme judicature sat in the place latterly called the Tolbooth Kirk,* while the upper part of the former

building, erected with such difficulty and distress, served apparently as only a withdrawing-room, or for some other inferior purpose. There are many passages in old books and manuscripts which render this fact quite plain, though, curious as it is, it has never been hinted at in any history of the city. For instance, the author of "The Memorie of the Somervilles," who wrote in the reign of Charles II., and appears to have had a good command of traditionary intelligence, in relating a story respecting a law-plea, in which the interest of the Regent Morton was rather oddly employed, says—"About ten o'clock, the regent went to the house, [that is, the meeting-place of the Court of Session,] which was the same which is now the Tolbuith Church, in coach." *

* Somerville farther states that this coach was the second that came to Scotland, the first being brought by Alexander Lord Seatone, when Queen Mary came from France. This, however, does not agree with a statement made in Calderwood's larger history, (M.S. Adv. Lib. iii. 335,) where it is mentioned that, in 1570, nine years after the arrival of Queen Mary, and seven before the incident mentioned in the text, Secretary Lethington travelled from Edinburgh Castle to Niddry in West Lothian, *in a coach*, in order to confer with Verac, the French ambassador. Possibly, this last coach was the same with either of the other two.

It is also observed, in Birrel's Diary, that, about the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the Tolbooth was oftener than once re-converted into a church, and afterwards restored to the Court of Session. When the noted tumult of December 17, 1596, broke out in the Little Kirk, King James was sitting in the Tolbooth adjoining, (for the church had now got this name,) superintending, as was his frequent custom, the administration of justice. When he got the alarm, he "withdrew into the chamber overhead,"* and was there protected from the mob, till the Earl of Mar brought some soldiers round by Forrester's Wynd to his rescue. The contemporary accounts of the tumult, all tend to show that the King was sitting at first in the place latterly known as the Tolbooth Kirk, and that he retired for safety into the upper room of the New Tolbooth, latterly the Justiciary Court-room—an account of the transaction, very different from that hitherto given, which has always assigned the old jail as the locality of King James's terror and rescue. It also appears, from the authority quoted below, that the

* Issachar's Burden, by Bishop Manwell, in the Phœnix.

Octavians (a body of eight statesmen, into whose hands James had committed all his financial affairs and patronage) sat in the Tolbooth Kirk. It may be worthy of notice that the latter building is often, in works of that age, called the Laigh Tolbooth, while the Justiciary Court-room is styled the High or Upper Tolbooth.

A curious anecdote of the Tolbooth occurs in the larger copy of Calderwood's Church History. "Mr George Ramsay," says he, "minister of Lasswade, teaching in Edinburgh, charged the Lords of the College of Justice with selling of justice. He said, they hold in the Tolbooth, and took payment at home in their chambers—that the place of their judgment was justly called the *Tolbooth*, because there they took *toll* of the subjects."

The Tolbooth Kirk continued, with the interruptions alluded to, to be the meeting-place of the Court of Session, till the present Parliament House was finished in 1640, when it was finally restored as a church. In Row's History of the Church of Scotland, [*M.S. Advocates' Library,*] occurs the following curious passage, which may be said to set the question fairly at rest:—"1633. In the

month of August this year, the town of Edinburgh, being earnestly desired by their ministers to provide another house for a Parliament House, and wherein actions may be pleaded, [rather] than a *pairt of the kirk, where God's word should be preached, and which should be a house of prayer*, began and founded a fair house for the uses aforesaid. In October following, on a day of fasting and solemn humiliation, a bairne, playing on the walls of that house, fell downe and was deadly wounded, and was shortly removed, [that is, soon died,] which was thought ominous that that house should be founded with blood, and on such a day."

In the extensive repairs and alterations to which St Giles's Church was subjected in 1830-1-2, that part of it, called the Tolbooth Kirk, was reduced in breadth on the south by one range of columns, while a colonnade from the other side was thrown into it. A memorial of its ancient character, as a tolbooth or town-house, was brought to light on that occasion, by the discovery of a great quantity of papers, connected with the affairs of the city, in an upper chamber, known to have formerly been

devoted to the keeping of the city records. A copy of a curious and beautifully carved window, which had given light to that chamber, and originally faced along the present west piazza of the Parliament Square, was given by the ingenious architect at another part of the building.

21

THE OLD CHURCH,

The central and more ancient part of St Giles, so called. This was the parish church of Edinburgh after the Reformation, while as yet the town formed only one such district. It was the scene of the prelections of John Knox, (who, it will be remembered, was the first minister of the city under the reformed religion,) until a month before his death, when it appears that the Tolbooth Church was fitted up for his use.

It also happened to be in the Old Church, that the celebrated riot of the 23d of July 1637 took place, when, on the opening of the new episcopal service-book, Jenny Geddes, of worthy memory, threw her cutty-stool at the dean who read it—the

first weapon, and a formidable one it was, employed in the great civil war.*

Jenny Geddes was an herbwoman—*Scottice, a greenwife*—at the Tron Church, where, in former as well as in recent times, that class of merchants kept their stalls. It seems that, in the midst of the hubbub, Jenny hearing the bishop calling upon the dean to read the *Collect* of the day, called out, with unintentional wit, "Deil colic the wame o' ye!" † and threw at the dean's head the small stool on which she sat; "a ticket of remembrance," as a Presbyterian annalist merrily terms it, so well aimed, that the clergyman only escaped it by "jouking," that is, by suddenly bending his person.

Jenny, like the originators of many other insurrections, appears to have afterwards repented of her

* We learn from Crawford's History of the University, (M.S. Adv. Lib.) that the service was read that day in the Old Kirk, on account of the more dignified place of worship towards the east, being then under the process of alteration, for the erection of the altar, "and other pendicles of that idolatrous worship."

† Notes upon the Phœnix edition of the Pastoral Letter, by S. Johnson, 1694.

exertions on this occasion. We learn from the simple diarist, Andrew Nichol, that, when Charles II. was known in June 1650 to have arrived in the north of Scotland, amidst other rejoicings, "the pure [*q.d.* poor] kaill-wyves at the Trone [Jenny Geddes, no doubt, among the number] war sae overjoyed, that they sacrificed their standis and creellis, yea, the verie *stoollis* they sat on, in ane fyre." What will give, however, a still more unequivocal proof of the repentance of honest Jenny, (after whom, by the way, Burns named a favourite mare,) is the conduct expressly attributed to herself on the occasion of the king's coronation in 1661, by the *Mercurius Caledonius.*

"But among all our bontados and caprices," says that curious register of events,* "that of the immortal Jenet Geddis, Princesse of the Trone Adventurers, was most pleasant; for she was not only content to assemble all her Creels, Basquets, *Creepies,*† Frames, and other ingredients that composed the Shope of her Sallets, Radishes, Turnips,

* A newspaper commenced after the Restoration, and continued through eleven numbers.

† Small stools.

Carrots, Spinage, Cabbage, with all other sort of Pot Merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather Chair of State, where she used to dispense Justice to the rest of her Langkale Vassals, were all very orderly burned; she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown flourish and vermillion majesty."

The Scottish Society of Antiquaries show a clasp stool said to have been that thrown by Mrs Geddes; but the noble weapon must have certainly been destroyed in one or other of these bonfires—an appropriate sacrifice to the manes of thousands who fell, during a twenty-three years' contention, of which it had been the initial weapon.

The southern aisle of this church, (which was latterly occupied as the place of worship, while the larger part was used as a police-office,) was, before the Reformation, called the *Holy Blude Aile*, from its containing, as a relic, what was supposed to be a portion of the real blood of Christ. The Regent Murray, three weeks after his assassination at Linlithgow, February 14, 1569-70, was interred here; "his head placed south, contrair the ordour usit; the sepulchre laid with hewin wark maist curiously,

and on the head ane plate of brass." John Knox preached a funeral sermon over the remains of his friend, and drew tears from the eyes of all present. In the Tolbooth Church, immediately adjoining to the west, sat the convention which chose the Earl of Lennox as his successor in the Regency. His monument, which may still be seen, is not inelegant for the time; and its inscription, written by Buchanan, is remarkable for emphatic brevity.

This part of the church appears to have formerly been an open lounge. In the confession of French Paris, Queen Mary's servant, respecting the murder of her husband, he mentions that, during the communings which took place before that dreadful deed was determined on, he one day "took his mantle and sword, and went to walk (*promener*) in the High Church." Probably, in consequence of the veneration entertained for the memory of "the good regent," or else, perhaps, from some simple motive of conveniency, "the Earl of Moray's Tomb" was a place frequently assigned in bills for the payment of the money. It also appears to have been the subject of a similar jest to that respecting the tomb of "Duke Humphrey."

Robert Sempill, in his "Banishment of Poverty," a poem referring to the year 1680 or 1681, thus expresses himself:—

"Then I knew no way how to fen';
My guts rumbl'd like a *Hurle-Barrow*;
I din'd with saints and noblemen,
Ev'n sweet Saint Giles and Earl of Murray.

Tyke's testament take them for this treat!
I needed not my banes to pyke ——" *

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* As this poem contains some curious local allusions, we venture to subjoin a larger extract. The whole is designed to show allegorically the persecutions which a gentleman and poet of those days suffered from the Genius of Poverty, who is represented as his travelling companion, and one that would not for a long time be shaken off:—

"But what to do I did advise:
In Lithgow I might not set down;
On a Scots groat we baited thrice,
And in at night to Edinburgh town.

We held the Long-gate to *Leith Wyne*,
Where poorest purses used to be,
And in the Caltown lodged syne,
Fit quarters for such companie.†

† The Low Calton used to be called the Beggar Row.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Earl of Murray's tomb, to the east, is the sepulchre of the Marquis of Montrose, executed in 1650, and here interred most sumptuously, June 1661, after the

---

Yet I the *High-Town* fain wou'd see,
But that my comrade did discharge,
He wou'd me *Blackbourne's* ale to prie,
And muff my beard that was right large.

The morn I ventur'd up the wyne,
And slung'd in at the *Nether-Bow*,
Thinking that trowker for to tyne,
Who does me damage what he dow.

His company he does bestow
On me, to my great grief and pain
Ere I the throng could wrestle throw,
The lown was at my heels again.

I green'd to gang on the *Plain-stanes*, *
To see if comrades wou'd me ken ;
We twa gaid pacing there our lains,
The hungry hours 'twixt twelve and ane.

* The convenience of pavement, or plainstones, for passengers, along the margins of the streets, is generally referred, so far as Edinburgh is concerned, to the age in which this poem was written—the reign of Charles II. We have, however, discovered a partial attempt at this improvement in an earlier age. In the Council Register, under March 1616, one Alexander Noble petitions for leave to "raise the calsay fornent his tenement of land lyand at the fute of the Bow, fornent the grey wickat, and to lay the same with plane stanes."

various parts of his body had been dispersed for eleven years in various directions, according to his sentence. The funeral and other circumstances are thus noticed by two historians of the adverse party:—

"About this same time was the bones of the late James Marquis of Montrose raised out of the

---

Then I knew no way how to fen',
My guts rumbl'd like a *Hurle-Barrow;*
I din'd with saints and noblemen,
Ev'n sweet Saint Giles and Earl of Murray.

Tyke's testament take them for their treat!
I needed not my teeth to pike;
Though I was in a cruel sweat,
He set not by, say what I like.

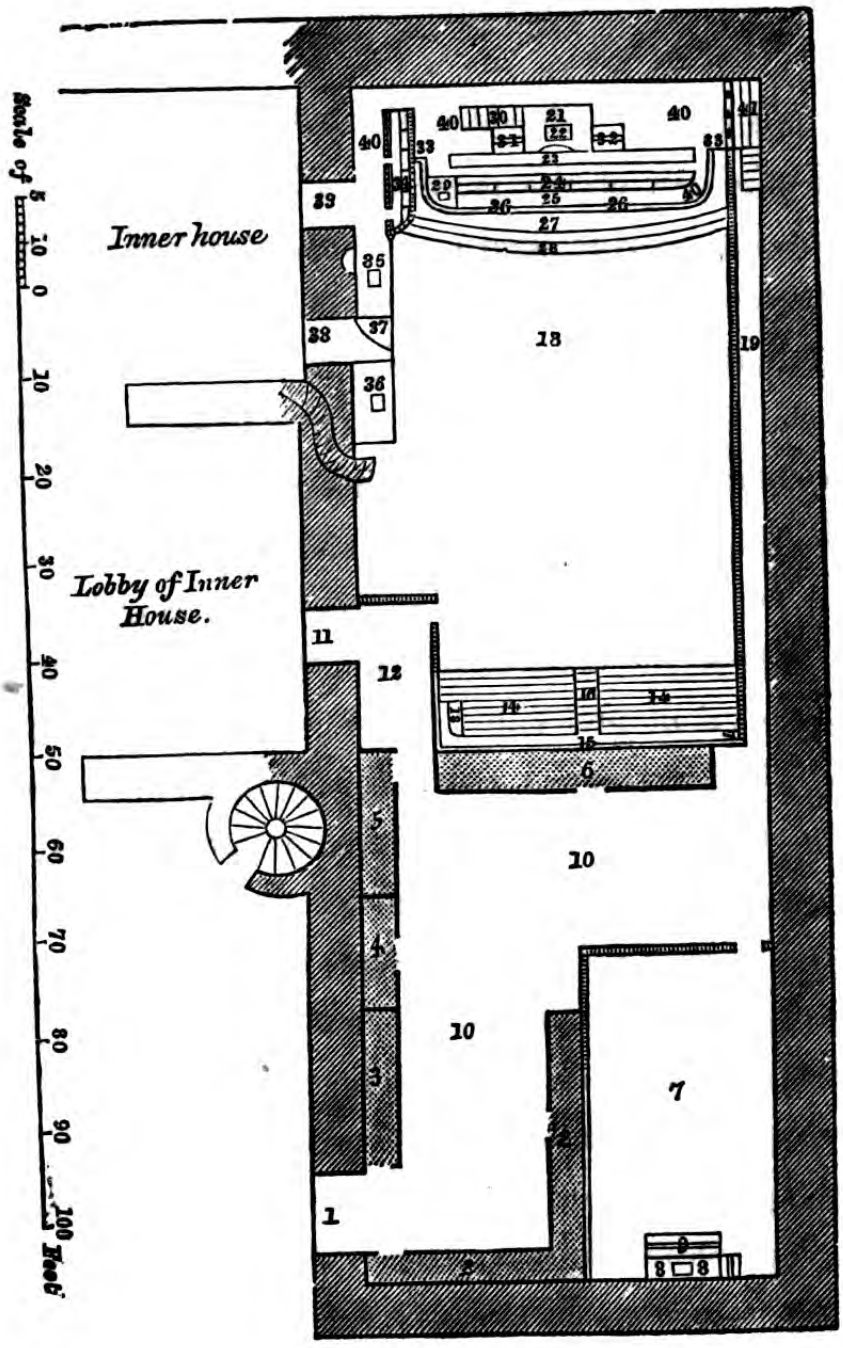
I call'd him Turk and trahed Tyke,
And wearied him with mony a curse;
My banes were hard, like a stane dyke;
No *Rag-marie* was in my purse.

Kind Widow *Caddel* sent for me
To dine, as she was wont, forsooth;
But oh! alas! that might not be,
Her house was o'er near the *Tolbooth!*"

Watson's Scots Poems, 1713.

common moor where they were laid, and his heid taken off the prick of the Tolbooth, and laid together in a coffin, and very honourably and sumptuously buried in St Geill's Church, all the nobles of the land and his friends accompanying him."—*Law's Memorialls,* 11.

" There was a scaffold raised for taking down his head with safety, and no small reverence was given to that relic; some bowing, some kneeling, some kissing it, and so it was buried with the body. But it was observed, in the mean time, that the Laird of Gorthie, the gentleman who took his head from the iron spike upon which it was pinned, died within some few hours; and the Laird of Pitcurre, one of Montrose's great adherents, after he had drank liberally in the Advocates' house that same day, went to bed in health, but was taken up stark dead to-morrow morning; and such was the testimony of honour Heaven was pleased to allow Montrose's pompous funerals."—*Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland,* 126.



PARLIAMENT HOUSE before 1779.

THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

THE object of the present notice of the Parliament House, is to signify the changes which have, in the course of time, taken place upon its interior.

Till about the year 1780, the house presented much the same appearance as before the Union, except that some portraits of the Stuart sovereigns, which hung upon the walls, had been then given by Queen Anne to her secretary, the Earl of Mar, by whom they were removed to Alloa House, where, in all probability, they were burnt in the fire which consumed that ancient seat—and that some tapestry, which hung from a belt along the east wall, had been taken away within the recollection of people living at the date above mentioned.

In 1779, the floor of the house presented the appearance which has been delineated on the opposite page. The southern moiety, divided from the rest by a partition running a short way up the walls, remained as it was when the Parliament sat in it—but every object converted from a legislative to a simply legal purpose. The *forms* of the house survived; but, instead of being used by members of Parliament, only served for wily writers and their

unfortunate clients. We allude to the seats; of which those for the nobles and barons extended along the walls, while those for the commissioners of burghs were placed transversely in the centre of the floor; the Scottish Parliament being one body, composed of three different *estates*.

The description of the house, in this its ancient state, may be best given in the shape of references to the map, as follow:—

1. Was a large and elegant door of two leaves, and very high, by which the members of Parliament entered.

2, 2. Booksellers' stalls, afterwards converted into hardware merchants' stalls.

3. A hardware merchant's stall.

4. A hatmaker's stall, afterwards taken into No. 3, and filled with hardware.

5. Peter Williamson's coffee-house, divided into three or four very small apartments, one within another; the partitions made of the slimmest materials, some of them even of brown paper.*

* Peter Williamson was a well-known and very remarkable personage, considering his station in life. After spending his early life among the North American Indians, he came back

6. A bookseller's stall, occupied by William Gibb, afterwards assistant librarian to the advocates.

7. The area of the Sheriff Court, sometimes used by the Bailie Court; the north part enclosed by a timber partition, the south part by a rail.

8. The bench, raised four or five steps.

to Scotland, and began business in Edinburgh as a vintner. Robert Fergusson, in his poem entitled the Rising of the Session, thus alludes to the little tavern he kept within the Parliament House:—

"This vacance is a heavy doom
On Indian Peter's coffee-room,
For a' his china pigs are toom;
Nor do we see
In wine the soukar biskets soom
As light's a flee."

Peter afterwards established a penny-post in Edinburgh, which became so profitable in his hands, that the general post-office gave him a handsome compensation for it. He was also the first to print a street directory in Edinburgh. He died January 19, 1799.

These *crames*, or boxes, seem to have been established at an early period, the idea being no doubt taken from the former condition of Westminster Hall. John Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, who, in 1718, published the Forms of Process before the Court of Session, mentions that there were "two keepers of the session-house who had small salaries to do all the menial offices in the house, and that no small part of their annual perquisites came from the *cramers* in the outer hall."

9. The clerk's seat.

10, 10. The remainder of the area vacant, and people of all descriptions walked in it.

11. The entry from the lobby of the Inner-House.

12. A small lobby, fenced on the west and south side by a rail, through which people not admitted into the Outer-House, delivered messages, &c., to those within the area of the Outer-House.

13. The area of the Outer-House, where lawyers and writers waited until called to the bars.

14. Benches raised one above another, where lawyers and writers sat, and were seen by those wanting them.

15. The partition separating the Outer-House from No. 10.

16. The stair by which those occupying the benches ascended.

17. A small writing-desk, where lawyers or writers might write, being part of the Upper Bench.

18. Another writing-desk, entering from the Upper Bench, where two or three persons might write.

19. A passage railed off from the Outer-House, by which the clerks of Court entered.

20. A stair by which those going from the Outer-House to the gallery of the Inner-House entered, four or five steps being without the wall, and the rest within the thickness of the wall.

21. A platform raised seven or eight steps above the floor, on which was the chair wherein the King or Chancellor sat in Parliament, and where afterwards sat the Lord Ordinary of the Outer-House.

22. The throne or chair.

23. A fixed form on which the six depute-clerks of Session sat, to which they entered by the east and west ends.

24. The table at which the depute-clerks wrote, one half of which was divided into six divisions, to hold their papers separate from one another.

25. A narrow space betwixt the clerk's table and the bar, wherein parties or witnesses stood, and made oath before the Lord Ordinary.

26. The bar. It went round from the one 33, to the other 33.

27. Where the lawyers and agents stood when at the bar.

28. The bar being raised above the floor, there were three steps up from the floor.

29. The chair where the Lord Advocate sat, when he attended in the Outer-House. It was raised to the same height with the bar.

30. The stair to the platform, on which the throne or chair of the Lord Ordinary was placed.

31. The desk of the keeper of the minute-book.

32. The desk of the deputy-keeper of the minute-book.

33, 33. Steps and doors by which those within the bar might go out to the bar and area.

34. A place railed in all round, which the six assistants of the depute-clerks occupied.

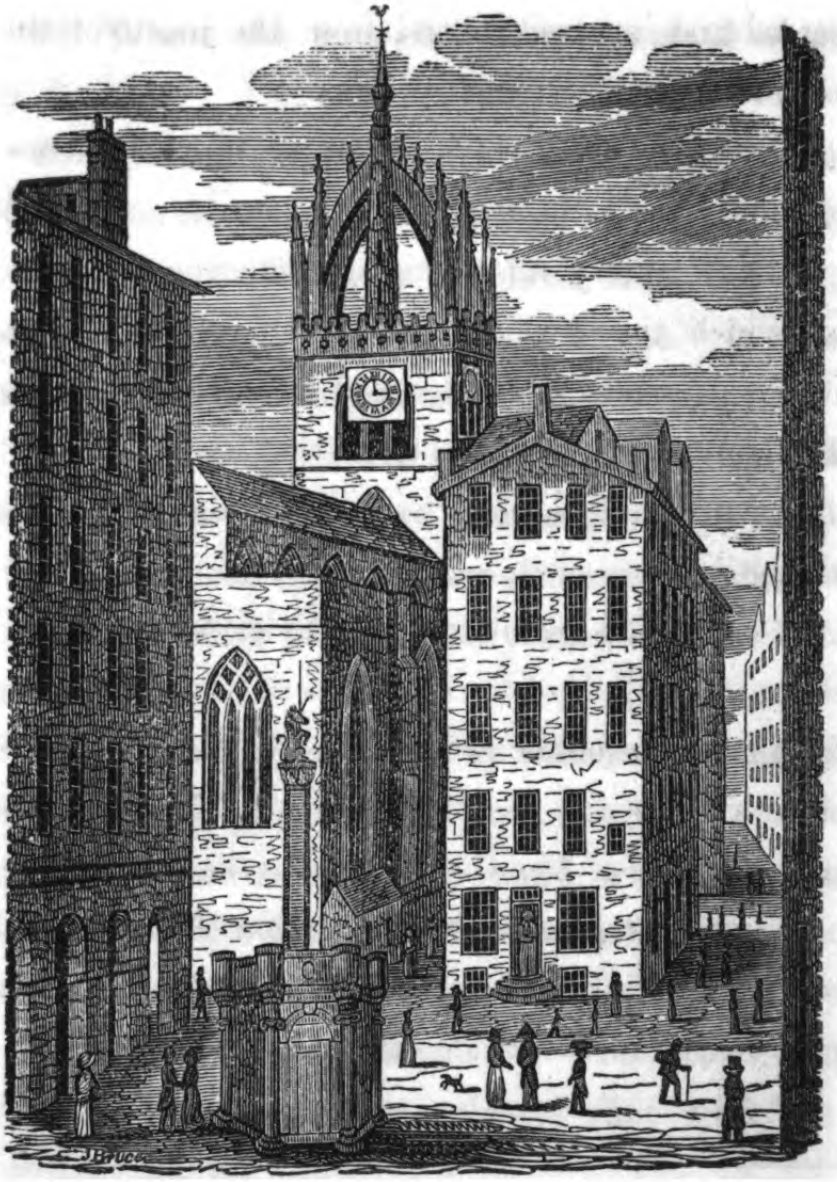
35. The first side bar.

36. The other side bar.

37. A door which was always shut until the Inner-House sat down.

38. The door by which lawyers and writers went in to the Inner-House.

39. A door by which the judges and clerks



CREECH'S LAND, and CROSS.

passed and repassed to and from the inside of the bar of the Inner-House.

40, 40, 40. was always vacant for the conveniency of those within the bar.

41. A gallery raised higher than the platform, on which the Lord Ordinary's chair was placed, where strangers sat and heard the debates during Parliament, or debates before the Lord Ordinary, and where intimations were made to the practitioners.

None of the partitions and divisions rose high; so that the whole of the ceiling or roof might be seen from any part of the hall. The roof is in the same state at this day as it always was, painting excepted. All of the timber work, (the outer doors and roofs excepted) was of common fir-wood, and the workmanship of the coarsest description, and poor contrivance—apparently mere make-shifts.

THE CROSS.

At the spot indicated in the map, formerly stood the market-cross of Edinburgh, an object of some

external elegance, and remarkable on account of its ancient character and uses, and the numerous historical events connected with it. It was an octagonal building, surmounted by a pillar, the latter of which was of unknown antiquity.* In

* The Cross is thus described by Arnot :—"The building was an octagon of sixteen feet diameter, and about fifteen feet high, besides the pillar in the centre. At each angle there was an Ionic pillar, from the top of which a species of Gothic bastion projected ; and between the columns there were modern arches. Upon the top of the arch fronting the Netherbow, the town's arms were cut, in the shape of a medallion, in rude workmanship. Over the other arches, heads, also cut in the shape of a medallion, were placed. These appeared to have been of much older workmanship than the town's arms, or any other part of the Cross. The heads were in alto relievo, of good engraving, but the Gothic barbarity of the figures themselves bore the appearance of the Lower Empire. One of the heads was armed with a casque ; another with a wreath, resembling a turban ; a third had the hair turned upwards from the roots towards the occiput, whence the ends of the hair stood out like points. This figure had over its left shoulder a twisted staff, probably intended for a sceptre. The fourth was the head of a woman, with some folds of linen carelessly wrapped round it. The entry to this building was by a door fronting the Netherbow, which gave access to a stair in the inside, leading to a platform on the top of the building. From the platform rose a column, consisting of one stone, upwards of twenty feet high, and of eighteen inches diameter, spangled with thistles, and adorned with a Corinthian capital, upon the top of which was a unicorn."

the accompanying drawing, the whole structure is restored to its ancient site, along with the surrounding buildings, all of which have been either destroyed, or greatly altered.

The origin of the Cross cannot be assigned to a later period then the early part of the fifteenth century, when the city first became the regular seat of the government and legislature. Here, in those early times, before the invention of printing, the acts of the Scottish estates were promulgated, by being read aloud to the bystanders, after which nobody in the whole kingdom was to be excused for ignorance of them. Here, also, from those times to the present, have all royal edicts been issued, and all royal accessions proclaimed. Before the Scottish army marched to Flodden, in 1513, a visionary proclamation, as proceeding from beings not of this world, in imitation of those which were sanctioned by royal authority, was issued at night on this spot, to deter the people from the expedition. From the wars which followed Queen Mary's resignation in 1567 to the Revolution of 1688, this was the principal place for executing the numerous victims of civil dissension. It appears that, during

the turbulent minority of James VI., a gibbet stood constantly ready on the spot for nearly twenty years, till at length it was cut down amidst the rejoicings which attended a general reconciliation of the nobility, brought about by his means. The Cross, moreover, was the chief scene of all public rejoicings, was honoured with the principal pageants at the entries of sovereigns, and formed the groundwork of a platform, where the magistrates used to drink the King's health on his birthday. Distinguished in all these ways, the centre of business, the place "where merchants most did congregate," it was altogether one of the most interesting objects in Edinburgh. Unfortunately, in 1756, when the Royal Exchange was finished, the magistrates, conceiving that it could no longer be necessary as a rallying-point or rendezvous for commercial people, and thinking, moreover, that it encumbered the street, caused it to be demolished, leaving only a radiated pavement to mark the space of ground which it had occupied.

The historians of Edinburgh, Grose included, seem to have been unacquainted with any dates connected with the history of the Cross. We find

one in Calderwood's larger history, (*MS. Advocates' Library,*) which refers the building, exclusive of the pillar, to 1617, when it was substituted for one previously existing. The following is the passage :—

" Upon the twenty-six of February, the Cross of Edinburgh was taken down. The old long stone, about forty footes or thereby in length, was to be translated by the devise of certain mariners in Leith, from the place where it had stood past the memory of man, to a place beneath in the High Street, without any harm to the stone; and the body of the old Cross was demolished, and another builded, whereupon the long stone or oblisk was erected and set up, on the 25th day of March."

In the accompanying drawing, the eastern extremity of the old range of buildings styled the *Luckenbooths,* is given in the background. This place, the name of which signified *shut* or *close* shops, in distinction from the generality, which were open in front, was destroyed in 1817. The shop facing to the Cross was occupied for many years by Mr William Creech, bookseller, of facetious memory, and who was the publisher of many of

the best writings of the Scottish literati, in the latter part of the last century. The shop might be called in some measure the Loungers' Observatory; for it scarcely ever failed to present a phalanx of such individuals, engaged in surveying and remarking upon the busy crowd in front. The flat above Mr Creech's shop, was the shop of Allan Ramsay, after he had removed from the Mercury's Head, opposite Niddry's Wynd; and here he kept his circulating library, established in 1725, and the first of those useful institutions in Scotland.*

* The following curious notice of Ramsay's library occurs in the private notes of the historian, Wodrow, now preserved in the Advocates' Library :—

"May, 1728. Besides this profanenes is come to a great height, all the villanous, profane, and obscene books and playes, printed at London by Curle and otheris, are gote down from London by Allan Ramsay, and lent out for an easy price to young boyes, servant women of the better sort, and gentlemen, and vice and obscenity dreadfully propagated. Ramsay has a book in his shop, wherein all the names of those that borrow his playes and books for twopence a-night or some such rate are set down, and by these wickednes of all kinds are dreadfully propagate among the youth of all sorts. My informer, Lord Grange, tells me he complained to the Magistrates of this, and they scrupled at meddling in it, till he mooved that his book of borrowers should be inspected, which was done, and they were alarmed at it, and sent some of their number to his shope

The small niche seen in the east end of St Giles's, near the corner, and which has been obliterated in the course of the late repairs, was the receptacle of a famed statue of the Virgin, to which much devotion was paid before the Reformation. Immediately beneath it is seen the extremity of a range of small booths, which formerly ran along under the walls of the church, and were called the Krames, being occupied by toy-merchants, glovers, and dealers in other small wares. A stair, at the end of the passage between the Krames and the Luckenbooths was called "The Lady's Steps," in reference to the statue which overlooked it.

24

to look through some of his books; but he had notice an hour before, and had withdrawn a great many of the worst, and nothing was done to purpose." It is a curious circumstance that this same Lord Grange, (or rather Mr Erskine of Grange, assuming that designation judicially,) who was so noted a protector of good morals, had two or three years before immured his own wife in the remote island of St Kilda, where she spent almost all the remainder of her life. This hypocritical wife-killer was a younger brother of the insurgent Earl of Mar, and moved at the head of the whig and presbyterian party in Scotland, thereby disgracing a cause which he was not worthy to serve in the meanest office.

CLERIHUGH'S TAVERN.

A distinguished house of convivial resort, during the later part of the last century, and honoured occasionally by the presence of the very best men of the age. The author of Waverley here lays the scene of Pleydel's theatrical bacchanalism in "Guy Mannering." The Magistrates also used to make this the scene of their "douce" festivities.

25

DOUGLAS'S TAVERN.

Another house of great resort, but frequented by a less elevated class of customers. Here was held the club called the Crochallan Fencibles, of which Burns and many other men of wit and fancy were members. In a poem on William Smellie, the distinguished naturalist and translator of Buffon, the poet describes him as he used to come to the Crochallan Club, at this house.—*See Currie's Edition of Burns, third volume.*

The Crochallan corps took its name from the burden of a beautifully wild Gaelic air, which was occasionally sung by the landlord. Literally, it is

Cro Chalien, that is, Colin's Cattle; and, according to Highland tradition, it was originally obtained from the singing of an apparition. Colin's wife, according to the legend, *came back*, some months after she had been buried, and was seen occasionally in the evenings milking her cow as formerly, and singing this plaintive air. It is curious thus to find Highland superstition associated with a snug tavern in the Anchor Close, and the convivialities of such men as Burns and Smellie. For a particular account of the Club, see *Ker's Life of Smellie*, ii, 225.

There is a tradition that a particularly fine room in this house, towards the High Street, was at one period Queen Mary's Council-room. It was more probably her prison for the night and day which ensued upon the rendition of Carberry. *See article*, "BLACK TURNPIKE." Upon this supposition, the house must have been the residence of Sir Simon Preston of Craigmiller, provost of the city in the year 1567, and the representative of a family which possessed great influence in Edinburgh in those early times.

HOUSE OF THE EARL OF EGLINTOUNE.

Alexander, 9th Earl of Eglintoune, resided here at the beginning of the last century: his countess, Susanna Kennedy, the handsomest woman of her time, was the patroness of Ramsay and other literary men, and to her the Gentle Shepherd is dedicated. For a particular account of this lady, who lived to the age of ninety-one, in possession not only of her faculties but of much of her elegance of person, see *Traditions of Edinburgh*, i, 256.

The house was at a more recent period known to the gay world of Edinburgh, under the character and designation of *Fortune's Tavern*. In this house, the Earl of Hopetoun used to hold state, as Commissioner to the General Assembly, having full-dressed ladies in his procession on public days; a custom long since abandoned. It was also a favourite resort of the musical Earl of Kelly, and other men of fashion in that age.

HOUSE OF HENRY DUNDAS, FIRST VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

Henry Dundas entered life as an advocate at the Scottish bar in 1763; and although most respectfully descended and connected, yet, being only a younger brother, his whole patrimony, after paying his fees, amounted to exactly sixty pounds. With this he set up in practice, in the third flat of the house at the head of the Fleshmarket Close, west side; the windows looking into the alley, not into the street. It was, in 1832, occupied by a tailor. The conspicuous place which he soon acquired at the bar, and subsequently in the councils of the nation, will contrast strangely with a survey of this really humble abode.

28

HOUSE OF LORD COVINGTON; AFTERWARDS THE POST-OFFICE.

This house was occupied for many years, and, if we mistake not, built, by Alexander Lockhart, Esq. the most distinguished advocate in general

practice about the middle of the last century.* He entered at the bar in 1722, and did not rise to the bench till fifty-two years afterwards, namely in 1774: he died in 1784. The name given in the title was his judicial designation; but the populace knew him by the nickname of *Bloody Margaret*, on account of his severity as a justiciary judge.

The house was, after his death, occupied as the Post-office. Within the memory of an old citizen, this important public office was kept in the second flat of a house near the cross, above an alley, which stills bears the name of the Post-office Close. Thence it was removed to a flat in the south side of the Parliament Square, which was fitted up like a shop, and the letters were dealt across an ordinary counter, like other goods. Here, it may be further mentioned, all the out-of-doors business of the office was managed by *one letter-carrier!* † From

* The first-rate advocates at the Scottish bar in Lockhart's time, rarely realized a thousand a-year. At present, several incomes of from *two* to *four* thousand pounds are realized.

† It is said, that on one occasion, about the time of the Rebellion of 1745, the London mail arrived with only a single letter in the bag:—it was addressed to the British Linen Company.

the Parliament Square, the office was removed to Lord Covington's house, thence after some years, to a house in North Bridge Street, the most northerly on the west side—and thence to the present elegant building in Waterloo Place.

29

MARLIN'S WYND.

According to a popular tradition, which existed at the time Maitland wrote his History of Edinburgh (1753), the High Street had been first paved, or *causewayed*, by one Marlin, a Frenchman, who, thinking that specimen of his ingenuity the best monument he could have, desired to be buried under it, and was accordingly interred at the head of this wynd, which derived its name from him. The tradition is so far countenanced by there having formerly been a space in the pavement at this spot, marked by six flat stones, in the shape of a grave. According, however, to more authentic information, the High Street was first paved in 1532* by John and Bartoulme Foliot, who

* The Canongate seems to have been paved about the same time. In 1535, the king granted to the abbot of Holyrood a

appear to have had nothing in common with this legendary Marlin, except country. The grave of at least Bartoulme Foliot is distinctly marked by a flat monument in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood-house. It is possible, nevertheless, that Marlin may have been the more immediate executor or superintendent of the work.*

30

NIDDRY'S WYND.

When the South Bridge was commenced in 1785, Peebles' Wynd, Marlin's Wynd, and Niddry's Wynd, were destroyed, in order to make room for the new buildings.† The space of Niddry's Wynd

duty of one penny upon every loaded cart, and a halfpenny upon every empty one, to repair and maintain the causeway.

* In 1684, fires were prohibited by the Magistrates to be kept in the timber shops at Marlin's Wynd Head.—*Council Register*, xxx. 279.

There was a small space, or square, at the back of the Tron Church, in which a number of *book-stands* were kept, as there were also all the way down the wynd. We have been informed that Robert Burns, during his residence in Edinburgh, was frequently seen lounging about these humble marts of learning.

† Some of the building lots on this vacated ground were sold at amazingly high prices. For instance, four spaces in

has, however, been preserved under the form of "Niddry Street."

Niddry's Wynd abounded in curious antique houses, many of which had been the residences of remarkable persons. The most interesting *bit* was a paved court, about halfway down, on the west side, called LOCKHART'S COURT, from its having latterly been the residence of the family of Lockhart of Carnwath.* This was, in reality, a quadrangular palace, the whole being of elegant old architecture in one design, and accessible by a deep arched gateway. It was built by Nicol Edward or Udward, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1591; a wealthy citizen, and styled in his *writts*, "of old descent in the burgh." On a mantlepiece within the house, his arms were carved, along with an anagram upon his name—

South Bridge Street, were sold, March 21, 1787, at the following prices:—

Lot 1, consisting of 49 feet in front south from Hunter Square, and 45 feet of front towards the said square, L.3715.

Lot 2, consisting of 48 feet of front, south from lot 1, L.2240.

Lot 3, consisting of the same space still farther south, L.2105.

Lot 4, the same space still farther south, L.2110.—*Scots Magazine*, 1787, p. 153.

* George Lockhart, Esq. of Carnwath, lived here in 1753.

"VA D'UN VOL Ã CHRIST—"

Go with one flight to Christ; which, the reader will find, can only be made out by Latinizing his name into NICHOLAUS EDUARTUS. We learn from *Moyses's Memoirs,* that, in January 1591, this house was the temporary residence of James VI. and his Queen, then recently arrived from Denmark; and that, on the 7th of February, the Earl of Huntly passed hence, out of the immediate royal presence, when he went to murder the bonny Earl of Moray at Donibrissle; which caused a suspicion that his Majesty was concerned in that horrid outburst of feudal hate. Lockhart's Court was latterly divided into several distinct habitations, one of which, on the north side of the quadrangle, was at one time occupied by the family of Bruce of Kinnaird, the celebrated traveller. In the part on the south side occupied by the Carnwath family, there was a chimney-piece in the drawing-room of the most magnificent workmanship, and which reached to the ceiling. The whole palace, even in its reduced state, bore an appearance of security and strength which spoke of other times; and there

was, moreover, a profound dungeon under ground, which was only accessible by a secret trapdoor, opening through the floor of a small closet, the most remote of a suite of rooms extending along the southern and western sides of the court. Perhaps, at a time when to be rich was neither so common nor so safe as now, Provost Edward might conceal his hoards in this *massy more*.

Alexander Black of Balbirney, who was Provost of Edinburgh from 1579 to 1583, had a house at the head of the wynd. King James lodged in this house on the 18th of August 1584, and walked from it in state, next day, to hold a parliament in the Tolbooth. Here also lodged the Chancellor Thirlstain, in January 1591, while the king and queen were the guests of Nicol Edward.* It must be understood, that these visits of royalty were less considered in the light of an honour than of a tax. The king, in those times, went to live at the board of a wealthy subject, when his own table happened to be scantily furnished; which was too often the case with poor King James.

On the east side of the wynd, and directly

* Both facts from Moyses's Memoirs.

opposite to Lockhart's Court, stood a house which was occupied by the family of Erskine of Mar, and had probably been their residence in earlier times, when possessed of the peerage. In the Household Book of the Countess of Mar,* widow of the lord treasurer, there occurs, under January 5, 1639, the following entry:—"Given to the poor att Niddries Wynd head, as my lady came from the thesaurer deputes, 6sh."

In the house to the north of that possessed by the Mar family, there was a shop kept by an eccentric personage, who exhibited a sign bearing this singular inscription—

"Orra things Bought and Sold"—

which signified that he dealt in odd articles, such as a single shoe-buckle, one of a pair of skates, a tea-pot wanting a lid, or perhaps, as often, a lid *minus* a tea-pot; in short, any unpaired article which is not to be got in the shops where only new things were sold, and which, nevertheless, are now and then as indispensably wanted by householders

* Printed by C. K. Sharpe, Esq. one of her ladyship's numerous descendants.

as any thing else. This trafficker in curiosities, also, at one time, besides his stationary establishment in Niddry's Wynd, kept a movable shop, in the shape of a tidewaiter's counting-room, which usually stood at the head of the wynd, containing his own person, and an assortment of "orra things" piled up around him, and having a half-door, over which he communed with his customers. It is odds but the creature made money; for he was perhaps the greatest match-maker in Europe.

Immediately below the habitation of the Mar family, stood a very good house, occupied by Mrs Elizabeth Walkinshaw, of the family of Walkinshaw of Walkinshaw in Renfrewshire, and accordingly, a kinswoman of Margaret Walkinshaw, mistress of Prince Charles Stuart.

Still farther down the wynd (marked T in the map), stood St Mary's Chapel, built in the year 1505 by Elizabeth Countess of Ross, and so denominated from its dedication to the Virgin Mary. It was purchased in 1618 by the corporations of wrights and masons in Edinburgh, who are therefore now known by the name of the *United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel.* A droll mistake

arose out of this circumstance some years ago. An address having been sent up to Court by the United Incorporations, and signed as usual by the deacon-convener; an answer or acknowledgement by the Secretary of State [it was during the administration of Sir Robert Peel] came back in due course, and was found directed to the Right Reverend the Deacon of St Mary's Chapel, as if he had been a clergyman, and as if Scotland had been an Episcopal country!

31

STRICHEN'S CLOSE.

The house closing the bottom of this alley, was the residence of Sir George Mackenzie, king's advocate during the reign of Charles II., and a distinguished man of letters. It was afterwards occupied by Lord Strichen, an eminent judge, who died in 1775.

Sir George Mackenzie's country house was the old mansion called the Shank, near Arniston, about ten miles south from Edinburgh. The Marquis of Tweeddale one morning visited him there, for his advice on some legal point; and, being in a great

hurry, was introduced into the lawyer's bed-room. Sir George gave his opinion from his bed, and when the Marquis at length approached to give his fee, to his surprise and amusement, the hand thrust out to receive it was that of a lady, The fact was, that Sir George's wife *kept the purse.*

32

BISHOP'S LAND.

The house occupied by the Bishop of Edinburgh, before the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church at the Revolution, stood on this spot, till destroyed by fire in 1814. It had a fine brass balcony in front, from which the bishop used to bless the Parliament, as it rode up the street, on ceremonial occasions. About forty years ago, one of the flats was occupied by Sir Stewart Threipland, the representative of an eminent Jacobite family, and who had acted as physician to Prince Charles Stuart during his wanderings in the Highlands; and another by Nisbet of Dirleton: there was not one flat in the whole tenement, in which the resident family did not keep livery servants.

33

HOUSE OF JOHN KNOX.

The Reformer was lodged here by the magistrates in 1560, on being appointed parish minister of Edinburgh. It had previously been the residence of George Durie, abbot of Dunfermline. On the last day of October 1561, "the provost, baillies, and counsail, ordanis the dene of gyld, with all diligence, to mak ane warme studye of dailles to the minister, Johne Knox, within his hous, abone the hall of the same, with lyht and wyndokis thereunto, and all other necessaris." Knox probably lived here, while in town, till his death, November 24, 1572. A window is shown, from which he used to preach to the people on the street, and there is an effigy of him in the attitude of preaching, upon the corner of the building.

34

HALKERSTON'S WYND.

Now a most wretched and disreputable part of the Old Town, but formerly a minor access to the city, in connexion with a gate styled in our map

Residence of JOHN KNOX.

the New Port. Its present infamy is, in some measure, redeemed by the event from which it derived its name—the death of David Halkerston of Halkerston, (brother to the ancestor of Hackstoun of Rathillet) in bravely defending this passage against the English in 1544.

35

ST PAUL'S CHAPEL.

This is understood to have been the place of worship into which the Episcopal congregation of Edinburgh shrunk, with its bishop, on the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church at the Revolution. It is still occupied by a small congregation of Episcopalians. An inscription over the doorway indicates that it was built in 1689, and restored [after the persecution of Scottish Episcopacy, which followed the rebellion of 1745] in the year 1766. It is worth mentioning, that Mr Thomas Sheridan, father of the celebrated R. B. Sheridan, delivered his lectures on the English language in this chapel, in the summer of 1761. These lectures made a great impression on Scottish society, and were

the proximate cause of the establishment of a society called the Select Society, for the purpose of encouraging the use of the English language in Scotland, and which numbered all the great men of the time among its members, as Blair, Robertson, Fergusson, &c.

36

OLD EXCISE-OFFICE.

This house, remarkable for the vast number of its windows towards the street, is said to have been occupied as the Excise-Office, in the reign of Charles II. This public office was afterwards in the Parliament Square, then in Merchant's Court, Cowgate, whence it was removed to a large house in Chessels's Court, Canongate, and thence again, more recently, to the central detached house in the east side of St Andrew's Square; from which it was shifted a few years ago to Bellevue House, Drummond Place.

37

EARL OF SELKIRK'S HOUSE,

As appears from the references in the map. The possessor of the title in 1742 was Lord John Hamilton, fourth son of William and Anne, Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, and who, before succeeding his brother in this title, was Earl of Ruglen. The house was at a later period occupied by Dr Daniel Rutherford, Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh, and maternal uncle of Sir Walter Scott. The reader will probably esteem it the most important circumstance connected with the house, that that illustrious writer there spent much of his time in early youth.

Sir Walter once mentioned a curious circumstance respecting this house to the present writer. It appears that the *land* immediately adjacent was not furnished with a stair wide enough to admit of a coffin being carried down. It therefore had what Scottish law calls a *servitude* upon the house occupied by Dr Rutherford, conferring the perpetual liberty of bringing any of the dead in-

mates through a passage into that house, and down *its stair* into the lane.

Connected with this house there was a remarkably good garden, considering that it was in the heart of a populous city.

38

HOUSE OF ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN,

(Afterwards Lord Loughborough,) previous to his leaving the Scottish bar in 1753, for the wider field of English law, in which he attained the highest honours.* Wedderburn became an advocate in 1752, at nineteen years of age; and next year, happening to gain a cause in which he had been opposed by the celebrated Lockhart, the defeated veteran termed him a presumptuous boy. The caustic severity of his reply, drew on him so illiberal a rebuke from one of the judges, that he immediately took off his gown, and, bowing to the bench, declared he would never more plead where he was subjected to insult, but would seek a wider field for his exertions. He was called to the Eng-

* See Traditions of Edinburgh, i. 108.

lish bar in 1757. In 1771, he was appointed Solicitor-General; in 1773, Attorney-General; and in 1780, was called to the Privy Council, nominated Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and created a baron of Great Britain. In 1793, he became Lord Chancellor of England, and in 1801 was promoted in the peerage, being created Earl of Rosslyn. This eminent person died in 1805.

39

MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE'S HOUSE.

This extensive building is now occupied by Messrs Oliver and Boyd, the eminent publishers. At the time when the map was drawn, the house must have been inhabited by John, the fourth Marquis, Secretary of State for Scotland. To this house was also attached a remarkably fine garden, with an elegant gateway towards the Cowgate, which still remains. In an intermediate time, Tweeddale House was occupied by the British Linen Banking Company; and in the close which gives access to it from the High Street, took place the murder of their porter, William Begbie, on the 13th

of November 1806, about five o'clock in the evening, having in his possession L.4392, which was taken from him by the assassin. This murder was committed with a force and dexterity more resembling that of a foreign bravo, than an inhabitant of this country. The blow, administered by a bread-knife, was directly in the heart, and the unfortunate man bled to death in a few mintutes. Although every exertion was made, and five hundred guineas were offered as a reward for the discovery of the murder, it has never, to this day, been discovered.* Part of the notes, however, were afterwards found concealed in a field near the city.

40

THE WORLD'S END CLOSE,

So called, probably, from its situation at the extremity of the city. Formerly, when culprits were whipped through the town, they were stripped at the head of a close, thence termed the *Stripping*

* The most probable cause of this was the suicide of an individual, upon whom strong suspicion afterwards fell.

Close, in the Castle Hill, (now demolished,) and the ceremony was always finished at the World's End Close in the Netherbow.

41

CANONGATE IN GENERAL.

THE Canongate, which takes its name from the Augustine Canons of Holyrood, (who were permitted to build it by the charter of David I. in 1128, and afterwards ruled it as a burgh of regality,) was formerly the court end of the town. As the main avenue from the palace into the city, it has borne upon its pavement the burden of all that was beautiful, all that was gallant, all that has become historically interesting, in Scotland, for the last six or seven hundred years. It still bears an antique appearance, although many of the houses are modernized. There is one with a date from Queen Mary's reign, * and many may be guess ed from their appearance to be of even an earlier era. Previous to the Union, when the palace ceased to be occasionally inhabited, as it had

* A little below the church.

formerly been, by at least the vicar of majesty, in the person of the Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament, the place was densely inhabited by persons of the first distinction. Allan Ramsay, in lamenting the death of Lucky Wood, says—

> Oh, Canigate, puir elrich hole,
> What loss, what crosses does thou thole!
> London and death gars thee look droll,
> And hing thy head;
> Wow but thou has e'en a cauld coal,
> To blaw indeed—

and mentions, in a note, that this place was "the greatest sufferer by the loss of our members of Parliament, which London now enjoys, many of them having had their houses there;" a fact which Maitland confirms. Innumerable traces are to be found in old songs and ballads, of the elegant population of the Canongate in a former day. In the pitiable tale of Marie Hamilton—one of the Queen's Maries—occurs this simple but picturesque stanza:—

> As she cam doun the Cannogait,
> The Cannogait sae free,
> Mony a lady looked ower her window,
> Weeping for this ladye.

An old popular rhyme expresses the hauteur of these Canongate dames towards their city neighbours of the male sex:—

The lasses o' the Canongate,
Oh, they are wond'rous nice;
They winna gie a single kiss,
But for a double price.
Gar hang them, gar hang them,
Hich upon a tree;
For we'll get better up the gate,
For a bawbee!

But even in times comparatively modern, this fauxbourg was inhabited by persons of very great consideration. Within the memory of a lady in middle life, it used to be a common thing to hear, among other matters of gossip, "*that there was to be a braw flitting* in the Canongate to-morrow;*" and parties of young people were made up, to go and see the fine furniture brought out, sitting perhaps for hours in the windows of some friend on the opposite side of the street, while cart after cart was laden with magnificence. Many of the houses, to this day, are fit for the residence of a first-rate family, in every respect but *vicinage* and *access*.

* Removal.

The last grand blow was given to the place by the opening of the road along the Calton Hill in 1817, which rendered it no longer the avenue of approach to the city from the east. Instead of profiting by the comparative retirement which it acquired on that occasion, it seemed to become the more wretchedly squalid, from its being the less under notice—as a gentleman dresses the least carefully when not expecting visiters. It is now a secluded, and, in general, meanly inhabited suburb, only accessible by ways, which, however lightly our fathers and grandfathers might regard them, are hardly now pervious to a lady or gentleman, without shocking more of the senses than one, besides the difficulty of steering one's way through the herds of the idle and the wretched who encumber the street. The only decent approach is, indeed, by that very new road, along the Calton Hill, which has operated so grievously to the depression of this antique place. There is now, (1833,) only one person of condition in the whole street, Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, (formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court, under the designation of Lord Bannatyne,) who occupies a tall and elegant mansion on the site of the house of the Earls of

Wintoun, built by the late Sir John Whiteford, and afterwards occupied by Professor Dugald Stewart.

42

WHITE HORSE INN,

Formerly one of the chief places of public entertainment in Edinburgh ; now appropriated to some humbler office than even that of an inn.

It was almost a matter of course, that Dr Johnson, on arriving in Edinburgh, August 17, 1773, should have come to the White Horse, which was then kept by a person of the name of Boyd. His note to Boswell informing him of this fact, was as follows :—

" Saturday night.

" Mr Johnson sends his compliments to Mr Boswell, being just arrived at Boyd's."

When Boswell came, he found his " illustrious friend" in a violent passion at the waiter, for having sweetened his lemonade without the ceremony of a pair of sugar-tongs. Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, accompanied the Doctor on this occasion ; and he informs us, in a note to

Croker's edition of Boswell, that when he heard the mistress of the house styled in Scotch fashion *Lucky*, which he did not then understand, he thought she should rather have been styled *Unlucky*, for the Doctor seemed as if he would destroy the house. The truth is, that the inns of Edinburgh at this time, were a disgrace to the country. According to Hugo Arnot, they were, in 1779, "mean buildings; their apartments dirty and dismal; and if the waiters happen to be out of the way, a stranger will perhaps be shocked with the novelty of being shown into a room by a dirty sunburnt wench, without shoes or stockings. If he should desire to have furnished lodgings provided for him, he may still chance to find himself poorly accommodated. He is probably conducted to the third or fourth floor, up dark and dirty stairs, and there shown into apartments meanly fitted up and poorly furnished. It is not in Edinburgh as in London, where tradesmen are obliged to have whole houses for themselves, the ground floors for their shops, and can spare the principal floors for lodgers. In Edinburgh, letting of lodgings is a business by itself, and thereby the prices are very extravagant;

and every article of furniture, far from wearing the appearance of being purchased for the accommodation of a happy owner, seems to be scraped together with a penurious hand, to pass muster before a stranger who will never wish to return." A picture equally masterly and true.*

* Some curious light is thrown upon this subject by the following advertisement from the Edinburgh Courant for 1754:—

"Mrs Thomson, at the Duke's Head in the Anchor Close, is removed to the New Land at the Cross, south side of the street, first story above the Coffee-house; continues in her former business, both in the public way and in furnished lodgings and rooms to let. Any family that does not incline to bring in their silver plate, tea china, table china, and tea linen, can be served in them all. Any lodger may have their breakfast, dinner, or supper, in their own lodgings. (!) Likeways sells all sorts of wines and rum.

"N.B. As a great many gentlemen have been wanting Mrs Thomson to take boarders for a great many years bypast, which she never had conveniency for till now, has taken a lodging in the same stair, containing eight rooms, in which she designs to take boarders, *who may expect every thing in a very genteel manner.*"

The principal *genteel* lodgings in 1773, were Balfour's at the Cross, (apparently the same establishment as the above,) and some in Writer's Court, Mylne Square, and Dickson's Close.† They were all very homely and disagreeable.

† As a specimen of the occupation of good front houses in the High Street sixty years ago, we give the following list of the inhabitants of

James Boyd, the keeper of this inn,* was addicted much to horse-racing, and his victories on the turf, or rather on Leith Sands, are frequently chronicled in the journals of that day. It is said that he was at one time on the brink of ruin, when he was saved by a lucky run with a white horse, which, in gratitude, he kept idle all the rest of its days, besides setting up its portrait as his sign. He eventually retired from this "dirty and dismal" inn, with a fortune of several thousand pounds; and, as a curious note upon the impression which its slovenliness conveyed to Dr Johnson, we may

* Admitted a member of the society of High Constables (for the Canongate Head) in 1757.

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the tall land at the head of Dickson's Close in 1773. [Dickson's Close is a few doors below Niddry Street, and the house under notice is entered by a common stair on the right hand side.]

First door up stairs, Mr Stirling, fishmonger;—*Second door*, Mrs Urquhart, who kept a lodging-house of good repute, which was much resorted to by noblemen on occasions such as that of a *Peers' Election*. The Earl of Balcarras, when Lord Commissioner at the General Assembly, lived here—also, at different times, the Earl of Home, General Scott, and Murray of Abercairney;—*Third flat*, the Dowager Countess of Balcarras, mother of the ingenious authoress of "Auld Robin Gray," and the rest of that family of talent;—*Fourth flat*, Mrs Buchan of Kelly;—*Fifth flat*, the Misses Elliots, then milliners and mantua-makers of good figure;—*Garrets*, a great variety of tailors and other tradesmen. This may be taken as a complete specimen of the condition of a good *land* in the High Street sixty years ago.

mention, (what we learn upon unquestionable authority,) that, at the time of his giving up the house, he possessed *napery* to the value of five hundred pounds.

A large room in the White Horse was the frequent scene of the marriages of runaway English couples, at a time when these irregularities were permitted in Edinburgh. On one of the windows were scratched the words

"JEREMIAH AND SARAH BENTHAM, 1768."

Could this be the late distinguished jurist and codificator, on a journey to Scotland in company with a female relation?*

* The following curious advertisement, connected with an inn in the Canongate, appeared in the Courant for July 1, 1754. The advertisement is surmounted by a woodcut representing the stage-coach—a towering vehicle protruding at top—the coachman a stiff-looking antique little figure, who holds the reins with both hands, as if he were afraid of the horses running away—a long whip streaming over his head and over the top of the coach, and falling down behind—six horses, like starved rats in appearance—a postilion upon one of the leaders with a whip.

"The Edinburgh Stage Coach, for the better accommodation of Passengers, will be altered to a new genteel two-end Glass

HOUSE OF SIR THOMAS DALYELL,

One of the meanest-looking buildings which was ever, perhaps, inhabited by a gentleman. Sir Thomas Dalyell of Binns, Bart., was a major-general in the Scottish army which Cromwell defeated at Worcester. During the Protectorate he served the Russian czar Alexis Michaelowitsch as general, and in that situation is supposed to have acquired the stern disposition which fitted him, after the Restoration, to become a persecutor of the Presbyterians in his native country. During most

Machine, hung on Steel Springs, exceeding light and easy, to go in ten days in summer and twelve in winter; to set out the first Tuesday in March, and continue it from Hosea Eastgate's, the Coach and Horses in Dean Street, Soho, London, and from John Somerville's in the Canongate, Edinburgh, every other Tuesday, and meet at Burrow-bridge on Saturday night, and set out from thence on Monday morning, and get to London and Edinburgh on Friday. In the winter to set out from London and Edinburgh, every other (alternate) Monday morning, and to go to Burrow-bridge on Saturday night; and to set out from thence on Monday morning, and get to London and Edinburgh on Saturday night. Passengers to pay as usual. Performed, if God permits, by your dutiful servant,

"HOSEA EASTGATE.

"Care is taken of small parcels *according to their value.*"

of the reign of Charles II. he acted as commander of the forces in Scotland, and it was he who raised the celebrated regiment called the Scots Greys. It forms a redeeming trait in a character by no means amiable, that Dalyell resisted the measures of James VII. in favour of the Catholic religion, which gave great offence to his conscience. It is also remembered of him, that he signified his ineffaceable regret for the death of Charles I., by never afterwards shaving his beard.*

44

HOUSE OF SMOLLETT'S RELATIONS.

The house here indicated, or which, at least, stands upon this spot, contained, in its second floor, (entered by a common stair from St John Street,) the house of Smollett's sister, Jane, widow of Alexander Telfer, Esq. of Scotstown and Symington, and who, subsequently to 1776, bore the name of Mrs Smollett, in consequence of her inheriting the patrimonial property, which, had the novelist

* Some notice of the residence of David Hume, the historian, in Jack's Land, at the head of the close in which General Dalyell's house is situated, will be found in the article, "Birthplace of David Hume."

lived so long, would have devolved upon him. Smollett's first return to Scotland, after having left it in youth, was in 1755; he then visited his mother at Mrs Telfer's seat of Scotstown, in Peeblesshire, and it is not therefore likely that he spent any time in the family residence in the Canongate. But in June 1766, when he revisited his family and country, this house was honoured with his residence for some time; and here, also, he had the pleasure of meeting his venerable parent, who seems to have lived with his sister. Both mother and sister were remarkably clever women, the former particularly possessing a large share of humour. The existence of Smollett was at this time embittered by rheumatism, and other painful disorders; which distressed him so very much, that, according to his own confession, he was in a state of *coma vigil*, or partial madness, all the time he was in the country. Yet even in these lamentable circumstances the eye of the observer was widely awake, as was testified some years afterwards, by the appearance of his last and best novel, Humphrey Clinker, of which a great part referred to the society, fashions, and manners, which he found in

Edinburgh on this visit. It is understood that, in the character of "Jerry Melford," he painted the frank character of his nephew, Major Telfer, (second son of the proprietor of this house,) who accompanied him on a visit to Glasgow, and upon whom he had intended to bestow the hand of his amiable and beautiful daughter Elizabeth, who died, to his inexpressible grief, about three years before. It will be observed that there is a similarity in the real and fictitious names.*

45

SITE OF THE CANONGATE PLAYHOUSE.

Near this spot was the site of the Canongate Playhouse, the first theatre to which a license was given in Scotland. It was founded in August 1746, by Mr Lacy Ryan of Covent Garden, and when finished, could hold, at 2s. 6d., 1s. 6d., and 1s., about L. 70.† It was first used under the royal

* It is a remarkable circumstance that the Miss E—— R——, whom Jerry Melford speaks of in one of his letters as a reigning beauty in 1766, is still (1833) an inhabitant of Edinburgh, The real name was Eleonora Renton, which has since been changed by marriage to that of Mrs Sharpe of Hoddam.

† Maitland, in his History of Edinburgh, 1753, says, amusingly enough, that the encouragement given to the diver-

license on the 9th of December 1767; but a new theatre being built next year in the New Town, this humble place of entertainment was almost immediately after left to ruin; in which state it formed the subject of a mock elegy to the muse of Robert Fergusson. The reader will perhaps be amused with the following extract from that poem:—

Can I contemplate on those dreary scenes
Of mouldering desolation, and forbid
The voice elegiac, and the falling tear!
No more from box to box, the basket, piled
With oranges as radiant as the spheres,
Shall with their luscious virtues charm the sense
Of taste or smell. No more the gaudy beau
With handkerchief in lavender well drench'd,
Or bergamot, or rose waters pure,
With flavoriferous sweets shall chase away
The pestilential fumes of vulgar cits,
Who, in impatience for the curtain's rise,
Amused the lingering moments, and applied
Thirst-quenching porter to their parched lips.
Alas! how sadly altered is the scene!
For, lo! those sacred walls, that late were brush'd
By rustling silks and waving capuchines,
Are now become the sport of wrinkled Time!

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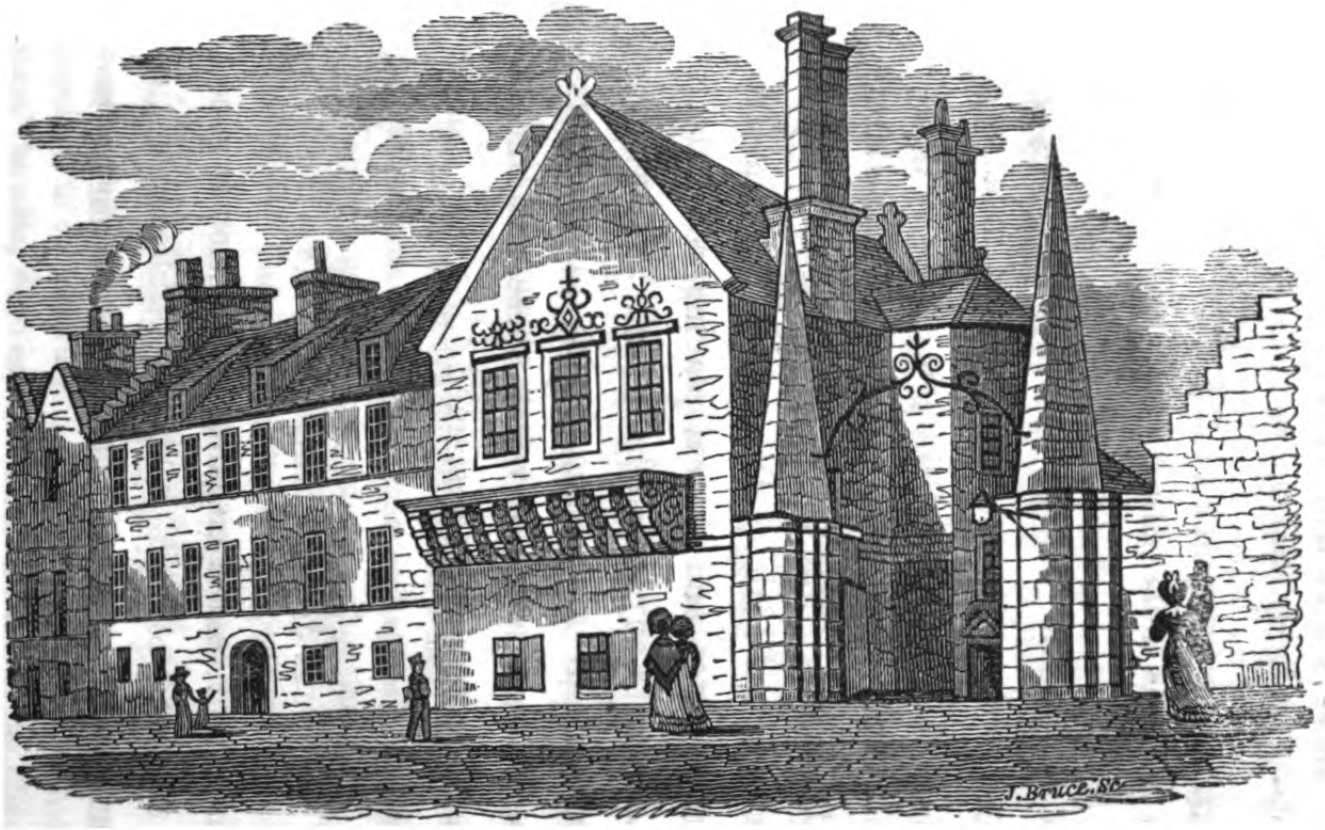
sions at this house "is so very great, 'tis to be feared it will terminate in the *destruction of the University.* Such diversions," he adds, "are noways becoming a seat of the Muses."



House of the Earls of Moray.

Those walls that late have echoed to the voice
Of stern King Richard, to the seat transform'd
Of crawling spiders and detested moths,
Who in the lonely crevices reside,
Or gender in the beams, that have upheld,
Gods, demigods, and all the joyous crew
Of thunderers in the galleries above.

The Canongate theatre had been, during its twenty years' existence, the arena of much good acting. It beheld the triumphs of Lee, (a formidable rival of Garrick,) Digges, Mrs Bellamy, and Mrs Ward. The tragedy of Douglas was here produced on the 14th of December 1756, the last-mentioned actor and actress playing respectively Douglas and Lady Randolph; and we have the authority of Mr Mackenzie, in his Life of Home, for the excellent style in which these, and indeed all the characters, were sustained.*

46

HOUSE OF THE EARLS OF MORAY.

This extensive and elegant old mansion is generally supposed to have been the residence of the Regent Moray, and occupied by him during his

* See Walks in Edinburgh, 132.

government of Scotland, from 1567 to 1570. We are tempted, however, to suppose that the house is the creation of a somewhat later age—perhaps the English reign of James VI, (1603-25,) when the elegant style of mansion-building which arose in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, began to make its way into Scotland, and produced those excellent specimens, Pinkie House, Seton Palace, and the more modern part of Linlithgow Palace. The present building bears all the marks of that superb era—though with a rather sparing portion of its external ornament. To make up for this, its interior displays, in some parts, a very elaborate style of decoration. In the north-western angle are two state apartments, the ceilings of which are concave, and formed of the most beautiful stucco-work. The larger of these opens upon a massive stone balcony, overlooking the street, and which has originally been railed all round. The principal entry is by an arched passage through the centre of the house; and originally the parts of the building on each side of that passage were exactly alike: the balance, however, has been destroyed by some comparatively modern additions.

Over the windows, there is a profusion of M.'s and coronets; while above the doorway, opening upon the balcony, is a lozenge shield, containing the arms of the Regent,* *two lions rampant.*

This last circumstance would seem to indicate that the house was built either by the widow of the regent, or by his daughter and heiress, Lady Elizabeth Stuart. The widow is not likely to have built such a house, as she married a second husband, the Earl of Argyll, by whom she had a family. Neither is it likely to have been built by her daughter, as that lady was married, in 1580, when a mere girl, to James Stuart, son of Lord Doune, who immediately assumed the title, and whose arms† might have been expected to be united, not in a lozenge shape, with her own. We cannot, however, form a more feasible conjecture upon the subject, than that it was erected during the lifetime of this lady—that is, before 1591, when she

* The Laird of Lochleven, stepfather to the Regent, had a lodging nearly opposite the head of Blackfriars' Wynd. *Moyses*, 144.

† Or, a fess cheque, argent and azure, which now occupies the second quarter of the family arms.

died, (predeceasing her husband by a few months) —in which case, we must suppose that her own arms were put up exclusively, either to signify a jointure-house, or by way of giving the credit of its erection, as was due, to *her side of the house.*

The house, it is certain, must have existed a considerable time before the middle of the seventeenth century; as, in a manuscript description of Edinburgh, already quoted, and which was written between 1642 and 1651, the fine garden connected with it is spoken of as having long been in a state of cultivation. "On the south side of the Canongate," says this manuscript, "not far from the public cross, are the gardens (with the mansion) of the Earl of Moray, which are of such elegance, and cultivated with so much care, as to vie with those of warmer countries, and even perhaps of England itself. And here you may see how much the art and industry of man may avail in supplying the defects of nature. Scarcely any one would believe it possible to give so much beauty to a garden in this frigid clime." We learn farther, from Lamont's Diary, that when the son of the Marquis of Argyll was

married to the daughter of the Earl of Moray,* May 1650, the wedding feast "stood" at the house of the latter nobleman, in "the Canongate." It happened, within a few days after this event, that the Marquis of Montrose was conducted into Edinburgh, to undergo the sentence which had been prepared for him by civil hate. On this occasion, according to Monteith of Salmonet, the marriage-party, including the Marquis and Marchioness of Argyll, stood upon the open balcony in front of the house, to witness the humiliation of their once dreaded enemy. If we are to believe another writer, the Marchioness carried her hatred so far as to spit at the unfortunate Montrose over the balcony. The spectacle must have altogether been one calculated to strike the moral senses, as showing the strange turns of fortune which a civil war is apt to produce.†

* James, third earl, grandson to the Regent's daughter, who was also grandmother to the Marquis of Argyll; the fathers of both noblemen having been uterine brothers.

† When Oliver Cromwell paid his first visit to Edinburgh, (a peaceful one,) in the summer of 1648, after having overthrown the army of the Duke of Hamilton, he lived at the house of Lady Home in the Canongate. "Those that haunted

In 1686, when Alexander, fourth Earl of Moray, was Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, this house was probably the scene of his court.

It would appear that, about this period, the garden attached to the house was a sort of public promenade or lounging-place; as was also the garden connected with Heriot's Hospital. In this character it forms a scene in the licentious play called "The Assembly," written in 1692 by the celebrated Dr Pitcairne. *Will*, "a discreet smart gentleman," as he is termed in the prefixed list of dramatis personæ, but in reality a perfect debauchee, first makes an appointment with Violetta, his mistress, to meet her in this place; and as she is under the charge of a sourly devout aunt, he has to propound the matter in metaphorical language. Pretending to expound a particular passage in the

him most were, besides the Marquis of Argyll, Loudon the chancellor, the Earl of Lothian, the Lords Arbuthnot, Elcho, and Burleigh; and of ministers, Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Blair, and Mr James Guthry. What passed among them came not to be known infallibly; but it was talked very loud, that he did communicate to them his design in reference to the king, and had their assent thereto."—*Guthry's Memoirs*, 298. He spent the whole winter of 1650-1 in the same house while watching the Scottish army, then established under Charles II., near Stirling.

Song of Solomon, for the benefit of the dame, he thus gives the hint to her young protegée.

Will. "Come, my beloved, let us walk in the fields, let us lodge in the villages." The same metaphor still. The kirk not having the liberty of bringing her servant to her mother's house, resolveth to meet him in the villages, such as the Canongate in respect of Edinburgh; and the vineyard, such as *my Lady Murray's yards,* to use a homely comparison.

Old Lady. A wond'rous young man this!

* * * * *

Will. The eighth chapter towards the close: "Thou that dwellest in the gardens, cause me to hear thy voice."

Violetta. That's still alluding to the metaphor of a gallant, who, by some signs, warns his mistress to make haste—a whistle or so. The same with early in the former chapter; that is to say, tomorrow by six o'clock. Make haste to accomplish our loves.

Old L. Thou art a hopeful girl; I hope God has blest my pains on thee.

In terms of this curious assignation, the third act

opens in a walk in Lady Murray's yards, where Will meets his beloved Violetta. After a great deal of badinage, in the style of Dryden's comedies, which were probably Dr Pitcairne's favourite models, the dialogue proceeds in the following style :—

Will. I'll marry you at the rights, if you can find in your heart to give yourself to an honest fellow of no great fortune.

Vio. In truth, sir, methinks it were fully as much for my future comfort to bestow myself, and any little fortune I have, upon you, as some reverend spark in a band and short cloak, with the patrimony of a good gift of prayer, and as little sense as his father, who was hanged in the Grass-market for murdering the king's officers, had of honesty.

Will. Then I must acknowledge, my dear madam, I am most damnably in love with you, and must have you by foul or fair means ; choose you whether.

Vio. I'll give you fair play in an honest way.

Will. Then, madam, I can command a parson when I please ; and if you be half so kind as I could wish, we'll take a hackney, and trot up to

some honest curate's house: besides, a guinea or so will be charity to him, perhaps.*

Vio. Hold a little; I am hardly ready for that yet, &c.

After the departure of this hopeful couple, Lord Huffy and Lord Whigriddin, who are understood to have been intended for Lord Leven (son of the Earl of Melville) and the Earl of Crawford, enter the gardens, and hold some discourse of a different kind. †

At the period of the Union, the Chancellor Seafield appears to have occupied Moray House upon lease, or by permission of the noble proprietor, and thus it became the scene of many of the private deliberations preceding the ratification of that treaty. In the garden, which descends behind in a series

* An allusion to the poverty of the Episcopal clergy, after being unbeneficed at the Revolution.

† Pitcairne, in this play, gives an amusingly sarcastic description of the new batch of Lords of Session who had been appointed by King William. One of them has a wooden leg, and his mind is said to be as crooked as his body. Of another, he says, "he neither speaks nor thinks, and were it not for his long wig, hat, and black coat, he *might pass for a horse in the Grassmarket!*"

of terraces, is a small summer-house, in which it is said the Commissioners for the Union signed the important document itself—or at least commenced that ceremony, which they were obliged to adjourn by the mob, and ultimately completed in an obscure tavern-cellar in the High Street.

A drawing of this place, in its transfigured character of a hothouse, is given in Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather." Upon the green esplanade, immediately behind the house, there grows a magnificent old thorn, which is said to have been planted by the fair hand of Queen Mary; but this, from the probable age of the house, must be esteemed a very questionable tradition. At what period the Moray family abandoned the house we cannot tell; but it is called "*the Earl of Murray's*"* in a newspaper advertisement so recent as the year 1753. In its first declension, it became the premises of the Linen Company of Scotland, who here carried on the business indicated by their name, as well as that of a bank, for many years; and hence it is still commonly called the Linen Hall.

47

* It is still the property of the Moray family, and is entailed.

SUPPOSED MANSION OF THE GORDON FAMILY.

This very antique-looking tenement, now the property of the Hammermen of the Canongate, is supposed to have formerly been the town mansion of the Gordon family. It is certain, from the statement of Maitland, in his History, 1753, that the Dowager Duchess of Gordon then resided in it. It is also certain that George, first Marquis of Huntly, the murderer of the *bonny* Earl of Moray, *had a house in the Canongate in the year* 1636, when he sickened in it—and, on endeavouring to reach his northern territories, died at Dundee. The unfortunate feud between these two families forms no good objection to this theory, for an intermarriage was effected between them in 1606, by the King, as a means of reconciling them; and it is far from improbable that they lived in contiguous houses in Edinburgh.*

* Upon the front of the house are various pious inscriptions, somewhat different in style from the generality of such aphorisms. One is, "CONSTANTI PECTORI RES MORTALIUM UMBRA"—*to the constant breast the affairs of mortals are but a shade.* Another is, "UT TU LINGUÆ TUÆ, SIC EGO MEAR: AURIUM DOMINUS SUM"—*as you are the lord of your tongue,*

It is perhaps not irreconcilable to the popular tradition, that a preceding dowager resided, twenty years earlier, in another part of the town. This was the distinguished Lady Elizabeth Howard, (daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, by Lady Anne Somerset, daughter of the Marquis of Worcester,) who occasioned so much disturbance in the end of Queen Anne's reign, by the Jacobite medal which she sent to the Faculty of Advocates. Her Grace lived in a house at the Abbey-hill, where, as we are informed by the pious Wodrow in a tone of sincere horror,* she openly kept a kind of college for instructing young people in Jesuitism and Jacobitism together. In this labour she seems to have been assisted by the Duchess of Perth, a kindred soul, whose enthusiasm afterwards caused the ruin of her family, by sending her son into the insurrection of 1745.† The Duchess of Gordon died here in 1732.

so am I the lord of my ears. At a third place is a representation in bass relief of grain springing from a pair of cross-bones —a type of the resurrection.

* In his MS. Diaries in the Advocates' Library.

† In an advertisement in a Jacobite newspaper, called the Thistle, which rose and sunk in 1734, the house is advertised as having lately been occupied by the Duchesses of Gordon and Perth.

We should suppose the house to have been that respectable old villa, at the extremity of the suburb of Abbey-hill, in which the late Baron Norton, of the Court of Exchequer, lived for many years. This house was formerly possessed by Baron Mure, who, during the administration of the Earl of Bute, exercised the duties, and dispensed the patronage, of the *sous-ministre* for Scotland, under the Hon. Stuart Mackenzie, younger brother of the Premier. This was, of course, in some measure the *Court* of Scotland; and from the description of a gentleman old enough to remember attending the levees, we should suppose that it was as much haunted by suitors of all kinds, as ever were the more elegant halls of Holyroodhouse. Baron Mure, who was the personal friend of Earl Bute, died in 1774.

It may be here mentioned that Mrs Baron Mure was, in the acceptation of those days, a great blue-stocking, maintaining, for instance, a constant correspondence with David Hume. On hearing of the death of that philosopher, she felicitated herself upon possessing so many of his epistolary compositions, as she expected that every fragment of his writings would now be eagerly appreciated,

and that her letters, of course, would make a most respectable appearance in some printed shape or other, whether in a collection of his correspondence, or embodied in his biography. Quoth she to the friends who were around her at the moment, "I have most carefully preserved the letters of my illustrious friend, putting them always into a drawer by themselves as I got them; and they must now form, I assure you, a very large bundle." She proposed immediately to go to this drawer, and produce them for the gratification of the company, some of whom volunteered to go along with her. On opening the drawer, however, she recollected that, some time ago, on its becoming too full, she had tied up the letters with tape, and conveyed them to a general receptacle for loose papers in an upper chamber, or, to speak plainly, a lumber-room. Thither they all trooped off, with the kitchen-maid as a convoy, and, after some difficulty, the exact location of the letters was ascertained. "What is become, Jenny," said Mrs Mure, "of the bundle tied up in a red tape, that we put into that corner? You must surely remember it. Where do you think it is?"

"*Yon!* ma'am," cried Jenny, as if a sudden burst of light had come in upon her. "Was't yon?"

"Ay, it was *yon!* as you call it," responded the blue-stocking. "Where *is* yon?"

"*Lord bless me, ma'am!*" cried Jenny, "*I've been singin' hens wi' them this half year!*"

Such was the fate of one large branch of the correspondence of this eminent philosopher.

As one anecdote leads proverbially to another, the reader will perhaps excuse us for concluding a reference to the town mansion of the Gordon family, with a bon-mot touching the great sceptic of the last age. Among the most intimate friends of Mr Hume was Sir James Steuart Denham, one of the early illustrators of political economy, and a man of infinite humour and pleasantry. Sir James was very much addicted to that favourite amusement of the last century, then termed *cramming*, and which has more recently been known under the equally elegant epithets of trotting and hoaxing. He used to find, in David Hume, one of the best of all possible subjects for his favourite exercise, as the philosopher, it must be understood, was in all

common affairs the most credulous of mortals. One day, after having *run* the sceptic to a considerable length, he could keep up the joke no longer, but burst out with, " Ah, Davy, Davy, you would believe any thing, man, but what's in the Bible !"

48.

CANONGATE CHURCHYARD.

This burial-ground contains the graves of many eminent and ingenious persons. Near the gateway, on the west side, is the burial-place of Adam Smith, author of " The Wealth of Nations," and " Theory of Moral Sentiments." A little to the north lies Robert Fergusson, the Scottish poet, with a simple monument erected over him by his brother poet Burns. Here, we are informed by Mr Campbell, in his Tour through Scotland, are interred two musicians of considerable eminence in the last century—John Frederick Lampe, composer of " the Dragon of Wantley," and Signor Pasquali, " an excellent performer," says Dr Burney, " and a good musician, who came to England about the year 1743, went to Edinburgh, where he had an establishment, and lived much respected as a pro-

fessor, and beloved as a man by all who knew him, till the time of his death in 1757."*—*History of Music.* iv, 672. Here is since interred the unfortunate author and musician, who had thus pointed out the burial-places of his two predecessors. The enlightened George Drummond is interred in this churchyard, as is likewise Mr Dugald Stewart, a man of more transcendent intellect than any of the rest.

49

PANMURE HOUSE—
RESIDENCE OF DR ADAM SMITH.

This is a melancholy-looking house, standing by itself at the bottom of an alley called Monro's Close, and now occupied by people in humble life. We are unable to state with certainty that it was the town mansion of the old Earls of Panmure, the last of whom (the fourth) was attainted for his accession to the insurrection of 1715. We know, however, that it was the property, in 1753, of the nephew of the attainted peer, namely, William Maule,

* He took up his residence in the Shoemakers' Land, opposite to Moray House, in the Canongate.

created Earl of Panmure (Irish peerage) in 1743, and who died, nearly ninety years of age, in 1787, being the grand-uncle of the present Earl of Dalhousie, and of Lord Panmure (British peer), lately Mr Maule of Panmure, to whom the earl left the family estates, redeemed by him in 1764.* William Earl of Panmure was not more distinguished as a political character at the court of George II., than as a figurant in the gay society of Edinburgh, He was one of the handsomest and best-bred men of his day.

It appears from the subjoined advertisement, which is curious as a memorial of what was considered a first-rate house in Edinburgh in the middle of the last century, that Panmure House was

* "To be Let—A very good convenient lodging, pleasantly situated amidst gardens, on the north side of the Canongate, a little below the Church, belonging to the Right Honourable the Earl of Panmure, and lately possessed by the Countess of Aberdeen, consisting of a large dining-room and drawing-room, three very good bed-chambers, with closets and other conveniences, on the same floor; above, is a story of very good garrets with vents, and below, is a large convenient kitchen, cellars, &c., all enclosed within a handsome court-yard. For further particulars, enquire at Mr Shaw, upholsterer, Luckenbooths."—*Edinburgh Courant, May* 21, 1753.

occupied, some time previous to 1753, by the Countess of Aberdeen,* on lease. In 1754, it was possessed by Sir James Livingston of Glentirran, who had probably taken it when it was advertised in the preceding year. Dr Adam Smith came to reside here in 1778, when appointed a commissioner of customs in Scotland, and here he lived till his death in 1790, receiving visits in these dismal halls from the most distinguished persons who visited Edinburgh during that period. Being a bachelor, his household was managed by his cousin, Miss Jeany Douglas, a stern old maid, of whom the philosopher is said to have stood in so much awe, that, though fond of a lump of sugar, (perhaps for excitement to his physical system during study,) he had to watch till her back was turned, before venturing to snatch it from the tea-table.

* The Earl of Aberdeen, grandfather and immediate predecessor of the present earl, lived in 1766 in the *flat* above Henderson's seed-shop, near the Fountain Well. The Hon. Misses Murray, sisters of the Earl of Mansfield, lived in the same stair, two doors higher up. *See Traditions of Edinburgh*, ii. 27.

MILTON LODGE.

An elegant building so called, has been erected on this spot since the map was prepared. It was built by Andrew Fletcher of Milton, and Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland from 1735 to 1748, (when he resigned,) and who continued to enjoy the place of an ordinary lord of Session till 1766, when he died at his country house of Brunstain, near Musselburgh,* in the 75th year of his age. The house, which is a remarkably neat villa, was occupied till within the last few years by a respectable clergyman; but it is now abandoned to tenants of humbler rank. Lord Milton was nephew to the patriotic Fletcher of Salton, the companion of Monmouth in his unfortunate expedition, and who afterwards made so conspicuous a figure in the final days of the

* This curious old villa was originally the seat of Crichton of Brunstain, a distinguished reformer in the dangerous times of Cardinal Beaton, when reformers were not very plentiful, and their situation, of course, the more dangerous. It used to afford, at this time, a shelter to John Knox. The house was afterwards occupied by the Duke of Lauderdale, during his government of Scotland in the reign of Charles II.

Scottish parliament. During the long period when Archibald Duke of Argyll had the chief management of Scotland, Lord Milton acted as *sous-ministre*, and, in that capacity, dispensed much of the patronage of the country. His house was therefore, like Baron Mure's, a species of court, frequented by what Boswell calls "the great, the gay, and the ingenious."* In 1754, Lord Milton resided in the Royal Bank Close;† and there probably it was that the Duke of Cumberland held his council of war, February 15, 1746, when, by Lord Milton's advice, it was determined to follow Prince Charles to the north; an advice which brought the insurrection to a close, on the field of Culloden, two months afterwards.‡

51

* In Reid's Court, opposite to Milton Lodge, there resided, about fifty years ago, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Haddington, and Lord Monboddo.

† Described in an advertisement, 1754, as "that large lodging in the New Bank Close, lately possessed by Lord Milton, consisting of eleven rooms, with kitchen, garrets, and cellars."

‡ Home's History of the Rebellion.

JOHN PATERSON'S HOUSE.

This house was built, probably in the reign of Charles II. or James II., by John Paterson, a distinguished golfer. He is said by tradition to have been provided with the means, by the profits of a great match which he played in company with the Duke of York, (afterwards James II. or VII.), who, while residing in Scotland, in 1680-2, used to practise this game. The armorial bearings of the worthy golfer are carved upon a stone at the top of the building, and over the doorway is a Latin quatrain by Dr Pitcairne, with an anagram upon the name of *John Patersone*—"I hate no person."*

52

QUEENSBERRY HOUSE.

This large building, excepting the upper story, was erected by William, first Duke of Queensberry, a distinguished statesman of the reigns of Charles

* See Traditions of Edinburgh, i. 195.

II. and James II. It was afterwards the residence of James the second Duke, the last commissioner to the Scottish parliament, and chiefly instrumental, in that character, in effecting the Union between Scotland and England. The magistrates of Edinburgh, in 1706, resigned their superiority over Queensberry House and the neighbouring ground; and by a new gift of his estates, which Duke James obtained that year from Queen Anne, this part of the Canongate was joined to the dukedom of Queensberry, lordship of Drumlanrig, and regality of New Dalgarnock, in Dumfries-shire; to which county the property has ever since belonged, though situated fifty miles from it. The last duke who resided in the house, was Charles, the third possessor of the title, who, with his wife, Catherine Hyde,* extended so much kind patronage to the poet Gay. When residing here, after their quarrel with the court, Duke Charles and Duchess Catherine are said to have kept their rhyming protegée in an appropriate garret on the opposite side of the way, where he composed some

* Daughter of Henry Earl of Clarendon, and therefore cousin to the Queens Mary and Anne.

of those works which have placed his name so high in the list of the British poets. Duchess Catherine had the fortune to be be-rhymed by more than one poet of the last century. Her mercurial character in early life, [it was the same to the very last,] drew the following effusion from Prior:—

" Thus Kitty, beautiful and young,
And wild as colt untamed,
Bespoke the fair from whom she sprung,
By little rage inflamed ;—
Inflamed with rage at sad restraint,
Which wise mamma ordain'd ;
And sorely vexed to play the saint,
Whilst wit and beauty reign'd.

' Shall I thumb holy books, confined
With abigails forsaken ?
Kitty's for other things designed,
Or I am much mistaken.
Must Lady Jenny frisk about,
And visit with her cousins ?
At balls must she make all the rout,
And bring home hearts by dozens ?

What has she better, pray, than I ?
What hidden charms to boast,
That all mankind for her should die,
Whilst I am scarce a toast ?

Dearest mamma, for once let me,
Unchain'd, my fortune try,
I'll have my earl as well as she,
Or know the reason why.

I'll soon with Jenny's pride quit score,
Make all her lovers fall;
They'll grieve I was not loosed before,
She, I was loosed at all.'
Fondness prevail'd, mamma gave way;
Kitty, at heart's desire,
Obtained the chariot for a day,
And set the world on fire!"

Pope also says, with more complaisance than delicacy:—

"Since Queensberry to strip there's no compelling,
'Tis from a handmaid we must take an Helen."

Duke Charles died in 1778; Duchess Catherine in 1777.

In Queensberry House the Duke of Douglas lived for some time during the later part of his life; and here he died, July 21, 1761. Here also died the celebrated Earl of Stair, in 1747. The late venerable Lord Douglas remembered living in the house, along with his aunt the Duchess, (described in Humphrey Clinker as an old lady who talked in broad Scotch;)—they occupied, however, only one

half of the building, while the Earl of Glasgow possessed the other. It has since been successively a barrack and an hospital.*

53

RUINS OF THE EARL OF WINTOUN'S HOUSE.

Upon this spot, now occupied by modern buildings, once stood the hotel of the noble family of Wintoun, attainted in 1716, in consequence of the accession of George, the fifth earl, to the insurrection of the preceding year. The house probably went to ruin after that catastrophe; but, if the reader will be satisfied with a fictitious description, instead of a sight of the real object, he may find one in the novel termed the Abbot.† In

* See Traditions of Edinburgh, i. 280.

† "George, third Earl of Wintoun, lived honourably all his life, and kept a great house at Seatoun. King James the Sixth, when he came to Scotland, anno 1617, he entertained him and his whole court a night at his house upon his own charge. He built, in anno 1630, two quarters of the house of Seatoun, beginning at Wallace Tower at the east end thereof, which was of old burnt by the English, and continued the building to Jacob's Tower, on the north side of the house. By reason, his predecessors were great enemies, and very active in the war against the English, the house having been thrice

February 1582, when the family were as yet only Lords Setoun, Monsieur Mauzeville, the

burnt by them. He caused carve in fine stone, upon the frontispiece of his new building, a crown, supported by two roses and the thistle, being the conicenses of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England; under which emblem he caused carve and sett out, in gold letters, this verse:—'Unio nunc fatis stoque cadoque tuis.' He built in Cockanie twelve salt-pans. When King Charles the First, in anno 1633, came to Scotland to be crowned, he entertained him a night at his house with all the English nobility and court, nobly, with ane open house to all. Within a moneth after, at his Majesty's return to England, he entertained the king, with the English nobility, and whole court, from the Saturday till the Monday, royally, with ane open house as formerlie."—*Hay's MSS.* Adv. Lib. ii. 264.

"Sir Alexander Seatoun, in anno 1633, when King Charles the First came to Setoun, being then not twelve years of age, welcomed the king with ane Latin oration at the iron gate of Setoun, where his Majesty sate in state, all the English nobility sitting round him. The said Sir A., attended with his schoolmaster, with a pittigoge and other fower masters of art, all grave learned men, clothed in fine black cloth, and cloaks lined through with puce velvet, the ground being covered a great way from the throne with carpet, where, after due reverence thrice made to his Majesty by the said Sir Alexander and his masters, the said Sir A. did deliver his oration boldly, with a gesture suitable to the purpose, for which he had the applause of his Majesty and all present; and, before he rose of his knee, his Majesty did him the honour to knight him, and said to him, 'Now, Sir Alexander, see that this does not spoil your

French ambassador, lived for some time in this house.*

54

SITE OF LOTHIAN HUT.

This is the scene of a splendour which has risen and become extinguished since the delineation of the map. Lothian Hut, a neat little mansion erected by the Lothian family, stood till within the last few years upon the site of this clump of building, enclosed within a small court.† After being given up by the Marquis of Lothian as a residence, it was occupied for many years by the late Mr Dugald Stewart, whose metaphysical works have carried his name over all the civilized parts of

school; by the appearance you will be a scholar.' The said Sir A. boldly answered, 'No, please your Majesty, it shall not!'"—*Ibid*, ii. 278.

* Moyses's Memoirs, 77. Mauzeville was a supplemental envoy to La Motte, whose lodging was in the Old Bank Close.

† Between this spot and the Horse Wynd is Chancellor's Court, which probably contained in former times the residence of that officer of state; for according to Sir James Balfour, in his Pratiques, "the chancellour sall be ludgit neir unto the kinges grace, for keiping of his bodie and the seill, and that he may be ready baith day and nicht at the kingis command."

the earth. There he received many distinguished pupils, who were sent to him from all parts of the island—among the rest, the present Marquis of Lansdowne. Here, also, he entertained many of the most eminent persons who visited Edinburgh towards the close of the last century.

55

THE GIRTH CROSS—

A cross of sanctuary, an appropriate appendage of the Abbey of Holyrood. According to ancient practice, when a person flying from justice reached the Girth Cross, which was always at a little distance from the Abbey with which it was connected, he was considered as within the protection of the holy building. Hence debtors, seeking refuge in the sanctuary of Holyroodhouse, were formerly deemed to have put themselves out of the power of their creditors when they reached this place. The Girth Cross of Holyrood has, however, been long removed. It was at one time a common place of execution.

56

TENNIS COURT.

"Just without the Watergate," says Maitland, "on the eastern side of the street, was the Royal Tennis Court, anciently called the *Catchfel*."* The house—a long narrow building adjoining to the street—is indicated in Gordon of Rothiemay's minute view of the city in 1647. Since Maitland wrote, it has been burnt down and rebuilt; it is interesting, however, as connected with the early and obscure history of the stage in Scotland—not to speak of the tennis, which was a fashionable game all over Europe in the seventeenth century, and probably played on this spot by many royal and distinguished personages. †

The first known appearance of the post-reformation theatre in Edinburgh was in 1599, when Queen Elizabeth, by the request of King James, sent down a company of actors, to whom his Majesty granted a license to act in his capital.

* The Catch or Cache was the same game as the *Fives*; and it was a favourite amusement of so early a sovereign as James IV.

† The celebrated John Law was remembered by tradition, about the year 1780, to have been an excellent player at tennis.

Guthrie, in his History of Scotland, says—" I have great reason to believe that the immortal Shakspeare was among the number;" but for this supposition there is no other ground that we are aware of, than the obvious familiarity of the dramatist with the localities he speaks of in Macbeth.

The Scottish clergy persecuted and anathematized this company with all their thunder—as if there had been no such person in it as one who was to delight and instruct all mankind for all future time. However, King James had at that time sufficient power to protect them.

There was no such thing, probably, as a play acted in Scotland from the departure of James in 1603, till the arrival of his grandson, the Duke of York, in 1680. That prince brought down part of his own company, to entertain him in his Scottish exile. The remainder being employed at Oxford, apologized for the diminution of their strength in the following lines written by Dryden:—

" Discord and plots, which have undone our age,
With the same ruin have o'erwhelm'd the stage.
Our house has suffer'd in the common woe;
We have been troubled with Scots rebels too.

Our brethren have from Thames to Tweed departed,
And of our sisters, all the kinder-hearted
To Edinburgh gone, or coached or carted.
With bonny *blew cap* there they act all night,
For Scotch half-crowns—in English threepence hight.
One nymph to whom fat Sir John Falstaff's lean,
There, with her single person, fills the scene.
Another, with long use and age decay'd,
Died here old woman and there rose a maid.
Our trusty door-keeper, of former time,
There struts and swaggers in heroic rhyme.
Tack but a copper lace to drugget suit,
And there's a hero made without dispute;
And that which was a capon's tail before
Becomes a plume for Indian Emperor.
But all his subjects, to express the care
Of imitation, go like Indians bare.
Laced linen there would be a dangerous thing,
It might perhaps a new rebellion bring;
The Scot who wore it would be chosen king."

It is mentioned that the Duke's family also had masks at Holyroodhouse performed by themselves. The situation of the theatre is unknown; but it was not improbably the Tennis Court.

That this was a place fit for theatrical amusements in the year 1705, is proved by a hand-bill of that day, printed in the Traditions of Edinburgh,* in which Mr Abel announces a *concert* in

* Vol. ii. 140.

the "Tennis Court," under the patronage of the Duke of Argyll, then acting as the Queen's Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. It is probable, moreover, that, as usual, the concert was only a cloak to some theatrical representation. This is the more likely from a tradition mentioned elsewhere in the above work,* namely, that, in the recollection of some old members of the Spendthrift Club, they frequented the tavern of a Mrs Hamilton, whose husband "recollected having attended the theatre in the Tennis Court at Holyroodhouse, when the play was the *Spanish Friar*, and many members of the *Union Parliament* were present in the house." These two evidences, it will be observed, tally without the possibility of collusion.

Theatrical amusements appear to have been continued at the Tennis Court in the year 1710—if we are to place any reliance upon the following tradition:—When Mrs Siddons came to Edinburgh in 1784, the late Mr Alexander Campbell, author of the History of Scottish Poetry, asked Miss Pitcairne, daughter of the celebrated Dr Pitcairne, (who

* Vol. ii. 252.

died in 1714,) to accompany him to one of the representations. The old lady refused, saying, with coquettish vivacity, "Laddie, wad ye hae an auld lass like me to be running after the play-actors—me that hasna been at a theatre since I gaed wi' papa to the Canongate in the year *ten?*"* The theatre was in those days encouraged chiefly by such Jacobites as Dr Pitcairne, and the less reputable part of the community in general. It was denounced by the clergy as a hot-bed of vice and profanity; and when we read the plays of Dryden and Farquhar, can we say that the clergy were wrong?

After this, we hear no more of the theatre in the Tennis Court. The next place where the drama set up its head was in a house in Carrubber's Close, after 1715, under the management of an Italian lady styled Signora Violante. She paid two visits to Edinburgh. After her came one Tony Alston, in 1726, who set up his scenes in the same

* Communicated by Mr Campbell, in 1822, to the present writer. I find, from the original note, that a version of this anecdote, given in the Traditions of Edinburgh, ii. 4, is slightly incorrect.

house. Ramsay wrote his first prologue, which may be found in the works of that poet.* Mr Alston played for a season or two, under the fulminations of the clergy, and a prosecution on their part in the Court of Session. From this period, the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate was occasionally used as a theatre till 1747, when the erection of the Canongate Theatre ruined its regular business. During this interval, in 1736, Allan Ramsay had also attempted a new theatre in Carrubber's Close, but entirely failed. Theatrical representations took place in the Canongate Theatre till 1768, when the present building was erected.

57

SITE OF ABBOT BALLANTYNE'S HOUSE.

Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood Monastery, who built the old bridge at Leith, and was in his day a very distinguished person, had a house described as " his great house or lodging, with the

* In 1727, the Society of High Constables, of which Ramsay was then a member, endeavoured to " suppress the abominable stage-plays lately set up by Anthony Aston."—*Record of that Society.*

yard thereof, lying beside the port of Holyrood-house, on the north side of the street."—*Charter* 1494, *quoted in "A Perfect Inventer of Pious Donations,"* &c., *by Robert Mylne, MS. Advocates' Library.* The spot is now occupied by a modern building; while the garden has since been described as the "north garden" of the palace, and more recently used as a *physic garden* for the use of students of botany. At the north-west corner of this garden, and bordering upon the line of street called the Abbeyhill, is a small antique building of irregular shape, which is popularly believed to have been used as a bathing-house by Queen Mary.

58

HOUSE OF THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR.

The first Earl of Traquair, when Treasurer of Scotland, appears to have occupied this house. It was previously possessed, however, by the Earl of Airth, a clever but unfortunate nobleman, who was deprived by Charles I. of his previous title of Earl of Menteith, along with the presidency of the Privy Council and other high offices, for having

used the expression, " that he had the reddest blood in Scotland;" in which he alluded to his descent from a son of Robert II., then suspected (erroneously) to have been older than the son from whom his Majesty was descended.

This nobleman, like many both better and worse men, was afflicted with a bad wife;* respecting whom he has left a most amusing paper, from which we shall make the following apposite extract, being the third grand grievance in the list:—

" This *woefull wyse wife of myne* made propositioune to me that she conceived it not honourabill for me to pay rent for ane house, as I did then for a little house I duelled in, besyde the church-yaird, pertaining to one Ridderfoord, who hade it in heretage; bot that I should rather buy ane house heretablie; which foolish desyre of *that wicked woman's* I refuised, and toulde her that I knew not how long I should stay at Edinburch, and would not give my money to buy ane hous thair. Bot she replyed, that it would serve for ane house for my lands of Kinpount; which foolish answer of *that wicked woman's* shoud her vanitie, and

* Agnes, daughter of Patrick Lord Gray.

the great desyre she had to stay still in Edinburch; for the like was never heard, that the house standeth seven mylls from the lands, Kinpount being sevin mylls from Edinburch. Alway, ther being some things between the Earl of Linlithgow and me, he did offer to dispoun to me his hous, which he hade at the back of the Abbay of Hallirood-hous, which sumty me [formerly] belonged to the Lord Elphinstoune. The E. of Linlithgow and I, for the pryce of the hous, yairds, and grass yairds, at the pryce of eight thousand fyve hundreth merks, did agrie, and he disponed them to me. And it was no ill pennieworth; for it was worth the money, hade my goode wyfe conteined herself so; bot shee thocht the house too little for my familie, though it was large aneugh. It is to be remarked also, that so shoone as I removed from the little hous I dwelt in besyde the church-yaird, and came to remaine in the hous I bocht from the E. of Linlithgow, at the back of the Abbay, that fals knave Traquair did instant come to reside in the litle house wherein I duelt befor, pretending that it wes to be neire the counsell of staite, which did sitt in the Abbay; bot it wes for ane uther

end, that the villaine micht wirk his ends against me. And, presentlie efter this, I wente up to London; and I wes no shooner gone, bot my wyfe sett to werke all sorte of tradesmen, such as quarriers, maissons, sklaitters, vrights, smiths, glasiers, painters, and plaisterers; and I may say treulie, that the money which she bestowed upon hir re-edifieing of that hous and gardens, wes tuyse so much as I gave for the buying of them from the Earle of Linlithgow. So that in good faith, that hous, and the gardens and orchards, and uther things which *my wyse wyfe* bestowed upon it, stoode me in above 25,000 merks Scott money, bot I will only set doun heir 20,000. But after all this, when I wes to remove from Edinburch, I disponed to my son James, heretablie, that hous, gardens, and orchards, and grass yairds; and, within two years efter, or therby, that house took fyre accedintallie, (as I conceave,) and wes totallie burned, as it standeth now; *and so became of everie thing that the unhappie woman, my wyfe, lade hir hand to.* Bot this is nothing to that which will follow heireefter," &c.

The reader will probably think that there is only one particular wanting in this narrative to render

it the most amusing of the kind ever presented; and that we shall supply from an old nursery jest:—

A. Good-morning, good fellow.—*B.* I'm not a good fellow; I'm a new married man.—*A.* Oh man, that's gude!—*B.* Not sae gude as ye trow.—*A.* What then, lad?—*B.* I've gotten an ill-willy wife.—*A.* Oh man, that's bad!—*B.* Not sae bad as ye trow.—*A.* What then, lad?—*B.* She brought me a gude tocher and a well-plenished house.—*A.* Oh man, that's gude!—*B.* Not sae gude as ye trow.—*A.* What then, lad?—*B.* The house took a-fire, and brunt baith house and plenishing and gear.—*A.* Oh man, that's bad!—*B.* Not sae bad as ye trow.—*A.* What then, lad?—*B.* *The ill-willy wife was burnt in the middle o't!* &c.

To quote another of "my divelish wyf hir wyse actes," namely, the second in the roll:—

"I being ane other tyme at London, the Earle of Galloway made ane propositione to *my prudent wyfe*, of ane marriage to his eldest son the Lord Garlies to my second daughter, Margaret; which shee presentlie did give ear untoo, without farther advysment, and contracted and maried them before I returned from London. * * * Now, I pray,

consider how unfitting ane match this wes for me. First, my father and the Earl of Galloway were cousin-germans; and then our estate lying at so greate ane distance the one frome the uther; and I am sure *I might have maried thrie of my daughters to thrie barouns lying besyd me, with that portion I gave to Galloway,* any one of which would have been more usfull to me than the Earl of Galloway. They had children, bot they all dyed; *so that money was als much lost to me as if I had castin it in the sea.*"

It appears that the unfortunate earl afterwards disposed of his house at the Abbey to his Majesty, but never received the payment. He died in great embarrassment, and was succeeded by his grandson, who also died in impoverished circumstances, (1694,) and was the last inheritor of the titles Airth and Menteith. The last earl, being at one time obliged to retire to the sanctuary of Holyrood for protection against his debtors, applied to his kinsman and vassal, Malise Graham at Glaschoil, on the southern shore of Loch Katrine, for such a supply of money, or such security, as might relieve him. " Faithful to the call of his liege lord, Malise instantly quitted

his home, dressed like a plain Highlander of those days, travelling alone and on foot. Arriving at the earl's lodgings, he knocked for admittance, when a well-dressed person opening the door, and commiserating his apparent poverty, tendered him a small piece of money. Malise was in the act of thankfully receiving it, when his master advancing, perceived him, and chid him for doing a thing, which, done by his pecuniary friend, might tend to shake his credit more than ever. The Highlander, making his appropriate obeisance, but with the utmost *nonchalance,* took from his bosom a purse, and handing it to his lordship, addressed him in the following words in Gaelic :—' Here, my lord, see and clear your way with that. As for the gentleman who had the generosity to hand me the halfpenny, I would have had no objection to accept of every halfpenny he had.' The story declares, that his lordship's necessity was completely relieved, and that he instantly returned with his faithful vassal to his castle in the Loch of Menteith."*

56

* This anecdote is known in Menteith by the title of "Malise Graham and the Roe-skin Purse." It is derived, as

FOOT OF LEITH WYND—

The scene of a remarkable assassination, which took place on the 14th of February 1592-3.

In those days, when hardly any man, from the king downwards, was considered sacred from the assassin's knife, it might afford little surprise that a judge of the Court of Session, walking to the court of justice, should have fallen one of its victims. It is hardly possible, however, for men living in these quiet times to hear of such an incident without surprise. The only circumstance that can tend to lessen our wonder, is the character of many of the judges at that era. Only a few years before the time referred to, more than one of the individuals concerned in the murder of Darnley had sat upon the bench, in the daily habit of sending better men than themselves to the gallows. The circumstances of the Leith Wynd brawl are thus related by Arnot :*

well as the preceding extracts, from the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling's elegant and entertaining work on the Priory of Inchmahome.

* Criminal Trials, 174.

"John Graham, parson of Killearn, and one of the supreme criminal judges, married the widow of Sandilands of Calder, who was amply endowed by her former husband. Graham commenced and carried a distressing lawsuit against young Sandilands, his stepson; and Sir James Sandilands, uncle and tutor to the young gentleman, assisted by a body of his friends and followers, in revenge, murdered Graham in Leith Wynd, one of the principal entries to the city of Edinburgh, 1592. The perpetrators were neither brought to trial nor punishment. But seven years after, the grandfather, or granduncle of the great Montrose, attacked Sir James Sandilands with an armed force, as he was going into the Court of Session; and after obstinate resistance left him desperately, and, as the assailants thought, mortally wounded."

Birrel, in his Diary, relates both incidents in brief and more commonplace language than that now employed in an ordinary newspaper paragraph.*

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* 1593.—"The 14 of Februar, Sr Alexr. Stewart and Mr John Grahame slain be Sr James Sandilands at ye fitt of Leith Wynd."—P. 29.

1595.—"The 19 Januar, the young Erle of Montrois

NORTH LOCH,

A dammed-up pool, forming part of the ancient defences of the city. It would appear that there was no collection of water here before the period when the city was fortified. According to Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who wrote about the year 1308, a grand tournament was held on this spot in 1396, by order of the Queen [of Robert III.], at which her eldest son, Prince David, then in his twentieth year, presided. The expression used by the monkish historian is, *ubi nunc est lacus*—where now is a lake. The springs which fed the pool, arose chiefly about the foot of the Castle rock; and the dam which confined it was at the bottom of Halkerston's Wynd, on the line of the present North Bridge. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a ford upon the North Loch is mentioned. Archbishop Beatoun escaped across that ford, in 1520, when flying from the unlucky street skir-

fought ane combate with Sr James Sandilands at the Salt Trone of Edinburgh, thinking to have revengit the slaughter of his cousin, Mr Johne Graham, quha was yr slaine, [*i. e.* Sir James Sandilands,] with ane shote of ane pistol, and four of his men slaine with swords."—P. 34.

mish called *Cleanse the Causeway.* In those early times, the town corporation kept ducks and swans upon the loch for ornament's sake, and various acts occur in their register for preserving those birds. An act, passed in council between the years 1589 and 1594, ordained "a boll of oats to be bought for feeding the swans in the North Loch;" and a person was unlawed at the same time for shooting a swan in the said loch, and obliged to find another in its place. The lake seems to have been a favourite scene for boating. Various houses in the neighbourhood had servitudes of the use of a boat upon it;* and these, in later times, used to be employed to no little purpose in smuggling whisky into the town. In the days of good King James, they were employed occasionally in other purposes, as witness the following passage in Calderwood's Manuscript History, under the date 1594:—

* A ring used to be pointed out, on the front of a house at the head of the North Back of the Canongate, (where the Perth Baking Company afterwards built a small house,) which was said to have been used in very remote times to confine a boat upon the North Loch. And certainly the tradition receives some countenance from a passage in *Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ.*

"James Gray, brother to the Master of Gray, ravished a gentlewoman, apparent heire of her father, John Carnegie; but [she] was rendered again, at command of the counsel to her father. She was again ravished [June 1594] by the said James out of Robert Gowses house in Edinburgh, where she and her father remained for the time; was hailed down a close to the North Loch, and conveyed over in a boat, where there were about ten or twelve men on the other side to receive her. They set her upon a man's saddle, and conveyed her away, her hair hanging about her face. The Lord Hume keept the High Street with armed men till the fact was accomplished." The said Lord Hume having, just the month before, abjured the Catholic and adopted the Protestant faith, publicly on his knees in the High Church, and being, moreover, at this time, a prime favourite and counsellor of the King!

The North Loch was the place in which our pious ancestors used to dip and drown offenders against morality, especially of the female sex. The Reformers, therefore, conceived that they had not only done a very proper, but also a very witty

thing, when they threw into this lake, in 1558, the statue of St Giles, which formerly adorned their High Church, and which they had contrived to abstract.

It was also the frequent scene of suicide. We have heard, however, of a case in which that crime was prevented at this place in a very remarkable manner. A poor woman having resolved to put an end to her existence, waded a considerable way into the water, designing to take the fatal plunge when she should reach a place where the water was sufficiently deep. Before she could satisfy herself on that point, her hoop caught the water, and lifted her fairly off her feet. At the same time the wind caught her figure, and blew her, *bongré malgré*, into the centre of the pool, as if she had been sailing upon an inverted tub. She now became exceedingly *alarmed*, screamed for help, and waved her arms in desperation; all of which signs brought a crowd to the shore she had just left, who were unable, however, to render her any assistance, before she had safely landed on the other side—fairly cured, it appeared, of all desire of quitting the uneasy coil of mortal life.

The North Loch was drained in the year 1763, preparatory to the erection of the North Bridge. It was then intended that the hollow should be occupied by an ornamental garden, through which should run a canal, fed by the water arising from the springs under the Castle. On this plan being given up, a process was raised against the town by the gentlemen who had feued ground in the New Town, the expectation of the garden and canal having been part of their inducement to build houses in that quarter. For many years, the ground lay waste and marshy, its pools forming excellent skating ground for the boys in winter. At length, about the year 1816, the part west of the Earthen Mound (an encumbrance which had in the mean time arisen) was laid out in pleasure grounds and nurseries. In 1825, the part to the east of the Mound was filled up to the depth of six or eight feet, with a vaulted drain running beneath, and the ground for some years employed in rearing crops of grass; so that, at a certain time of the year, the operations of husbandry were seen proceeding in this place, in the very centre of a populous and metropolitan city. It was only in 1830-1, that,

under the care of Mr Patrick Neill, a distinguished amateur horticulturist, then in the Town Council, this part of the site of the North Loch was at last converted into a pleasure-ground.

61

SCENE OF DARNLEY'S MURDER.

Upon this spot stood the house of the Prebendaries of St Mary's Church in the Fields, in which Darnley was destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder, February 10, 1566-7. The exact site is ascertained from Gordon's map, (1647,) where the ruins are expressly indicated, not having been then removed. In the present map, instead of the ruins, we find a small garden parterre; but the trees immediately to the east exist in both maps. The building indicated to the west, as forming the south-east corner of the College Buildings, was that which used to be known in very recent times as the PRINCIPAL'S HOUSE; in which character it was occupied for many years by Dr Robertson, who here wrote his History of America, his History of Charles V. &c., looking every day from his windows upon the scene of a most remark-

able deed, which, in a former work, he had done so much to illustrate.

The PRINCIPAL'S HOUSE, which existed till about the year 1820, stood immediately within the front line of the present College buildings, which therefore must be understood to occupy the site of the celebrated PREBENDARIES' CHAMBER. What will fix the site still more accurately—if the line of buildings called Adam Square were to be continued southward, it would pass over the exact spot. In general terms, it may be said that the south-east angle of the College covers the place.

The unfortunate Lord Darnley was brought to lodge here on the 30th of January, 1566-7. He had contracted the smallpox at Glasgow, and it was thought necessary, or pretended to be thought necessary, to lodge him in this place for air, as also to guard against infecting the prince, his son, who was lodged in Holyroodhouse. The house, which then belonged by gift to a creature of the Earl of Bothwell, was so very mean as to excite general surprise. It consisted of two stories, with a *turnpike* or spiral staircase behind. The gable adjoined to the town wall, which there ran in a line east

and west, and the cellar had a postern opening through that wall. In the upper flat were a chamber and closet, with a little gallery having a window also through the town wall.* Here Darnley was deposited in an old purple travelling bed. Underneath his room was an apartment in which the queen slept for one or two nights before the murder took place. On the night of Sunday, February 9, she was attending upon her husband in his sick room, when the servants of the Earl of Bothwell deposited the powder in her room, immediately under the king's bed. The queen afterwards took her leave, in order to attend the wedding of two of her servants at the palace.

It appears from the confessions of the wretches executed for this foul deed, that, as they returned

* About seventy paces to the east of the site of the Prebendaries' Chamber, and exactly opposite to the opening of Roxburgh Place, was a projection in the wall, which will be found indicated in the accompanying map. It has been long demolished, and the wall rebuilt. Close, however, to the west of the place, and near the ground, are some remains of an arch in the wall, which Malcolm Laing supposes to have been a gun-port connected with the projection at this spot. It certainly has no connexion, as Arnot and (after him) Whitaker have supposed, with the story of Darnley's murder.

from depositing the powder, they saw "the Queenes grace gangand before thame with licht torches up the Black Frier Wynd." On their returning to Bothwell's lodging at the palace, that nobleman prepared himself for the deed, by changing his gay suit of "hose, stockit with black velvet, passemented with silver, and doublett of black satin of the same maner," for "ane uther pair of black hose,* and ane canves doublet white, and tuke his syde [long] riding-cloak about him, of sad English claith, callit the new colour." He then went, attended by Paris the Queen's servant, Powry his own porter, Pate Wilson, and George Dalgliesh, "downe the turnepike altogedder, and along the bak of the Queenes garden, till you come to the bak of the Cunyie-house, and the bak of the stabbillis, till you come to the Cannogate fornent the Abbey zett." After passing up the Canongate, and gaining entry with some difficulty by the Netherbow Port, "thai gaid up abone Bassentyne's hous on the south side of the gait,†

* Hose, in those days, served all the purposes of the modern *bracchæ*.

† This indicates pretty nearly the site of the house of

and knockit at ane door beneath the sword slippers, and callit for the laird of Ormistounes, and one within answerit he was not thair; and thai passit down a cloiss beneath the Frier Wynd, [*apparently Todrig's Wynd,*] and enterit in at the zett of the Black Friers, till thay came to the back wall and dyke of the town wall, whair my lord and Paris past in over the wall." The explosion took place soon after, about two in the morning. The earl then came back to his attendants at this spot, and "thai past all away togidder out at the Frier zett, and sinderit in the Cowgait." It is here evident that the alley now called the High School Wynd was the avenue by which the conspirators approached the scene of their atrocity. Bothwell himself, with part of his attendants, went up the same wynd "be east the Frier Wynd," and crossing the High Street, endeavoured to get out of the city by leaping a broken part of the town wall in Leith Wynd, but finding it too high, was obliged to rouse once more the porter at the Netherbow. They then passed—for every motion

Bassendyne, the early printer. It must have been opposite, or nearly opposite, to the Fountain Well.

of the villains has a strange interest—down St Mary's Wynd, and along the south back of the Canongate, to the earl's lodgings in the palace.

The house itself, by this explosion, was destroy ed, "*even,*" as the Queen tells in a letter to her ambassador in France, "*to the very grund-stane.*" The bodies of the King and his servant were found next morning in a garden or field on the outside of the town wall, perhaps rather destroyed by the hard fall than by contact with the powder.

62

BIRTH-PLACE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT.

The house in which Sir Walter Scott first saw the light, August 15, 1771, stood upon the spot indicated in the map, till removed, about fifty years ago, in order to make room for the new College buildings, or rather to afford room for the street which skirts the University in that direction. The site is now partly occupied as a woodyard, and partly used in the line of North College Street. Mr Walter Scott, W.S., father of the poet, here lived *au troisieme,* according to the simple fashion of our fathers, the *flat* which he occupied being

accessible by a stair leading up from the little court behind. It was a house of what would now be considered humble aspect, but at that time neither humble from its individual appearance, nor from its vicinage. When required to be destroyed for the public conveniency, Mr Scott received a good price for it; he had some time before removed to a house in the west side of George Square, where Sir Walter spent all his schoolboy and college days. At the same time that Mr Scott lived in the third *flat*, the two lower floors were occupied as one house by Mr Keith, W.S., grandfather to the late Sir Alexander Keith, knight-marischal of Scotland.

In the course of a walk through this part of the town, in 1825, Sir Walter did the present writer the honour to point out the site of the house in which he had been born. On Sir Walter mentioning that his father had got a good price for his share of it, in order that it might be taken down for the public convenience, the individual who accompanied him took the liberty of expressing his belief, that more money might have been made of it, and the public certainly *much more* gratified, if

it had remained to be shown as the birth-place of a man who had written so many popular books. "Ay, ay," said Sir Walter, "that is very well; but I'm afraid it would have been necessary for me to die first, and that, you know, would not have been so comfortable."

63

OLD RELIGIOUS HOUSE,

The supposed "Collegium Sacerdotum," mentioned by Alesse in his description of Edinburgh.—(*See that part of the present volume.*)

At no remote period, this mean alley contained the houses of many eminent persons. The celebrated Dr Black, professor of chemistry, lived in a house near the top. Here, it is also supposed, dwelt Oliver Goldsmith, when studying at Edinburgh University in 1753.

64

LUCKIE MIDDLEMIST'S.

In this house, now removed to make room for the South Bridge, Luckie Middlemist kept her celebrated oyster-tavern, the haunt of Fergusson

and Burns, as well as many other remarkable persons. The former poet eulogizes the house in the following Doric stanzas:—

When big as burns the gutters rin,
If ye hae caught a drookit skin,
To Luckie Middlemist's loup in,
There sit fu' snug,
Ower oysters, and a dram o' gin,
Or haddock lug.

When auld Saunt Giles, at eight o'clock,
Gars merchant louns their shopies lock,
Then we adjourn wi' hearty fouk,
To birle our bodles,
And get wharewi' to crack our joke,
And clear our noddles.

When Phœbus did his winnocks steek,
How aften at that ingle cheek,
Did I my frosty fingers beek,
And prie gude fare!
I trow there was nae hame to seek,
Whan steghan there.

65

ARCHI-EPISCOPAL PALACE.

This large house, occupying the space between Blackfriars' and Todrig's Wynd at the bottom, and presenting a curious turret at the exterior

corner towards the Cowgate, was built by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, uncle to Cardinal Beaton, and a leading political character in the reign of James V.* Here, it would appear, took place the interview between him and Gavin Douglas, April 30, 1520, when the latter ineffectually endeavoured to make him interpose his influence to pacify the contending factions of Hamilton and Douglas; on which occasion the Archbishop had prepared himself, with armour under his gown, to take an active share in the impending conflict. It is represented by tradition, with much probability, that his nephew the Cardinal afterwards lived in the house. † It was inhabited for some days, in July 1528, by James V., when deliberating upon the propriety of calling a parliament.

In a shop at this place there was a tradesman, within the last fifty years, who had a golden cock for a sign, and designated himself a *Lorimer*—

* Lindsay's History, Ed. 1778, p. 205.

† See Traditions of Edinburgh, i. 211, where there is a fuller description and history of the house, but liable to be corrected by the above paragraph.

that is, a maker of the iron-work used in saddlery, a business formerly common, but now extinct.*

66

* It is curious to observe, how, in correspondence with the change in our manners and customs, one trade has become extinct, while another succeeded in its place. At the end of the sixteenth century, the manufacture of offensive weapons predominated over all other trades in Edinburgh. We had then cutlers, whose *essay-piece*, on being admitted of the corporation, was "ane plain finished quhanzear" or sword; gaird-makers, whose business consisted in fashioning sword-handles; Dalmascars, who gilded the said weapon; and belt-makers, who wrought the girdles that bound it to the wearer's body. There were also dag-makers, who made hackbuts (short guns) and dags (pistols.) These various professions became all associated in the general one of armourers, or gunsmiths, when the wearing of weapons went into desuetude—there being then no farther necessity for the expedition and expediency of the modern political economist's boasted "division of labour." As the above arts gave way, those which tended to provide the comforts and luxuries of civilized life gradually arose. About 1586, we find the first notice of locksmiths in Edinburgh, and there was then only one of the trade, whose essay was simply "a kist lock." In 1609, however, as the security of property increased, the essay was "a kist lock and a hing, an bois lock, with an double plate lock;" and in 1644, "a key and sprent band" were added to the essay. In 1682, "a cruik and cruik band" were further added; and in 1728, for the safety of the lieges, the locksmith's essay was appointed to be "a cruik and

THE MINT.

This little square contains the buildings used as the Scottish Mint before the union of the kingdoms in 1707. The houses have since then been occupied as private dwellings and workshops.* The date of the principal building, over a doorway at the bottom of Todrig's Wynd, is 1574; previous to which period it appears, from the confessions of Darnley's murderers, already quoted, that the

cruik band, a pass lock with a round filled bridge, not cut or broke in the backside, with nobs and jamb bound." In 1595, we find the first notice of shearsmiths. In 1609, a heckle-maker was admitted into the Corporation of Hammermen. In 1613, a tinkler makes his appearance; Thomas Duncan, the first tinkler, was then admitted. Pewtherers are mentioned so far back as 1588. In 1647, we find the first knock-maker [*clock-maker*], but so limited was his business that he was also a locksmith. In 1664, the first white-iron-man was admitted—also the first harness-maker, though lorimers had previously existed. Paul Martin, a distressed French Protestant, in 1691, was the first manufacturer of surgical instruments in Edinburgh. In 1720, we find the first pin-maker. In 1764, the first edge-tool maker, and first fish-hook maker.

* See Traditions of Edinburgh, i. 98.

"*Cunyie house*" was near the palace. Edinburgh was a place of mintage from the reign of Robert Bruce.

67

TAILOR'S HALL.

The date over the exterior gateway of the Tailor's Hall, towards the Cowgate, is 1644; but it is ascertained that the corporation had its hall here at an earlier period. An assembly of between two and three hundred clergymen was held here on Tuesday, the 27th of February 1638, in order to consider the National Covenant, which was presented to the public next day, in the Greyfriars' Church. We are informed by the Earl Rothes, in his "Relations" of the transactions of this period,* in which he bore so distinguished a part, that some few objected to certain points in it; but being taken aside into the garden attached to this hall, and there lectured on the necessity of mutual concession for the sake of the general cause, they were soon conciliated. This garden still exists.

The hall was afterwards employed by a very

* Printed by the Bannatyne Club.

different set of people—the PLAYERS. From a period subsequent to 1727, till after the year 1753, it was used as a theatre; the pit and boxes being 2s. 6d., and the gallery 1s. 6d., at which rates the house held from L.40 to L.45. From the persecution of the city clergy, it was an exceedingly prosperous place of amusement, until a split in the company caused the erection of the Canongate Theatre in 1747, after which the Tailor's Hall was deserted. It will be observed, however, from the subjoined advertisement, that it was employed as a theatre so lately as the date above mentioned. *

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* "By Desire of a Lady of Quality, for the Benefit of a Family in Distress, at the Taylor's Hall in the Cowgate, on Tuesday next, being the 20th of March, will be presented, a Concert of Music; after which will be presented, gratis, a Tragedy, called The LONDON MERCHANT, or the History of GEORGE BARNWELL. The Parts to be attempted by a Company of Young Gentlemen, who never appeared on any stage before. To which will be added a Farce, called BUCKRAM IN ARMOUR, likeways to be attempted by the same Gentlemen. Tickets to be had at John's and Balfour's Coffee-Houses, and at Mr Anderson's shop, at the Head of Blackfriars Wynd. To begin precisely at six o'clock."

BACK STAIRS.

An old access from the Cowgate to the Parliament Close or Square; formerly, it would appear, called the PARLIAMENT STAIRS. Thus, an old ballad—

> "This lady gaed up the *Parliament Stair*,
> Wi' pendles in her lugs sae bonnie;
> Monie a lord lifted his hat,
> But little did they ken she was Richie's lady."*

As one of the localities of a very extraordinary tragedy of private life, which happened in Edinburgh upwards of a century ago, we crave leave to attach to it the history of that tragedy, which, in one of its aspects, will remind the reader of a celebrated tale of ancient Rome:—

* The lady here alluded to was Lady Lilias Fleming, daughter of John, third Earl of Wigton, who was so indiscreet as to marry her servant, Richard Storry, for whom her family afterwards obtained a place in the Custom House. She and her husband assigned her provision to Lieutenant-Colonel John Fleming, who discharged her renunciation, dated October 1673. The ballad, from which the above is extracted, contains an account of the courtship and marriage, and is here subjoined. It is sung to the tune of Gala Water:—

According to one version of this story, a young Englishman of the name of Cayley, who held the

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The Erle o Wigton had three daughters,
O braw wallie! they were bonnie;
The youngest o' them and the bonniest too
Has fallen in love wi' Richie Storie.

"Here's a letter for ye, madame,
Here's a letter for ye, madame;
The Erle of Home wad fain presume
To be a suitor to ye, madame."

"I'll hae nane o' your letters, Richie,
I'll hae nane o' your letters, Richie;
For I have made a vow, and I'll keep it true,
That I'll have none but you, Richie."

"O! do not say so, madame,
O! do not say so, madame;
For I have neither land nor rent
For to maintain you o', madame.

"Ribands ye maun wear, madame,
Ribands ye maun wear, madame;
With bands about your neck
O' the goud that shines sae clear, madame,"

"I'll lie ayont a dyke, Richie,
I'll lie ayont a dyke;
And I'll be aye at your command
And bidding when ye like, Richie.

"Fair Powmoodie is a' my ain,
My father left it to me so lately;
Gin ye'll consent to be my ain,
I'll gie ye it a', my Richie Storie."

O! he's gane on the braid, braid road,
And she's gane through the broom sae bonnie,
Her silken robes down to her heels,
And she's awa wi' Richie Storie.

situation of a Commissioner in the Customs, was so imprudent as to contract an attachment to Mrs Macfarlane, the wife of a *writer* in Edinburgh. On Saturday, September 30, 1716, Mrs Macfarlane was exposed, by the treachery of Mr Cayley's landlady, with whom she was acquainted, to an insult of the most atrocious kind on his part, in the house where he lodged, which seems to have been situated in a close opposite to the Back Stairs. Next Tuesday, October 2, Mr Cayley waited upon Mrs Macfarlane at her own house, and was shown

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This lady gaed up the Parliament Stair,
Wi' pendles in her lugs sae bonnie;
Mony a lord lifted his hat,
But little did they ken she was Richie's lady.

Up then spak the Erle o' Home's lady,
"Wasna ye richt sorrie, Annie,
To leave the lands o' bonnie Cumbernauld,
And follow Richie Storie, Annie?"

"O! what need I be sorrie, madame,
O! what need I be sorrie, madame;
For I've got them that I like best,
And war ordained for me, madame!"

"Cumbernauld is mine, Annie,
Cumbernauld is mine, Annie;
And a' that's mine, it shall be thine,
As we sit at the wine, Annie."

into a drawing-room. According to an account given out by his friends, he was anxious to apologize for his former rudeness. From another account, it would appear that he had circulated reports derogatory to the lady's honour, which she was resolved to punish. Another story still represents him as having repeated the daring insult which he had formerly offered; whereupon she rushed into another room, and presently came back with a pair of pistols in her hand. On her bidding him leave the house instantly, he said, "What, madam, d'ye design to act a comedy?" To which she answered, that "*he would find it a tragedy if he did not retire.*" The infatuated man persisting in his object, she fired off one of the pistols, which, however, only wounded him slightly in the left wrist, the bullet slanting down into the floor. The mere instinct, probably, of self-preservation, caused him to draw his sword; but, before he could use it, she fired the other pistol, the shot of which penetrated his heart. "This dispute," says a letter of the day, "was so close, that Mr Cayley's shirt was burnt at the sleeves with the fire of one of the pistols, and his

cravat and the breast of his shirt with the fire of the other."* She immediately left the room, locking the door upon the dead body, and sent a servant for her husband, who was found at a neighbouring tavern. On his coming home, about an hour after, she took him by the sleeve, and, leading him into the room where the corpse lay, explained the circumstances which had led to the bloody act. Mr Macfarlane said, "Oh! woman, what have you done?" But, soon seeing the necessity for prompt measures, went out again to consult with some of his friends. "They all advised," says the letter just quoted, "that he should convey his wife away privately, to prevent her lying in goal, till a precognition should be taken of the affair, and it should appear in its true light. Accordingly," [about six o'clock,] "she walked down the High Street, followed by her husband at a little distance, and now absconds.

"The thing continued a profound secret to all, except those concerned in the house, till past ten at night, when Mr Macfarlane, having provided a safe retreat for his wife, returned and gave orders

* The pistols belonged to Mr Cayley himself, having been borrowed a few days before by Mr Macfarlane.

for discovering it to the magistrates, who went and viewed the body of the deceased, and secured the house and maid, and all else who may become evidence of the fact."

Another contemporary says, " I saw his [Cayley's] corpse, after he was cereclothed, and saw his blood where he lay on the floor for twenty-four hours after he dyed, just as he fell; so it was a difficulty to straight him."

A most careful investigation was made into every circumstance connected with this fatal affair, but without demonstrating anything except the passionate rashness or magnanimity of the fair murderess. Mr Macfarlane was discharged upon his own affirmation, that he knew nothing of the deed till after it had taken place. A pamphlet was published by Mrs Murray, Mr Cayley's landlady, who seems to have kept a grocery shop in the Cowgate, vindicating herself from the imputation which Mrs Macfarlane's own tale had thrown upon her character; but to this their appeared an answer, from some friend of the latter person, in which the imputation was fixed almost beyond the possibility of doubt. Mrs Murray denied that Mrs Macfarlane

had been at all in her house on the Saturday before the murder; but evidence was given that she was seen issuing from the close in which Mrs Murray resided, and, after ascending the Back Stairs, was observed passing through the Parliament Square towards her own house.

It will surprise every one to learn that this Scottish Lucrece was a woman of only nineteen or twenty years of age, and some months *enceinte*, at the time when she so boldly vindicated her honour. She was a person of most respectable connexions, being a daughter of Colonel Charles Straiton, "a gentleman of great honour," says one of the letters above quoted, and who farther appears to have been intrusted with high negotiations by the Jacobites during the reign of Queen Anne. By her mother, she was grand-daughter to Sir Andrew Forrester. It is said that she found protection and concealment for some time at Swinton House in Berwickshire, where a young lady of the family, entering the parlour one day, while all the rest were at church, saw a lovely vision pouring out tea, whom she at first thought to be *an enchanted queen*. Miss Swinton was afterwards informed by her mother that the lady was Mrs Macfarlane, who had some claims of

House of the first EARL of HADDINGTON, (Merchant Court.)

kindred upon them, and was here in hiding for her life. What became of her afterwards is not known. Miss Swinton's grandson, Sir Walter Scott, has made a fictitious use of this incident in his novel entitled " Peveril of the Peak."

69

OLD EXCISE-OFFICE.

A court of old buildings in a massive style of architecture, and containing some apartments of a very elegant character, having finely stuccoed ceilings, existed on this spot previous to 1829, when they were destroyed to make way for a bridge thrown across the Cowgate, by virtue of the Improvements Act. At the time when the map was drawn, they were occupied as the Excise-Office ; but in earlier times they were used in a still more respectable capacity. Overlooking a tradition, which represented them as the residence of the French embassy in the time of Queen Mary, it is certain that the celebrated Thomas Hamilton, first Earl of Haddington, President of the Court of Session, and Secretary of State for Scotland, lived here at the end of the sixteenth century, renting

the house from Macgill of Rankeillour. This distinguished person, from the circumstance of his living here, was endowed by his master, King James, with the nickname of TAM O' THE COWGATE, under which title he is now better remembered than by any other.

The Earl, who had risen through high legal offices to the peerage, and who was equally noted for his penetration as a judge, his industry as a collector of decisions, and his talent for amassing wealth, was one evening, after a day's hard labour in the public service, solacing himself with a friend, over a flask of wine, in his house in the Cowgate* —attired for his better ease in a nightgown, cap, and slippers—when he was suddenly disturbed by a great hubbub, which arose under his window in the open street. This soon turned out to be a *bicker* between the High School youths and those of the College; and it also appeared that the latter, fully victorious, were, notwithstanding a valiant defence, in the act of driving their antagonists before them. The Earl of Haddington's sympathies were in-

* The traditionary anecdotes in this article, are derived from the conversation of the late Earl of Haddington.

stantly and warmly awakened in favour of the retiring party, for he had been brought up at the High School, and going thence to complete his education at Paris, had no similar reason to affect the College. He therefore sprung up, dashed into the street, sided with and rallied the fugitives, and took a most animated share in the combat that ensued, so that finally, the High School youths, acquiring fresh strength and valour at seeing themselves befriended by the prime judge and privy-councillor of their country, (though only in his night-gown and slippers,) succeeded in turning the scale of victory upon the College youths, in spite of their superior individual ages and strength. The Earl, who assumed the command of the party, and did not hesitate to excite their spirits by word as well as action, was not content till he had pursued the Collegianers through the Grassmarket, and out at the West Port, the gate of which he locked against their return, thus compelling them to spend the whole night in the suburbs and the fields. He then returned home in triumph to his castle of comfort in the Cowgate, and resumed where he had left off, the enjoyment of his friend and flask. We

can easily imagine what a rare jest this must have been for "King Jamie."

When this monarch visited Scotland in 1617, he found the old statesman very rich, and was informed that the people believed him to be in possession of the Philosopher's Stone; there being no other feasible mode of accounting for his immense wealth, which rather seemed the effect of supernatural agency than of worldly prudence or talent. King James, quite tickled with the idea of the Philosopher's Stone, and of so enviable a talisman having fallen into the hands of a Scottish Judge, was not long in letting his friend and gossip know of the story which he had heard respecting him. The Lord President immediately invited the King, and the rest of the company present, to come to his house in the Cowgate next day, when he would both do his best to give them a good dinner, and lay open to them the whole mystery of the Philosopher's Stone. This agreeable invitation was of course accepted; and the next day saw his pallazzo thronged with the gay and gorgeous figures of England's King and courtiers, all of whom the President feasted to their hearts' content. After

dinner the King reminded him of his Philosopher's Stone, and expressed the utmost anxiety to be speedily made acquainted with so rare a treasure, when the pawky lord addressed his Majesty and the company in a short speech, concluding with this information, that his whole secret lay in two simple and familiar maxims—"never put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day, nor ever trust to another's hand what your own can execute." He might have added, from the works of an illustrious contemporary,

"This is the only witchcraft I have used,"

and none could have been more effectual.

A striking and most ludicrous idea may be obtained from the following anecdote, of the estimation in which the wisdom of the Earl of Haddington was held by the King, and at the same time, perhaps, of that singular monarch's usual mode of speech. It must be understood, by way of prefatory illustration, that King James, who was the author of the Earl's popular appellation, "*Tam o' the Cowgate,*" had a custom of bestowing such ridiculous *sobriquets* on his principal councillors and

courtiers. Thus he conferred upon that grave and sagacious statesman, John Earl of Mar, the nickname *Jock o' Sklates*—probably in allusion to some circumstance which occurred in their young days, when they were the fellow-pupils of Buchanan. On hearing of an alliance between the Haddington and the Mar families, his Majesty exclaimed, betwixt jest and earnest, "The Lord haud a grup o' me! if Tam o' the Cowgate's son marry Jock o' Sklates' daughter, what will come o' *me!*" The good-natured monarch probably apprehended, that so close an union betwixt two of his most subtle statesmen, might make them too much for their master—as hounds are most dangerous when they hunt in couples.

The Earl of Haddington died in 1637, full of years and honours. At Tynningham, the seat of his descendant, the present earl, there are two portraits of his lordship, one a half length, the other a head; as also his state-dress—and it is a circumstance too characteristic to be overlooked, that in the crimson-velvet breeches there are no fewer than *nine pockets!* Among many of the earl's papers which remain in Tynningham House, one contains

a memorandum, conveying a curious idea of the way in which public and political affairs were then managed in Scotland. The paper details the heads of a petition in his own handwriting to the Privy Council; and at the end is a note "to *gar* the Chancellor" do something else in his behalf.*

A younger son of Tam o' the Cowgate was a person of much ingenuity, and was popularly known, for what reason we cannot tell, by the nickname of "dear Sandie Hamilton." He had a foundery in the Potter-row, where he fabricated the cannon employed in the first covenanting war in 1639. This artillery, be it remarked, was not formed exclusively of metal. The greater part of the composition was leather, and yet we are informed they did some considerable execution at the battle of Newburnford, above Newcastle, (August 28, 1640,) where the Scots drove a large advanced party of Charles the First's troops before them, and soon after reduced the king to a treaty. The

* The earl rented a coach-house and stable in a close of the opposite side of the Cowgate, and he used to complain, with some apparent reason, that he paid more for these offices than for his house.

cannon, which were commonly called "dear Sandie's Stoups," were carried in swivel fashion between two horses.

The Excise-Office was removed, about a century ago, from the Parliament Square, to the house occupied many years before by Tam o' the Cowgate. It afforded excellent accommodations for this important public office. The principal room on the second floor, towards the Cowgate, was a very superb one, having a stucco ceiling divided into square compartments, each of which contained some elegant device. To the rear of the house was a bowling-green, which the Commissioners of Excise let out to a person of the name of Thomson. In those days, bowling was a much more prevalent amusement than now, being chiefly a favourite with the graver order of the citizens. There were then no fewer then three bowling-greens in the grounds around Heriot's Hospital, one in the Canongate, near the Tolbooth, another on the opposite side of the street, another immediately behind the palace of Holyroodhouse, where the Duke of York used to play when in Scotland, and perhaps several others scattered about the outskirts

of the town. At present, there is only one bowling-green in the town or neighbourhood. The arena behind the Excise Office was called Thomson's Green, from the name of the man who kept it; and it may be worth while to remind the reader, that it is alluded to in that clever poem by Allan Ramsay, in imitation of the "Vides ut alta" of Horace:—

> "Driving their ba's frae tee to tee,
> There's no ae gouffer to be seen,
> Nor doucer folk wysing a-jee
> The byas bowls on Tamson's green."

The green was latterly occupied by the relict of this Thomson; and it is a curious fact, that among the bad debts on the Excise Books, all of which are yearly brought forward and enumerated, there still stands a sum of something more than six pounds against Widow Thomson, being the last half-year's rent of *the green*, which the poor woman had been unable to pay. The north side of Brown's Square was built upon part of this space of ground; the rest remained a vacant area for the recreation of the people dwelling in Merchant Street, until the erection of the bridge which has overrun that, as

well as every other part of the scene of this article.

The Excise-Office was removed from Merchant Court, as the house was termed, about the year 1772, to a large modern building at the bottom of Chessels's Court in the Canongate, subsequently occupied by the institution for educating the deaf and dumb. It was here that the office was robbed by the noted William Brodie. Soon after that event, the establishment was translated to the elegant house in St Andrew Square, erected by Sir Lawrence Dundas, and now the property of the Royal Bank of Scotland.*

70

MAGDALEN CHAPEL.

The chapel, now belonging to the Corporation of Hammermen, and occupied as a place of worship by a congregation of Bereans, was erected immediately before the Reformation by a pious citizen, Michael MacQuhan, and Jonet Rhynd, his widow, whose tomb is shown in the floor. The windows

* Bought by the Crown for the office of Excise at L.5500, and, in 1828, sold to the Bank for L.35,000 by competition.

towards the south were anciently filled with stained glass; and there still remains some specimens of that kind of ornament, which, by some strange chance, had survived the Reformation. In a large department at the top of one window, are the arms of Mary of Guise, who was Queen Regent at the time the chapel was built. The arms of MacQuhan and his wife are also to be seen. In the lower panes, which have been filled with small figures of saints, only one remains —a St Bartholomew—who, by a rare chance, has survived the general massacre. The whole is now very carefully preserved. When the distinguished reformer, John Craig, returned to Scotland at the Reformation, after an absence of twenty-four years, he preached for some time in this chapel in the Latin language, to a select congregation of the learned, being unable, by long disuse, to hold forth in his vernacular tongue.* This divine subsequently was appointed a colleague to John Knox, and is distinguished in history for having refused to publish the bans between Queen Mary and Bothwell, and also for having written the National Covenant

* Spotiswoode, 464.

in 1589. Another circumstance in the history of this chapel, is worthy of notice. The body of the Earl of Argyll, after his execution, June 30, 1685, was brought down and deposited in this place, to wait till it should be conveyed to the family burying-place at Kilmun.*

71

INNER GREYFRIARS' CHURCHYARD.

In this dismal place, of which it may truly be said, in the language quoted upon a neighbouring epitaph, *ubi luctus regnant atque pavor,*† several

* Gazettes of the day.

† In the Greyfriars' churchyard, there was a Latin epitaph upon James Murray, of the family of Philiphaugh, merchant in Edinburgh, which Maitland gives in the following English form:—

"Stay, passinger, and shed a tear,
For good James Murray lieth here:
He was of Philiphaugh descended,
And for his merchandise commended.
He was a man of a good life,
Married Bethia Mauld to 's wife:
He may thank God that e'er he got her,
She bore him three sons and a daughter.
The first he was a man of might,
For which the King made him a knight:

hundreds of the prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge, June 22, 1679, were confined for nearly five months after, in a state of misery beyond all description. They had hardly anything either to

> The second was both wight and wily,
> For which the Town made him a baily:
> The third, a factor of renown,
> Both in Camphire and in this town.
> His daughter was both grave and wise,
> And married was to James Elies.

He died 30th April 1649, of his age the 79th year."

This extensive cemetery contains the graves of the following remarkable men:—George Buchanan; George Jameson, the painter; Alexander Henderson, the leading Scottish delegate at the great Westminster Assembly of Divines, and who principally composed the Assembly's Catechism, &c.; Sir George Mackenzie, who was almost the only Scottish writer, of any elevation of character, during the reign of Charles II.; Colin Maclaurin, the mathematician; Allan Ramsay; Adam, the architect; William Robertson, the historian; and Hugh Blair, author of the Sermons. Formerly, a skull, said to have been that of Buchanan, was preserved in the College of Edinburgh. It was extremely thin, and being shown in company with that of a known idiot, which was, on the contrary, very thick, seemed to form a commentary upon the popular expression, which sets forth density of bone as an invariable accompaniment of paucity of brain. The author of a diatribe, called "Scotland Characterised," which was published in 1701, and may be found in the Harleian Miscellany, tells us that he had

lie upon or to cover them; their allowance of provision was four ounces of bread per day, with water derived from one of the city pipes, which passed near the place. They were guarded by day by eight, and through the night by twenty-four men; and the soldiers were told that if any prisoner escaped, they should answer it life for life, by cast of dice. If any prisoner rose from the ground by night, he was shot at. Women alone were permitted to commune with them, and bring them food or clothes; but they had often to stand at the entrance from morning till night without getting access, and were frequently insulted and maltreated by the soldiers, without the prisoners being able to protect them, although in many cases related by the most endearing ties. When the winter at last set in, they were allowed to construct some huts of deal boards to shelter them from the weather; which, Wodrow tells us, was boasted of as a great

seen the skull in question, and that it bore "a very pretty distich upon it *—the first line I have forgot, but the second was

'Et decus es tumulo jam, Buchanane, tuo.'"

* The composition of Principal Adamson, who had caused the skull to be lifted.

favour. It is almost impossible now-a-days to believe, either that the existing powers could be guilty of so much cruelty, or that the sufferers could continue to endure such hardships, when they might at once have obtained their release, by giving assurance by their signature that they would never again take arms against the state.

72

FORMER PLACE OF EXECUTION.

A small cross, marked with stones in the pavement, here indicates what was, from the reign of Charles II. to the year 1784, the common place of execution. The unfortunate Covenanters were the first victims of the law who suffered in this place. Many a pious heart has here breathed out its last aspirations, before submitting to what it considered as martyrdom for the sake of pure religion. To this the Duke of Rothes alluded, in his own peculiar style of wit, when he said to a recusant prisoner—"Then e'en let him glorify God in the Grass-market." Even in this reign, however, criminals of distinction were still executed at the Cross. It appears to have been after the Revolution, that

the Grassmarket became the common and habitual place of execution; or rather, we should say, after that period there were no criminals above an ordinary rank, and therefore the Grassmarket became the sole place of execution. Here, in 1736, took place the execution of Wilson, the smuggler, from which arose the well-known circumstances of the Porteous Mob; and here, also, or upon the north side of the street, was that unfortunate officer hanged by the mob, from the end of a dyer's pole, which happened to stand at the place: one of the most striking instances of popular vengeance on record.

73

ALISON'S SQUARE,

A large mass of building between Nicolson Square and the Potterrow, now occupied by persons in the middle and lower walks of life. It was built about the middle of the last century, upon venture, by one Colin Alison,* joiner and upholsterer, who in after life, as we have heard, was very much reduced

* "Colin Alison, wright," appears in the record of the Society of Constables, as having entered in 1736.

in his circumstances—not improbably on account of this large speculation. In his latter days, he is said to have spent some of his last shillings in the erection of two boards, one at each corner of the square, whereon was represented a globe in the act of falling, with the following inscription :—

"If Fortune smile, be not puff'd up,
And if it frown, be not dismay'd;
For Providence governeth all,
Although the world's turn'd upside down."

74

SOCIETY.

This part of the city gets its name from a *society* which established premises on this spot for brewing, in 1598.*

75

COWGATE IN GENERAL.

The account usually given of this ancient street, represents it as having risen up, like the elegant

* "The foundation and beilding of the howssis for aill and beir brewing, besyd the Grayfreir port, callit the Societie, was begun in the yeir of God 1598."—*Historie of King James the Sext*, 374.

suburbs of our own day, on the outside of the first city wall, which was erected in 1460, and as having attained sufficient importance, about the year 1513, to require a new wall for its own enclosure and protection. There was also, in the days of Maitland, the city historian, a popular tradition or report, that the hollow space which it occupies was formerly covered by a lake, which, with the North Loch, nearly enclosed the city. Though this supposition derives some countenance from the early French name for the city—*L'Isle-bourg*—it is entirely without foundation; there being now no doubt that the lake supposed to have filled the site of the Cowgate, was placed in what has since been called Hope Park or the Meadows. We are now, moreover, to bring forward some circumstances which seem to give a greater antiquity to the Cowgate than what has hitherto been assigned to it, and prove it to have existed some years before the erection of the first town wall, by which it was excluded, and at a period when the *North* Loch was just recently formed. In a charter of confirmation, made January 23, 1449, by Mr Thomas Lauder, Canon of Aberdeen, to a chaplain

in St Giles's, he grants, among other properties, "an annualrent of 40s. out of his own house lying in the Cowgaite, betwixt the land of the Abbot of Melrose on the east, and of George Cochrane on the west." * Unless we are deceived by the antiquary quoted below, this must have been a house immediately to the east of Niddry's Wynd, as the Abbot of Melrose's lands extended from the High Street, at Strichen's Close, down across the Cowgate, between that point and Blackfriars' Wynd, and up the opposite acclivity to the present Infirmary Street.

In the market statute of James III., in 1477, the Cowgate is found to be a street fit for merchandise, as well as the High Street. This it could hardly have been, if it did not exist in 1449.

In the "Inventar" just quoted, is notice of a charter of Thomas Cameron, bearing date January 31, 1498, and mortifying to a chaplain in St Catherine's Altar, in St Giles's Kirk, "his tenement in Edinburgh, in the Cowgait, on the south side

* Perfect Inventar of all the Pious Donations given to the Kirks and Hospitals in Scotland. Written 12th November 1702, by R. M., [*Robert Mylne,*] MS. Adv. Lib.

thereof, betwixt the *Bishop of Dunkeld's land* on the east, and William Rappilowe's on the west, the common street on the north, and the gait that leads to the Kirk of Field on the south."

Low and obscure and squalid as this street now is, it receives imperishable lustre in the eye of every person interested in literature, as the place where the first printing-office was established in Scotland, namely, that of Walter Chapman and Andro Millar, in 1508. The former individual, in 1528, endowed an altar in the chapel of Holyrood, (a small place of worship in the lower part of St Giles's Churchyard,) with his house in the Cowgate. It is described as lying near the said chapel.*

We dismiss the Cowgate with the description of Alesse, written not long after this time:—"——infiniti viculi, qui omnes excelsis sunt ornati ædibus, *sicut et Via Vaccarum, in qua habitant patricii et senatores urbis, et in qua sunt principum regni palatia*—UBI NIHIL EST HUMILE AUT RUSTICUM, SED OMNIA MAGNIFICA."

76

* See Traditions of Edinburgh, ii. 196. Council Register, v. 184.

HOUSE OF LORD ROSS,

Now the Lying-in Hospital. This neat villa formerly stood quite isolated within a pleasant park, with a southerly exposure. It was occupied, at the time when the map was drawn, by George, thirteenth Lord Ross, who died in 1754, father of William the fourteenth and last baron, who only survived him two months; when the title became extinct. The house was called Ross House, and the park Ross's Park; and the latter name is still partly preserved in Park Place, a street occupying part of the ground. After the death of the last Lord Ross, the house was inhabited by Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, and was the scene of many gay routes and balls. The park was sold, soon after the year 1760, to Mr George Brown, an enterprizing builder, for L.1200;—he reared George's Square upon the ground, and his representatives now draw more than the original purchase money every year in ground rents.

It may be noticed that one of the last persons in Scotland supposed to be possessed by an evil spirit was a daughter of George, Lord Ross. "A person

alive in 1824, told me," says a correspondent, to whom the Traditions of Edinburgh were much indebted, " that, when a child, he saw her clamber up to the top of an old-fashioned four-post bed like a cat. In her fits it was almost impossible to hold her.—About the same time, a daughter of Lord Kinnaird was supposed to have the second sight. One day, during divine worship in the High Church, she fainted away; on her recovery, she declared that when Lady Janet Dundas (a daughter of Lord Lauderdale) entered the pew with Miss Dundas, who was a beautiful young girl, she saw the latter as it were in a shroud gathered round her neck, and upon her head. Miss Dundas died a short time after." By such circumstances was Scottish society characterised, at a period when modern manners were just beginning to dispel the shades of popular superstition and comparative barbarism.

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* The Advocate's Close took its name from Sir James Stewart, otherwise called *Jamie Wylie*, who was Lord Advocate in the reign of Queen Anne, and who lived and died here. This eminent legal officer was then familiarly termed the "the Advocate," and the close accordingly was called "the Advocate's Close." Sir James Stewart had been an exile before the Revolution, and coming over with the Prince of Orange, wrote his manifesto for Scotland, which was the circumstance that afterwards recommended him to court favour. It is said, that when the Pretender was hovering on the coast in 1708, Sir James was urged by a friend to fly from Edinburgh, lest he should fall into the hands of the invader. "Why should I fly," said he, "more than other people?" "Did you not write King William's manifesto?" answered his friend. "Oh," replied the wily advocate, "if that be all, I'll write this young man's too!"

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* This well-remembered little shop, which was in its day much resorted to by schoolboys for rolls and other confections, appears to have derived its name from the youngest class of the University students, who at the end of the seventeenth century were called Baijens.

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* This lady used to be familiarly styled, for brevity's sake, Lady Pen Crichton. Afterwards marrying a gentleman named Gunn, she rather ludicrously came to be styled Lady Pen Gunn.

† In the reign of Charles II., a broken down gentleman was driven by necessity to undertake the office of executioner in Edinburgh. It is related that he would sometimes dress himself respectably, and endeavour to mingle among gentlemen and citizens at golf on Burntsfield Links; but that being recognized, and driven contemptuously from the field, he took it so ill as to put an immediate end to his own life by throwing himself over a rock near Samson's Ribs, which was thence called the Hangman's Craig. At a later period, the Edinburgh executioner was a very decent and pious man; sat regularly in the Little Kirk (St Giles's), where he was generally allowed to have a whole pew to himself, and never missed partaking of the communion, which the clergyman, however, had to serve to him singly after the rest of the congregation had retired.

‡ The Princess Daskoff, or Daschkau, Countess of Woronzow, &c., arrived in Edinburgh, December 8, 1776, and appears to have resided in the city for about three years. Towards the end of her stay she made a large present of medals to the College.

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* The Duchess of Douglas, whose rough wit is still well remembered in Scotland, once spent an evening in company with this respectable judge, and was afterwards asked what she thought of him. "I think him a very barren muir indeed!" quoth her Grace.

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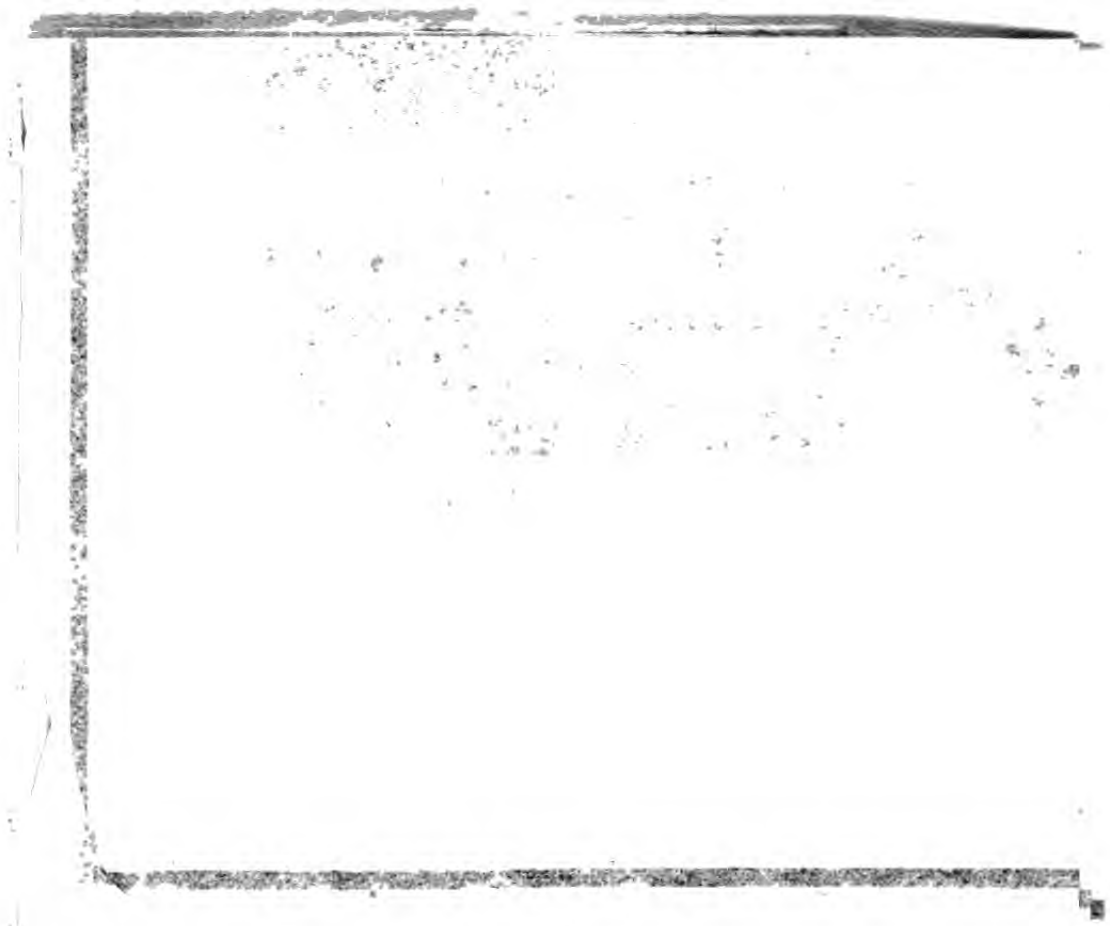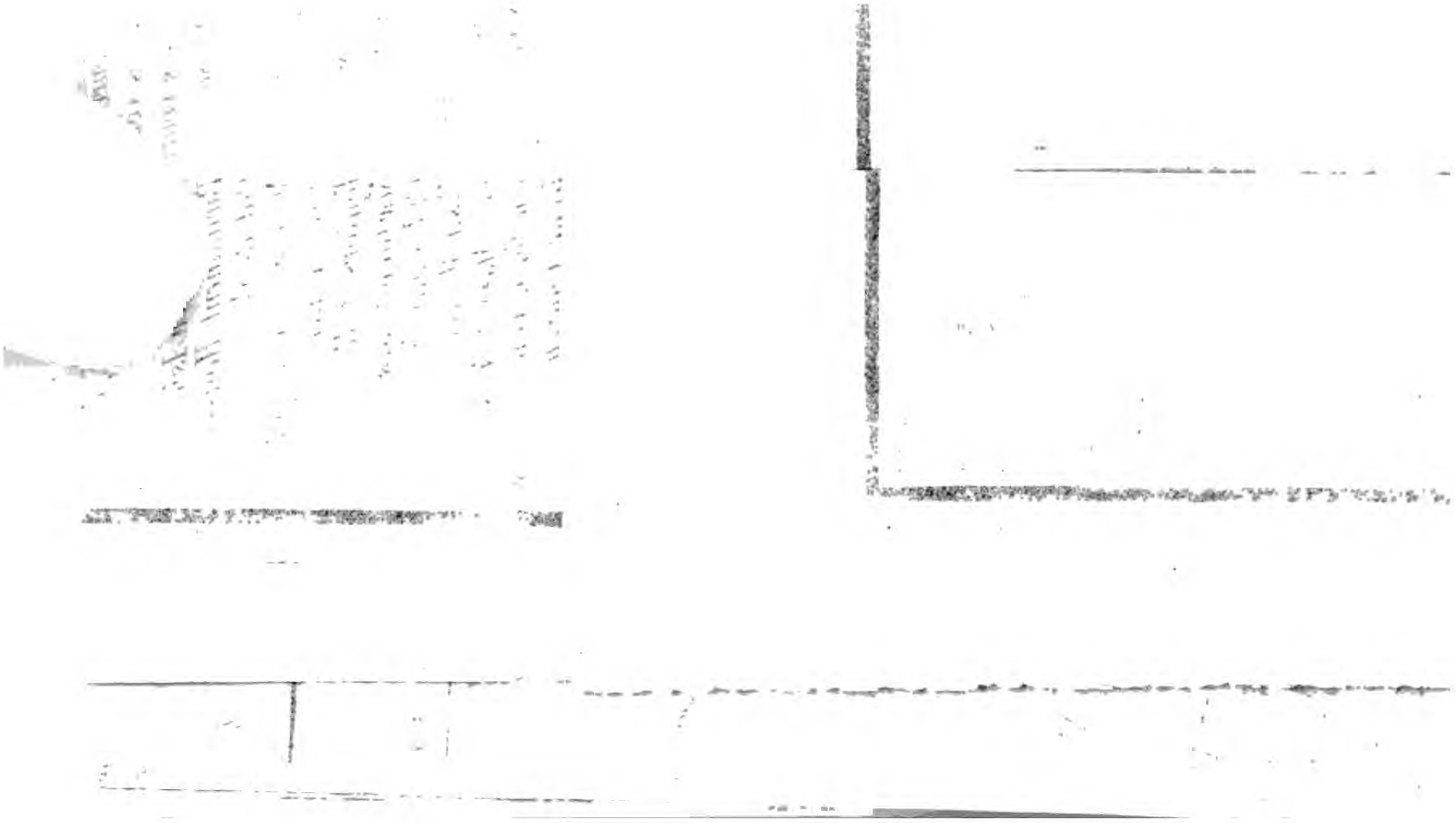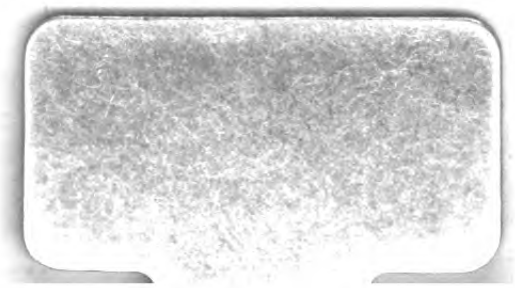
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