

1. Canongate

1.1. Background

Canongate's close proximity to the Palace of Holyroodhouse, which is situated at the eastern end of Canongate Burgh, has been influential on both the fortunes of the Burgh and the establishment of Canongate Kirk. In 1687, King James VII declared that the Abbey Church of Holyroodhouse was to be used as the chapel for the re-established Order of the Thistle and for the performance of Catholic rites when the Royal Court was in residence at Holyrood. The nave of this chapel had been used by the Burgh of Canongate as a place of Protestant worship since the Reformation in the mid sixteenth century, but with the removal of access to the Abbey Church to practise their faith, the parishioners of Canongate were forced to find an alternative venue in which to worship. Fortunately, some 40 years before this edict by James VII, funds had been bequeathed to the inhabitants of Canongate to erect a church in the Burgh - and these funds had never been spent. This money was therefore used to build Canongate Kirk and a Kirkyard was laid out within its grounds shortly after building work commenced in 1688.¹

Development

It has been ruminated whether interments may have occurred on this site before the construction of the Kirk or the landscaping of the Kirkyard² as all burial rights within the church had been removed from the parishioners of the Canongate in the 1670s, when the Abbey Church had become the chapel of the King.³

The earliest known plan of the Kirkyard dates to 1765 (Figure 1), and depicts a rectilinear area on the northern side of Canongate burgh with arboreal planting

¹ John Gifford et al., Edinburgh, *The Buildings of Scotland: Pevsner Architectural Guides* (London : Penguin, 1991). 150

² J F Mitchell, *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions* (1961). 1 William Pitcairn Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There* (Edinburgh, 1931).

³ *The Parish of Canongate's rights to the church of Holyrood had been in place since the 12th Century.* See E. Patricia Dennison., *Holyrood and Canongate : A Thousand Years of History* (2005). 100

around its curtilledge. Shortly after this in 1773 (Figure 2), the Kirkyard loses a portion of its grounds at the northern end of the site, which becomes part of the grounds of a charitable institution.

An increase in the number of residents in the Burgh of Canongate in the eighteenth century ⁴ created pressure for burial provision, resulting in an area of 'new burial ground' to the east of the site by 1813 (Figure 5). However, the limited space in Canongate Kirkyard relative to the size of its population continued to be problematic throughout the nineteenth Century. By 1848, requests were made by the residents of the Burgh for the closure of the burial ground after a cholera epidemic had overwhelmed the Kirkyard, but this was not carried into effect. By 1852, a second small extension to the Kirkyard had been created at the northern end of the site (Figure 8), in part of the grounds previously given over to the charitable institution in the eighteenth century. However, a report on the sanitary condition of the City in the 1860s noted that this site was severely overcrowded and recommended its immediate closure on the grounds of public health.⁵ According to the Third Statistical Account, this was effectuated for all new burials soon after, allowing only families who possessed private tombs to continue intramural interment at this site from the mid nineteenth century onwards.⁶ However, data in the Edinburgh Town Council Minutes held at the Edinburgh City Archives notes that a small number of applications for burials and monument erection continued to be approved at this site up to and during the 20th century.⁷

Use

Before its development as a Kirkyard, this site was a residential area with burgage plots and gardens to the rear. After the development of the Kirkyard in the late seventeenth century, the site was used solely for the purpose of the interment of the dead and for the erection of monuments to the memory of the departed.

⁴ "It was estimated that by 1775 there were approximately 4,500 people in the Canongate. By the 1790s this figure had risen to about 6,200." *Ibid.* 108

⁵ Henry J. Littlejohn, "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh," (Edinburgh 1863). 96

⁶ David Keir (Ed), 'the City of Edinburgh' the Third Statistical Account of Scotland (1966). 439

⁷ *Edinburgh City Archives, reference number SL1.*

Surveys

Surveys on the burials within this Kirkyard have been carried out since the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁸ Early work mainly commented on the more notable characters within the Kirkyard and their monuments, rather than conducting any methodical survey of the site. In the mid twentieth century, a survey of all the monuments and their inscriptions within the Canongate was published,⁹ which included maps of the location of the memorials and some brief notes on the site. This was added to and amended in a follow up publication at the beginning of the 21st century.¹⁰ In the latter part of the twentieth century, an Edinburgh wide survey by the City of Edinburgh District Council catalogued both the Kirkyard and more prominent monuments at this site¹¹ and shortly after this, Betty Willsher's work on monuments in Midlothian, also recorded and photographed a number of eighteenth century gravestones of note within this Kirkyard.¹²

1.2. Burial records

The burial records for the Canongate Kirkyard are held in New Register House, are available for the following years 1612,1672,1691,1718,1814 to 1854. ¹³ Additional information on burials and the erection of monuments in this Kirkyard up to and including the 20th century can also be found in the Town Council Minutes held in the Edinburgh City Archives.¹⁴

⁸ *Reverend C. Rodgers, Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland, vol. 1. (1871), Anderson, Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There.*

⁹ *Mitchell, Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions.*

¹⁰ *John F. Mitchell, Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 2, Canongate ed. Stuart E. Fleming. (2003).*

¹¹ *City of Edinburgh District Council, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volume 1, Primary Files," (1979), ———, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volumes 2-4, Supplementary Information," (1979).*

¹² *Betty Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh " in Survey of Scottish Gravestones (National Monuments Record for Scotland c.1985).*

¹³ *Mitchell, Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions.*

¹⁴ *Edinburgh City Archives, reference number SL1.*

1.3. Site Chronology

1649 - Thomas Moodie bequeaths the sum of 20,000 merks scots in his will, in order to build a church in Edinburgh.¹⁵

1672 - Approximate date of first burials in Canongate burial ground (according to Mitchell, 1961).¹⁶

1687 - James VII decrees that the nave of Holyrood Abbey is to be used for the purpose of Catholic worship by the Knights of the Order of the Thistle, and so could no longer be used by the residents of Canongate Burgh for protestant mass.¹⁷

1688 - Thomas Moodie's money is allocated to build a new Kirk for the residents of Canongate. The Lord Commissioners of the Treasury ask James Smith to design this new building.¹⁸

1688 - Kirkyard laid out¹⁹

1691 - Canongate Kirk is opened for worship.²⁰

1765 - William Edgar's "City and Castle of Edinburgh" (Figure 1) depicts Canongate Kirk and Kirkyard with planting around a defined curtiledge and an

¹⁵ Anderson, Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There. 504. *The final cost of the building was 43,000 merks scotch. See Anne Boyle et al., Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage (Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1985). 67.*

¹⁶ Mitchell, Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions. 1 According to Anderson, Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There., 'Bonar' (no reference found) in a shork sketch of the Canongate notes that the Burgers of the Canongate were dispossessed of the Holyrood church at this date. This may explain why there are interments that date back to the 1670s, prior to the construction of the church.

¹⁷ James Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places (London ; New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1881). Vol II, 28.

¹⁸ Ibid., Boyle et al., Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage. 67.

¹⁹ Gifford et al., Edinburgh. 150

²⁰ Anderson, Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There. 505

entrance to the Kirkyard and Kirk from the south. Canongate Tollbooth has also developed on part of the Kirkyard grounds in the southeastern corner. A poorhouse is situated to the west of the Kirkyard.

1773 - Andrew Mostyn Armstrong's "Map of the Three Lothians" (Figure 2), depicts a shortening of the site at the northern end, this area now being incorporated as the grounds of the charity workhouse.

1780 - John Ainslie's "City of Edinburgh" (Figure 3), depicts the Kirkyard as grassed over area.

1804 - John Ainslie's "Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the proposed docks" (Figure 4), depicts a more formal landscape within the Kirkyard, with pathways leading around the site and towards the Kirk.

1813 - William Bell's "Plan of the Regality of Canongate comprising the Liberties of Pleasance, North Leith, Coal-hill and Citadel thereof. Plan of North Leith within the Regality of Canongate" (Figure 5), depicts an extension to the Kirkyard at the eastern end of the site.

1817 - Robert Kirkwood's "Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs" (Figure 6) depicts burial lairs around much of the eastern and northern curtilage, with several lairs also situated on the western side. Ferguson's Tomb is denoted on this map.

1832 - Anatomy Act- permitting the legalized sale of dead bodies to the medical schools, taking the pressure off graveyards from the 'Bodysnatchers.'²¹

1836 - James Kay's "Kay's Plan of Edinburgh" (Figure 7) depicts burial lairs along the length of the eastern boundary.

²¹ *Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, "Anatomy Act (2 & 3 Will. IV C.75)," (1832).*

1848 - Inhabitants became alarmed by the overcrowding and apply to the Sheriff during the cholera epidemic to have the Kirkyard shut up. This attempt was unsuccessful and the Kirkyard was leveled, re-laid with earth and interments went on as before.²²

1852 – The Ordnance Survey’s “Large Scale Town Plan” (Figure 8), depicts an extension to the north of the Kirkyard, over part of the area previously developed as the charity workhouse. A small area to the northwest of the site is still denoted as ‘Canongate poor house.’ Some notable memorials are marked on map, these are (n-s):

Dugald Stewart’s Tomb

Robert Ferguson’s grave

Adam Smith’s grave

1856 – Edinburgh Municipality Extension act. The Burgh of Canongate is now the responsibility of the City. This includes the management of the Kirkyard.

1863 - The Littlejohn ‘*Report on the Sanitary condition of Edinburgh*’ notes that that Canongate very small for big population and recommends that it should be closed on the grounds of public health.²³

1880 - Mr. Ford of Holyrood Glass works erects a monument “In memory of the soldiers who died at Edinburgh castle, situated in the parish of Canongate, interred here from the year 1692 to 1880”²⁴.

1951- RCAHMS Inventory of Monuments in Edinburgh is published.²⁵

²² Littlejohn, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh.* 97

²³ *Ibid.* 97

²⁴ Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places. Vol II, 30.*

²⁵ *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland., "An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh (with the Thirteenth Report of the Commission, HmsO)," (1951).*

1955-61 - John Fowler Mitchell records list of inscriptions for Old and New Calton, Canongate and Holyrood Abbey, Saint John's Kirk, Jewish, Quaker and Buccleuch burial grounds.²⁶

1979 – City of Edinburgh District Council produce the Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. This includes a concise description and brief historical background on Canongate Kirkyard in Volume 1 and further detailed information and documentary evidence on some of the monuments found in the Kirkyard in Volumes 2-4.²⁷

c. 1985 - Betty Willsher survey of eighteenth century gravestones- Midlothian version²⁸

2003 - Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions survey by John F. Mitchell jnr.²⁹

1.4. Key features

Monuments

Canongate Kirkyard is calculated to contain some 140 monuments, 62 tombs and 150 wall plaques, monuments, and ledgers.³⁰ Information and archival notes on some the better-known monuments erected at Canongate are recorded in the City of Edinburgh Council Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds, dating to 1979.³¹ This includes a broad description of the site and supplementary information from the Edinburgh City Archives but is in no way an exhaustive list of all of the monuments of note that are found at this site. The *Buildings of Scotland* series for Edinburgh also describes a number of monuments in

²⁶ Mitchell, Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions.

²⁷ City of Edinburgh District Council, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volume 1, Primary Files.", ———, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volumes 2-4, Supplementary Information."

²⁸ Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh".

²⁹ Mitchell, Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 2, Canongate

³⁰ Figures produced by the City of Edinburgh Council Graveyard Regeneration and Marketing Project (2007-08)

³¹ City of Edinburgh District Council, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volume 1, Primary Files.", ———, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volumes 2-4, Supplementary Information."

architectural detail,³² and surveys that have been carried out on this site throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have identified some specific memorials within this list that are considered to be of greater significance - either because of whom they commemorate, or due to the quality of craftsmanship and design in the stonework.

For example, the 1852 Ordnance Survey (Figure 8) recorded the location of the graves of Robert Ferguson and Adam Smith, along with Dugald Stewart's tomb within the Kirkyard. Christison, in his early twentieth Century article, noted the craftsmanship and detail in the tombstone erected by The Society of Coach Drivers in 1767.³³ Other surveys in the later twentieth century have noted some eighteenth century stones of particular craftsmanship and significance.³⁴ Those identified are:

1745 Mural Monument, Thomas Dickie

1766 Mural monument, Robert Boag

1767 Headstone, Society of Coach Drivers - the carving on the stone is noted as particularly skilful.³⁵

1785 Mural monument, Alexander and John Runciman

1787/89 Headstone, Robert Ferguson (d.1774) - erected by Robert Burns.³⁶

In 1965, a publication on the history of the Canongate Kirk and Kirkyard by Reginald Selby-Wright also highlighted two memorials of note: The first - which was not named, but located on the south end of the south eastern section and is

³² Gifford et al., Edinburgh. 150-152

³³ David Christison, "Additional Notes on the Kirkyard Monuments of the Scottish Lowlands," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland xxxix (1904-5). 113-115

³⁴ See Colin Dickson, "Calton & Canongate," in Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage, ed. Anne Boyle (Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1985). 67 City of Edinburgh District Council, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volume 1, Primary Files.", ———, "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volumes 2-4, Supplementary Information." and Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh".

³⁵ This was erected chiefly by Thomas Jamieson and Robert Maving, who was treasurer for the society. See Mitchell, Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions. 104.

³⁶ Willsher notes that this has now vanished, but was written about by Pettigrew (Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, Chronicles of the Tombs. A Select Collection of Epitaphs (London,1857).) In 1986, the Saltire Society erected a plaque stating that Robert Louis Stevenson had intended to renovate Ferguson's memorial but died before he could do so. The Society erected a plaque on the spot to commemorate the three literary 'Roberts'.

noted to include a Greek inscription taken from 'The Persians' by Aeschylus; The second, is a tomb which belongs to the Earls of Airlie, where several young children of the seventh Earl were interred.³⁷

A nineteenth century monument of note is the monument erected in 1880 by Mr Ford of Holyrood Glass works in memory of soldiers of Edinburgh Castle who were from the Canongate.

Other architectural features

Canongate Kirk, its Kirkyard, monuments and boundaries are category 'A' Listed.³⁸ The Kirk is considered unique amongst seventeenth century Kirks in Scotland. Described as "symmetrical, cruciform and of harled rubble, with a distinctive curvilinear ashlar Dutch gable on its southern elevation,"³⁹ its design does not reflect reformed protestant worship, but is in fact considered that it may have been designed to be adaptable for Roman Catholic practice.⁴⁰

Landscape and setting

The present extent of the Kirkyard is measured at 0.762 hectares.⁴¹ It extends in a sudden northwards decline from the Royal Mile, behind the Kirk and is terraced to obtain leveller ground throughout the site. The site's topography and open nature, along with its location within the Burgh results in excellent views to Calton Hill, where many impressive nineteenth century neo-classical structures can be viewed.⁴² These attributes also contribute to the character of the Canongate, creating a tranquil and peaceful part of the Old Town, in sharp contrast to the cheek-by-jowl nature of the High Street, further up the Royal Mile.

³⁷ *Ronald Selby Wright, An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard (1965). 58. The Greek inscription on the stone is translated as "Dear the Mound; For it hides the lovely heart*

³⁸ *Historic Scotland, "Canongate Parish Church Including Burial Ground, Gates, Gatepiers, Boundary Walls and Railings," in Historic Scotland Statutory List HB Number 26823 (1970).*

³⁹ *Gifford et al., Edinburgh. 149*

⁴⁰ *Ibid. 149*

⁴¹ *Figures produced by the City of Edinburgh Council Graveyard Regeneration and Marketing Project (2007-08)*

⁴² *This is considered as an important aspect of the Kirkyard in the 1960s, from the concluding image of Selby-Wright's publication, which includes a photograph of himself and other two notable ministers in Edinburgh and points out the proximity of the Royal High School to the Kirk. See Wright, An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard.*

The Kirkyard, in particular, is noted in the 2005 Old Town Conservation Character Appraisal as retaining an ‘impression’ of how the Canongate may have originally looked when it was first developed.⁴³

Association with historical events

In the nineteenth century, the close proximity of the Kirkyard to the University of Edinburgh meant that freshly interred bodies were at risk of being dug up and sold to the medical school for dissection. At Canongate, a night watch was established in the Kirkyard and mortsafes were ordered to protect newly buried bodies on the site.⁴⁴ However, due to the lucrative nature of the business of ‘Bodysnatching’, attempts were still made to obtain fresh corpses, which can still be identified on some of the monuments within the Kirkyard. One account describes how James Hunter’s tombstone, which is located to the north of the apse of the Kirk, had become caught in the crossfire as the watch attempted to defend the Kirkyard from a raid by the ‘Resurrectionists’. The marks of shots fired were noted as still being visible on the south side of this monument during a survey of the Kirkyard in the 1960s.⁴⁵ Christison, in his 1904-5 article on Scottish monuments also comments that the Society of Coach Drivers tombstone is “riddled with small shot and swan shot...fired by watchmen in the ‘resurrectionist’ days.”⁴⁶

1.4. Key figures

From the seventeenth to the mid eighteenth century, the Burgh’s links to the Palace of Holyroodhouse and connections to the royal family resulted in many of the burgh plots in the Burgh being owned and occupied by the gentrified and upper classes. After the accession of Holyrood Abbey by the monarchy, many of the residents who had previously owned lofts and ground for burial in the

⁴³ City of Edinburgh Council, “Old Town Conservation Area Character Appraisal,” (2005). 16

⁴⁴ Wright, *An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard*. 32 Mitchell, *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions*. 131 Site surveys carried out in 2011 could not find any evidence of these marks on the specified memorials.

⁴⁵ Wright, *An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard*. 32 Mitchell, *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions*. 131

⁴⁶ Christison, “Additional Notes on the Kirkyard Monuments of the Scottish Lowlands.” 114

grounds and Kirk of Holyrood Palace, were offered space within the new Kirkyard at Canongate. However, the 1707 Union of the Parliaments and the removal of the royal court to London resulted in a high volume of the aristocracy following King James VII south.⁴⁷ The effect of this can be identified through the proportionate lack of memorials that are dedicated to personages of the upper classes during this period. Instead, it has been noted that many of the memorial stones in the Kirkyard that date from the early eighteenth century are from the tradesmen's classes, in particular those of brewers and smiths.⁴⁸ However, Anderson's survey of the Kirkyard in his 1931 publication *Silences that Speak* suggests that this was not a continuing trend. He provides detailed information on many of the aristocratic and landed families with tombs in Canongate Kirkyard and notes that although some of the tombs are in the older portion of the Kirkyard, many of them are situated on the eastern walls of the eastern section, which was added at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ This suggests that affluent families may have returned to the Burgh to some extent by this point, or new families of a similar standing had replaced those associated with the royal court.

Numerous people of local and national importance are therefore interred within the grounds of the Canongate Kirkyard.⁵⁰ The Historic Scotland listed building report for the Canongate notes that the Kirkyard "contain[s] a wealth of significant monuments and tombs of prominent and highly regarded seventeenth and eighteenth century Scottish dignitaries and academics."⁵¹ In particular the number of enlightenment figures interred within its grounds have

⁴⁷ Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There.* 506

⁴⁸ Boyle et al., *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage.* 67

⁴⁹ Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There.* 567

⁵⁰ Taken from James Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places (London ; New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1881).*, Bruce J Home, "Provisional List of Old Houses Remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh," *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (1902).* Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There.* 12, Wright, *An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard.* And Rev. Charles Rogers, *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland vol. 1 (1871).* 85

⁵¹ *Historic Scotland, "Canongate Parish Church Including Burial Ground, Gates, Gatepiers, Boundary Walls and Railings."*

resulted in the Kirkyard being conferred as the place to “gaze upon the tombs of some of the most noteworthy men [of] Scotland...”⁵²

1688 (?) David Rizzio – According to Selby Wright, Rizzio’s remains (d. 1566) are reputed to have been transported to the Kirk in 1688 and is buried in a tomb in the south-east corner of the Kirk, above which a plaque has now been placed.⁵³

1696 James Ramsay - Bishop of Ross. Headed the signatories to the oath of allegiance to episcopacy of 1666.

1711 Rev Thomas Wilkie – First minister of the new Canongate Kirk

1724 Marchmont, 1st Earl Sir Patrick Home (Hume) – Lord Chancellor of Scotland and a well-known covenanter and statesman. Interred within an area of the Kirkyard delineated by a wall of ashlar stone, which has a pedimented gateway and is carved with the words “Marchmont Burial Ground”.⁵⁴

1724 Sir William Hope – Baronet, Deputy Governor of Edinburgh Castle and author of ‘*The compleat fencing master*’, which was published in 1686.

1757 Nicolo(a?) Pasquali - Cellist, composer and actor, who according to Silences that Speak,⁵⁵ “...greatly aided the culture of music in the City.”

1751 John Frederick Lampe – German musician and composer. Reputed to have been Handel’s favourite bassoon player in London. According to Turnbull, his almost illegible writing on the tombstone states that Lampe ‘was summoned to join the heavenly concert with the blessed choir above.’⁵⁶

1760 Charles Alston – Lecturer in Botany and Meteria Medica at Edinburgh University. One of the founders of the Edinburgh School of Medicine and Superintendent of the Physic Garden.

1766 Rev. Dr John Jardine – Minister of Liberton and Lady Yester’s Kirkes in Edinburgh. Became one of the King’s Chaplains in St Andrews and Dean of the Order of the Thistle.

⁵² Boyle *et al.*, *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage*. 69

⁵³ Wright, *An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard*. 56 and also see Mitchell, *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions*. 95, which mentions the burial records that relate to Rizzio, currently located in the National Archives of Scotland.

⁵⁴ Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There*. 512

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 515

⁵⁶ Michael T R B Turnbull, *The Edinburgh Graveyard Guide (2006)*. 81

1766 George Drummond – Six times Lord Provost of Edinburgh. Founder of the Royal Infirmary and helped to establish the Medical Faculty. He was also heavily involved in the development of the first New Town and the City Chambers and was the driving force behind the draining of the Nor' Loch and the development of the first North Bridge.

1768 John Runciman - Artist. Gravestone erected by the Royal Scottish Academy and commemorates both him, and his brother Alexander on the same stone.

1773 John Gregory – Renowned Medic and friend of many enlightenment notables such as David Hume and Hugh Blair. Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh.

1774 Robert Fergusson – Scottish poet and inspiration to Robert Burns, so much so that the memorial was erected by Burns in 1787 on his discovery that Fergusson had been buried in a Pauper's Grave⁵⁷ (N.B. Anderson notes the erection of this tombstone occurred in 1789⁵⁸). According to Selby-Wright, the date on the memorial stone should be 1750, and not 1751.⁵⁹

1783 Rev. Dr William Lothian – Minister and Historian. Author of *The History of the United Provinces in the Netherlands*.

1785 Alexander Runciman - Artist, whose work can still be found (partially exposed) on the ceiling of St Patrick's R.C. church in the Cowgate. Gravestone erected by the Royal Scottish Academy and commemorates both him, and his brother John on the same stone.

1789 Lord Macleod, (Count Cromarty) – Lieutenant -General in the Swedish Army and Major-General in the British Army. Along with his father, 3rd Earl of Cromartie (sic) he was captured in 1746 and convicted of High Treason as an adherent to Prince Charlie. He was pardoned in 1748.

1790 Adam Smith - Author of the *Wealth of Nations*, social philosopher and a pioneer of political economy.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 76

⁵⁸ Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There.* 523

⁵⁹ Wright, *An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard.* 56

1798 –Thomas Hardy - Minister of Ballingry, Fife, the High Kirk, Edinburgh and later on in his career, Professor of Divinity and Chair of Church History, Edinburgh.

1803 John Walker – Professor of Natural History at the University of Edinburgh

1806 Benjamin Bell – An eminent surgeon and the grandnephew of William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England.

1813 William, Lord Craig – Senator of the College of Justice

1818 Mary Brunton – A novelist and wife of Alexander Brunton. According to Selby Wright,⁶⁰ she counted Jane Austen among her readers.

1819 David Douglas, Lord Reston – Advocate and later, Sheriff of Berwickshire.

1821 John Ballatyne – The younger brother of James Ballatyne (see below) and, according to Selby Wright, partly the cause of Scott losing his fortune.⁶¹

1821 James Gregory – Renowned medic and inventor of Gregory’s Mixture. Became Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh when only 23.

1821 Luke Fraser – Tutor of Latin at the Royal High School who taught Sir Walter Scott. He was considered by Scott to be ‘a good Latin Scholar and a very worthy man.’⁶²

1821 Minister of Canongate Parish and prominent Gaelic Speaker, whose translation of the scriptures into Gaelic earned him the thanks of the General Assembly in 1819 and 1820.

1824 Alexander Campbell – Harpsichord Musician and Author of *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland* and *A Tour from Edinburgh through parts of North Britain, etc.*, amongst others.

1824 John G.C. Schetky – Musician and composer, which included “Clarinda, mistress of my soul” for Robert Burns

1828 Dugald Stewart - Renowned Philosopher and Professor of Moral Philosophy. A cenotaph to Stewart is also erected on Calton Hill

1829 Hugh William Williams – Renowned landscape artist

1833 James Ballatyne – One of Sir Walter Scott’s closest associates and printer of Scott’s Waverly Novels.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 56

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 55

⁶² *Ibid.* 56

1836 George Chalmers – A Canongate plumber who bequeathed £30,000 on his death to form the Chalmers Hospital in Lauriston Place.

1836 Sir William Fettes – Twice Lord provost of Edinburgh and merchant. Founder of Fettes College, a prestigious boys school in the City.

1841 Mrs Maclehose - Burns' 'Clarinda' of whom he wrote many poems about and with whom Burns carried on a quite famous correspondence.

1850 John Irving – An Edinburgh Solicitor and close boyhood friend of Sir Walter Scott

1854 Alexander Brunton – Professor of Oriental languages at Edinburgh and one of the City ministers

1864 Sir John Watson Gordon – Portrait artist and former president of the RSA. The chair of Fine Arts in Edinburgh University – an accolade that continues to this day - was founded under his name with a bequest by his brother and sister.

1889 Horatius Bonar - According to Wright,⁶³ probably the greatest of all Scottish hymn writers, but also has a great reputation as a preacher and became one of the stalwarts of the free church at the disruption.

1963 Robert Hurd – Scottish Architect

References and identified sources

Bibliography

Anderson, William Pitcairn. *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There.* Edinburgh, 1931.

Boyle, Anne, Colin Dickson, Alasdair McEwan, and Colin MacLean. *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage.* Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1985.

Christison, David. "Additional Notes on the Kirkyard Monuments of the Scottish Lowlands." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* xxxix, (1904-5): 55-116.

City of Edinburgh District Council. "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volume 1, Primary Files." 1979.

———. "Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. Volumes 2-4, Supplementary Information." 1979.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 56

- Colin Dickson. "Calton & Canongate." In *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage*, edited by Anne Boyle. Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1985.
- Council, City of Edinburgh. "Old Town Conservation Area Character Appraisal." 2005.
- David Keir (Ed). *'the City of Edinburgh' the Third Statistical Account of Scotland* 1966.
- Dennison., E. Patricia. *Holyrood and Canongate : A Thousand Years of History* 2005.
- Gifford, John, Colin McWilliam, David Walker, and Christopher Wilson. *Edinburgh, The Buildings of Scotland: Pevsner Architectural Guides: London : Penguin, 1991.*
- Grant, James. *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places.* London ; New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1881.
- Historic Scotland. "Canongate Parish Church Including Burial Ground, Gates, Gatepiers, Boundary Walls and Railings." In *Historic Scotland Statutory List HB Number 26823*, 1970.
- Home, Bruce J. "Provisional List of Old Houses Remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh." *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (1902).
- Littlejohn, Henry J. . "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh." Edinburgh, 1863.
- Mitchell, J F. *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions* 1961.
- Mitchell, John F. *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 2, Canongate* Edited by Stuart E. Fleming. 2003.
- Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. "Anatomy Act (2 & 3 Will. Iv C.75)." 1832.
- Pettigrew, Thomas Joseph. *Chronicles of the Tombs. A Select Collection of Epitaphs.* London, 1857.
- Rodgers, Reverend C. *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland.* Vol. 1. 1871.
- Rogers, Rev. Charles. *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland* Vol. 1 1871.
- Scotland., Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of. "An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh (with the Thirteenth Report of the Commission, HmsO)." 1951.
- Turnbull, Michael T R B. *The Edinburgh Graveyard Guide* 2006.
- Willsher, Betty. "Midlothian and Edinburgh " In *Survey of Scottish Gravestones: National Monuments Record for Scotland* c.1985.
- Wright, Ronald Selby. *An Illustrated Guide to the Canongate Kirk, Parish and Churchyard* 1965.