## IX.

## THE MERCAT CROSS OF EDINBURGH, FROM 1365 TO 1617—ITS SITE AND FORM. By PETER MILLER, F.S.A. Scot.

It is a remarkable circumstance, considering the thousand-and-one historical events that were enacted at the Cross of Edinburgh previous to its removal to a new site lower down the High Street in 1617, that the greatest dubiety now exists as to its earlier site. It is equally matter of surprise that the many memorable transactions that are indelibly associated with this structure, and which have been handed down by history, that the precise situation of the Cross has been altogether left out of sight in these records.

There are few, certainly no correct or reliable, plans of the city of Edinburgh prior to that of Gordon of Rothiemay's, published in 1647.

The sketch-plan contained in the Journal of the Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh in 1573, and reprinted in the Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club (fig. 1), and also the Bird's-Eye View of the city given in the Cities of the World, published in 1575, are both much alike in their incorrectness of detail, and neither of them give any indication of the existence of a cross in the High Street. In the sketch-plan of 1573, however, some houses clustering about the south-east corner of St Giles' Church, at



Fig. 1.

the Kirk Style, are given which appear to correspond with certain entries in the Town Council Records and other documents. The accompanying cut is taken from that plan, as it gives one a rough idea of what that locality was at that time.

The common opinion is that the Cross stood somewhere on the north side of St Giles' Church. This was the opinion of James Drummond, who read an elaborate paper to this Society on 11th February 1861, on

<sup>1</sup> Proc. Scot. Ant. Soc., vol. iv. p. 86.

"Scottish Mercat Crosses, more especially the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh," in which he gives a representation of where it stood; and he also expressed a very strong but a very erroneous opinion as to the form of the Cross taken down in 1617. David Laing, in his introduction to the Chartulary of St Giles, expresses the opinion that it stood near the Lady's Steps, a niche on which stood an image of the Virgin Mary, and where there also was an entrance door to the church on the eastern gable of St Giles. That Mr Drummond was misled by the paucity of evidence on which he based his opinions when he wrote in 1861, will be apparent from the additional evidence that is now produced both as to the actual site of the Old Cross and also of its form. The evidence he chiefly relied upon as fixing the site was an extract from Birrel's Diary: 1—

On the 10 July 1598, ane man, sume callet him a juglar, playit sic supple tricks upon ane tow quilk wes festinet betwixt the top of St Geills' Kirk stieple and ane stair beneath the crosse, callit Josias Close heid, the lyk was never seen in this country as he raid downe the tow and played sae maney pavies on it.

This close head has recently been identified with the close now known as Allan's Close, on the east side of the Royal Exchange. This statement of Birrel is corroborated by an entry in the City Treasurer's Account, two days later, of a payment made by the treasurer.

Item, the said 12 of July payit to Robert Stewart callit Mr of Activity for his playing upon ane tow betwixt the steiple and the Croce conform to ane precept vjlib. xiijs. iiijd.

This last notice was used by the late Mr Duncan M'Laren, in his statement made in the Town Council in 1861, to prove that the old Cross stood west of St Giles' Church. The two notices read together only show that the structure stood somewhere east of St Giles' steeple.

Gordon of Rothiemay's plan of the city, laid down from actual survey and published in 1647, about thirty years after the removal of the old

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Diary of Robert Birrel," in Fragments of Scottish History, p. 47.

Cross in 1617, enables us to determine one or two points at that date: First, the exact point on the High Street to which the Luckenbooths came,—that was as near as may be on a line with the east gable of St Giles' Church. It supplies us also with a correct outline of the New Parliament House erected on a portion of the area of what was previously the Parochial Cemetery of St Giles', the east wall of the cemetery extending down to the Cowgate with the Kirk Wynd, as it was previously called, on its east side, and two or three other closes or wynds, the one next the Kirk Wynd being called St Monan's, and the next two leading to the Fish Market, which was situated down nearer the Cowgate. These are fixed points which, taken along with other facts now to be stated, throws new light upon the question.

In the first volume of the Register of the Great Seal, 1814, the following charter, granted by David II. in the year 1365, goes a long way to determine the question:—"David grants to C. Fergusio de Edinhame, burgess of Edinburgh, that entire land with the pertinents that formerly belonged to the late William Bartholomew, within the burgh of Edinburgh, situated on the south side of the Mercat Cross (crucis fori), between the lands of John Wigmar on the east on the one side, and the land which formerly belonged to Walter de Corry on the other side."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William Bartholomew and Walter de Corry are not unknown to fame. The former was a prepositus of the city of Edinburgh in 1343, and the latter was one of the custumars of the burgh in 1343. During the troubled times of David II. the Castle of Edinburgh was in possession of the English, and was captured by the Scotch by a clever stratagem. Walter de Corry, a merchant with a number of bold confederates, undertook to appear in the Firth of Forth with his ship as an English merchantman, and offered to supply the English garrison of the Castle with a supply of wine and corn. When the supposed provisions arrived at the entrance to the Castle, the waggons and hampers were so placed in the gateway that the porter could not let down the portcullis. Douglas and his associates, who were in hiding in the neighbourhood of the Castle, on a given signal rushed out of their hiding-place, overpowered the guard, and, after a desperate conflict with the garrison, finally succeeded in taking the Castle; the governor, Limoson, and six of his esquires only escaping; all the rest were put to the sword. William Bartholomew and Walter de Corry were afterwards rewarded by the king and Parliament for their daring in this clever stratagem in capturing the Castle. There is every reason to believe that the owners of those two houses were the parties engaged in this enterprise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reg. Mag. Sig., p. 40.

Three years later there is a charter of confirmation of the same tenement in which Walter de Corry is described as on the west side of the land disponed. This charter decides two things,—that the Cross stood on the south side of the street, and that it did not stand on the north side of St Giles' Church. It also determines, along with other evidence now to be stated, that the Cross stood at that time at least the length of one tenement east of the gable of the church. From a list of annual rents doted to the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the Parish Church of St Giles, compiled by John Rollo, then the common clerk of the city, dated 12th September 1369, the following entries occur:—

Item, 5 shillings from the land of Thomas Bridyne situated on the south side (jacente ex parte australi) between the land of Symen de Preston on the east side and the land of Laurence de Neth on the west side.

Item, 5 shillings from the said land of the foresaid Laurence which now belongs to Robert of Jeduert.

Item, Six shillings from the land of John Wigmar near the west side of the land of the foresaid Robert.

Item. Ten shillings from the land of Walter de Corry beside the Cemetery.

Item, Thirteen shillings and four pence from the booths of John Wigmar opposite the land of the said Walter de Corry on the north and between the venell leading to the Cemetery on the south side and the booths de cono on the north side.<sup>1</sup>

Walter de Corry's tenement is here said to be near or beside the cemetery, and King David's charter places it on the west side of the house opposite the Cross, so that at the very utmost the east gable of St Giles' could not be more than the width of the Kirk Wynd and the length of the front of Walter de Corry's house, say 80 or 90 feet, from the cemetery wall and the church, at the date of the charter. The church was extended about 50 feet eastward subsequent to the date of this charter, 1365.

From 1365 downwards there are some five or six other sasines or charters in the *Register of the Great Seal* and the *Register of Sasines*, in the *Protocol Books* in the Town Council, as well as various entries in the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, all of which testify to the same effect down to 1560.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Charters of the Collegiate Church of St Giles," Bann. Club, p. 276.

In 1427, "King James I. grants to John Swift, burgis of Edinburgh, and Alison his spouse, that tenement situated on the south side of the King's Street beside the Cross between the tenement of Patrick de Hill on the one side and the tenement of John de Touris of Inverleith—from which an annual rent was to be paid to the heirs of Roger Wigmar" (see pages 366 and 379).

In 1558, there was disponed "a tenement of land lying in the Burgh of Edinburgh on the south side of the High Street and the Mercat Cross of the same situated between the tenement of the quondam William Williamson on the east and the heritable land of the quondam John Adamson on the west part." This John Adamson was a well-known citizen of his day, and was known by the cognomen "John Adamson at the Cross." There are several other sasines, all descriptive of the locality, and affording ample details of how the buildings in that neighbourhood were occupied. The Cunzie-house or Mint occupied one of them for many years, and there was a place called the vevers, presumably a fashionable restaurant. There was also a tavern as well at the Kirk Style, besides the outer booths, the property of the city in 1463.

Coming down to a later period, 1556, about two centuries from 1365, we find in a sasine recorded in the Register of Sasines in the Burgh Record, "a tenement situated in the said burgh on the west side of the Mercat Cross of the same, having the High Street on the north and east, and the passage leading to the Collegiate Church of St Giles of the same burgh on the south, and the land formerly belonging to Sir John Rynd Chaplin on the west side." This tenement stood on the east end of the Luckenbooths, and occupied the site on which Creech's Land was afterwards erected, looking down the High Street. Gordon of Rothiemay's plan (fig. 2) shows the exact position of this house, and aids materially in solving this question. The unmistakable evidence of these documents show very conclusively that the old Cross stood on the south side of the High Street in 1365, and that it stood there east of St Giles' Church and the lower end of the Luckenbooths in 1556—some sixty years previous to its removal in 1617.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R. M. Siq., p. 8. <sup>2</sup> "Protocol Book of Alex. Guthrie, sen.," vol. i.

On King James the Sixth's proposal to revisit Edinburgh in 1617, after an absence of fourteen years from his native country, it was

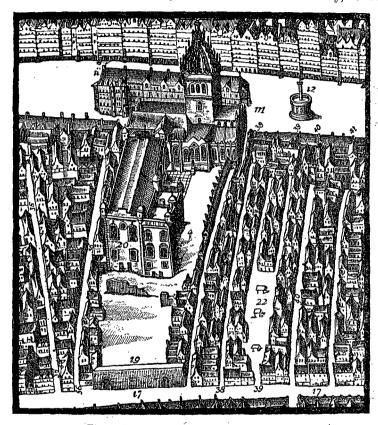


Fig. 2. Portion of Gordon of Rothiemay's Map.

- The Tolbuith.
  The High Cross or Market Cross.
  The Kow-gait.
  The Meil Market.

- 20. The Parliament House.22. The Fish Market.

- 36. Foster's Wynd,
- 38. S. Monan's Wynd.
- 39. Fish-market Wynd.
- 40. Borthwick's Wynd.
- 41. Con's Closs.

resolved to remove the Cross lower down the street, because it was an

incumbrance to the High Street at that point.1 The reasons assigned for the removal appears at first sight rather imaginary. A little reflection, however, on the structural arrangements that existed around the church, and the growing necessities of the times for open spaces and new sites for public buildings to meet those requirements, suggests the idea that the erection where it then stood was really a bar to improvement so early as 1540.2 That year the Town Council bought James Preston's land at the east end of St Giles' to open up the space at the "Lady's Steps," and to improve the entrance to the church. after, in 1561, the civic authorities obtained from Queen Mary the Greyfriars' Gardens for a new cemetery, in order to enable them to shut up the kirkvard of St Giles' on sanitary grounds. The Cross stood within say 45 feet east of the church, and must have greatly incommoded, not only the entrance to the church, but also to the Kirk and St Monan's Wynds. The uses made of the area of the kirkyard in erecting the Parliament House subsequent to the removal of the Cross, and shortly thereafter the entire destruction of the closely-built area, as shown in that locality on Gordon's plan, embracing both the Kirk and St Monan's Wynds. And the erection of handsome public buildings upon the area, leaving an open square, very clearly shows that the removal of the Cross lower down the street gave great facilities for carrying out these city improvements.

The spaces occupied between the Kirk Wynd and the Fish Market

"The quhilk day the Provost, Baillies, Deyne of Gild Thesaurer and Counsall being conveynit ordainis Johnne Byris Thesaurer to caus tak down the Croce and to reedifie the same agane and place it lower neiter the Tron be the advyse of the Baillies Deyne of Gild David Wilson Nicoll Vduart."

From the Treasurer's accounts it appears that the erection of the new Cross was set about immediately, as on the 17th February 1617, there was paid—"Item, This day, when the Croce was fundit, given to the Mr Measones amongst them, £5 6 8" and on the 25 March—"Item, for six tries tane to Edward Stewart from John Murray to help the ingyne that the Croce was set on, 30s. elk trie, £9 12 0 1617, 25 March—The Croce of Edinburgh was this day put upon the new seat, and payit for Disjoyne and Denner to the Mariners in Leyth, £24 13 0" 2 Council Records, 1540.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The only reference in the Town Council Record is the following:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Decimo Octavo decembris jmvjexvi.

Closes can still be determined with accuracy as they existed in 1647, when Gordon's map was executed, and there is every reason to believe that the same arrangement of closes existed at the early period of 1365. All the charters and sasines of property referred to imply this. the Kirk Wynd and also St Monan's Wynd are now both effaced on the south side of the High Street, the Cowgate portions of them still exist under other names,—Old Meal Market and Heron's Closes,—enabling us so far to determine the length of the fronts of the tenements referred to in the charters and sasines quoted as having been situated south of the Cross, and east and west of it in 1365, and later from 1565 to 1647. These arrangements enable us to determine the relative position of the Cross with a degree of accuracy that would otherwise be unattainable. The result thus gathered from all the information adduced leads to this conclusion, that the original Cross stood at or close by the head of St Monan's Wynd on the south side of the High Street, about 45 feet east from the present gable of St Giles' Church, and about 90 feet from the then gable in 1365, and most likely about the same distance from the front of the houses in the High Street as the one erected in 1617 did. If the structure recently erected had been placed some 24 feet farther north, it would have occupied as near as may be the identical site of the one taken down in 1617.

What was the form of the Cross taken down in 1617? There is now an accumulation of evidence bearing upon the question that Mr Drummond does not appear to have had before him at the time he wrote his paper. And, besides, a careful reading of the few statements on which he based his theory plainly leads to conclusions the very opposite of those he drew from them.

The following entry, from the Council Records in 1555, when it was proposed to take down the then existing structure, and to rebuild it on the same site, affords something like satisfactory evidence both as to its form and height:—

22 March 1555.—On the which, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, provost, John Syme, Edward Hoip, bailies, Robert Lindsay, Alexander Bruce of the Counsale, James Young, Patrick Durham, James Forret, Andro Elphinstoun, dekinnes, understandand forsamekill as the Mercat Croce and rowne thairof

beand rowpit threw the toune to se quha wald big the samyn in buith or buithis on their expens and tak the samyn in rentale of the towne for ane yeirlie proffit, comperit divers personis amongis the quhilkis comperit William Huchesoun, and he offerit yeirlie thairfor twelf merkis, and becaus nane bade mair the personis above written consentit that the said William suld big the said rowme of the Croce of the breid as it is now and nocht to mak the samyn brader, nor yit to holk it hower nor the calsay, and to mak the wallis thairof substantious and the worke likwys and set the lang stane as it is now, and to mak the interes to the heid thairof for proclamationis as it is now without impediment, and the interes to the buith or buithis to be just of the calsay and without any steppis; and the said William to be rentalit yierlie thairin on Mertymas evin and his airis efter him for the said yierlie dewtie alanerlie; and thairafter the said William band and oblist him and his airis to big the said Croce in buith or buithis as said is on his awne expens, and to begin the first terms payment of the said 12 merks yierlie at Mertymes nixt to com, and als sall infeft the towne in his landis lyand in Gravis Clois for sure payment of the said 12 merkis yierlie and the towne to poind the buith or buithis to be bigit as said is nochttheles; and James Anderson baillie, James Carmichael dene of guild, Maister Johne Prestoun thesaurer, Richard Carmichael, Jame Broun, William Lauson, John Litill of the Counsale, Thomas Ewin and Johne Hamiltoun dekynnis, disassented to the premissis and thairupon askit instruments.

The question arises, Was this intended rebuilding of the Cross ever carried out? Mr Adam, the city chamberlain, who is quite at home in all matters connected with the old accounts of the city, has carefully looked into this question, and he has arrived at the conclusion that this rebuilding never took place. The entry from the Council Records shows this, that nine voted for the rebuilding and nine voted against it, and protested, so that the proposal was not adopted. Then the accounts show that within a year or so expenses were incurred by the Council in mending the door and other parts of the Cross, besides it was "dychted," occasionally at the public expense.\frac{1}{2} And this expenditure appears

<sup>1558.—</sup>Item, to David Graham Robt. Cumming masonis for mending and grathing of ye Market Croce and Tolbuith Stair.

1560.—Item, for ane band to the Croce dur,				3s.
Item, for dychting of the Croce,				6d.
Item, for mending of the lok of the Croce dur,		•		1s. 6d.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1555, 27 June.—Item, that samyn day to Mungo Hunter smyth for ane lok and key to the Mercat Croce, iijs.

from the accounts to have continued long afterwards; and there is this very important fact, neither "William Huchesoun," nor any of his heirs, ever paid the yearly rent of 12 merks, which by the record he was taken bound to pay. It may be said this evidence is only negative, but following the fact that the resolution to rebuild the Cross was not carried in the Council, and as no action could follow from it, it is amply sufficient to confirm the idea that the old Cross that stood there before 1555 continued standing until the structure was taken down in 1617. as it may, the terms, however, in which the resolution is framed indicate very clearly the form of structure as it stood at that time:--"The entrance to the head of the building for making proclamations was to be made as it was then without any impediment; and the lang stane was to be set as it is now." We know also, from written records, that it had a door, which was kept locked, and a stair up to the top, from which proclamations were made. On festive occasions tables were placed on the top of it at which kings and magnates sat, "drinking the blood red wine;" while on another occasion James VI. went upon the Cross with certain of his nobles, and heard a sermon preached by Mr Patrick Galloway.<sup>1</sup>

On the occasion of the entry of Queen Ann, wife of James VI., to the city on the 19th May 1590, she stopped twice at the Mercat Cross before going into the church, and on coming out of it. The entry to the church at that time was at the Lady's Steps close by the Cross:—

Thus she passed on to the Crosse, upon the topp whereof she had a psalme sung in verie good musicke, before her coming to the churche, which done, her Majestie came forth of her chariot, and was carried into St Giles' Church, where she had a sermon preached by Mr Robert Bruce. That ended, with praires for her Highness, she was carried again to her chariot. Against her

1 "The 11 day of August, 1600, being Monday, the King came over the water. The toun with the hail suburbis, met him upon the sandiss of Leithe in armes with great joy, and schutting of muskettis, and shaking of pikes. He went to the Kirk of Leith to Mr David Lindesayis orisone. Therafter, the toun of Edinburgh having convenit up to Edr., and standing at the hie gait, hes Majestie past to the Crosse, the Crosse being hung with tapestrie, and went up theron with his nobills. Mr Patrick Galloway being thair, made ane sermone upon the 124 psalm; he declarit the haill circumstances of the treasone proposit by the Earle of Gowrie and his brother, quhilk the King testifiet bi his awen mouth sitting upon the Crosse all the time of the sermon."—Birret's Diary, p. 50.

coming forth, there stood upon the top of the Crosse a table covered, where-upon stood cups of gold and silver full of wine, with the Godess of Corne and Wine sitting thereat, and the corne in heaps by her, who in Latin, cried that there should be plentic thereof in her time, and on the side of the Crosse sate the God Bacchus upon a punchion of wine, winking and casting it by cupfull upon the people, besides others of the tounsmen that cast apples and nuts among them; and the Crosse itself ranne claret wine upon the caulsway, for the royalty of that day.<sup>1</sup>

The notice of Queen Mary's entry into Edinburgh on the second day of September 1561, given in the Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, affords us more information regarding the form of the Cross at that time, which can only be read in one way. After an entertainment in the Castle, the Queen rode into the city accompanied by a large retinue, and after the usual ceremony at the Butter Trone, she proceeded "on to the Tolbuith, at the quhilk was twa skaffattis, ane above and ane under that; upon the under was situat ane fair virgin, called Fortune, under the quhilk was thrie fair virgynnis, all cled in maist precious attyrement, callit [Prudence], Justice, and Policie. And after ane litell speitche maid thair, the quenis grace came to the Croce, quhair thair was standand four fair virgynis, cled in the maist hevenlie clething, and frae the quhilk croce the wine ran out at the spouttis in greit abundance; thair was the noyiss of pepill casting the glassis with wyne."

The Treasurer's accounts prior to the seventeenth century contain many interesting details of the expenditure incurred by the Council in connection with these festive occasions at the Mercat Cross. It is only necessary here, however, to refer to them in a general way. The wine that was used on these occasions is very frequently noticed, and some of the notices give a graphic account of how it was made to run out of the spouts of the Cross. There is in the accounts of one of these civic jollifications an item of expenditure paid for placing the puncheon of wine on the Cross, and another item paid to the plumber for laying the leaden pipes for conveying the wine from the puncheon to the spouts of the Cross. Two of the following extracts clearly indicate that the body of the Cross was not a solid structure, but had an open space within its walls like the one that was erected in 1617:—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Papers relating to the Marriage of James VI., Bannatyne Club, p. 41.

All these references, both as to the form of the Cross, and the uses to which the area on the top of it was applied, clearly imply that the body of the structure was surmounted by a platform, and had a stair that led up to the platform on which stood the "lang stane."

It is impossible, in the absence of direct testimony, now to say what amount of ornamentation decorated the body of that structure. One thing, however, is certain, that the long stone that surmounts the present erection also stood on the building that was taken down in 1617. All the available evidence, therefore, that can now be gathered, calculated to throw light upon either the form or the style of architecture of the original Cross, goes to prove that Sir Walter Scott's description of the more modern Cross was equally applicable to the one taken down in 1617—

"Dunedin's Cross, a pillared stone, Rose on a turret octagon."

How long it stood there previous to that period may never be ascertained. But the ornamentation of the capital of the "pillared stone" is purely Gothic, and closely resembles the carving on one or more of the clustered pillars in St Giles' Church, none of which, so far as is known, were erected before 1387. The fact of the ornamentation of the octagonal pillar of the Cross being Gothic naturally leads to the conclusion that the ornamentation of the structure itself was also of the same character; for in those early times there was no mixing up of pure Gothic and Classic styles of architecture in our public buildings, although that

<sup>1</sup> We are told by Calderwood "that on the 25 March 1617 the old Croce was taken down, the old long stone having been translated, with the assistance of certain mariners from Leith, from the place where it stoode, past memorie of man, to a place beneathe in the High Street, without anie harm to the stane; and the bodie of the old Crosse was demolished, and another buildit, whereupon the long stone or obleisk was erectit and set up."

practice seems to have been adopted about the beginning of the seventeenth century, when several market crosses were designed after that fashion.

Hitherto all discussion has turned upon the site and the form of the original Cross, but nothing is said about its origin. Tradition is mute regarding it, and there is no legend—no miracle associated with its history. But does the fact of its having stood close by the head of a wynd, known by the name of St Monan's in the olden time, not suggest something as to its probable origin. Its position close by the church of the city in early times leads us on to the idea that at an earlier period than 1365 the kirkyard in connection with the church may have extended over a larger area than it did at that time. It is well known that during the period of our Early Church history, and indeed down to comparatively recent times, the public markets were held in the burying-grounds around the parochial churches. Then the fairs and markets, almost as an invariable rule, had each their patron saints, and were held on holy days, and especially on Sundays. Our own Hallow-Mass Fair is a case in point. Whether the old Cross had been originally raised to perpetuate the fame of St Monan or some other saint, or to commemorate some forgotten event in our national or civic history, is now likely to remain a mystery.1

1 St. Monan is said to have been one of the companions of St Adrian, who came to preach to the Picts at the close of the eighth century, and who suffered death by the hands of the Danes in the island of May. He was buried at Invery on the mainland, and had a small chapel or shrine erected over his grave, which acquired a reputation for effecting cures on diseased devotees who visited it. There is a notice in Bower's Scotichronicon narrating an incident said to have occurred to King David II. that may have some bearing upon this idea. The king was wounded at the battle of Durham with an arrow. The barb remained in the wound for several years thereafter, the surgeons being unable to extract it; the king made a visit to the shrine of St Monan, when the barb miraculously leaped out of the scar. In 1362 David resolved to adorn the shrine with a handsome church. The Exchequer Rolls between that date and the death of the king in 1370 show that considerable sums of money were given to Sir William Dishington, the steward of the king's household. for the erection of the new church to St Monan. That is not all; for the accounts for Edinburgh in 1364, in the same volume of the Rolls show that two payments were made of £13, 6s. 8d. out of the great customs to Sir Thomas de Moravia, one of the chaplains of St Monan's Church. From two or three other burghs similar payments were made to other chaplains serving in the same church. If no positive inference can be drawn from these facts, the coincidence is at least worth noticing.