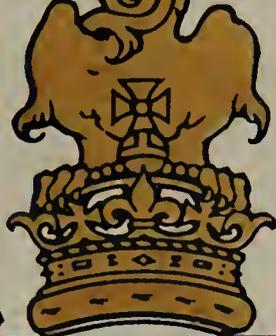
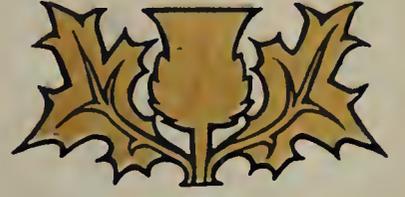




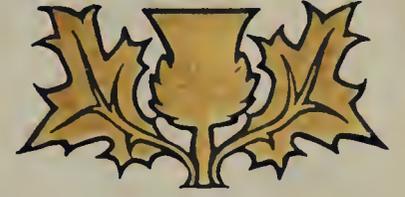


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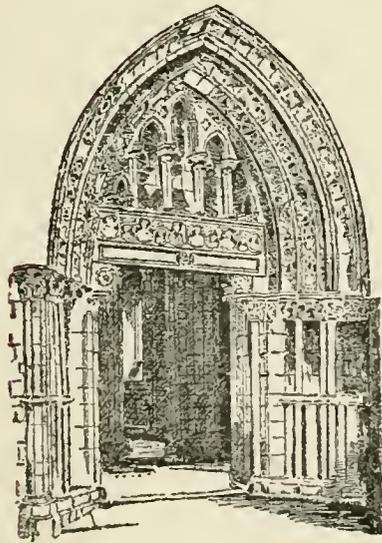
AN HISTORICAL APPRECIATION

BY

WILLIAM MOIR BRYCE

PRESIDENT OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

OF EDINBURGH, its ancient Castle, its historic Palace and Abbey of Holyrood, its literary associations, and its picturesque and beautiful situation, much has been written; and, although at the Union of 1707 it abdicated much of its importance as the capital city of Scotland, it still, even at the present day, vibrates with a distinct individuality denied, perhaps, to any other city in the United Kingdom. Its life's story is practically an epitome of the stormy history of our country. Many a time and oft has it suffered destruction at the hands of our "auld enemies of England," who, in the course of their ruthless and savage incursions, spared neither age nor sex—they gloried in their savagery; while, during our own internecine troubles, the streets of Edinburgh have frequently resounded to the wild cries of both noble and burgher in their sanguinary attempts to "cleanse the causeway," when fleetness of foot formed the only security to the weaker party. On occasion—a royal marriage or the state entry of a sovereign into the City—scenes of barbaric magnificence have been witnessed, and the fountain at the market cross has flowed with wine. The old Castle, perched on a precipitous dark rock of solid basalt, dates from the seventh century, and, in the defence of Scottish independence, has withstood sieges innumerable. But the most pathetic scenes in the history of our nation occurred in the Palace of

HOLYROOD

the Stewart kings at Holyrood. Although, in many respects, a brilliant and distinguished race, the sad fate which overtook most of the Stewart occupants of the Scottish throne forms a chronicle of disaster without parallel in the history of any other royal family in Europe. Of the five kings who all bore the name of James and ruled successively from the year 1406 down to 1542, no fewer than four met with violent deaths. Two, James I. and his grandson, James III., were murdered; while the Second James was killed through the accidental bursting of a bombard during the siege of Roxburgh Castle. The Fourth King James—the noblest of the Stewarts—was slain on the fatal field of Flodden, and his son James V. died at Falkland Palace of a broken heart, induced through the misbehaviour of his turbulent nobility at the battle of Solway Moss. It is, however, with the tragic story of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, that the Palace of Holyrood is most closely associated. After a residence in France of thirteen years—the happiest period of her life—Mary returned to her native land in 1561, to fill what in the interval had become an impossible situation. The tragedy of her life then began, but her high spirit and indomitable courage never failed her, and the attractive personality which so charmed the courtiers of Henry II. of France still maintains its glamour, after centuries of intervening years, over the peoples of Western Europe and of America.

Both Palace and Abbey continued to be associated with the declining fortunes of the Stewarts; with Charles I. who was executed in front of Whitehall; with James II. who sacrificed his kingdom for the sake of his Church; and with Prince Charles—the bonnie Prince Charlie of Scottish song—who in 1745 attempted in vain to regain the throne so foolishly lost by his grandfather. This formed the termina-

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

tion of an old and romantic story ; but the crown which the Stewarts wore, their sceptre, and their sword of state, along with the other articles forming what is now known as the regalia, are still preserved as of yore in the Castle of Edinburgh.

I

It was the beautiful situation and lovely surroundings of his favourite Abbey of Holyrood, or Holy Cross, as well as its close proximity to Edinburgh, that caused King James IV. to erect his Palace on its present site. The Abbey itself was founded by King David I., who ascended the Scottish throne in the year 1124. He was the son of the rugged and martial Malcolm Ceanmor, the founder of Scottish nationality, and of the famous Queen Margaret who, one hundred and fifty-seven years after her death, was canonized as Saint Margaret of Scotland. At the battle of Hastings in 1066, the Norman invaders under William the Conqueror defeated and slew Harold, the English king, and within the short space of two years the Saxon royal family, then represented by Edgar Atheling and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, were forced to seek shelter in Scotland. Margaret was one of the noblest types of womanhood that have ever adorned the pages of recorded history, and her marriage with King Malcolm may be said to mark the dawn of civilization in our country. Her husband was treacherously slain, and her eldest son mortally wounded at Alnwick, and the sad news, when announced to her by her son Edgar, broke her gentle heart. She died in Edinburgh Castle on 16th November 1093. Her influence was demonstrated in the beneficent reigns of three of

HOLYROOD

her sons, who, each in turn, succeeded to the throne; and of these David I. was the last and the most notable. He proved a capable ruler, and his deep religious convictions found active expression in the founding and endowing of religious houses. Indeed, as a builder of churches and monasteries, he was probably without an equal among all the other princes, English or Continental, of his time; and all these institutions he liberally endowed with large tracts of land, etc., belonging to the Crown. He thereby greatly impoverished the royal purse, and it is not surprising that our Scottish Solomon, James I. (of Britain), should have designated him with cynical humour as “ane sair sanct for the Crown!” Shortly after his accession, King David brought from St Andrews a colony of Augustinian canons-regular, and established them in the Castle of Edinburgh, which, during his reign, was known as the Castle of the Maidens—the word “Maiden” being a corruption of the Gaelic *may-din*, a fort—or, in Latin, *Castellum Puellarum*. After a residence of two or three years in the Castle, the inconvenience of its situation as the site of a convent became apparent, and it was then that the King fixed upon the present position for his new abbey. The foundation charter is not now extant, but we learn from the Chronicle of Holyrood, that it was in the year 1128 that the work of construction was commenced—*cepit fundari ecclesia Sancte Crucis de Edenesburgh*. This Chronicle was written by one of the monks of Holyrood about forty or fifty years after the above-mentioned date. Three deeds in the Panmure charter chest, dated *circa* 1130, prove that it was at this period that the canons transferred their residence from the Castle to their permanent quarters at Holyrood. The first of these writs is a confirmation by the Bishop of St Andrews, within whose diocese Edinburgh was then included, of a grant by King David of their

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

old church in the Castle, and of those of St Cuthbert's, Corstorphine and four others with all their possessions, as well as the lands of Broughton and Inverleith. The building of their great church occupied many busy years, and it is now believed that the choir with its apse and crossing was the only portion actually finished during David's reign. It was erected in the Norman style of architecture introduced into Scotland by his mother, Queen Margaret; but the only part now remaining is a Norman doorway at the south-east angle of the nave. Internally, the choir was originally 108 feet 6 inches in length and about 73 feet in width; while the total length of the church was 267 feet 4 inches. The first abbot was Alwyn, the Confessor to the King, and we obtain, from a seal appended to a notification by him in 1141, a representation of the little wooden church utilized by the monks during the interval when the choir was in the process of erection.

Toward the Cross generally, as a symbol of Christian devotion, David had, like his mother, a special regard, and he therefore bestowed upon this abbey the name of the Holy Cross in its Latinized version, or in our vernacular, that of Holyrood. It has also been suggested that this title was derived from the famous Black Rood of Scotland, a relic regarded by the Scots with awe and veneration approaching almost to fear. Originally part of the Saxon royal treasure, it was brought to this country by Queen Margaret, and when on her death-bed in the Castle, it was the last object of veneration on which she gazed. She bequeathed it as an heirloom to her children, and when not carried about by our sovereigns in their wanderings throughout the country, it was probably preserved in her little oratory in the Castle. It is unlikely, therefore, that the Black Rood had any connection with the designation of King David's

HOLYROOD

Abbey of Holyrood. Owing to its proximity to Salisbury Crags, our historian, Fordun, refers to the Abbey as the monastery of the Crag of the Holy Rood or Cross, and even so late as the year 1237, from its old connection with the Castle, it is described in a Papal bull as the Monastery of the Holy Rood of the Castle of the Maidens.

Four years ago the outlines of the choir were traced under the authority of his present Majesty George V., and in the course of the work of excavation, there were laid bare the substantial foundations of an ancient Celtic chapel. It was undoubtedly the veneration attached to this little building that induced David to fix upon the site for the erection of his Abbey, and to enclose its foundations within the area of the choir, the most sacred portion of his church. In the course of time a legend regarding the origin of Holyrood arose which was ultimately engrossed in the pages of the old Service Book, or Holyrood Ordinale—written probably in the first quarter of the fifteenth century—and repeated in Bellenden's translation of Boece's history of Scotland. It appears that the wide tract of land from the western boundary of the Burgh Muir round to Holyrood was, in the twelfth century, "ane gret forest full of hartis, hyndis, toddis (foxes), and siclike maner of beastis," which was then known as the forest of Drumselch—the hunting hill—and now as Drumsheugh. This was the favourite hunting ground of King David when residing in the Castle. Now, the Festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross—Holyrood Day, in other words—was annually celebrated on the 14th September, and it is related that on one of these occasions King David, after attending mass, had been persuaded, contrary to the advice of Alwyn, his confessor, to join a number of his younger barons in a hunting expedition. Amid "sic noyis and dyn of rachis (hounds) and bugillis

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

that all the beatis war raisit fra their dennys (dens)," the gallant company rode swiftly through the forest until, on reaching the valley at the foot of Salisbury Crags, the King, in the ardour of the chase, found himself separated from all his companions. Here he was fiercely charged by "the fairest hart that ever was sene . . . with awful and braid tyndis (antlers)," and thrown to the ground. To save himself from injury the King endeavoured to seize the animal by the antlers, but, instead, he found himself grasping a cross, at the sight of which the stag—the Evil One, no doubt!—fled "away with great violence and euanist (vanished) in the same place quhare now springis the Rude Well." The incident was followed by a dream in which the King was admonished to build an abbey on the scene of his miraculous deliverance. This mythical story was probably invented about two hundred years or more after the King's death for the purpose of shedding over the building the mystery of a divine origin.

II

THE great charter, popularly, although erroneously, designated the Foundation Charter of Holyrood, and now preserved among the City archives, forms the best exponent of the munificence of the King towards his new Abbey. It is undated, but was executed somewhere between the years 1143 and 1147. In this deed there is engrossed a long list of gifts of heritable and other securities of almost every conceivable nature, together with three rights of great importance. The first was "the right of battle, water, and hot iron, so far as belongs to ecclesiastical dignity": that is to say, the canons

HOLYROOD

were created a superior court of judicature, before which questions, particularly of a criminal nature, were to be decided by the wager of battle, by the dreadful ordeal of floating instead of sinking in a river, or that of walking over red-hot iron. The next important gift was the right of sanctuary within the walls of the Abbey to all offenders, civil or criminal—even to murderers—fleeing from justice; and lastly, the canons were empowered to establish a burgh, ultimately designated the Canongate, lying between the Abbey and the King's burgh of Edinburgh. It is unnecessary to narrate in detail the many other munificent benefactions, royal, clerical and lay, by which the Abbey soon became the fourth wealthiest in the country.

The present ruins of what is now styled the Chapel Royal constitute only the nave of the original Conventual Church of Holyrood, and the Norman doorway on the south side marks the last portion of the building erected during the lifetime of King David I. After his death in 1153, building operations seem to have been suspended for a period of nearly forty years, and it was probably during the last decade of the twelfth century that the northern aisle was erected. The transition style is here strongly marked by an arcade of interlacing rounded arches springing from single shafts, the capitals of which have richly carved foliage and square abaci (see Plate No. IV.). Somewhere about the year 1250, the remainder of the nave was completed in the Early English Gothic style with pointed lancet windows; but the glory of the building consisted in the beautiful doorway flanked by two square towers—of which only one now survives—at the western front. The cloister in which the canons read and meditated, together with the domestic buildings, stood on the south side of the nave—now partially occupied by the

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

eastern portion of the present palace; while of the chapter-house, which was an octagonal-shaped building situated to the south of the choir, only a portion of the foundations remains. According to the rules of their Order, the canons occupied themselves day and night in the celebration of the divine offices: hence their church formed the most important part of the monastery. Of these ancient monuments of Christian devotion Carlyle, our great Scottish moralist and philosopher, remarks with sympathetic truth: "Had thou and I then been, who knows but we ourselves had taken refuge from an evil time, and fled to dwell here, and meditate on eternity in such fashion as we could. Alas, how like an old osseous fragment, a broken, blackened shinbone of the old dead ages, this black ruin looks out, not yet covered by the soil, still indicating what a once gigantic life lies buried there! It is dead now, and dumb; but it was alive once, and spoke."

III

THE last decade of the thirteenth century witnessed the commencement of the dreadful War of Independence. Edward I. of England, in the pretended guise of arbiter in the disputed succession to the Scottish throne, entered Edinburgh on 10th July 1291, and spent a night in the royal apartments in the Castle. Adam, then Abbot of Holyrood, became an adherent of the English, and one of their commissioners for examination of the Scottish records. In that capacity he was a consenting party to the carrying off by the English of many of our national muniments, treasures, and relics from the

HOLYROOD

Castle. Five years later, the English king made his second appearance in Edinburgh, this time as a conqueror, and resided in the Abbey of Holyrood from the 6th to the 13th of June. In the month of August, Abbot Adam again took the oath of allegiance to Edward, and, in return, was granted a restitution of the lands belonging to the Abbey. In 1322 the Abbey received its first baptism of fire at the hands of the English invaders. Five years later, the immortal King Robert the Bruce held a Parliament at Holyrood, when arrangements were made for an invasion of England; and in 1343, his son and successor, David II., specially recognized the Abbey Church as the royal chapel, and appointed the Abbot his principal chaplain. During the invasion by Edward III., at the head of an enormous army in 1355, many religious houses suffered, including in all probability that of Holyrood. King David died in 1371, and was buried in the choir of the Abbey Church. At his death the crown went to Robert, the only son of Walter the sixth Steward of Scotland by Marjorie, daughter of Robert the Bruce. This Robert II. was, therefore, the first of the unfortunate house of Stewart, and the grant by him of the site for a house in the Castle of Edinburgh, to which the canons could fly for shelter, may be accepted as a sign of the general insecurity of the times. In 1381, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and fourth son of Edward III., was hospitably entertained by the canons when a fugitive from England. Four years later the Abbey again underwent the dread ordeal of fire at the hands of Richard II., but in the year 1400 Henry IV., in recognition of the kindness formerly extended to his father John of Gaunt, generously restrained his troops from inflicting any damage on the buildings.

The third of the Stewart line was James I., who, on his return, in

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

1424, from a captivity in England of eighteen years, endeavoured to suppress with a strong hand the appalling disorders under which the country suffered. One of the most powerful of his rebels was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, who in 1429, during a service held in the Abbey on the eve of St Augustine, suddenly appeared dressed only in a shirt and drawers, which, as Mr Lang observes, was probably the prevailing Highland costume of the period. Falling on his knees, and holding his naked sword by the point, he presented it to the King in token of submission. His life was graciously spared, but he was sent a prisoner to Tantallon Castle. From this date Holyrood became the favourite residence of the Stewarts, and it was here that the Queen gave birth, in the following year, to twin princes, the elder of whom died in infancy. King James was a poet of considerable distinction, and, in the "King's Quair," his courtship with his Queen, Joan, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, is portrayed in sweet verse worthy of a true poet. After his assassination at Perth, his son, James II., was anointed and crowned at Holyrood on 25th March 1437. The marriage of this prince to the capable Mary of Gueldres was also solemnized at Holyrood, and it was there, after the fatal accident in 1460 at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, that his body found its last resting-place.

It was during the reign of his successor, the gentle and artistic James III., that the Abbey Church underwent a complete course of repair at the hands of the then Abbot, Archibald Crawford. On the northern front of the nave he erected seven buttresses, enriched with niches for statues and other carvings, from which flying arches projected, to support the clerestory. On the southern side of the fabric a series of buttresses were also built so as not to interfere with the cloister walk, and from these flying arches were carried over the

HOLYROOD

cloister roof to the south aisle, from which, in turn, a second series was projected to the clerestory. The Abbot is said to have had his coat of arms plentifully bespattered over the building.

On the 13th of July 1469, the marriage of James III. with Margaret, daughter of Christiern I., King of Denmark, was celebrated at the Abbey Church with great magnificence, and it was in connection with this marriage that the Isles of Orkney and Shetland were pledged by her father for payment of her dowry. Crawford's successor in the Abbacy was the well-known Robert Bellenden, who gifted to the Abbey the great bells, a font of brass, and several chalices of silver and one of gold.

IV

WHILE the Abbey had become a favourite resort of royalty, it appears from the Exchequer Rolls that about the time of the coronation of James II. the accommodation had been found insufficient, and that either a portion of the domestic apartments must have been handed over for the permanent use of the Court, or new buildings erected. At last, his approaching marriage with Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. of England, caused King James IV. to decide upon the erection of a suitable palace at Holyrood on the site which had now become recognized as the seat of government. Dr Thomas Ross, our present authority on architectural research, is strongly of opinion that the great north-western tower, with its four turrets, was, to a large extent, the handiwork of this king, who may also have added certain of the other buildings. An arched gatehouse was also erected over the entrance to the courtyard, and

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

on it the royal arms were emblazoned in gold. Accompanied by a large retinue under the charge of the grim Earl of Surrey, the youthful Princess — she was barely fourteen years of age, and of small physique — reached the Castle of Dalkeith on the 3rd of August 1503, and four days later she made her state entry into Edinburgh. It was a day of great public rejoicing, because it was believed that the long and ghastly feud between the two nations would now cease for ever. On the following day the royal marriage was solemnized in the Abbey Church by the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the wedding festivities terminated on the 13th, when the English guests returned to their own country laden with substantial proofs of the King's generosity. One amusing incident remains to be mentioned. It seems that the great length of his beard did not, in the estimation of the English ladies, conform to the canons of good taste, and he had only been a Benedict for one day, when he was forced to submit to its curtailment at the hands of the Countess of Surrey and her daughter, Lady Gray. From the Accounts we learn that the King, in return for this service, presented these ladies with pieces of cloth of gold to the value of £510, and this, as a recent historian observes, forms probably the largest barber's fee on record! Towards the Earl of Surrey, the King displayed considerable friendship, and thereby roused the jealousy of his poor little Queen, who wrote from the Palace a somewhat pathetic letter of complaint to her father, King Henry. It was through this marriage that their great grandson James VI., a century afterwards, succeeded to the throne of England.

HOLYROOD

V

THE Abbey Church of Holyrood was the scene of another important ceremony in the year 1507, when King James was presented by the Legate for Pope Julius II. with a consecrated hat, a sword of state and its embroidered belt. The two latter are now preserved in the crown room in the Castle. During the summer of the year 1513, King James, at the instigation of France, declared war against England. On the 19th of August he quitted Holyrood for the English borders, and, three weeks later, was defeated and slain on the unhappy field of Flodden. He is remembered in history as the noblest of the Stewarts, and it was during his reign that Scotland enjoyed its solitary gleam of prosperity from the year 1296 until after the Union of 1707. He was a man of a romantic and chivalrous disposition, and never forgave himself for the share he had unwittingly taken when a boy in the rebellion of 1488, which terminated in the murder of his father. As a penance and token of remorse, he wore an iron belt round his waist up to the day of his death.

In 1524 the Queen Mother with the boy king, James V., suddenly appeared in Edinburgh, and rode, amid the acclamations of the populace, to Holyrood, where the King "tuik up hous, with all office men requisite for his estate." Five years afterwards he began the great work of extending and completing the Palace founded by his father, and its appearance at the close of his reign may be gauged from the drawing by an English officer during the invasion of 1544 (see Plate No. VI.). He is credited with the erection of the southern turret in which his own apartments were placed. In the Accounts there is mention of a drawbridge, and there must

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

therefore have been a moat. King James established the Supreme Courts of Justice in 1532, and it was his custom to visit these Courts *incognito*. Under his bedroom window in the southern turret of the Palace there was a small yett or door, through which he was wont to emerge on his midnight rambles; and the little cap preserved in Queen Mary's bedroom is alleged to have been part of his disguise as the "gudeman of Ballengeich." During his reign the progress of the Reformation was marked by two important trials at Holyrood for heresy, at both of which he was present.

King James V. was the recipient of many distinctions from foreign courts, including the Order of the Garter, which was conferred upon him in the Abbey Church on 21st February 1535. In September of the following year he sailed to France, where he married Madeline, eldest daughter of Francis I. The young queen suffered from consumption, and, to the grief of the nation, died within two months after her arrival at Holyrood. On 22nd February 1539, King James' second wife, Marie of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke of Guise and widow of the Duke of Longueville, was crowned at Holyrood, with great ceremony. One permanent improvement on the royal demesne at Holyrood, was the purchase, in 1541, of the lands of Duddingston, a portion of which is still included in the King's Park. The misbehaviour of his nobles at Solway Moss broke the King's heart, and he retired to Falkland Palace, where he died on 14th December 1542, leaving his unstable throne to Mary, his infant daughter.

VI

IN furtherance of what the English termed the "godly purpose of marriage" between the two infants, Queen Mary and Prince Edward of

HOLYROOD

England, Edinburgh was destroyed in May 1544, by a force under the command of the Earl of Hertford, when both the Palace and Abbey of Holyrood suffered in the general ruin. The brass font and the lectern of the Abbey Church were also carried off by Sir Richard Lee, and the latter now adorns the chancel of St Stephen's Church at St Albans in England. It was, however, during his invasion of 1547 that Hertford—now designated the Lord Protector Somerset—excelled. English writers claim that he spared the already ruined Palace and confined his destructive efforts to the Abbey; but it is quite apparent that, on his departure in 1547, the only portions left standing were the north-western tower of the Palace, and the nave of the Abbey. The buildings remained in this condition until the appointment in 1554 of the Queen Dowager, Marie of Lorraine, to the Regency. This talented lady restored the great tower and rebuilt the remainder of the Palace after the French style, with large windows facing the west. The drawing by Gordon of Rothiemay (see Plate No. VIII.) furnishes a fair idea of the Palace as restored. Owing to the complete destruction of the choir and transepts of the Abbey Church, Queen Marie confined her efforts at restoration to the nave, which, out of the ruined Norman masonry, she was enabled to complete by erecting a large window between the pillars at the east end flanked by other two of a smaller size. The Reformers have been blamed for the mutilation of the Abbey, but, from the statement of the Commendator in 1571, the vandalism must be ascribed to the Protector Somerset. In 1559 the Queen Dowager purchased from Dean James Abircrumby, one of the Canons of Holyrood, "his yarde lyand in the north-west side of the palice of Halierudehous maid in (into) ane garding for her Grace"; and in the middle of last century Queen Victoria re-erected in the

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

centre of this garden the remarkable sundial carved for the coronation of Charles I. in 1633 by John Milne, the royal master mason, and his two sons. The head, on which the initials of King Charles and his Queen Henrietta Maria appear, presents twenty facets, each a dial, although originally it had twenty-nine gnomons to indicate the hour. The ancient garden of the Queen Dowager still shines brilliantly with the flowers of summer, particularly with the old Scottish pansies and violas, which here find a congenial home (see Plate No. XXIX).

The destruction of the religious houses at Perth in May 1559 signalized the practical opening of the Reformation under John Knox, and on the 30th June the Abbey Church was "purified"; that is to say, the images and other monuments of the Roman Church were destroyed. But in the autumn the frenzy of the "rascal multitude" seems to have spent itself, and in this crisis Knox appealed to Queen Elizabeth for military help. After some delay, an English force entered Scotland, and on its approach in the spring of the following year, the Queen Dowager quitted Holyrood and retired to the Castle, where she died under pathetic circumstances at midnight on the 10th June. Under the Treaty of Edinburgh the French troops quitted these shores, never to return; and on the 24th of August 1560 the Reformation was proclaimed by the Estates of Parliament.

The youthful Mary Queen of Scots, who had been taken to France when only five years of age, was married in April 1558 to the Dauphin Francois, son of Henry II., and in the month of July, the event was celebrated by a pompous service at Holyrood. Francois succeeded to the French throne on 10th July 1559, and died at Orleans on 5th December 1560. The French Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, was opposed to Mary Stewart as a daughter of the House of Guise, and,

HOLYROOD

in response to a request from home, Queen Mary resolved to return to Scotland.

VII

AT six o'clock on the morning of 19th August 1561, two French ships under the command of her uncle Francis of Lorraine, Grand Prior of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in France, cast anchor in Leith Roads, and announced by their guns the return to her native land of Mary Stewart, at that time Queen Dowager of France. Among her escort were other two of her uncles, the Dukes d'Aumale and d'Elboeuf, Brantôme the French historian, and Châtelard a young French poet. Her arrival was unexpected, and after some delay she and her retinue rode to Holyrood, where she found one of her illegitimate brothers, Lord Robert Stewart, awaiting her. He was the Commendator or lay Abbot of Holyrood, and Mary took up her abode, for the time, at his house, which was attached to the northern side of the Palace. Of Holyrood Brantôme speaks with much enthusiasm, and declares that it was undoubtedly a fine building and not in keeping with the country. The large western windows and the internal fittings were constructed after the latest French fashion by the French master masons introduced in the time of James V. and the Queen Dowager. There was also a well-filled library carpeted with green cloth, as well as a richly furnished chapel. Of the Queen, who was only eighteen years of age and, therefore, in the bloom of her youth and beauty, few authentic contemporary portraits have been preserved; and it is to be remembered that, prior to the beginning of the seventeenth century,

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

a portrait painter laboured under great disadvantages. He had to be content with only one, or at most very few, sittings—just sufficient to enable him to make a careful drawing in outline of the features, figure, and dress of his sitter, and to depend, in finishing the painting, upon rough notes as to the colour of the eyes, hair, costume, etc. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, the portraits of those days should fail, as in the case of Queen Mary, to convey any idea of the individuality, character, or expression of the sitters. From the contemporary portraits we gather that her features may be thought handsome rather than beautiful; but it was the winning vivacity that beamed through her eyes, and her high joyous spirit, that formed her greatest attraction. Her eyes, according to the latest authority, were “decidedly brown, sometimes of a yellowish hue (hazel), but more frequently of an absolutely reddish colour like chestnut and the paint known to artists as burnt sienna,” and there was no question as to their “starlike brightness.” Her hair was of a “yellowish auburn hue with dark shades in it, such as might be expected from the daughter of a Stewart and the grand-daughter of a Tudor on the one side, and the daughter of the fair-haired Marie de Guise on the other.” Brantôme, by whom Mary was greatly beloved, described it as *blonds et cendrez*. Owing to her misfortunes and long imprisonment, her hair turned grey at the early age of thirty-five, and she made use of false hair or of perukes of a dark colour approaching even to black. At her execution she wore an auburn peruke. She delighted in donning the Highland costume as then worn by ladies, and had her portrait painted in that garb. Brantôme, who had seen her in that dress, tells us that she looked like a goddess—*une vraie déesse*. This garment,

HOLYROOD

as described by Bishop Leslie—and which he assures us was very becoming—consisted of a long loose cloak of damask, usually embroidered, thrown over a gown which reached to the ankles. Of these Highland mantles the Queen had three—one white, another blue, and the third of black frieze *passemé* with gold, and lined with black taffeta. Randolph, the English ambassador, seems to have been much impressed by the youthful buoyancy of the Queen's spirits, and, in the autumn of 1562, he wrote that although Mary had a coach—a rarity in those days—she preferred to ride on horseback, with a steel bonnet on her head and a pistol at her saddle-bow, regretting only, as she declared, that she was not a man to learn “what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and a knapsack, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword!” But, withal, she conducted herself with prudence and propriety to the despair of Knox, who, says a recent biographer, was conscientiously “resolved to ruin or to rule her.”

Unfortunately the country was in the throes of a religious revolution. The general body of the people was fiercely attached to the reformed doctrines as expounded by John Knox, while she herself favoured the old Roman faith. Another source of danger lay in the unstable and selfish character of her nobility; and, across the border, there was a silent opponent, Queen Elizabeth, whose secret, and latterly open, enmity Mary could never appease. On the Sunday after her arrival from France, the first mutterings of the tragedy of her life were heard. The celebration of mass in the Royal Chapel in the Palace roused the populace to anger, and it was only the action of her illegitimate brother, the Lord James, afterwards the well-known Earl of Moray, that prevented an

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

outbreak. On the second of September she made her state entry into Edinburgh. Accompanied by a large cavalcade of her nobility she rode from Holyrood by way of the Lang Gait, now represented by Princes Street, and the north castle bank to the Castle, where she dined in the noble banqueting hall. At the Castle-hill she found the citizens impatiently awaiting her arrival, and, escorted by a company of young men dressed in Moorish garb, with a canopy of purple held over her head, she and her cavalcade rode slowly down the High Street to Holyrood. The central figure of the Reformation in Scotland was John Knox, and with this rugged reformer Mary had altogether five unsatisfactory interviews. Indeed, of the fourth, Knox tells us with great exultation, that her French valet could scarcely get napkins "to hold hyr eyes drye for the tearis! and the owling (howling), besides womanlie weaping, stayed her speiche." The Reformation constitutes the great memorial of Knox's life, but his methods towards his youthful sovereign, and, indeed, towards many of those from whom he differed in opinion, cannot be recalled without regret. At this period, the ministers asserted a personal right of control over both Church and State that far exceeded in violence the demands of the clergy of the Roman Church which they had supplanted. But history only repeats itself. In all ages and among denominations of every shade of religious opinion, the same phenomenon has been witnessed; and, in this way, the protest of the Protestants for toleration was, for the time, swamped in Scotland by the craving for domination. One exception our Reformers did grant, perhaps grudgingly, in favour of the Queen. The ancient Abbey Church was handed to the parishioners of the Canongate; but Mary was permitted to exercise the rites of her own religion in the Chapel Royal of the Palace.

HOLYROOD

VIII

THE first few years of Mary's life at Holyrood were passed pleasantly in a round of gaieties with which she strove to amuse her rude nobility; and it may be mentioned that her annual jointure as Queen Dowager of France was 60,000 livres, a sum subsequently estimated by her English jailors as equivalent to £12,000 sterling. In addition, she had brought with her to this country, as her own personal property, what has been described as the finest and most valuable collection of jewellery to be seen at that time in Europe. We learn, also, from the inventories now extant that in 1562 she possessed no fewer than sixty gowns made of cloth of gold, or of silver, velvet, satin, or silk, as well as various other articles of apparel, including a specimen of the famous farthingale. The Queen delighted much in dancing and in music, and her entertainments consisted of balls, banquets, musical parties, and, in particular, of the holding of masques or masquerades which in those days had become a common form of amusement in Western Europe. The words for these masques were written in Latin verse by George Buchanan, the great Scottish humanist. She also made excursions on horseback to different parts of the country, and greatly enjoyed going to the hunt in the wilds of the Highlands. When free from these engagements, Mary spent her time among the ladies of her court in her private apartments at Holyrood, where she was attended by Mademoiselle de Pinguillon and her four Marys—Mary Fleming, Mary Beaton, Mary Seton, and Mary Livingston. These ladies had formed "the four maidis of honour quha passit with hir Hieness in France, of hir awin aige, bering the name, everie ane, of Marie." The Queen was a famous

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

needlewoman, and here she worked at embroidery and other needlework to the strains of music, or to the recital from a book of some interesting story by one of her ladies. Randolph reported to Cecil, Elizabeth's chief minister, that Mary "readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr George Buchanan, somewhat of Livy," and the records prove that she possessed a well-stocked library and was a great lover of books. There were two gardens belonging to the Palace in which she also spent many pleasant hours—the one on the south side, of which her grandfather, James IV., was the creator, and the other, her mother's garden already referred to, on the north-western side of the Palace. At the former were butts for archery, in which she excelled, and near the latter was the tennis court with the picturesque little building now known by the absurd name of "Queen Mary's Bath." It was probably erected in connection with the tennis court as a retiring room for the ladies.

IX

THE spring of the year 1563 was clouded by the insane behaviour of the French poet, Châtelard, a youth who possessed none of the attributes of his illustrious ancestor, the famous Bayard, the Knight *sans peur et sans reproche*. His poetical and musical accomplishments had gained for him some consideration among his patrons, and, encouraged by the Queen's condescension, the young blackguard, during her absence, concealed himself under the bed in her chamber at Holyrood. In this ignominious position he was soon discovered by her attendants, and Mary, when informed next morning of the occurrence, ordered him

HOLYROOD

to quit the Palace and never again to appear in her presence. Misunderstanding the Queen's generosity, the vain and presumptuous fool had the audacity to repeat the offence at Rossend Castle near Burntisland, but this time with fatal results to himself. He was taken to St Andrews, where, after trial before the usual tribunal, he was executed on 22nd February 1563.

It is remarkable that the destinies of both England and Scotland should have fallen into the hands of two female sovereigns, and that Mary, in the event of Elizabeth having no lawful issue, should have also occupied the unique position of heir to the English throne. In the course of time the English queen had developed a strange infatuation for Robert Dudley, whom she created Earl of Leicester, and the opportune and mysterious death of his wife, the hapless Amy Robsart, had greatly shocked Europe. It was necessary that Mary should re-enter the married state, and it was her wish, before doing so, to arrive at some agreement with Elizabeth as to her rights of succession to the English throne; but the virgin Queen was obstinate and unwilling to recognise Mary as her successor. It also became her policy to prevent Mary's marriage, or, at least, to force her into wedlock in some direction that could in no way endanger her own sovereignty. During the years 1563 and 1564 a series of intrigues ensued, with the object of obtaining either Don Carlos of Spain or a member of the Emperor's family as a consort to the Scottish Queen; and at last, in March 1564, Randolph, on Elizabeth's behalf, laid before Mary the farcical offer of Robert Dudley, her own special favourite. The proposal was too absurd even for consideration; but the return, after twenty-two years of exile in England, of Matthew, Earl of Lennox and father of Lord Darnley, sealed the fate of the unfortunate Mary

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

Stewart. Darnley, through his mother, was the next claimant, after Mary, to the English crown.

X

ON 19th January 1565 the Queen left Holyrood for St Andrews, whence, after a short residence, she journeyed slowly homewards through Fife. At Wemyss Castle she had her first interview with Darnley, whom Mary humourously described to Sir James Melville as the "properest and best-proportioned long man that she had ever seen." He was then nineteen years of age, and, therefore, four years younger than the Queen. On her return to Holyrood, Darnley became a regular visitor, and on 26th February he was entertained to supper by Moray in his house, known as Croft-an-Righ, adjoining the palace, where he met and danced with the Queen. In the following month their betrothal took place, and with the consent of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, fortified by a dispensation from the Pope, the marriage was celebrated in the old Chapel Royal of the Palace after the Roman Catholic form of ritual on Sunday, the 29th of July. Darnley placed three rings, one of them ornamented with a rich diamond, on the Queen's finger. The ceremony was followed by a splendid banquet and ball; a largesse in money was liberally distributed among the domestics of the palace, and the rejoicings continued for three or four days. On Monday, the 30th, Mary granted Darnley the title of King, although she was careful to exclude the powers usually attached to that dignity. The bestowal of this nominal title became the genesis of all her subsequent troubles. It displeased Darnley, who, although wholly unfit for the position, never ceased to intrigue for the

HOLYROOD

“crown-matrimonial,” while it was the cause of much offence to the nobility. A powerful coalition, headed by the Earl of Moray, was formed; but ultimately this Earl and several of his conspirators were compelled to fly into England for shelter, and at this juncture the notorious Earl of Bothwell, with whom Moray was at feud, took advantage of his absence to return to Scotland. The Queen and her husband remained in Holyrood during the winter of 1565-6, and, in the beginning of February, Darnley was invested in the Chapel Royal with the French Order of St Michael. In the meantime two conspiracies were in active progress, having as their object the dethronement of the Queen, and the murder of David Riccio, her secretary, who, from being a singer in the royal choir, had gradually risen through sheer ability to this important position. Mary’s dream of happiness through her marriage with Darnley was soon shattered. He proved to be both a drunkard and a profligate, and his wild excesses outraged her feelings as a woman and a queen, and estranged her love; while his haughty and insufferably insolent bearing towards the nobles roused against him numerous enemies. But the conspirators skilfully secured his adhesion by exciting his jealousy of Riccio, and, above all, by a promise, which they had no intention of fulfilling, of the crown-matrimonial. Mary was then more than six months pregnant, and, as the murder was to be carried out in her apartments, if not actually in her presence, her death would also in all probability follow. If she survived the outrage, she was to be sent a prisoner to Stirling to nurse her infant. Bonds for the due fulfilment of the dastardly scheme were signed by each of the plotters; and Darnley undertook to protect them from the evil consequences of their act. The Earl of Moray, Mary’s bastard brother and ringleader of the

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

assassins, signed the bond in England. Now, Randolph, the English ambassador, enjoyed the confidence of at least some of the conspirators, and had reported the names of the signatories to the bonds some weeks before the execution of the foul deed. And yet, Queen Elizabeth not only remained silent; but, to aid the cause against her sister Queen, large sums of English gold were secretly distributed among the Scottish nobility. For this base act Randolph was formally dismissed by Mary, and escorted across the border. Darnley became impatient at the delay in carrying out the plot, and complained to Ruthven; but, then, he was unaware that the date of its execution depended entirely upon the movements of Moray, whose journey from England was to be so timed that he should only make his appearance at Holyrood *twenty-four hours after* the commission of the crime.

About seven o'clock on the evening of Saturday, 9th March 1566, Mary, with five others—among whom was the unfortunate Italian—was seated at supper in the little boudoir attached to her bedroom in the north-west wing of the Palace, when Darnley, in a semi-drunken condition, entered the room, and in pretended affection placed his arm round her waist. He and his fellow conspirators made use of the private staircase that connected the two royal bedrooms. The appearance of Lord Ruthven, dressed in a suit of armour and pale from severe illness, roused the Queen to anger, and, with that dignity which she could so well assume when necessary, she ordered him to leave the apartment; but at this moment the room was quickly filled by the plotters. The table was knocked over and fell upon the Queen, and Riccio in his fear sprang behind her and clutched her gown. Darnley thereupon endeavoured to unfasten his grasp; and, while the brutal Ker of Faldonside presented a threatening pistol at Mary, George

HOLYROOD

Douglas, snatching the King's dagger from its sheath, plunged it over the Queen's shoulder into the body of the wretched victim. Here it was left sticking with the object of compromising the King. The unfortunate Italian was then dragged to the door of the audience chamber, where he expired after receiving no fewer than fifty-six wounds. The Queen's friends, perceiving the impossibility of effecting any resistance against so numerous a band, made their escape, but next morning the alarm reached the city. The bells were rung, and a number of the citizens proceeded to the Palace, only to be assured by Darnley that all was well. Then, acting as if he were in possession of the crown-matrimonial, the infatuated youth ordered the Estates of Parliament to disperse. In the evening, as pre-arranged, Moray and the exiled nobles arrived at Holyrood, and, on seeing him, Mary embraced and kissed him, declaring that had he "bene at hame he wald not have sufferit hir to have been sa uncourtesly handlit." At this time she was ignorant of the part that this man, her own half-brother, had secretly played in the murderous conspiracy against her life. He pretended to be greatly moved at the sight of her distress, and we are assured that "tearis fell from his eyn!" On the Monday she extracted from Darnley the main facts of the plot, and the weak traitor not only disavowed his confederates, but ended by deserting them. The conspirators became alarmed for their own safety, and, as an inducement to her to sign a general pardon in their favour, they all quitted the Palace. The guards were removed, and under the cover of night the Queen, accompanied by her husband, Arthur Erskine the Captain of her guard, and a lady-in-waiting, slipped out by the north-eastern doorway to the stables, where they took horse and rode to Dunbar Castle, a distance of twenty-five miles.

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

On the 17th the conspirators left Edinburgh, and their leaders again sought refuge in England. John Knox, also, thought it prudent, "with ane great murnyng (mourning) of the Godlie," to efface himself for a time in the wilds of Argyllshire. On the following day, the Queen, escorted by Bothwell, Huntly, Seton, and a cavalcade of two or three thousand of their followers, entered the city in triumph. Here she took up her residence in the High Street until the month of June, when she removed to the Castle to await her confinement which she seems, perhaps not unnaturally, to have viewed with considerable apprehension. Assembling her nobles round her, she made her testament or will, but, although three copies were executed, not one is now known to be extant. The original Testamentary Inventory of her jewels attached to the principal will has fortunately been preserved, and from it we learn that it was her desire to die on charitable terms with every one. Two hundred and fifty-three articles are enumerated in this document, and on the margin the Queen has written with her own hand the name of the person to whom each was to be given in the event of the death of herself and her child. To both Darnley and Moray she left valuable gifts, and the bequests to the former included a diamond ring, enamelled in red, against which she wrote—"It was with this ring that I was married; I leave it to the King who gave it to me." It was to the Scottish Crown that she bequeathed her choicest gems, of which the "Great Harry with the letter H containing a great diamond and a great ruby"—gifted to her by her father-in-law, Henry II. of France—was the most important; while seven of her largest diamonds were to be preserved as ornaments for the queens of Scotland.

HOLYROOD

tous mes ouvrages maches & collets
aus quatre maries a ien Stuart a marie
arsquin sonder land & a toutes les
filles
marier

Note in Queen Mary's handwriting on the Testamentary Inventory of her jewels.

*"Tous mes ouvrages maches et collets aus quatre Maries a Iene Stuart a Marie Arsqwin
Sonderland et a toutes les filles."*

At last, on the 19th June 1566, the guns of the Castle saluted the birth of the prince who was ultimately to unite in his person the two kingdoms which had so long been separate.

History has preserved few details of the murder at Holyrood of the unfortunate Friar Black on the same night that witnessed Riccio's death. Black was a learned Dominican who had roused considerable animosity against himself by his stout advocacy of the ancient faith, and it was at the hands of some of the followers of the Earl of Morton that he met his death.

XI

Now, although the French ambassador had effected an apparent reconciliation between Mary and her husband, it was impossible she could ever forgive his share in the dreadful outrage. The prudent Moray had carefully retained in his possession the original bond to

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

which Darnley had appended his signature; and his co-conspirators lost no time in exhibiting this compromising document to the Queen. His treachery had provoked them to wrath, and a new plot with Darnley as its victim began to take shape. The Queen felt her position acutely, and on the 20th of November she removed to Craigmillar Castle, situated about a couple of miles south-east of the City, where she remained for a fortnight. It was here that the plot against Darnley may be said to have crystallized, with Moray—who had already given Mary his promise not to join any further conspiracy—and the Secretary, Maitland of Lethington, as its originators. After discussion with Huntly, Argyll and Bothwell, the four earls with Lethington as spokesman submitted their proposals to the Queen. Divorce, as a means of relief both to Mary and the whole nation, was finally dismissed as endangering the legitimaey of the infant prince; and Lethington then boldly assured her that “we shall find the means that your Majesty shall be quit of him (Darnley) without prejudice of your son,” and that Lord Moray “*will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same.*” To this wily proposal, Mary answered by strictly forbidding them to do anything whereby “any spot may be laid upon my honour or conscience.” But there can be little doubt as to their private intentions towards Darnley, and, indeed, the plot soon thickened.

On 17th December 1566, the infant James was baptized at Stirling by Archbishop Hamilton, assisted by the “hail college of the Chapell Royall”; but Darnley, although present in Stirling, deliberately absented himself, either through fear or shame, from the ceremony. He returned to Glasgow, where he fell ill of the small-pox, and was attended by the Queen’s personal physician. On Christmas Eve Mary generously—too

HOLYROOD

generously, alas, for her own happiness—signed at Holyrood the pardon of the Earl of Morton and more than seventy others implicated in the murder of Riccio. Later, on 20th January, she joined her husband at Glasgow, and, by the end of the month, she had him conveyed to Edinburgh and established in the Prebendary House of the Collegiate Church of St Mary in the Fields, colloquially known as the Kirk-o'-Fields—"a plaice of gud ayre," says the pawky Melville, "wher he mycht best recover his health; bot many ane suspected that the Erle Bodowell had some enterpryse against him." This house stood at the angle now formed by the South Bridge and Drummond Street, and there was a doorway to it in the Flodden wall which was within a few yards of the building. Here he was regularly visited by the Queen, who slept two nights in the lower room below that occupied by her husband. Early on the morning of Sunday, 9th February 1567—when the plot against Darnley was arranged to reach its crisis—the pious Moray received news of his wife's illness, and at once hurried off to Fife, from which distant point he could, with complacency, "look through his fingers" at the approaching tragedy. After supping with the Bishop of Argyll, Mary remained some hours at the Kirk-o'-Field, and only returned to Holyrood at a late hour to attend the wedding masque of her valet, Bastien Pages. At two o'clock in the morning the City was shaken by a heavy explosion, and it was then found that the Prebendary House had been totally destroyed by gunpowder, and that the bodies of Darnley and Taylor, his English chamber boy, were lying in a field on the south side of the City wall, uninjured by either powder or fire. It is believed that they were both suffocated, and then carried through the doorway in the City wall to the spot where they were found. The discovery of the crime created great excitement, and bills

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

and broadsides were issued charging Bothwell as the author of the foul deed ; while the Queen offered by proclamation a large reward for information that would lead to the apprehension of the perpetrators. On the 12th of April Bothwell was placed on his trial and acquitted by the jury in the absence of evidence ; although he was, beyond the shadow of doubt, the principal actor in the dreadful crime. A week later, our versatile Scottish nobility entered into a league to support Bothwell against all his slanderers and calumniators, and “upon our Honours and Fidelity” to promote the marriage of Bothwell to Queen Mary. Their plan was, says Nau, to persuade her to marry him, “so that they might charge her with being in the plot against her late husband and a consenting party to his death. This they did shortly after, appealing to the fact that she had married the murderer.” Moray did not sign this bond, having departed two days previously for England. Events then moved with extraordinary rapidity. Mary left Holyrood on the 21st to see her son at Stirling, and on the 24th, when a few miles west of Edinburgh, she was forcibly seized by Bothwell at the head of a large band of armed followers, and carried off to his Castle of Dunbar. On 3rd May the Countess of Bothwell obtained a civil decree of divorce against her husband, and on the 7th a Catholic Commission pronounced the marriage null on account of the want of a Dispensation, although it is now known that such a writ was then in existence. Eight days later, on the 15th, Bothwell was married to the Queen in the old chapel at Holyrood by the Bishop of Orkney, according to the rites of the reformed religion ; but, on her bridal morn, she wept and declared she wished she were dead. The wretched honeymoon only lasted three weeks when, in face of a hostile gathering, they were forced to leave Holyrood ; and, on the 15th June—exactly

HOLYROOD

one month after her ill-omened marriage—the unhappy Queen surrendered at Carberry Hill to the confederate lords. She was first taken to a house in the High Street and then to Holyrood, whence she was hurried off at midnight to the lonely Castle on the little island at Lochleven, and placed under the charge of Sir William Douglas, Moray's half brother.

XII

MARY never again entered the portals of her old palace, and only a reference can now be made to the story of her subsequent misfortunes and sufferings. On 24th July she was forced by Lord Lindsay—a bully, expressly chosen for the *rôle*—to abdicate in favour of her son, and to nominate Moray as Regent. In October Moray secretly sent an agent to London and sold to Queen Elizabeth, for a small sum, a choice selection of some of her finest jewels, including her famous pearl necklace. Mary effected her escape from Lochleven on 2nd May of the following year by the aid of the youthful William Douglas; but, eleven days later, her adherents were defeated at Langside, and, against the entreaties of her kneeling followers, she crossed the Border and sought the hospitality of the English Queen. A long and wearisome imprisonment of nearly nineteen years ensued, and at last, on 8th February 1587, she was decapitated at Fotheringay by command of her cousin and mortal enemy, Queen Elizabeth. It is the memory of her dauntless courage and proud spirit, her matchless beauty, her personal charm of manner and disposition, and her kindness and generosity to all, friend or foe, combined with her unparalleled misfortunes, that has shed a lustre over her ancient

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

Palace of Holyrood, and made it an object of pilgrimage to peoples of every clime.

About the end of September 1579 the young King James VI. made his first public entry into Edinburgh; and at a meeting of the Privy Council, held at Holyrood in the month of December of the following year, the Earl of Morton was denounced as one of the murderers of Darnley. Six months later, in spite of the entreaties—coupled with the threat of invasion—of Queen Elizabeth, he was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh by the instrument known as the Maiden, now preserved in the National Museum. During his term of office as Regent, Morton rescued the “Great Harry” and six other jewels belonging to Queen Mary from the clutches of Moray’s widow. The quaint side of King James’ character was vividly displayed in 1587. It was a time when mere killing was not placed in the same category as murder, and James sought to eradicate this spirit of evil by inviting his quarrelsome nobility on 14th May to a “love feast” at Holyrood. “The King dranke to them thrice,” says the chronicler, “willed them to mainteane concord and peace, and vowed to be a mortall enemie to him who first brake.” On the 6th of May 1590 he brought his Queen, Anne of Denmark—his “new rib” as he facetiously termed her—to Holyrood, and, on Sunday the 17th, she was crowned and anointed in the Abbey Church. Twice, in 1591 and again in 1593, the Earl of Bothwell, nephew of the notorious Earl, broke into the Palace with the intention of capturing the King, and extorting from him certain concessions.

Shortly before midnight of Saturday, 26th March 1603, James was roused from his slumbers and hailed by Sir Robert Carey as King of England. Through his sister Carey obtained early intimation of Queen

HOLYROOD

Elizabeth's death, and he accomplished the long journey of 400 miles—in spite of a fall from his horse—in the short space of sixty-two hours. On Sunday, the 3rd of April, the King attended service at St Giles, and after the sermon he addressed the people, and promised to visit his native country every third year. But he was eager to take possession of his new kingdom, and on Tuesday, the 5th, he quitted Holyrood amid “grate lamentatioun and murning among the comons for the loss of yair daylie sicht of yair blessit Prince.” Holyrood was bereft of much of its contents, including Queen Mary's jewel, the Great Harry, which James carried off to London, where it was incorporated with other gems to form what was called the “Mirror of Light.”

XIII

CONTRARY to his promise, fourteen years elapsed before James again saw his native land; and, in the meantime, in 1610, the King had grafted Episcopacy upon our Presbyterian Church. Moving slowly northwards, James crossed the Tweed on 13th May 1617, and on the afternoon of Friday the 16th he made his formal entry into his ancient capital amid a perfect *spate* of rhetoric and other signs of public rejoicing. He was accompanied by a retinue of more than 4000 persons, and his visit, therefore, partook largely of the nature of a demonstration. Its effect on the country was evanescent, except as regarded religion. During his residence at Holyrood a High Church Anglican form of service was conducted at the Abbey Church—now treated as the Chapel Royal—and thereby roused among the people a feeling of intense bitterness, which was destined in after years to bring an aftermath of sorrow to his son.

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

Eight years after his coronation as King of England, Charles I. crossed the Border to be also crowned at Holyrood as "King of Scots." On Saturday 15th June 1633 he made his state entry into Edinburgh, and, two days later, after conferring dignities upon certain gentlemen, he proceeded in a coach privately to the Castle, where he spent the night. On the morning of Tuesday, the 18th, he rode to Holyrood, preceded by a great procession of nobility, Scottish and English, the officers of state, and other public functionaries. At the Chapel Royal he was solemnly crowned and anointed by Archbishop Spottiswoode amid a scene, according to the contemporary chronicler, of considerable pomp and circumstance. To the rash and ill-considered attempt by Charles, acting under the advice of Archbishop Laud, to enforce High Church Anglicanism into Scotland, only a brief reference can here be made. It eventuated in the signing of the National Covenant in the Greyfriars—now the Old Greyfriars—Church, and the people flew to arms in its defence. King Charles again visited Holyrood in August 1641; but times had changed. His royal prerogatives were now usurped by the Scottish Parliament, and he was forced to conform to the Presbyterian form of worship. After his execution in front of Whitehall on 30th January 1649, the Covenanters proclaimed his son, Charles, King of Scots, and against them came Cromwell and his Ironsides. The defeat at Dunbar was quickly followed by the occupation of Edinburgh, and on 13th November the major portion of the Palace of Holyrood, in which a contingent of Cromwell's troops had been lodged, was destroyed by fire. By his orders the great building was restored in 1658.

At the Restoration the Palace was occupied by the Earl of Middleton as the Royal Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament.

HOLYROOD

Personal government by the King, with the Privy Council for his mouthpiece, was re-established, and Episcopacy again assumed its alleged rights over the consciences of the people. One feature in Charles II.'s reign was the restoration and alteration of the Palace to the condition which it presents at the present day; but the King's original intention, fortunately frustrated by the attendant expense, meant the erection of an entirely new building. The work was entrusted in 1671 to the care of Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, an architect of considerable note, and was carried out by Robert Milne, the King's Master Mason. The old Abbey Church was also officially constituted the Chapel Royal, "wherein his Majesty and those of his family at his Palace of Halirudhous may worship God." The work of reconstruction having been finished in 1679, the Palace was occupied for a time by the Duke of Monmouth, who commanded the royal forces at Bothwell Brig, and, later, in October of that year, by James Duke of York—afterwards James VII. and II.—as Lord High Commissioner. In the following year the latter again took up his residence at Holyrood, and on this occasion he was accompanied by his Duchess, Mary D'Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena, and by their daughter the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. These ladies maintained a splendid court, and their entertainments consisted of balls, plays, and masquerades; while tea, for the first time heard of in Scotland, was dispensed to their lady visitors. The Duke, however, was a Papist, and the picture gallery was set up as a private chapel for his use. "The Merry Monarch" died on 6th February 1685, and the Duke was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh under the title of James VII., King of Scots. Among his first acts was the establishment at Holyrood of a College of Jesuits, and of a printing press for the production of propagandist

ITS PALACE AND ITS ABBEY

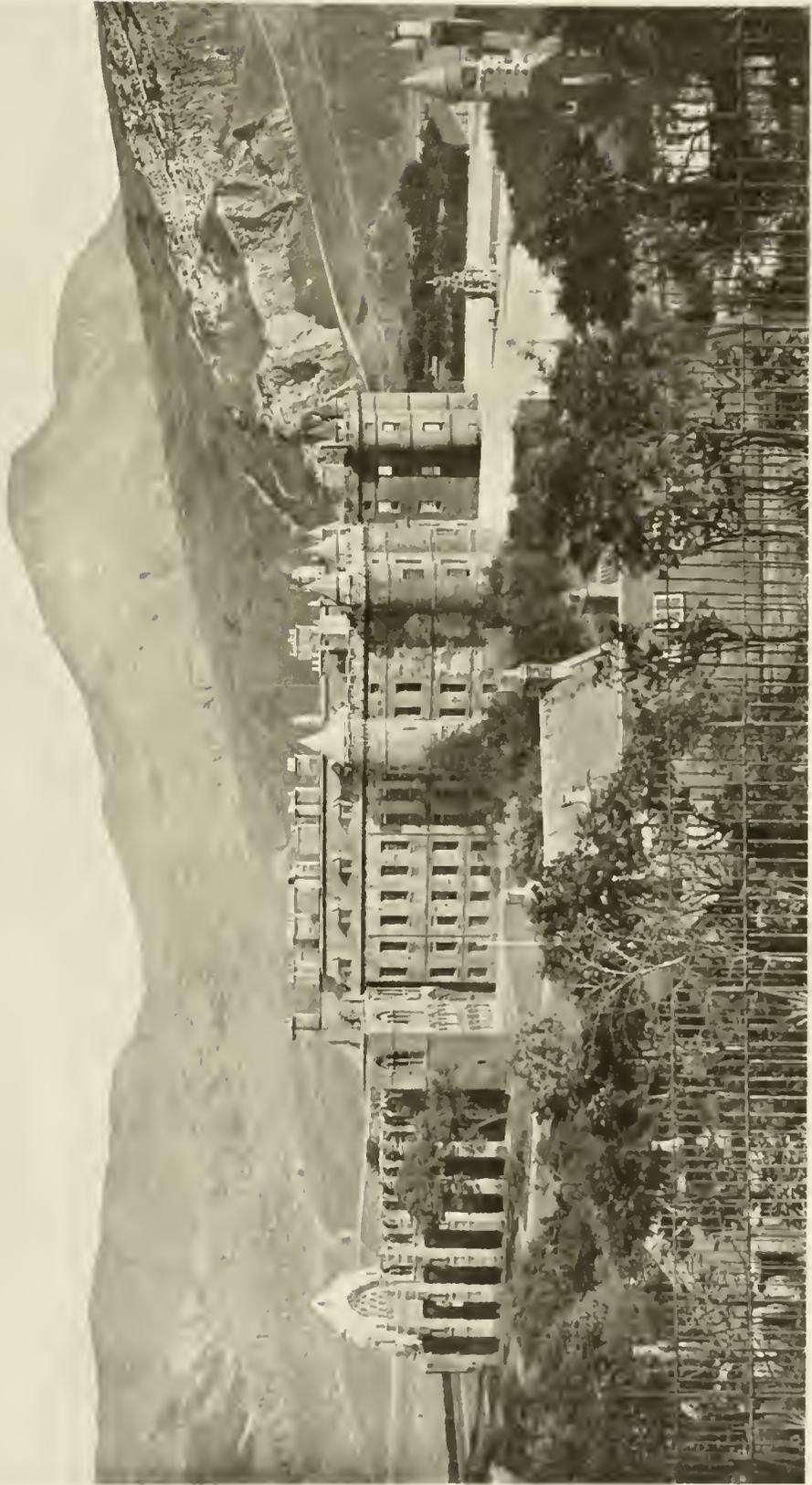
literature. On 29th May 1687, King James founded the "Most Noble and Most Ancient Order of the Thistle," and orders were issued to adapt the Chapel Royal to the Roman ritual as the chapel of the knights of this Order. The Prince of Orange landed at Torbay on 5th November 1688, and, when the news became known in Edinburgh, the mob proceeded to attack the Palace, which was garrisoned by a company of about sixty men under a Captain Wallace. The first assault was repelled by Wallace, who caused his men to fire from the windows on the mob; but, on the appearance of the City Guard and the Trained Bands, he drew up his company outside the Palace Gates. This position he maintained for some time, until, on being attacked from the rear as well as in front, he was compelled to surrender. Immediately the mob rushed in and stripped both the King's Chapel and the Chapel Royal of every emblem of the Catholic faith. They also rifled and desecrated the royal tombs.

The corollary to the Revolution of 1688 was the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland in 1707, and during the fiercely contested debates, Holyrood was occupied by the Duke of Queensberry, the Royal High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. With the Union the ancient glories of the Palace may be said to have departed. The rebellion of 1745 brought Prince Charles, grandson of James VII., and his Highlanders to Edinburgh, and on 17th September he was marshalled into the Palace of his ancestors by James Hepburn of Keith, who had been "out" in the rebellion of 1715. That night there was a ball held in the picture gallery, and the handsome young Prince won all hearts by his gracious manner. On the afternoon of the 19th he marched out to oppose Sir John Cope, who was advancing towards Edinburgh from Dunbar, and on the 21st he gained at Prestonpans an

HOLYROOD

amazing victory over the disciplined and better-armed soldiers of King George. There was much gaiety at Holyrood until, on 31st October, he left to continue his impossible march on London ; and, six months later, the hopes of the royal Stewarts were finally extinguished on the bloody field of Culloden. Sir Walter Scott in his great novel of "Waverley" has vividly portrayed the story of this disastrous campaign, and the residence of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" at Holyrood has added another romantic chapter to its eventful history.

It was on the night of the 2nd December 1768 that the great disaster to the Chapel Royal occurred. The roof, which had been rebuilt ten years previously by an incompetent builder, suddenly gave way, bringing down in its fall the clerestory, the roof of the northern aisle, and most of the flying arches. The Bourbons of France gave shelter to the last of the Stewart kings, and, in return, Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., found a place of refuge in the Palace of the Stewarts in 1795, and again in 1831. Under the inspiring influence of Sir Walter Scott, the visit in 1822 of George IV. to Scotland, and in particular his levees at Holyrood, roused intense enthusiasm among all classes of the community. Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited Edinburgh in 1842, and in 1850 for the first time dwelt within the walls of the ancient Palace. The refined taste of Prince Albert brought about many changes in the surroundings and in the approaches to the Palace. King Edward VII. held a levee there in 1903, and his son and successor George V., accompanied by Queen Mary—the second of that name to live in Holyrood—resided in the Palace on the occasion of their state entry into their ancient Scottish capital.

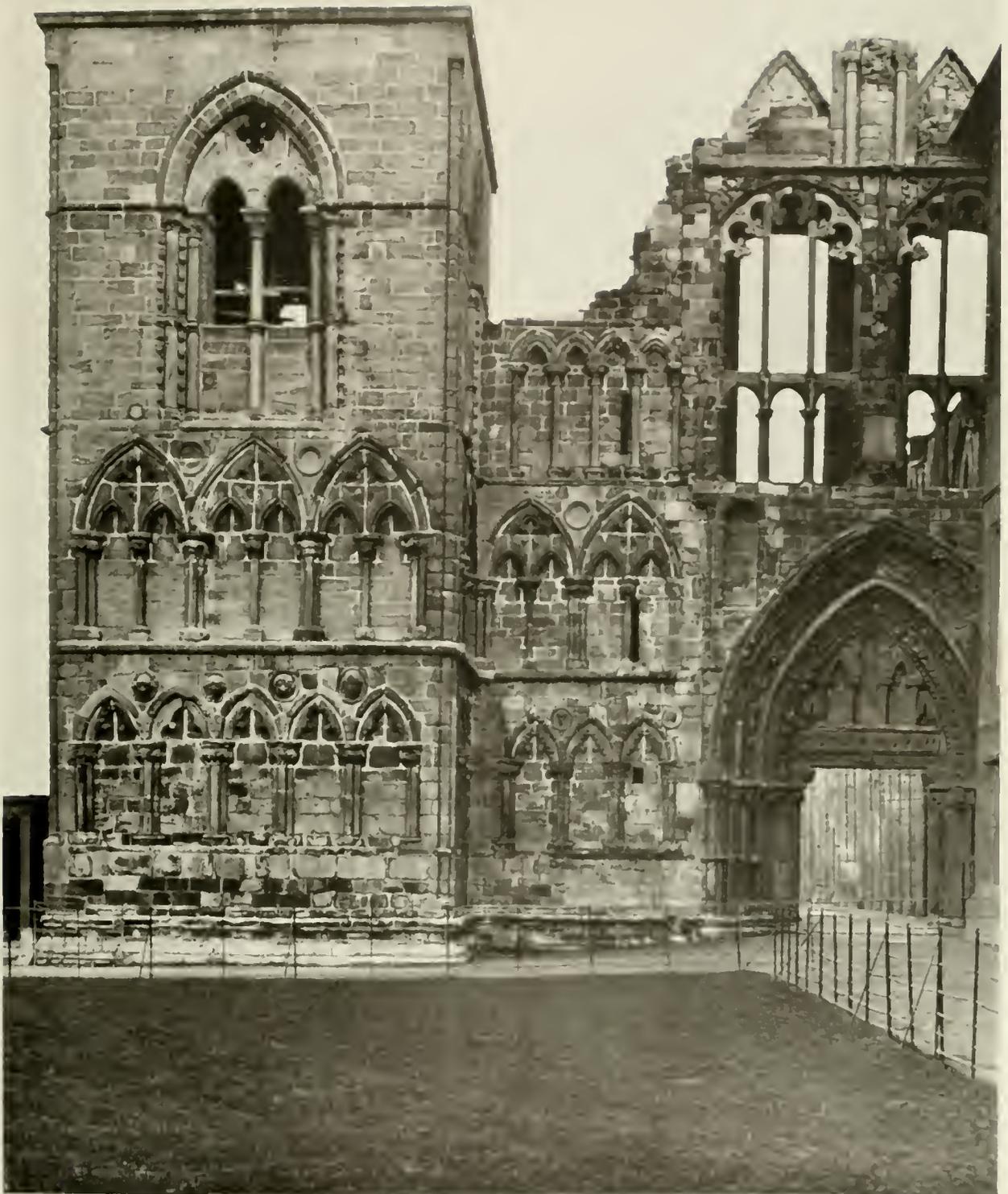


HOLYROOD AND ITS SURROUNDINGS



THE WESTERN DOORWAY OF THE ABBEY CHURCH (*circa* A.D. 1250)

The lower portion of the lintel of angels' heads was replaced, in 1633, by an oaken beam bearing a shield with the initials of Charles I.; while the tympanum above, consisting of a series of small arches and shafts, was also inserted at this date, probably out of the ruined stonework.

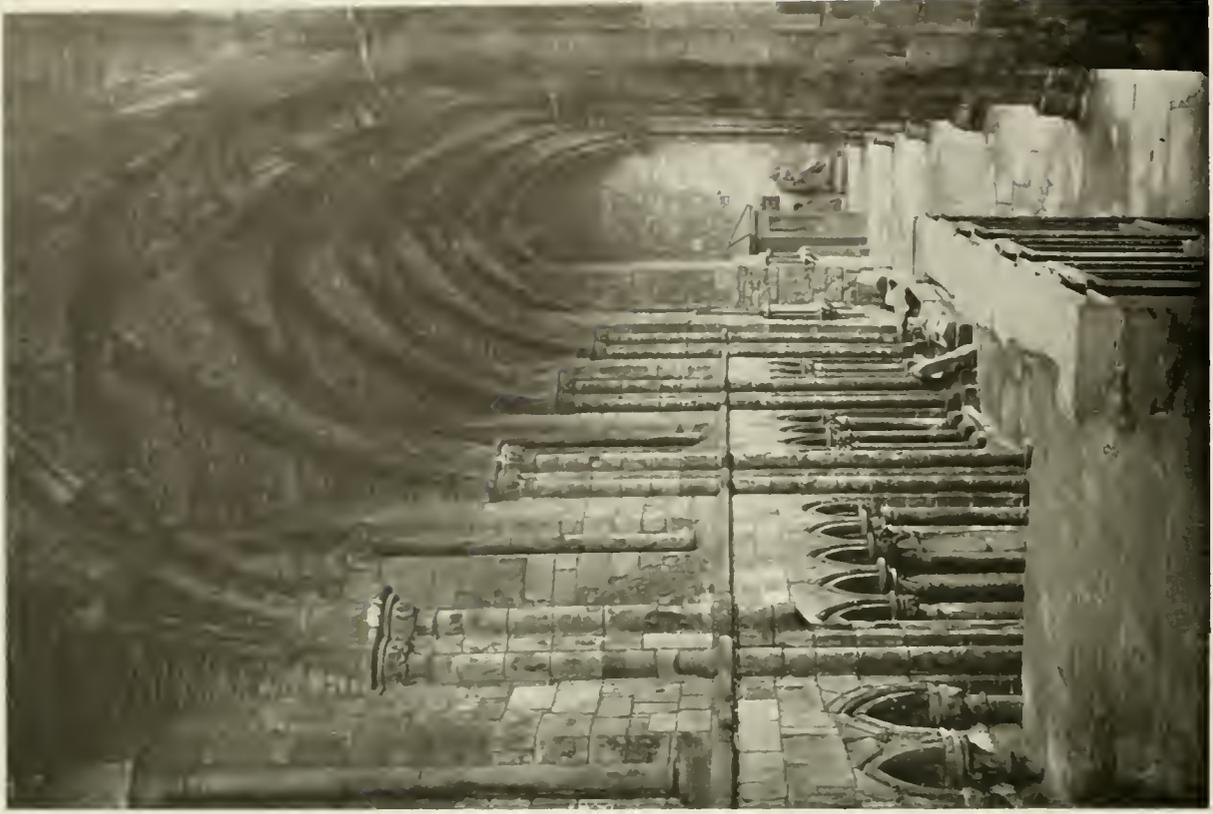


THE WESTERN FRONT OF THE ABBEY CHURCH (*circa* A.D. 1250)

"The west wall, with its splendid doorway between the two western towers, must have presented as bold and ornate a piece of architecture as was to be found in Scotland" (*McGibbon & Ross*). The two nondescript windows above the doorway were inserted in 1633 by Charles I., who also placed between them the following inscription, which, however, subsequent events failed to confirm: "HE SHALL BUILD A SE HOUSE FOR MY NAME, AND I WILL ESTABLISH THE THRONE OF HIS KINGDOM FOR EVER. BASILICAM HANC CAROLUS REX OPTIMUS INSTAVRABIT 1633."



(1) NORTHERN AISLE, WITH TRANSITION ARCADE OF INTERLACING ARCHES (*circa* A.D. 1190-1200)



(2) SOUTHERN AISLE. EARLY ENGLISH POINTED STYLE (*Circa* A.D. 1250)



(1) NORTHERN FRONT, WITH THE BUTTRESSES ERECTED
BY ABBOT CRAWFORD, 1460-1483



(2) SOUTHERN FRONT, WITH THE BUTTRESSES AND FLYING ARCHES
ERECTED BY ABBOT CRAWFORD, 1460-1483



(1) THE FORE YETT OR GATEWAY TO THE COURTYARD
OF THE PALACE (*facing the east*)

Erected in 1503 by James IV.; rebuilt by James V. in 1535-6,
and demolished in 1753.



(2) SKETCH OF HOLYROOD BY AN ENGLISH OFFICER DURING
HERTFORD'S INVASION OF MAY 1544

(*Original in British Museum. The earliest drawing of Holyrood now extant*)



(2) MARY STEWART AS QUEEN DOWAGER OF FRANCE
(In Widow's dress. From the drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale)



(1) MARY STEWART AS DAUPHINE OF FRANCE
(From the drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)



HOLYROOD PALACE (from a drawing by Gordon of Rothiemay, 1647)

From this drawing a fair idea may be obtained of the general appearance of the Palace during the time of Queen Mary. The square tower with the four turrets was built by James IV. and his son James V.; and it was on the western side between the turrets that the principal entrance, guarded by a drawbridge and iron gate, was originally placed. The portion lying to the south with its large French windows was, probably, the work of the Queen Dowager, and the bow-window next the tower marks the position of the "Chapel Royal of the Palace" in which Queen Mary was married to Darnley.



QUEEN MARY'S AUDIENCE CHAMBER

Showing doorway to bedroom. The double chair enclosed in glass is that used at the Coronation of Charles I. in 1633. His Queen, Henrietta Maria, was not present although the initials of both appear on the back of the chair.



QUEEN MARY'S AUDIENCE CHAMBER

This picture shows her Oratory and (in the shadow of the door) the brass plate marking the spot where Riccio expired.



English

QUEEN MARY'S BEDROOM (showing door of private staircase and that of supper-room)

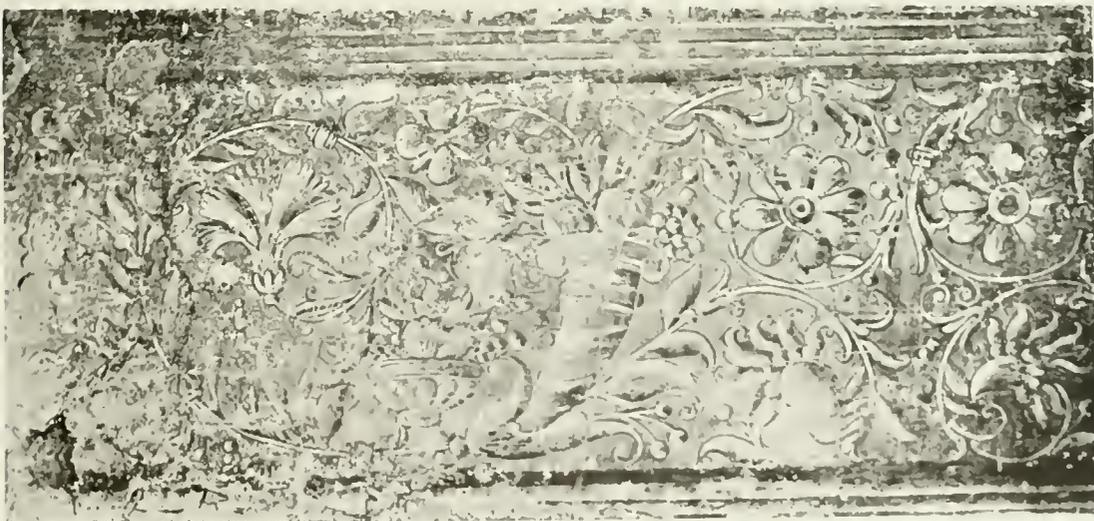


QUEEN MARY'S ORATORY

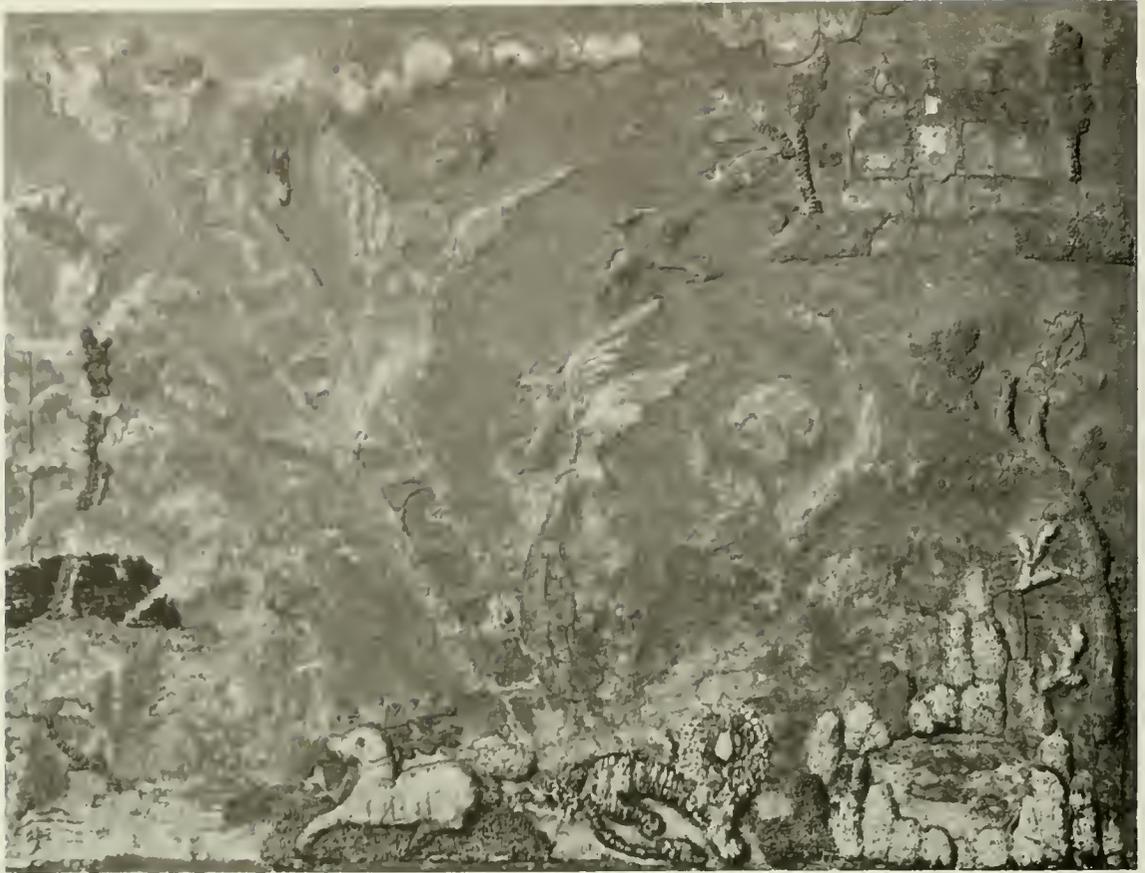


(Anglis)

(1) PRINCIPAL STAIRCASE (*Hammered Ironwork, 17th century*)



(2) DECORATION IN *TEMPERA* RECENTLY DISCOVERED BEHIND THE PANELLING ABOVE THE MANTELPIECE IN QUEEN MARY'S AUDIENCE CHAMBER (*see Plate IX.*)

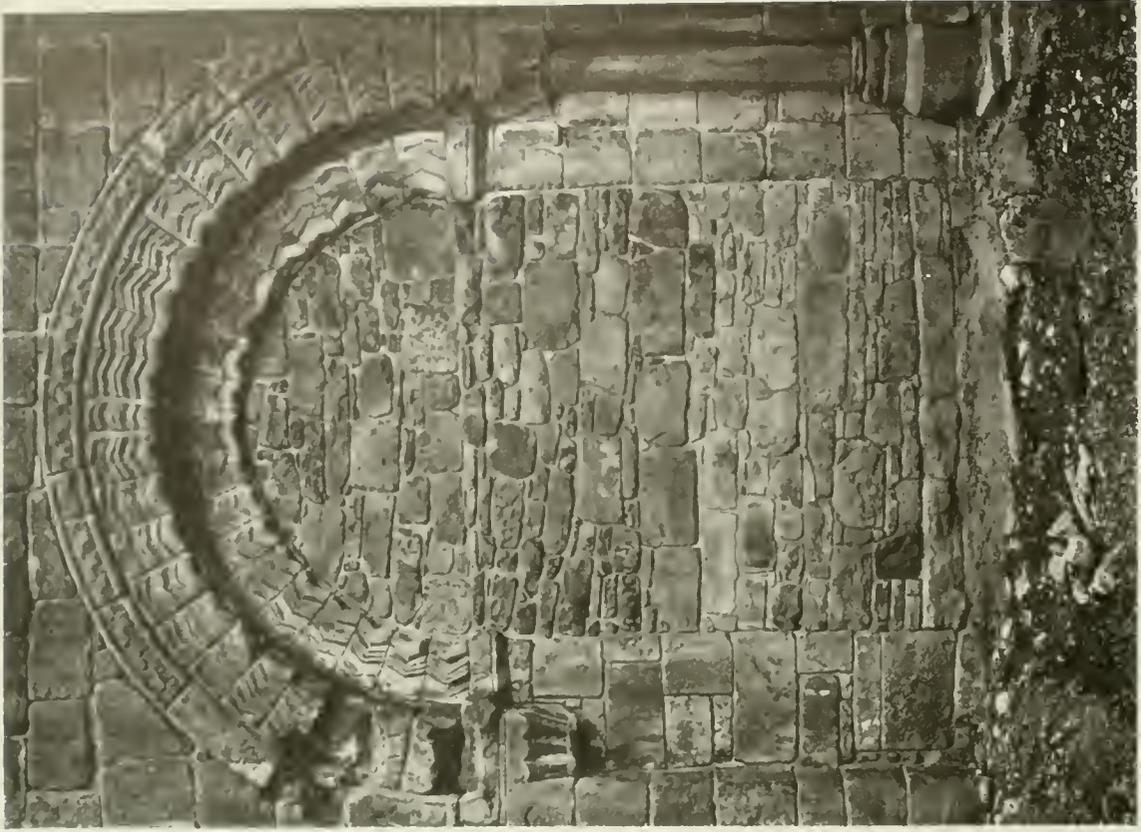


QUEEN MARY'S WORK-BOX (ALLEGED)

On the lid of this box is a sewed-work picture of Jacob's Dream, believed to be the handiwork of Queen Mary. In the right-hand corner is the stone on which Jacob slept—associated by tradition with the Coronation Stone of Scotland—guarded by the lion and the Stag of Holyrood. The cap is alleged to have been that used by James V. when in disguise, and the glove is said to have belonged to Darnley.



DARNLEY'S AUDIENCE CHAMBER



DOORWAY THROUGH WHICH THE CANONS ENTERED
THE NAVE FROM THE CLOISTER (*Late Norman, circa*
A.D. 1128-53)



DOORWAY IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN TOWER
OF THE CHURCH



CABINET

ENGIS



[English]

EXAMPLE OF HOLYROOD TAPESTRY

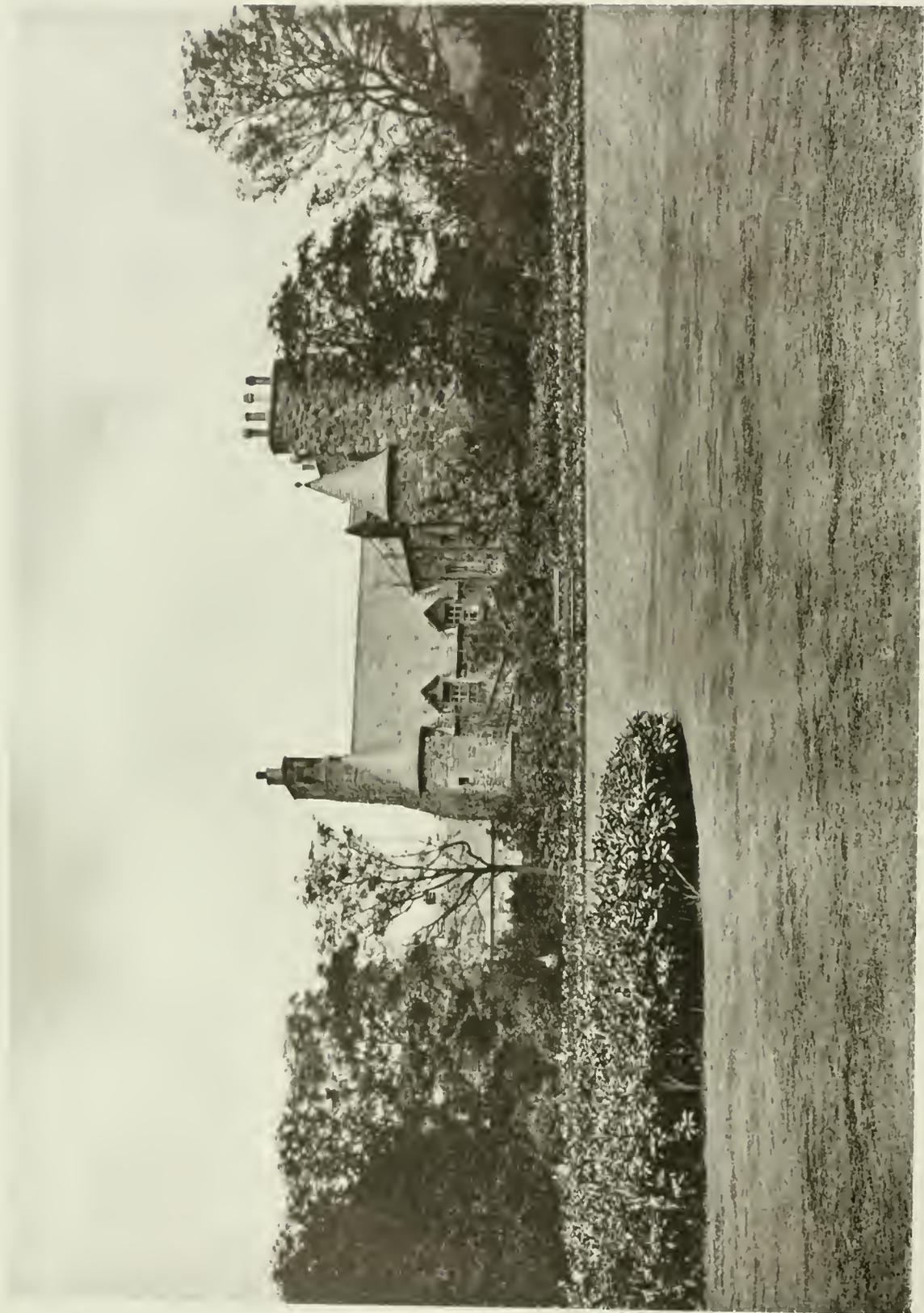


(2) QUEEN MARY'S BATH

Utilised as the ladies' retiring-room attached to the tennis court.



(1) THE CANONS' CLOISTER WALK, WITH SEAT



CROFT-AN-RIGH: THE KING'S CROFT

It was in this house that Moray is said to have entertained Queen Mary and Barnley on 26th February 1565.



CEILING IN CROFTAN-RIGH

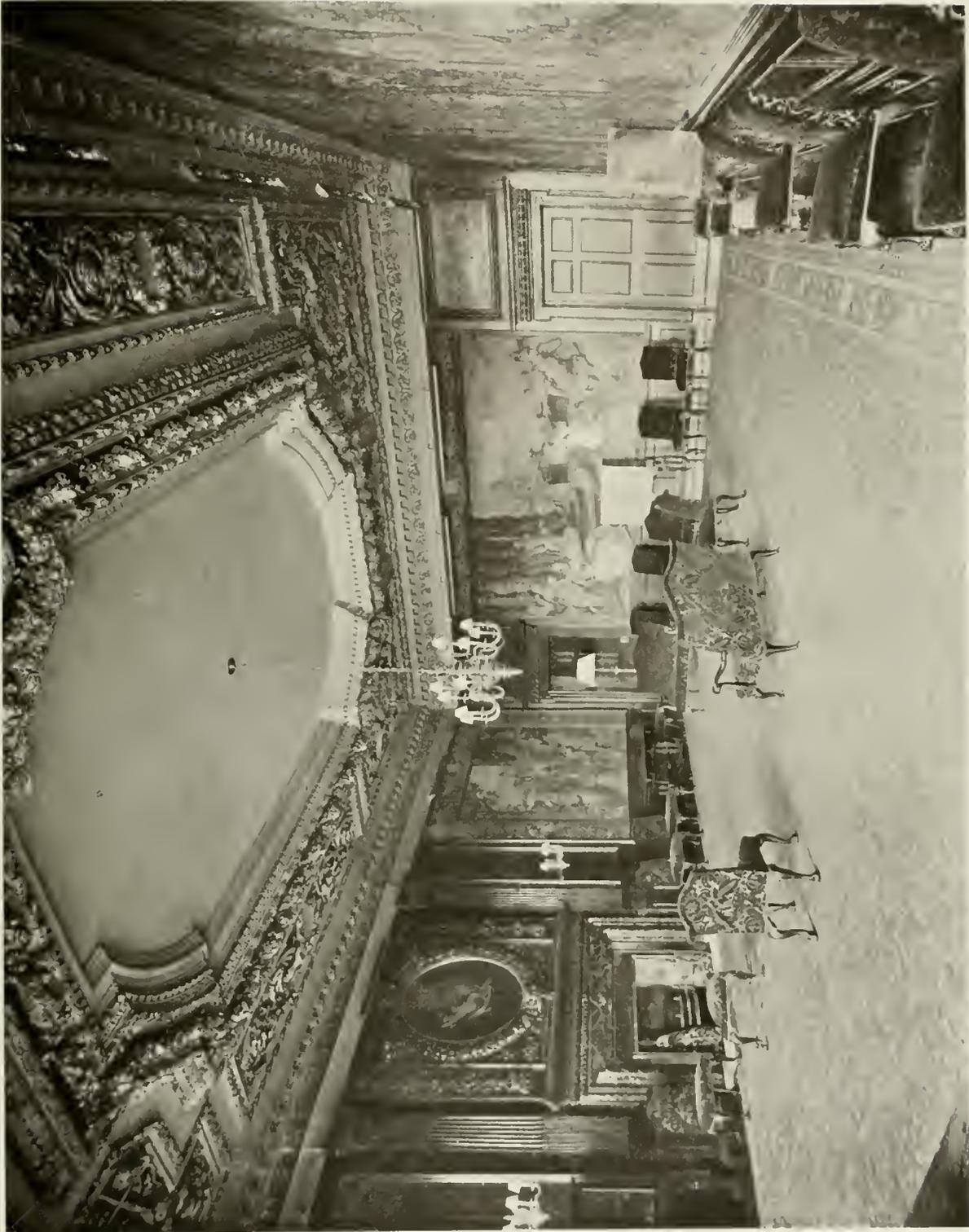
Example of Scottish plaster-work, 16th century.



Langley

STATE APARTMENT, THE THRONE ROOM, CHARLES II. PERIOD

The throne is that erected in 1822 for the levees of George IV., and was utilised at those of Edward VII. and George V. Queen Victoria used this room as a dining-room.



Ungefis

STATE APARTMENT, MORNING DRAWING-ROOM, CHARLES II. PERIOD

The ceilings of this and the adjoining room (Plate No. XXIV.) are magnificent specimens of 17th-century plaster-work.



STATE APARTMENT ADJOINING MORNING DRAWING-ROOM, CHARLES II. PERIOD

See note under Plate No. XXIII. as to ceiling.

[Inglis]

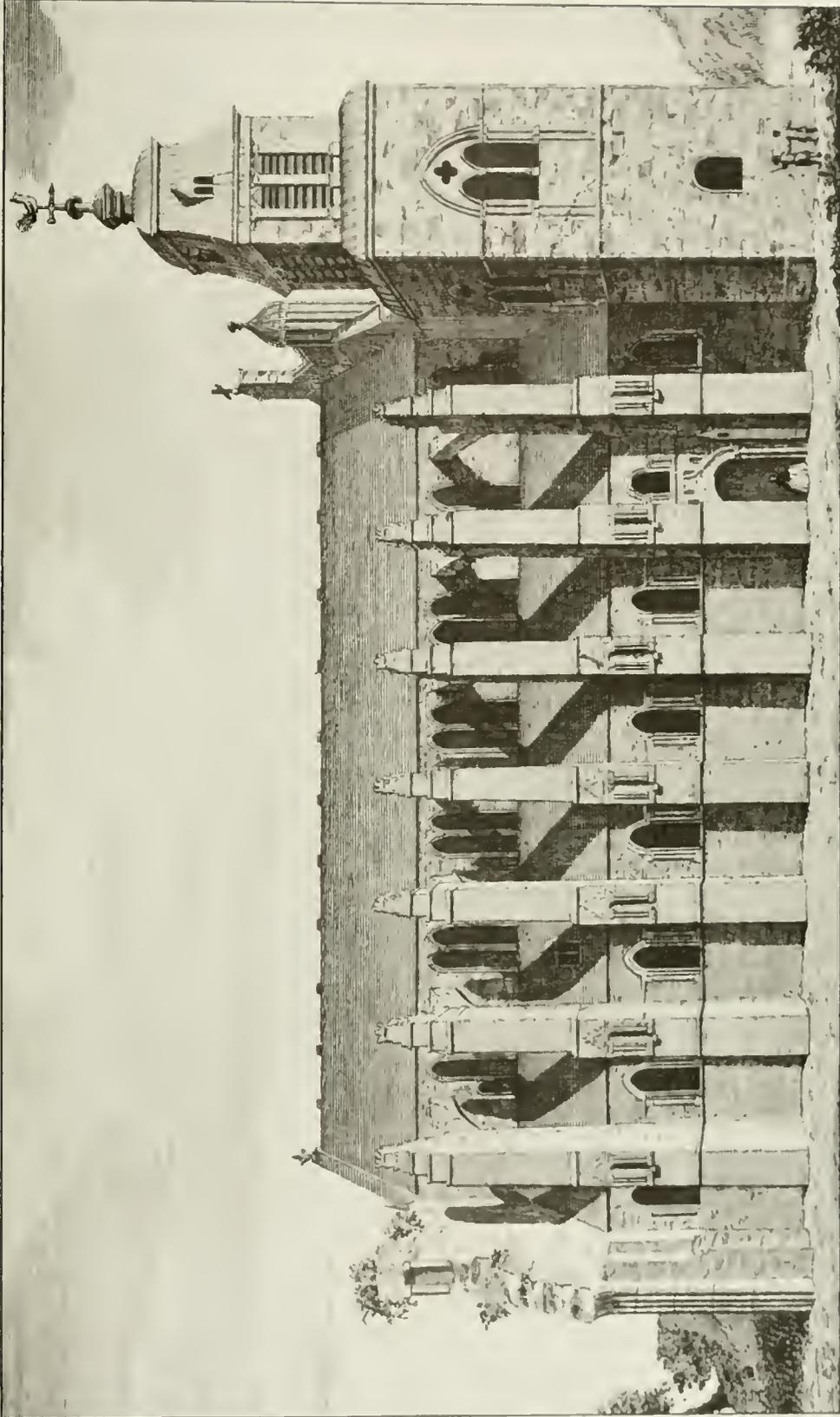


COURTYARD OF THE PALACE, CHARLES II. PERIOD

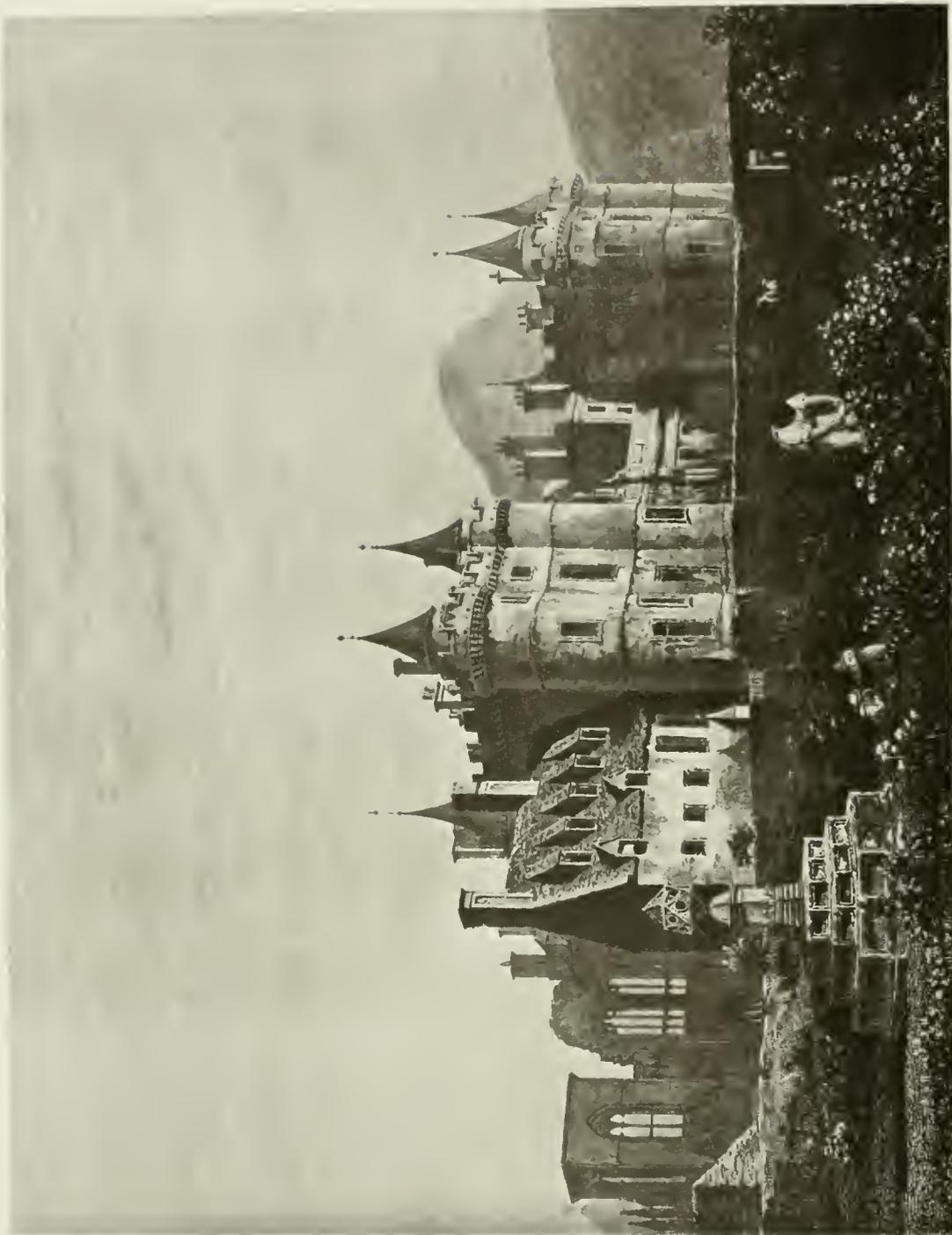


THE PALACE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

The ancient garden of King James IV., in which Queen Mary erected butts for archery, was situated near the foreground on the left of this picture.

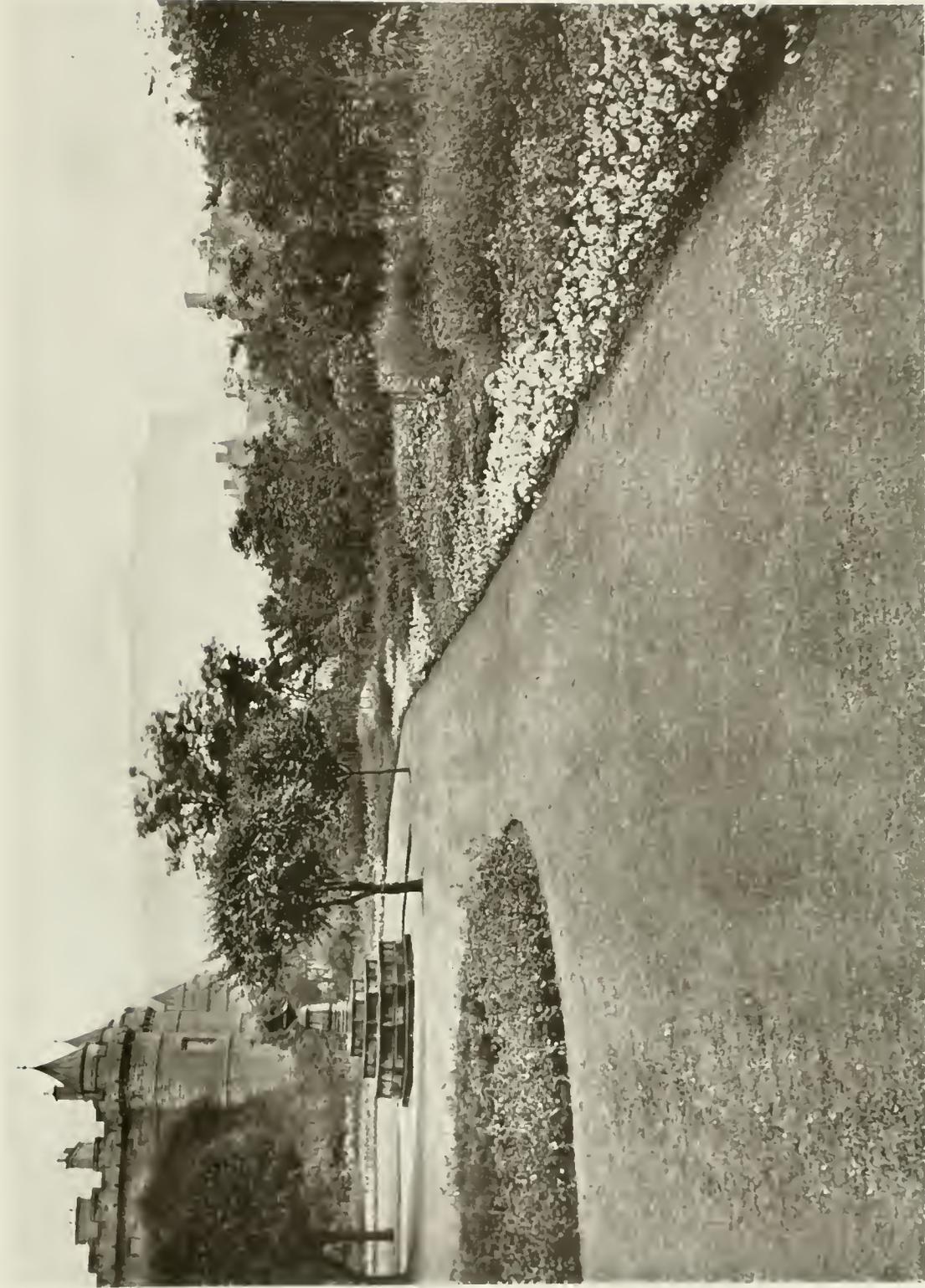


THE CHAPEL ROYAL IN 1750—BEFORE THE ROOF FELL.
(*Maitland*)

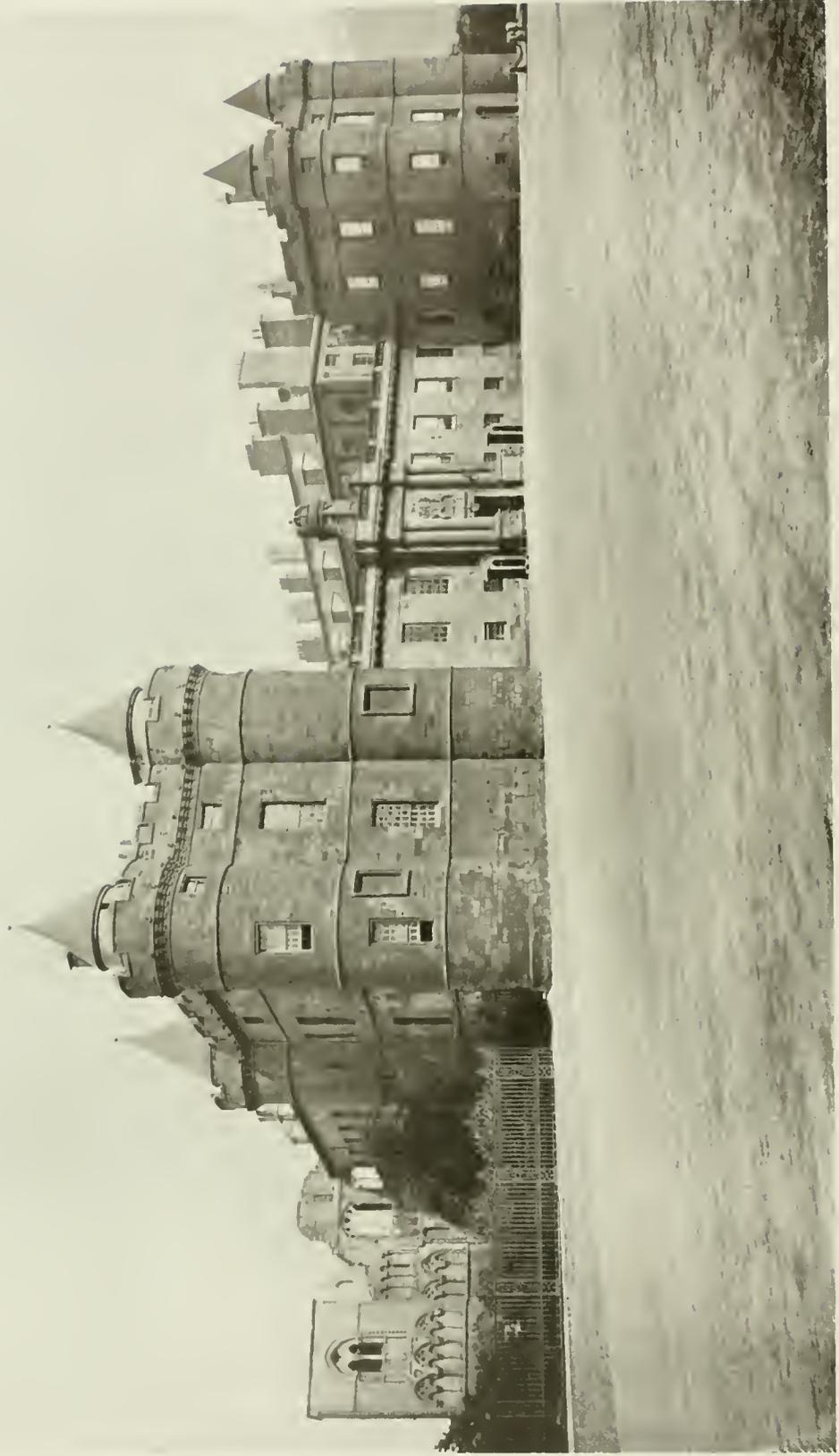


HOLYROOD, WITH THE ABBOT'S HOUSE AS IT APPEARED IN 1828
(From a drawing by Blore)

The Abbot's house, a beautiful example of 16th-century architecture, was demolished shortly after the above date.



THE QUEEN DOWAGER'S GARDEN IN 1913, WITH THE CHARLES I. SUNDIAL AND HOLYROOD IN THE DISTANCE



HOLYROOD IN 1913

The royal arms in the two panels in the north and south turrets of the northern tower were taken down in 1652 by order of General Monck. They have been recently restored.



FOUNTAIN AT HOLYROOD ERECTED BY QUEEN VICTORIA



COMMON SEAL OF THE
CONVENT OF HOLY-
ROOD, A.D. 1296



SEAL OF QUEEN MARY OF GUELDRES



ABBOT ADAM'S SEAL
A.D. 1296



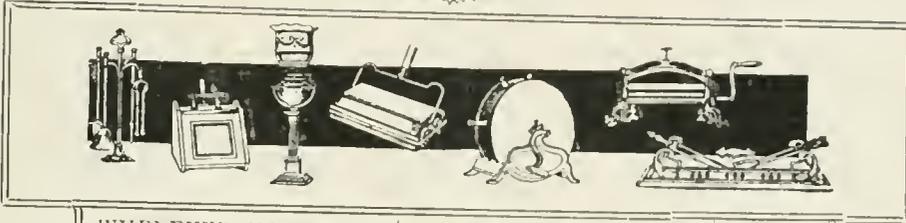
PRIVY SEAL OF JAMES I.



SEAL OF ROBERT STEWART,
COMMENDATOR OR LAY
ABBOT OF HOLYROOD



COMMON SEAL OF CON-
VENT OF HOLYROOD,
A.D. 1568



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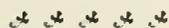
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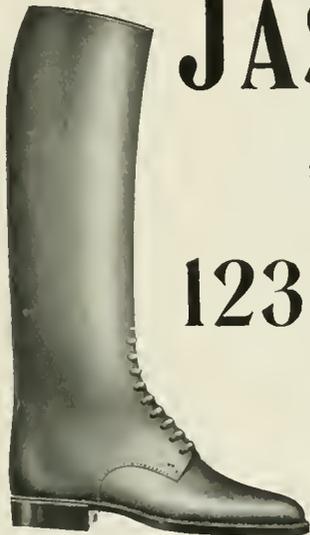
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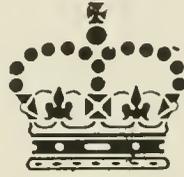
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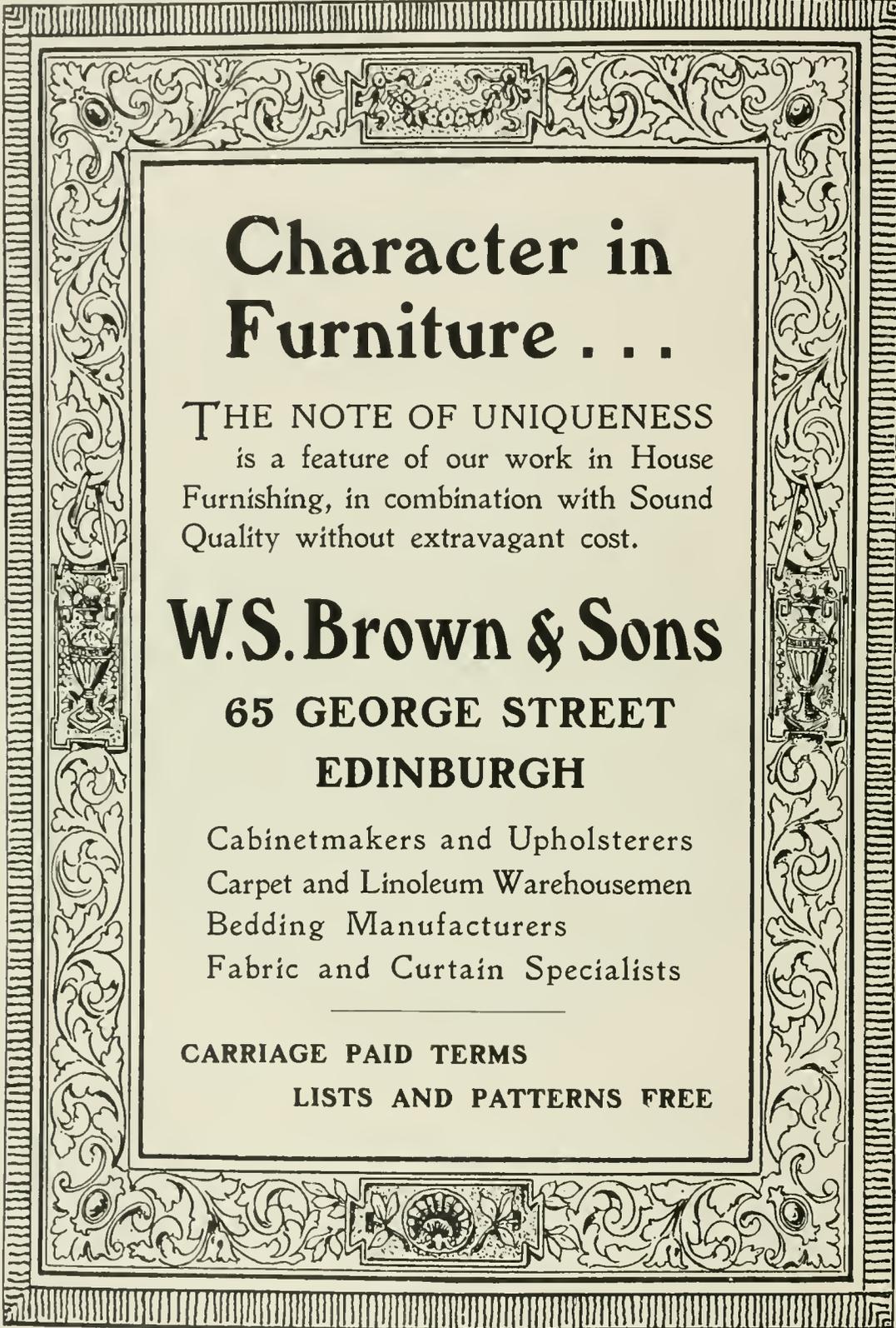
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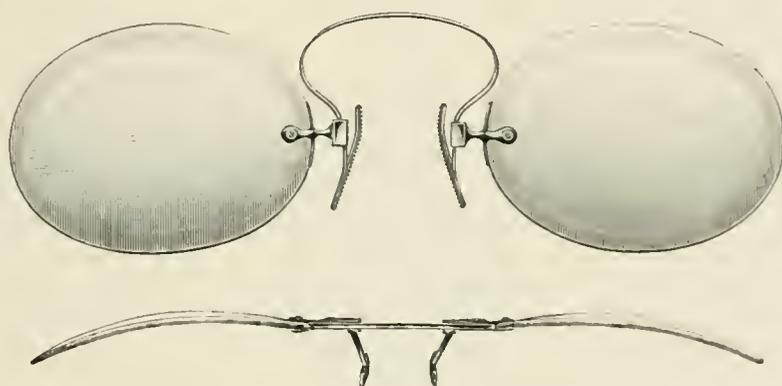
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