









To Professor W. S. Kennedy,  
A 'Xmas Gift  
In Friendship across the Seas,  
From  
James C. Brown.

1936.

THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH





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ST. DOMINIC

THE BLACK FRIARS  
OF EDINBURGH

BY  
W. MOIR BRYCE



EDINBURGH  
PRINTED BY T. AND A. CONSTABLE  
PRINTERS TO HIS MAJESTY  
1911



14375

SEP 30 1948

*Extracted from the Third Volume of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club.*

## THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH

*Pugiles fidei et vera mundi lumina.*

HONORIUS III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## II

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Page 142.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 58; ed. Goodall, 1759.

<sup>5</sup> Page 92.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</sup> *Melrose Chron.*, p. 143.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

for this period, are silent as regards Scottish affairs, there is a letter among the Denmyln MSS., dated 29th September 1349, which goes to prove that the Scottish vicariate had by that time been placed directly under the Master-General himself, and thereby outwith the jurisdiction of the English provincial.<sup>1</sup> It is addressed from Avignon by Jean des Moulins, the twentieth Master-General, to the 'Vicar General of the Order of Friars Preachers in the realm of Scotland':— 'Whereas it is meet to grant a willing consent to the just requests of supplicants, therefore, looking favourably upon your petition, I, by the tenor of these presents, approve, renew, ratify, and confirm all and sundry the immunities and favours bestowed upon your nation by whomsoever Masters of the said Order, my predecessors, adding thereto also—as a mark of our esteem—this privilege, that your Vicar who shall be for the time may assign to each common seminary of our Order a friar as a student, and recall him at the good pleasure of his will.'<sup>2</sup> The only Scottish student who is recorded in the *Acta* as having been sent to a foreign school is 'Friar Alexander of Scotland.' He was assigned to the *Studium Generale* at Paris in 1525.<sup>3</sup> The Edinburgh priory had not only to provide their students with suitable clothing as well as the necessary books, but also to pay a large portion of the cost of their maintenance at these foreign schools; and this must have proved a severe burden upon a community that had no material possessions of its own. The grievance was to some extent mitigated by the establishment of a *studium generale* at the University of St. Andrews, where, in 1518, the Dean of Dunkeld established a foundation for five or six Dominican students.<sup>4</sup> A decree by the Chapter General of the year 1525 marks the success of some of these students:

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

<sup>2</sup> *Denmyln MSS.*, Adv. Lib., App. p. 84.

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

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen.*, iv. p. 173. 'We approve of the agreement entered into between the Dean of Dunkeld and the reverend Provincial of Scotland, relative to the foundation for five or six students in the Convent of the University of St. Andrews.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## IV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## V

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 375.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 156, 157.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 25.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *Charters of St. Giles*, p. 178. <sup>4</sup> *The Hammermen of Edinburgh*, John Smith.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## VI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

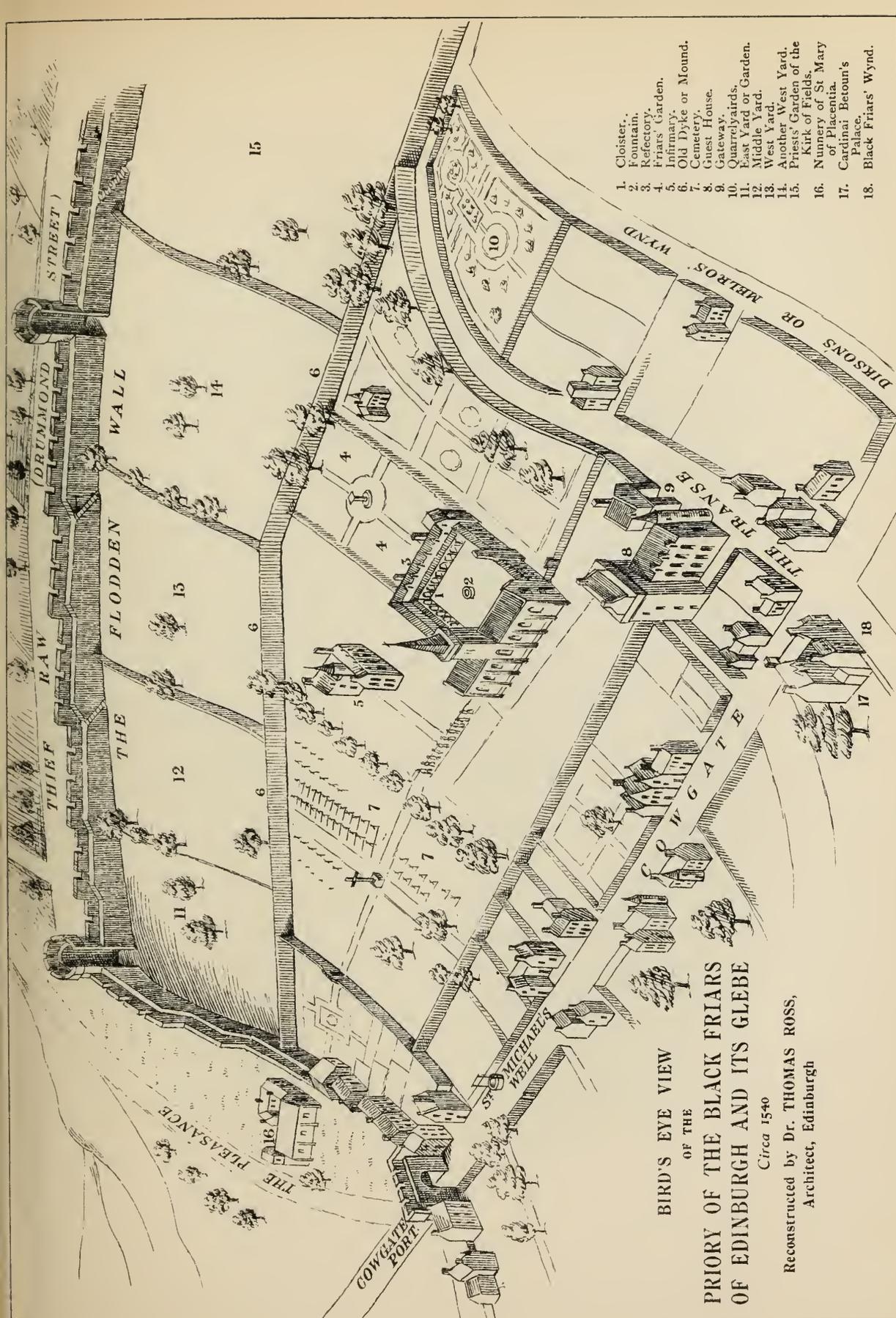
## VII

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

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

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

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



BIRD'S EYE VIEW  
OF THE  
PRIORY OF THE BLACK FRIARS  
OF EDINBURGH AND ITS GLEBE

Circa 1540

Reconstructed by Dr. THOMAS ROSS,  
Architect, Edinburgh

1. Cloister.
2. Fountain.
3. Refectory.
4. Friars Garden.
5. Infirmary.
6. Old Dyke or Mound.
7. Cemetery.
8. Guest House.
9. Gateway.
10. Quareyards.
11. East Yard or Garden.
12. Middle Yard.
13. West Yard.
14. Another West Yard.
15. Priests' Garden of the Kirk of Fields.
16. Nunnery of St Mary of Placentia.
17. Cardinal Beaton's Palace.
18. Black Friars' Wynd.



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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Reg. of Privy Seal*, xvii. f. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi. ff. 29, 30, 32, 50.

<sup>5</sup> 12th February 1553-4. *MS. Reg. of Privy Seal*, xxvi. f. 47.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> *Déjeuner*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### VIII

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## IX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Rental*, Adv. Lib., f. 182 ; App., p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 25-60, 81 ; App. pp. 84-5.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Commissariat of Glasgow*, 1548.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Or Inverness ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

yet, out of his varied vocabulary of epithets, Knox confines himself to expressions such as 'Blak feyndis,' 'Blak thievis,' 'monstouris,' 'serjeantis of Sathan,' etc. Their great popularity may be accepted as sufficient testimony to a belief in their moral rectitude, and, in this respect, it is possible to differentiate them from the general body of the clergy. In view of their devotion to duty, and their unquestioned life of self-sacrifice, the words applied to them by Honorius III. in the opening years of their mission may, with some degree of historic truth, be held as repeated at its close in this country—that, in their day and generation, they were the 'champions of the faith, and the true lights of the world'—

*Pugiles fidei, et vera mundi lumina.*

W. MOIR BRYCE.



Seal of the Priory.



Seal of the Provincial.

## APPENDIX

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

## DOMINICAN PRIORY IN EDINBURGH

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

*And first in the towne of Edinburgh—*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*The annuellis in Leyth and to landwart pertenying to the saids  
Freirs Predicatours of Edinburgh.*

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

THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH 75

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Black Friar.

<sup>2</sup> Black Friar.

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

### III. MS. RENTAL OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST. ANDREWS.

(Adv. Lib.)

#### CARDINAL BETOUN AND THE FRIARS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## VI. CHARTULARY OF THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH

*Abbreviations*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



of deceased Margaret Johnstone, another sister of said friar, of Letter of Reversion granted to the deceased Adam Johnstone and his heirs for the redemption of the 5 merk lands of Middilkill in Parish of Moffat, which Adam Johnstone had wadset to Gavin Johnstone for £80 Scots ; and the said Friar assigns in favour of said Helen and Laurence all goods and moveables pertaining to Adam Johnstone his father, or John Johnstone his brother. [C.P.B., Alexr. King, i.

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

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

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

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

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

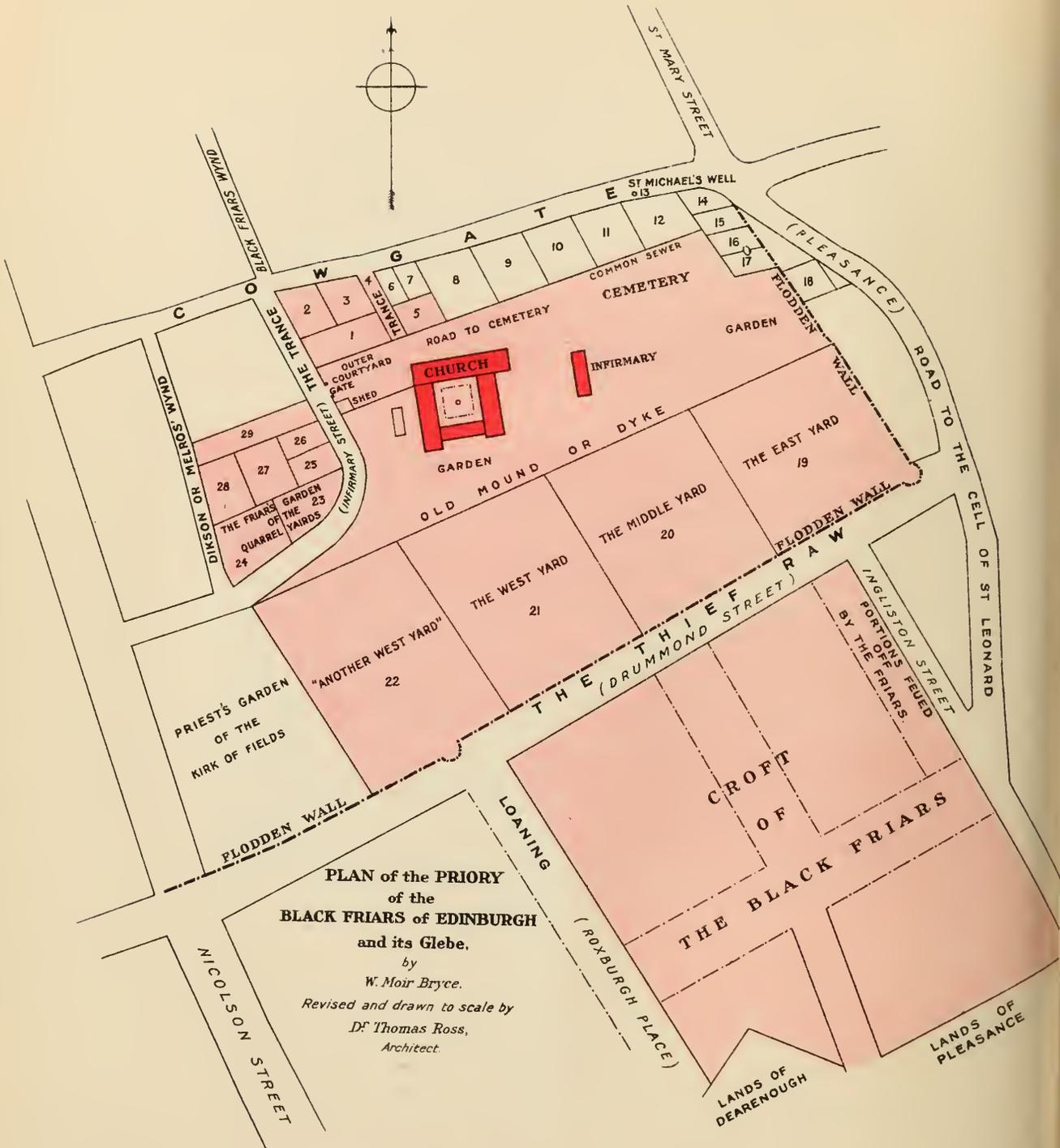
- (114) 1565. October 20. Precept for Crown Charter to James Johnnestoun of Kellebank, Burgess, of annual of £24 formerly belonging to the Friars, furth of Gilbert Knox's tenement. [P.S., xxxiii. 113.]
- (115) 1565-6. March 24. Letter of Tack under the Privy Seal to Johnne Davidsoun, Tailzour, of back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

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

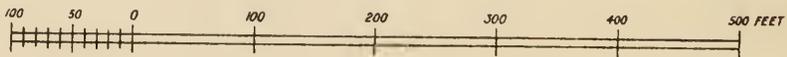
- (130) 1593. April 2. Charter of Confirmation by James VI. confirming Charter by Thomas M'Balzeane, Burgess of Edinburgh, to Walter Wilkesoune in Rathobyris, of a fourth part of Abthane of Rathobyres and Robert Wilkie his son, in liferent and fee in blench-farm for payment yearly of a pound of wax upon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

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





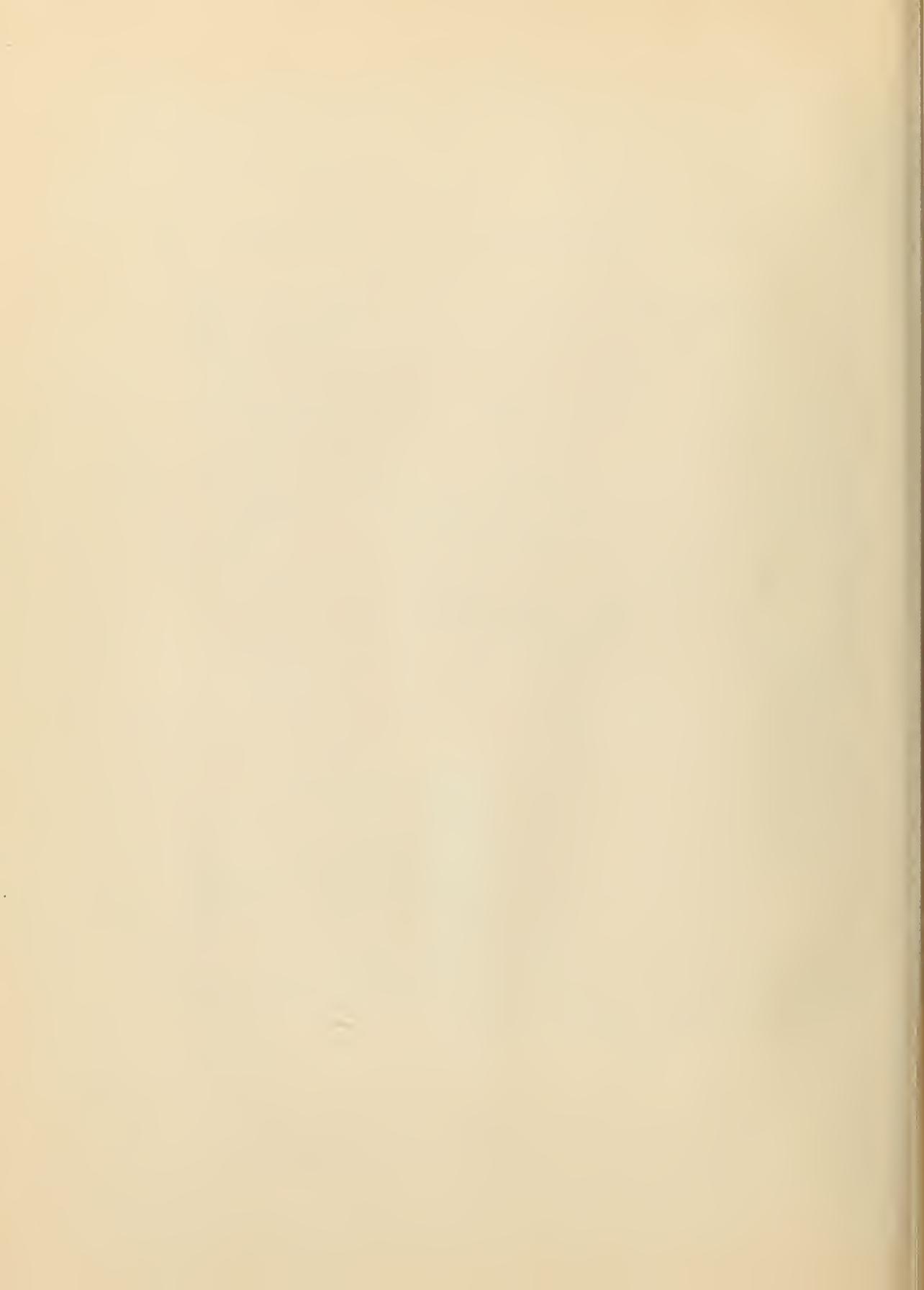
**PLAN of the PRIORY**  
 of the  
**BLACK FRIARS of EDINBURGH**  
 and its Glebe,  
 by  
 W. Moir Bryce.  
 Revised and drawn to scale by  
 DF Thomas Ross,  
 Architect.



## EXPLANATORY NOTES TO PLAN

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

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







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