

2. Greyfriars Kirkyard

2.1. Background

In 1561, a record in the Edinburgh Town Council Minutes notes that St Giles - the kirk and burial ground situated on Edinburgh's High Street - had become so overcrowded and fetid with burials as to cause unbearable smells to permeate through the Kirk during the summer months.¹ It suggests that a new burial ground should be created, away from the centre of the Burgh, on the grounds of the disbanded Franciscan monastery of the 'Grey Friars' that had been sacked during the Reformation. The following year, a grant for this land from Mary, Queen of Scots² was obtained by the City for the purpose of the interment of the dead and the area began to be used as a burial ground for the people of Edinburgh soon after this date.

Development

Greyfriars Kirk was erected within the burial ground in the early seventeenth century. One of the earliest depictions of Greyfriars as a Kirkyard³ can be found on Gordon's map of 1647 (Figure 1), which shows a Kirk within a landscaped area, situated to the south of Edinburgh, east of the grounds of Heriot's Hospital.⁴ After the development of Parliament House on the former burial ground of St Giles in the early seventeenth Century,⁵ Greyfriars was used for the majority of interments in Edinburgh. The addition of burial space to the south of the

¹Taken from Town Council Minutes, April 23, 1561 in 'Greyfriars Historical Notes', supplied by Stephen Dickson, CEC Bereavement Services, n.d.

²"A petition was presented to Queen Mary requesting the grant of the friary and its Yards, "being sumquat distant from oure toun to mak ane place to burie and eird the personis deciss and therein, suce that thair thrw the air within oure said toun be the mair pure and clean" - see "Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh) et al., Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh [1589-1718], 9 vols. (Edinburgh: Published for the Corporation of the City of Edinburgh by Oliver and Boyd, 1927), Anne Boyle et al., Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage (Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1985). 12

³Betty Willsher, in her survey of Midlothian 18th century graveyard monuments, rightfully points out that Greyfriars was originally a burial ground and not a Kirkyard, as the burials here predate the existence of any church in the grounds. See Betty Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh " in Survey of Scottish Gravestones (National Monuments Record for Scotland c.1985).

⁴A school for fatherless boys set up by the bequest of George Heriot, Goldsmith to King James VI in 1628.

⁵Miles Glendinning, The Architecture of Scottish Government : From Kingship to Parliamentary Democracy (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2004).

Kirkyard at the beginning of the eighteenth century suggests that, even in the early 1700s, Greyfriars struggled to accommodate the high number of burials required for the Burgh. Throughout the eighteenth century, the development of industrialisation and the urban expansion of the town exponentially increased the number of residents and created further pressure on burial space, with between 1100 and 1200 interments in the Kirkyard recorded yearly by the end of the eighteenth century.⁶ To accommodate this, Greyfriars was further extended at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the west of the site behind Heriot's Hospital, but this filled to capacity with burial lairs by 1817 (Figure 8). By the 1860s, a report on the sanitary condition of the City commented on the overcrowded state of the Kirkyard and recommended its immediate closure on the grounds of public health.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹

Use

The land had originally belonged to the Tours of Inverleith, who had sold it to Robert II in 1388.¹⁰ There is no information on the use of this land prior to the 15th century, but it is likely that this was used for farming and tilling¹¹ until a monastery was built by James I in 1436, to entice the Franciscan 'Grey Friars' to settle in Edinburgh. During the following 100 years, a number of regal events occurred within its grounds, which emphasised the importance of the site. These include: The marriage of James II to Mary of Gueldres in 1449; The provision of

⁶ Henry Paton, ed. Register of Interments in the Greyfriars Burying Ground, Edinburgh 1658-1700, *Scottish Record Society (1902)*. Prefatory note.

⁷ Henry J. Littlejohn, "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh," (*Edinburgh 1863*). 96

⁸ David Keir (Ed), 'the City of Edinburgh' the Third Statistical Account of Scotland (1966). 439

⁹ *Edinburgh City Archives, reference number SL1*

¹⁰ 'Greyfriars Historical Notes', supplied by Stephen Dickson, CEC Bereavement Services, n.d.

¹¹ *The ground was used as farmland and orchards by the Monks, so it is likely that the land had been of a good arable quality before it was given to the Grey Friars.*

sanctuary to Henry VI and Queen Margaret between 1461 and 1464; And the provision of lodgings for the bride and groom for two weeks prior to the wedding of James IV and Margaret (daughter of Henry VII), in 1503.¹²

Shortly after the disbandment of the monastery in 1559,¹³ the area was developed into a burial ground. Its main purpose was for the interment of the dead outside of the City, however, its use as an open common area throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also resulted in Greyfriars being central to burgh life¹⁴ and used as a gathering and socialising space,¹⁵ a drill ground¹⁶ and a place for 'Wappenschaw'.¹⁷

In addition, the proximity of Greyfriars Kirk and Kirkyard to Parliament House and its location close to the Burgh resulted in Greyfriars being embroiled in many of the events relating to the political, civil and religious wars of the seventeenth century, with Greyfriars being used as a prison, a barracks and a stronghold during this period.

Previous site surveys.

Greyfriars' recognition as a key site in the annals of Scottish history were recognised as early as the 1700s¹⁸, when early attempts were made to record the inscriptions on the gravestones within the Kirkyard. This has since been replicated, amended and added to in a plethora of publications throughout the eighteenth, and nineteenth¹⁹ centuries, which have not only recorded the

¹² 'Greyfriars Historical Notes', supplied by Stephen Dickson, CEC Bereavement Services, n.d.

¹³ *Historic Scotland, "Greyfriars Place, Greyfriars Churchyard, Including Monuments, Lodge Gatepiers, Railings and Walls," in Historic Scotland Statutory List HB Number 27029 (1970).*

¹⁴ *William Moir Bryce, "The Covenanter's Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard," Book of the Old Edinburgh Club 2 (1909).83-84*

¹⁵ *In 1650 all 'fensible' persons were ordered to meet in Greyfriars yard in anticipation of the Cromwellian campaign and in 1662 part of the ground was used as a racing track for noblemen see Ibid. 84*

¹⁶ *Ibid. 84*

¹⁷ *According to John Jamieson, "An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language," (Alexander Gardner, Paisley, 1882). "Wappunschaw" is defined as: "An exhibition of arms, according to the rank of the person, made at certain times in every district...These meetings were not designed for military exercise, but only for shewing(sic) that lieges were properly provided with arms."*

¹⁸ *R.Monteith, "an Theatre of Mortality; or, the Illustrious Inscriptions Extant Upon the Several Monuments, Erected over the Dead Bodies (of the Sometimes Honourable Persons) Buried within Greyfriars Church Yeard: And Other Churches and Burial Places within the City of Edinburgh and Suburbs: Collected and Englished by R.Monteith, M.A." (1704).*

¹⁹ *Dr Andrew Duncan, "'Elogia Sepulchralia Edinburgena" Containing Monumental Inscriptions, Selected from Burial Grounds at Edinburgh" (1815).*

gravestones within the Kirkyard, but have also relayed the history of Greyfriars Kirk and the use and development of the burial ground.

In the twentieth century, the monuments of Greyfriars, its history and the tranquility of the Kirkyard have continued to be a source of attraction with many books and articles published on the site and its monuments.²⁰ By the late twentieth century, Greyfriars was part of an Edinburgh wide survey by the City of Edinburgh District Council on its monuments and burial grounds, which catalogued both the Kirkyard and more prominent monuments at this site.²¹ 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,²² which was followed by detailed discussion on the layout and historical significance of the site and its monuments in Boyle et al's *Ruins and Remains*.²³ Surveys were also carried out during this period on the landscape of Greyfriars in 1989²⁴ and a detailed survey on all the monuments within the Kirkyard was catalogued on a database for and on behalf of the Greyfriars Kirkyard Trust in 1994.²⁵

2.2 Burial records and other information on interments:

Burial records from 1717 onwards are held at the Edinburgh City Archives²⁶, with limited extracts of earlier records between 1658 and 1700 available

²⁰ W Forbes Gray, *Historic Churches of Edinburgh (Edinburgh & London: The Moray Press, 1940). P32-41* John F. Mitchell, *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 4, Greyfriars Burial Ground ed. Stuart E. Fleming. (2003). Samuel Dunlop, A Short Guide to Greyfriars Churches and Churchyard Edinburgh (George A Reid, Edinburgh, n.d. - Early 20th century(ca. 1920s?)), J. Stewart Smith, Historic Stones and Stories of Bygone Edinburgh (1924).198 John Renwick, "Haven of Dignity- and Rest," *Evening News and Dispatch Saturday August 6 1966*, ———, "Haven of Peace in the Roar of the City," *Edinburgh Evening News 3rd May 1986*.*

²¹ *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).*

²² Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh".

²³ Boyle et al., *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage*.

²⁴ Turnbull Jeffrey Partnership, "Greyfriars Kirkyard Landscape Report," (1989).

²⁵ ———, "Greyfriars Graveyard Management Plan," (1994). See also *Greyfriars Kirkyard Database CD 1995-2003, with notes by K.M. Bury 2010*.

²⁶ *Edinburgh City Archives reference number SL1*.

through a secondary publication by the Scottish Records Society.²⁷ Some information can also be found on the use of the burial ground in the first 100 years of its existence through the Town Council Minutes held at the Edinburgh City Archives and from the National Archives of Scotland, which note some individual burials and instances of communal burials during times of disease in the City.

2.3 Site chronology

1388 – Land sold to King Robert II from the Tours of Inverleith

1436 – Monastery built by James I to entice the Franciscan Grey Friars to settle near Edinburgh. There is some reluctance from them to settle within their new monastery as it too grand for their modest way of living.²⁸

1447- Franciscan Friary established in the Grassmarket.²⁹

1559 - Friary Dissolved and destroyed by protestant reformers.³⁰

1561 – Petition from the Town Council relating to the overcrowding of the City graveyard at St Giles, who resolved that ‘ane burial plaice be maid farar fra the myddis of the toun sic as in the grey Freir Yaird, and the same biggit and maid clos.’³¹

²⁷ Paton, ed. *Register of Interments in the Greyfriars Burying Ground, Edinburgh 1658-1700*. Prefatory note.

²⁸ ‘Greyfriars Historical Notes’, supplied by Stephen Dickson, CEC Bereavement Services, n.d.

²⁹ Dunlop, *A Short Guide to Greyfriars Churches and Churchyard Edinburgh*. 1

³⁰ William Moir Bryce, *Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh (1912)*. 26

³¹ 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)*. 212-3 and Peter Miller, “*The Mercat Cross of Edinburgh - Its Site and Form*,” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland (PSAS) XX (1885-86)*. 383

1562 - Queen Mary granted Friars' Yards as the common burial place of Edinburgh. ³² Entranceway created in the north end of the site, near the Grassmarket³³

1566 - September 13th: "The keiping of the unmaist[uppermost] zeard, quhilk wes sumtyme the Greyfrieris zaird, having been given for the space for four years to John sym, one of the bailies; he promising, upon his awin expensis, to build th mid-dyke, now cassin down and decayet, sicklike as it was before, and of als great heicht betwixt the burial place and the said yeard. And als to strek furth and caus big ane dur and entrie to this yeard in the eist syde-wall of the same, which dur salbe patent to all the nychtbours of the Burgh to promenie[walk,] gang, rest, and pas their tyme gratis.³⁴

1568 - "while the plague was ragin in edinbugrh , buriell be maid in the Grey frier Kirk zaird lairge and wyde of deipnes seven fute and of bried [lacuna] futtis³⁵

1571 – 7th July. First Wapinschaw or parade of troops took place in the uppermost yard of Greyfriars.³⁶

1583-4 – Dean of Guild appoint one man to carry out burials and to keep the Kirk-yard.³⁷

³² *Anderson, Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There. 213*

³³ *Ibid. 213*

³⁴ *Town council records SL1/4/155*

³⁵ *TCM SL1/4/224 also, According to William Maitland and Alexander Bannerman, The History of Edinburgh, : From Its Foundation to the Present Time. Containing a Faithful Relation of the Publick Transactions of the Citizens; Accounts of the Several Parishes; Its Governments, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military; Incorporations of Trades and Manufactures; Courts of Justice; State of Learning; Charitable Foundations, &C. With the Several Accounts of the Parishes of the Canongate, St. Cuthbert, and Other Districts within the Suburbs of Edinburgh. Together with the Antient and Present State of the Town of Leith, and a Perambulation of Divers Miles Round the City. With an Alphabetical Index. In Nine Books (Edinburgh: Printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, for the author., 1753)., as quoted in James Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places (London ; New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1881). Vol IV, 380*

³⁶ *Bryce, Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh.*

³⁷ *James Brown, The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. (J Moodie Miller, Edinburgh, 1867). xx*

1590- No one is to be buried in Greyfriars yard 'without avyse of the counsell'³⁸

1602 – Building begun on Greyfriars Kirk.³⁹

1603 – 'that na staynes aucht to be infixet or sett at ony graiffes in the burial yaird' ordering 'the baillies to caus remove the saymn'⁴⁰

1606 – John Jackson built a monument to his father 'provyding the saim be maid alangs and upoun the wall of the said burial.'⁴¹ This established a pattern of burial up until the eighteenth century with wall-monuments along the boundary and the rest being kept for grass and trees. ⁴²

1616 - Designs for monuments had to be passed by Dean of Guild from this date, which may account for the uniformity of some monuments.⁴³

1618 - Towns property extended to the south . This is stated as an area that was "to be ane augmentation of the burial yaird"⁴⁴

1620 - Greyfriars Kirk opened.⁴⁵

1621 – Steps are built at the northern entrance to replace an earthen slope.⁴⁶

1624 – Present gateway to Greyfriars created?⁴⁷

³⁸ *Ibid.* xxi

³⁹ John Gifford et al., Edinburgh, *The Buildings of Scotland: Pevsner Architectural Guides* (London : Penguin, 1991). 152

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 155-63

⁴¹ Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.* .lxiv

⁴² Gifford et al., Edinburgh. 156

⁴³ Boyle et al., *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage.* 17

⁴⁴ *Town Council Extracts 1626-1641* 175

⁴⁵ Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There.* 213

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 213

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 213 This does not appear on the 1647 map, so it is debatable whether this information is accurate.

1636 - 1st April. Order that the portion of 'ten' acres left in the hands of the council was to be enclosed as an addition to the burial yard within the town wall from the wall which had been commenced 'closs to the wester cheik' of the society port ' that pairt of the landis acquirit by the guid toun fra the laird of innerleith lyand on the eist syd of the wall qlk boundis in heriotts hospital be inclosed with ane toun wall round about frae the toun wall alredie begun cloiss to the wester chik of the societie port, and that to be *ane augmentatioune to the burial zaird; and ordainis the south pairt of the ald (fallen) doune wall of the Gray* [lacuna]... This became to be known as Greyfriars yard, to differentiate it from the old Kirkyard, the south, inner, new of back Greyfriars yard. It comprised of the whole ground extending west of Bristo place on the east, to the boundary of Heriot's hospital to the west. No interments were made until the beginning of the eighteenth century. In times of danger, it was used as a drill ground for the Burghers⁴⁸

1638 – 28th February. National Covenant drawn up and signed in Greyfriars Kirk.⁴⁹

1639 - 15th March – a proclamation was issued commanding the Burghers to be in readiness to attend their colours in their best apparel on 26th instant at 8 o'clock in the morning.⁵⁰

1647- James Gordon's "Edinodunensis Tabulam" (Figure 1) depicts a Kirk and Kirkyard, with decisive boundary lines and planting along defined pathways.⁵¹ Access to the Kirk is provided from the northern end, near the Grassmarket and an enclosed field is depicted to the south of the site. A thorn tree is located near the centre of the Kirkyard, to the north of the church, which was used as both a reference point to measure agreed lengths and distances and as a meeting place

⁴⁸ Bryce, "The Covenanter's Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard." 83-84

⁴⁹ Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places. Vol II, 375

⁵⁰ Bryce, "The Covenanter's Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard." 84

⁵¹ Brown, The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. .xxix, notes that these trees are noted in the Dean of Guild's accounts of 1609-10

for the townspeople.⁵² Most of the burial lairs are shown placed around the curtilage of the site. An enclosed field to the south is also shown, where 30 years after this map was published, covenanters were imprisoned for five months after the battle of Bothwell Bridge.

1650 - 10th May. All 'fensible' persons ordered to meet in Greyfriars yard in anticipation of the Cromwellian campaign⁵³

1658 – Earliest date for the Greyfriars burial register.

1662 – 23rd August. Part of ground used as a racing track for noblemen⁵⁴

1662 - £100 Scots given to Heriot's Hospital from Town Council 'to set in tack the grasse of the grayfrier yard, new and auld for 11 years, the gigging a stone wall 'betuix the new and auld Kirkyaird, with a large door in the midst yrof to be patent in tyme of drivelling, weapon shewing, seiknes or wyrwayis, and that they plant twa range of tress round about the walls and dykes, or plant trees there as the counsel sall appoint'⁵⁵

1663 – November. Town Council give power to Heriot's Hospital 'to take down the partition wall in the Greyfriars church and to utilise the materials in a new wall to be built be them betuix the New and Auld Kirkyaird in the Greyfriars upon hospital chairges.'⁵⁶

c. 1673 - City treasurer instructed 'to repair ye dyk of the inner yaird of the greyfreirs – monuments begin to be erected on it.'⁵⁷

1678 – 'Grey friars back yaird sett to Arthour Vdney(sic)'⁵⁸

⁵² *Ibid.* Page xxix

⁵³ Bryce, "The Covenanter's Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard." 84

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 84

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 84

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 84

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 84

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 84 - Taken from the City Treasurers MS accounts.

1679 - After the battle of Bothwell bridge, 1200 covenanters are imprisoned in an area to the south and east of the Kirkyard, encompassing area now known as the drill hall, Bristo place and Forrest road. Prisoners kept without shelter and with little food or water for 5 months.⁵⁹

1686 - "The Council record of 27th August 1686 brings into prominence a new... method employed by citizens in pegging out their claims to suitable lairs in the graveyard...there had arisen competition for lairs along the boundary walls, as these suited the erection of large funereal monuments. Several of such monuments had...already been erected, but in certain cases, the council complained that parties had "whitened and blackened a great part of the walls with mourning tears, quairby the persons may pretend that the ground opposite yairto belongs to them" In this way a large portion of the available wall space threatened to be ornamented in this peculiar fashion, and to put an end to the unseemly practice, the City fathers issues express instructions that "all these paintings upon the Kirk walls were to be expunged and obliterated." Permission thereafter to bury in these lairs was only to be granted to parties willing to erect marble monuments upon the graveyard boundary walls. In further implement of these instructions, another order was implemented on 5th august of the following year, that all sepulchral monuments to be thenceforth erected should be vaulted: and there can be no question that these two Acts of Council had considerable influence in the design and style of several of the huge monuments to be seen in the graveyard in the present day."⁶⁰

1703 – 20th August – "considering the great number of the dead buried in the Grayfriar Churchyaird(sic), and that it is proper and convenient to enlarge the said yaird for burying of the dead."⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places. 375*

⁶⁰ *Taken from Bryce, Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. 120-121*

⁶¹ ———, "The Covenanter's Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard." 86

1704 - Stone Archway and Iron Gates are built to enter Kirkyard from south entrance.⁶²

1704 - Burial lairs begin to appear at the narrow section at the west edge in the southern part of the Kirkyard, along the wall of Heriot's.⁶³

1704 - The first book on the inscriptions of Greyfriars, entitled: "An Theatre of Mortality; or, the illustrious inscriptions extant upon the several monuments, erected over the dead bodies (of the sometimes honourable persons) buried within Greyfriars church yeard and other churches and burial places within the City of Edinburgh and suburbs," is published. ⁶⁴

1713 - A second, larger volume of this book was printed again under the Town's expenses, encouraged and backed by the Provost under the patronage of the Lords H.M. of the Privy Council.⁶⁵

1753 - Maitland devotes several pages to monumental inscriptions in his book published in this year,⁶⁶ but this contains mostly the same ones recorded in Monteith's book of 1703.

1765 - William Edgar's map "City and Castle of Edinburgh" (Figure 2) depicts Greyfriars Kirkyard with a similar curtiledge as shown in Gordon's 1647 map. Less planting is visible and three (possibly four?- one covered?) rectilinear burial lairs and a circular tomb are situated at the south end of the Kirkyard. The

⁶² *Ibid.* 86

⁶³ *Ibid.* 86

⁶⁴ *R.Monteith*, "an Theatre of Mortality; or, the Illustrious Inscriptions Extant Upon the Several Monuments, Erected over the Dead Bodies (of the Sometimes Honourable Persons) Buried within Greyfriars Church Yeard: And Other Churches and Burial Places within the City of Edinburgh and Suburbs: Collected and Englished by R.Monteith, M.A."

⁶⁵ *Brown*, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.* . xiii-xiv.

⁶⁶ *Maitland and Bannerman*, *The History of Edinburgh, : From Its Foundation to the Present Time. Containing a Faithful Relation of the Publick Transactions of the Citizens; Accounts of the Several Parishes; Its Governments, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military; Incorporations of Trades and Manufactures; Courts of Justice; State of Learning; Charitable Foundations, &C. With the Several Accounts of the Parishes of the Canongate, St. Cuthbert, and Other Districts within the Suburbs of Edinburgh. Together with the Antient and Present State of the Town of Leith, and a Perambulation of Divers Miles Round the City. With an Alphabetical Index. In Nine Books.*

entrance into the Kirkyard is still situated at the northern end of the site. Much of the enclosed field to the south of the site has been developed for the use of a charitable institution and a building is depicted on the site, denoted as a 'Charity Work House.' A small linear strip of land has been left undeveloped at the western end of this southern field.

1773 - Andrew Mostyn Armstrong's "Map of the Three Lothians" (Figure 3), depicts a similar layout to Edgar's map of 1765, with a defined curtiledge and sporadic planting. Three rectilinear burial lairs and one circular tomb are depicted at the southern end of the Kirkyard. Access to the Kirkyard is gained from the north, near the Grassmarket at "Candlemaker Row."

1779 – Hugo Arnot writes, "The graves are so crowded on one another that the sextons frequently cannot avoid in opening a ripe grave, encroaching on one not fit to be touched! The whole presents a scene equally nauseous and unwholesome. How soon this spot will be so surcharged with animal juices and oils, that, becoming one mass of corruption, its noxious steams will burst forth with the prey of a pestilence, we shall not pretend to determine; but we will venture to say, the effects of this burying ground would ere now have been severely felt, were it not that, besides the coldness of the climate, they have been checked by the acidity of the coal smoke and the height of the winds, which in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh blow with extraordinary violence."⁶⁷

1780 - John Ainslie's "City of Edinburgh" (Figure 4) depicts Greyfriars as a grassed over area. The curtiledge is less defined on the eastern side, as access to the Kirkyard can now be gained via Heriot's Hospital from the Grassmarket. In addition, both the northern access at Candlemaker Row and a new access on the southeastern side are depicted on this map. Seven rectilinear burial lairs and a circular tomb are depicted at the southern end of this site. Two rectilinear lairs are also depicted on the curtiledge of the eastern side of the Kirkyard, one with a

⁶⁷ *Hugo Arnot, The History of Edinburgh, by Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate. (EdinburghMDCCLXXIX [1779]).*

covered circular interior. A further rectilinear lair is shown along the northwestern curtilledge.

1784 - Alexander Kincaid's "A plan of the City and suburbs of Edinburgh" (Figure 5) depicts that access to the Kirkyard can be gained from the west through Allen's Close, in addition to the established access at Heriot's Bridge. Some small roofed rectilinear burial lairs are depicted within the Kirkyard, along with the circular structure identified in previous maps, but the rectilinear structures on the southeast of the Kirkyard appear to have either been placed in the wrong position on the map, or now no longer exist, as new unroofed burial enclosures are shown in their place. A rectilinear strip of land to the south of the Kirkyard, which continues up to Teviot row, is denoted as 'new burying ground.'

1792-3 - The Kirkyard is extended to the west by the addition of Gifford's Green, or the western ground that is situated between the Flodden wall and Heriot's hospital.⁶⁸

1804 - John Ainslie's "Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the proposed docks" (Figure 6) depicts a more defined curtilledge around Greyfriars, with limited access options from the north and east.

1805 - "The Strangers Guide, being a Plan of Edinburgh, Leith..." (Figure 7) depicts an access route into the Kirkyard leading from the grounds of Heriot's Hospital, in addition to the access routes from the north and east.

1815 - "Elogia sepulchralia Edinburgena" containing Monumental inscriptions, selected from Burial Grounds at Edinburgh," is published by Dr Andrew Duncan.⁶⁹ This contains several epitaphs of a later date.

⁶⁸ Bryce, "The Covenanter's Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard." 86

⁶⁹ Duncan, "Elogia Sepulchralia Edinburgena" Containing Monumental Inscriptions, Selected from Burial Grounds at Edinburgh"

1817 - Robert Kirkwood's "Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs" (Figure 8) depicts further burial lairs around the Kirkyard curtiledge to the south. A number of tombs are also depicted on the eastern and western curtiledge of the burial ground extension at the southern end of the site. An area to the west of the site is denoted as 'New Burying Ground' with numerous lairs already shown in this area. Some trees are marked on this plan.

1825 - Traditions of Edinburgh⁷⁰ states that "We have been informed by the present respectable recorder of Edinburgh that many of the tombstones were removed from St Giles' to the Greyfriars, where they still exist. Dr Daniel Wilson controverts this statement saying that we do not know of a single inscription remaining that gives probability to this assertion. All the monuments in the churchyard are of a later date than Queen Mary's gift of the gardens of the ancient monastery."⁷¹

1831 - John Wood's "Plan of the City of Edinburgh, including all the latest and intended improvements" (Figure 9) depicts a widening of the eastern access into Greyfriars.

1832 - Anatomy Act- permitting the legalized sale of dead bodies to the medical schools, taking the pressure off burial grounds from the 'Bodysnatchers.'⁷²

1834 - "Collection of epitaphs and monumental inscriptions, chiefly in Scotland" notes some of the Monuments and epitaphs at Greyfriars. ⁷³

1836 - James Kay's "Kay's Plan of Edinburgh" (Figure 10), depicts rows of burial lairs in the northwestern corner of the Kirkyard running east-west.

⁷⁰ Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh; or, Sketches and Anecdotes of the City in Former Times*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: printed for W. & C. Tait, 1825).

⁷¹ *Ibid.* Vol I., 205.

⁷² *Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain*, "Anatomy Act (2 & 3 Will. Iv C.75)," (1832).

⁷³ Robert Monteith, *Collection of Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions, Chiefly in Scotland* (1834).

1851 - Alfred Lancefield's "Johnston's plan of Edinburgh, Leith" (Figure 11), depicts further burial lairs in the centre of the Kirkyard and on the western curtilledge.

1852 - The Ordnance Survey's "Large Scale Town Plan" (Figure 12). This map includes substantial information on landscaping and tree planting. Some stand-alone tombs are depicted in the middle of the Kirkyard, rather than on the curtilledge of the site. A number of notable burial plots are identified on this map, along with dates of the interment of the graves.

These are: (n-s)

Dr Pitcairn's Tomb (1713)

Covenanters Monument

Buchanan's Grave (1582)

H. McKenzie's Tomb 1831

Dr McCrie's(?) Tomb (1835)

John Milne's Tomb (1867)

Dr Henderson's Monument (1646)

Sir G. McKenzie's Tomb (1691) (This is the circular monument noted on numerous earlier maps)

Principal Robertson's Tomb 1792

William Adam's Tomb (1748)

Tytlers Tomb (1849)

Dr Black's Tomb (1799)

A long linear strip at the southern end of the Kirkyard is denoted as '*Prison of the Covenanters who were taken at the battle of Bothwell bridge.*' The lodge at the front door is noted as a '*Recorders Office*' and a '*Poor Box*' is noted at the entrance to the Kirkyard.

1863 – The Littlejohn ‘*Report on the Sanitary condition of Edinburgh*’ notes that Greyfriars is overcrowded and there are too many bodies in the area of common ground that is allocated for burials of the poor.⁷⁴

1867 – It is noted in the preface of *Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions*⁷⁵ that many of the monuments are being effaced and are crumbling into decay. This book carried out a survey on the Kirkyard, as well as the monuments inside Greyfriars Kirk. This was published as a complete record of all of the monuments that survived in Greyfriars at this time.

c.1870s – Greyfriars is closed to all new burials.⁷⁶

1931 – The monument to William Carstares (1649-1715) is restored by the Carstares family.⁷⁷

1935 – John Jackson’s Tomb (1606) is damaged by Vandals.⁷⁸

1937 Edinburgh Evening News article notes the decaying condition of the tombstones in Greyfriars⁷⁹

1947 – An article is published in ‘The Scotsman’ that debates whether the historic churchyard should be a national care. This article names a few of the important people in the Kirkyard, the signing of the covenant and says the interpretation board is dingy.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Littlejohn, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh.* 96

⁷⁵ Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.* .

⁷⁶ According to Greyfriars Kirkyard Trust, *"A Conservation Plan for Greyfriars Kirkyard,"* (2002).

⁷⁷ "Graveyfriars Churchyard, Carstairs Monument Restored, Prince of Orange's Agent," *The Scotsman* 26th November 1931.

⁷⁸ "Acts of Vandalism," *Edinburgh Evening News* August 14th 1935.

⁷⁹ W.McP, "History in Stones," *Edinburgh Evening News* June 12th, 1937.

⁸⁰ "Should Historic Churchyard Be a National Care?," *The Scotsman* December 18th 1947.

1949 A memorial to Duncan Forbes, Lord Culloden (d.1747) is erected in the Kirkyard by a memorial committee. This is designed by Mr. Hugh Lorimer.⁸¹

1951- RCAHMS Inventory of Monuments in Edinburgh⁸²

1979 – City of Edinburgh District Council produce the Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds. This includes a concise description and brief historical background on Greyfriars Kirkyard in Volume 1 and further detailed information and documentary evidence on some of the monuments found in the Kirkyard in Volumes 2-4. ⁸³

c1985?- Betty Willsher survey of eighteenth century gravestones- Midlothian version⁸⁴

1989 – Greyfriars Kirkyard Landscape report⁸⁵

1990 –The William Adam mausoleum is repaired at cost of £110,000. Other work is being carried out within the Kirkyard, including the area of the Covenanter's Prison. ⁸⁶

1994 – Greyfriars Graveyard Management Plan is completed.⁸⁷

1995-2002 – Detailed survey carried out on all 830 monuments in the Kirkyard, resulting in a computerized database of condition, inscriptions and bibliographical and archival sources. A photographic survey is also undertaken.⁸⁸

⁸¹ "Duncan Forbes Memorial," Scotsman Thursday, May 31 1951, "Duncan Forbes Memorial," Edinburgh Evening News Wednesday, July 6th 1949.

⁸² 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).

⁸³ 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).

⁸⁴ Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh".

⁸⁵ Turnbull Jeffrey Partnership, "Greyfriars Kirkyard Landscape Report."

⁸⁶ Cllr R Cairns, "Considerable Work Is Being Carried out in the Greyfriars Kirkyard (a Letter to the Editor)," The Scotsman 19th November 1990.

⁸⁷ Turnbull Jeffrey Partnership, "Greyfriars Graveyard Management Plan."

⁸⁸ Greyfriars Kirkyard Trust, "A Conservation Plan for Greyfriars Kirkyard."

1996-1998 - Inventory Survey undertaken by Greyfriars Kirkyard Trust

1999 – Damage is caused to the eastern entrance by a van. This resulted in the inability to shut the gates at night. The monument to William Adam is vandalized.⁸⁹

2003 - Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions survey by John F. Mitchell jnr.⁹⁰

2004 – Restoration of the Thomas Bannatyne Tomb, led by the Greyfriars Kirkyard Trust, grant aided by the Samuel H Kress Foundation and under the auspices of the World Monuments Fund.

⁸⁹ "Kirkyard Needs a Bobby on Beat," *Edinburgh Evening News* 11th August 1999.

⁹⁰ Mitchell, *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855)*. Vol. 4, Greyfriars Burial Ground

2.4 Key features

Monuments

Greyfriars Kirkyard is calculated to contain some 238 monuments, 112 tombs and 366 wall plaques, monuments, and ledgers.⁹¹ The *Buildings of Scotland* series notes that Greyfriars “boasts the best collection of seventeenth century monuments in Scotland.”⁹² Indeed, due to the large number of high quality gravestones sculpted or built by renowned seventeenth Century Scottish masons or architects, these are now considered a major resource of Scottish artwork from this date. The restrictions placed by Dean of Guild from the 1590s until the eighteenth Century determined the placement and style of the monuments which ensured that only the richest families could erect monuments in Greyfriars during this period. This resulted in a very high standard of tombstone and determined a stylistic approach to memorialisation within the Kirkyard that was specific and unique to the site.⁹³

Information and archival notes on some the better-known monuments erected at Greyfriars are recorded in the City of Edinburgh Council Catalogue of Monuments and Burial Grounds, dating to 1979.⁹⁴ 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 Willsher survey carried out in the 1980s⁹⁵ records some monuments of key architectural and artistic significance, but notes that there are not many eighteenth century monuments of note are found at this site.⁹⁶ These are:

⁹¹ *Figures produced by the City of Edinburgh Council Graveyard Regeneration and Marketing Project (2007-08)*

⁹² *Gifford et al., Edinburgh. 155*

⁹³ *Taken from Bryce, Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. 120-121*

⁹⁴ 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."

⁹⁵ *Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh ".67-92*

⁹⁶ *This is unusual when compared to other burial grounds found in the City centre. In her accompanying notes to this survey, Willsher pontificates over whether monuments might have been banned during this period.*

- 1613** - Mural monument, John Nasmyth - recumbent effigy came from medieval monument sculpture, mixed with new graveyard fashions
- 1617** - Mural Monument, James Harley - shows a range of death emblems
- 1633** - Mural monument, the laird of Ravelston George Foulis - Many ideas here for coming masons to copy
- 1635** - Mural Monument, Thomas Bannatyne
- 1649** - James Murray of Deuchar
- 1667** - Mural monument, John Milne, 1667 - There were 6 generations of Milnes, this tomb made a departure from previous sepulchral architecture The appearance of the Green man on the Milne Tomb, which was not a common sight in Scotland (found more on medieval monuments in England) may have been the origin of his popularity in the Lothians in particular. He is found on many cathedrals, abbeys, medieval churches and on some medieval domestic buildings in the form of a foliate head.
- 1765** - Mural Monument, James Chalmers
- 1676** - Mural monument, James Borthwick
- 1678** - Mural monument, Elizabeth Paton
- 1679** - Mural monument, Walter Chieslie of Dalry
- 1683** - Mural Tomb, William & Clement Little - a tomb in the form of a temple Justice, faith, hope and charity figures – figures also found at the Howff, Dundee and Old Soane also at St Andrews Cathedral Museum.
- 1686** - Mural monument, Thomas Robertson – a fine classical design
- 1812** - Obelisk, Duncan Ban McIntyre

NB Byres of Coites mural monument may also in Greyfriars but despite Willsher mentioning this during her survey of Greyfriars, no image or further information on its date or location to be found in Willsher's archival notes.

An early twentieth century survey on seventeenth century monuments and carvings⁹⁷ note that the tomb of John Jackson (1606) in Greyfriars has

⁹⁷ D. Christison, "Carvings and Inscriptions on Kirkyard Monuments," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland (PSAS) XXXVI (1902). 400

interesting carvings, which can be identified on other grave markers throughout Scotland, but that this is the only one of its kind surviving in Edinburgh.

Other monuments of note, due to either whom/what they commemorate and who designed them that are currently in Greyfriars include:

1706/1771 – Covenanter’s or Martyrs Monument – This is to the memory of over a hundred covenanters hung in the Grassmarket, and to those who were imprisoned in Greyfriars Kirkyard in 1679. Over a hundred covenanters are buried in a trench to the west of this monument. This monument was first erected in 1706⁹⁸ and then a bigger one built in 1771. The original stone erected in 1706 by James Currie is now preserved in the Edinburgh City Museum.⁹⁹

1858 - “Auld Jock” – the master of Greyfriars Bobby, and the location where the dog would sit for the 14 years he survived his master’s death.

1949 A memorial was erected in the Kirkyard to Duncan Forbes, Lord Culloden (d.1747) which was designed by Hugh Lorimer.¹⁰⁰

Other architectural features

Greyfriars Kirk, its Kirkyard, monuments, lodge and boundaries are category ‘A’ Listed.¹⁰¹ Greyfriars Kirk, which was partly restored in the nineteenth century, is described in the *Buildings of Scotland* series as a “Long Gothic survival box whose building history is all-important.”¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Smith, *Historic Stones and Stories of Bygone Edinburgh*. 199-207

⁹⁹ Alan Reid, “*Churchyard Memorials of Lasswade and Pentland*” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for Scotland (PSAS) XLI (1906-7)*. 95 and Bryce, *Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh*. 122

¹⁰⁰ “*Duncan Forbes Memorial.*”, “*Duncan Forbes Memorial.*”

¹⁰¹ *Historic Scotland, “Greyfriars Place, Greyfriars Churchyard, Including Monuments, Lodge Gatepiers, Railings and Walls..”*

¹⁰² Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*. 152

Situated at the entrance to Candlemaker Row is a small semi-octagonal-ended single storey lodge, with lozenge-paned leaded glass windows. This was built in 1840 as a records office and is now used as a shop. In addition, a section of the sites curtilage incorporates part of the original defences for the City of Edinburgh, known as “The Flodden wall.”

Landscapes, views and vistas

The present extent of the Kirkyard is measured at 2.042 hectares.¹⁰³ Greyfriars is included in the City of Edinburgh council’s list of gardens and designed landscapes in Edinburgh.¹⁰⁴ Its inclusion in this list is a recognition of the importance of this landscape to the City, although its brief description mentions historical features and monuments, rather than landscape attributes.

The Turnbull Jeffrey Landscape Report 1989¹⁰⁵ and subsequent Management Plan, 1994 notes a “strong sense of enclosure within the site. Its character is defined by the “distinctive layers of walls and buildings of the immediate environs and by the more distant buildings on the Royal Mile, George IV Bridge and George Heriot’s School.¹⁰⁶

Associations with historical events

One of the most significant events to be associated with Greyfriars was the imprisonment of 1200 Covenanters at the southern end of the Kirkyard¹⁰⁷ for five months with little food, shelter or water after the battle of Bothwell Bridge

¹⁰³ Figures produced by the City of Edinburgh Council Graveyard Regeneration and Marketing Project (2007-08)

¹⁰⁴ Peter McGowan Associates, "Survey of Gardens and Designed Landscapes - List of Sites," in Edinburgh: Survey of Gardens and Designed Landscapes (City of Edinburgh Council, 2009). Appendix 1

¹⁰⁵ Turnbull Jeffrey Partnership, "Greyfriars Kirkyard Landscape Report."

¹⁰⁶ ———, "Greyfriars Graveyard Management Plan." Landscape Character: General.

¹⁰⁷ It should be noted that the Covenanters prison also includes the area now built upon to the east of the strip of land in the southwestern corner of the site. "...tradition has persistently, erroneously, identified the long narrow strip of ground – with its stone gateway ornamented with funeral decorations and its iron gate forming the southern extension of the old graveyard as the place of imprisonment." Bryce, "The Covenanter's Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard."

in 1679. This act, along with the signing of the Scottish National Covenant¹⁰⁸ in Greyfriars Kirk distinguishes this area as an important focal point for Scottish religious, political and civil history during the seventeenth century.

Possibly the most famous association with Greyfriars, however, is the story of Greyfriars Bobby, the loyal dog who kept a vigil at his master's grave in the mid nineteenth century. The popularity of this story, and its adaptation into a Walt Disney film in 1961 has resulted in the notoriety of both the dog and the grave of 'Auld Jock' where Bobby sat every day for 14 years until his own death in 1872. Numerous pamphlets and books have been produced over the years to relate this story, and the One O'clock Gun Association¹⁰⁹ marks Bobby's anniversary every year in a ceremony at his grave within the Kirkyard.

The Kirkyard and its monuments were also the setting for Gothic artistic expression in early Victorian photography, through the work of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, much of which is now held in the collections of the National Gallery of Scotland.¹¹⁰

2.5. Key Figures

The Historic Scotland listing report for Greyfriars Kirkyard notes that for a time in Edinburgh's history, "Greyfriars was regarded as Edinburgh's principal cemetery."¹¹¹ This is demonstrated in both the number of interments calculated to have been buried within the site throughout its history¹¹² and by the notable figures of local and national renown that can be identified within its grounds.

¹⁰⁸ "A ...commitment to the Scottish Presbyterian tradition in defiance of the religious policy of Charles I. Its creation heralded the outbreak of Civil War in the British Isles.
<http://digital.nls.uk/scotlandspages/timeline/1638-2.html>

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.1oclockgun.org.uk/index.html>

¹¹⁰ *Scottish National Portrait Gallery. et al., David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson : Catalogue of Their Calotypes Taken between 1843 and 1847 in the Collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1981).*

¹¹¹ *Historic Scotland, "Greyfriars Place, Greyfriars Churchyard, Including Monuments, Lodge Gatepiers, Railings and Walls.."*

¹¹² *According to the 1994 management plan, records show that at an average of over 1000 burials a year, it is possible that the total number of burials within this Kirkyard could have amounted to over 200,000 throughout the lifetime of interment in the burial ground. Turnbull Jeffrey Partnership, "Greyfriars Graveyard Management Plan."*

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in particular, “by far the most distinguished inhabitants of Edinburgh, including many of the most eminent Scotsmen, were interred in its grounds,”¹¹³ – an aspect which resulted in Sir Walter Scott reputedly labelling this Kirkyard as “The Westminster Abbey of Scotland.”¹¹⁴

Grant’s 1881 publication sums up the variety and range of peoples buried in this site, stating that “In this City of the dead have been so vast a number of men of eminence that the mere enumeration of their names would make a volume, but we can select a few. Here lie thirty –seven chief magistrates of the City; twenty- three principals and professors of Edinburgh University; many of them of more than European Celebrity; thirty-three of the most distinguished lawyers of their day – one a vice-chancellor of England and Master of the Rolls, and another who was accountant general of the court of chancery; six lords president of the supreme court of Scotland; twenty-two senators of the college of justice, and a host of men distinguished for the splendour of their genius, piety and worth. Here too lie, in unrecorded thousands, citizens of a more humble position.”¹¹⁵

In addition to Grant’s groupings, there are other instances of studies of notable groups of people buried in Greyfriars. One group in particular that has been singled out for further study are the number of surgeons and doctors who have shaped modern medicine.¹¹⁶ More recently, a leaflet published for Edinburgh’s award as a UNESCO City of Literature notes that “Greyfriars Kirkyard...stand[s] as different tributes entirely to past greats of the literary world.”¹¹⁷

¹¹³Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh*. .

Preface

¹¹⁴*Ibid. Preface*

¹¹⁵ Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places. Volume IV. 380*

¹¹⁶ Major-General John Mackenzie Matheson, “*Greyfriars Kirkyard and Its Associations with Medicine*,” *University of Edinburgh Journal* (1983).

¹¹⁷ *City of Literature Trust, 2005. Edinburgh UNESCO City of Literature: We Cultivate Literature on a Little Oatmeal. Chapter 6*

A variety of personages have therefore been taken from a selection of secondary resources in order to bring context to the range of people buried at this site and the dates in which they were interred.¹¹⁸

In addition, the calibre of personages interred in the grounds and the quality of the craftsmanship of many of the monuments that mark these graves are a testament to the social and artistic prowess that was to be found in Edinburgh during the Early Modern period and into the Enlightenment.

1580 – Clement Little – Advocate, Commissary and Co-founder of University of Edinburgh.

1581 - James Douglas - Regent of Scotland, who was dismissed from his post for his part in the Murder of David Rizzio.

1582 George Buchanan – Scholar, Historian and Poet whose works, according to *Anderson* had much to do with the overthrow of the pre-Reformation church.¹¹⁹

1601 – William Little, Provost of Edinburgh and Co-founder of University of Edinburgh.

1610 – George Heriot *senior* – Goldsmith and father of George Heriot *junior*-Goldsmith to King James VI and founder of George Heriot's School

1613 - John Nasmyth - Surgeon of the King of France's troop of Scottish Guards, who died in London but whose remains had been sent to the Greyfriars by the order of James VI

1616 - Alexander Millar¹²⁰

1626 - Sir Robert Dennistoun

1644 - George Jameson – Portrait Artist, considered the 'Van Dyck of Scotland'

1646 - Alexander Henderson¹²¹ - Church leader and ecclesiastical statesman.

¹¹⁸ Taken from Bruce J Home, "Provisional List of Old Houses Remaining in High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh," Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (1902). Mr Henry Hardy Dr Lowe, Mr John Smith and Mr Samuel Neil, New Greyfriars Parish Church, Edinburgh. Its History, Its Ministers, Its Surroundings (1902)., *Anderson*, Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There. 12, *George Hay*, The Kirk of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh: A Short History and Guide to the Kirk and Kirkyard (1951).

¹¹⁹ *Anderson*, Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There. 228

¹²⁰ Monument removed when the entrance to Candlemaker row established

¹²¹ "Greyfriars Story Is 400 Years Old.," Edinburgh Evening News Saturday, October 15th, 1960.

1960 #3107, "Greyfriar's Story Is 400 Years Old.," Edinburgh Evening News Saturday October 15th 1960.

- 1667** – John Milne – sixth Royal Master Mason. Designed the Tron Kirk and was involved in the building of Heriot’s School.
- 1672** - Alexander Bethune
- 1691**- Sir George Mackenzie, of Rosehaugh – Judge and author of *The Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, a pioneering legal work for its time. He also wrote one of Scotland’s first novels- *Aretina*; or the serious romance 1660
- 1708** - Mary Erskine –Scottish businesswoman and philanthropist who donated money to set up a girl’s school within the City.
- 1713/18** - Dr Archibald Pitcairne – Distinguished physician and a founder of the royal college of physicians
- 1715** - William Carstares – Principal of the University of Edinburgh and influential in introducing the Presbyterian system of Church government in Scotland.
- 1722** - Robert Sibbald – Physician to Charles II and founder of the Royal College of Physicians. Was also the King’s Geographer in Scotland and the first Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh.
- 1746** - Colin McLauren – Eminent mathematician and philosopher.
- 1747** – Duncan Forbes of Culloden – Lord President of the Court of Session who was influential in forming the Scottish legal system.
- 1749** - William Ged - Inventor of the stereotype printing process.
- 1748** - William Adam Renowned architect who designed such buildings as Hopetoun House, The City chambers in Edinburgh and Robert Gordon’s College in Aberdeen.
- 1758** – Allan Ramsay – Wig maker and author of *Tea Table Miscellany*
- 1767** - Alexander Monro *primus* - Professor of Anatomy
- 1792** - John Adam
- 1793** - William Robertson – Minister, historian and principal at the University of Edinburgh . Founder member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.
- 1795** - James Craig – Architect, and reputed designer of Edinburgh’s first New Town.
- 1795** – William Smellie – Antiquary and naturalist and printer and editor of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*
- 1797**- James Hutton - Renowned geologist and man of science

- 1799** – Joseph Black - Professor of Chemistry and discoverer of latent heat
- 1800** – Dr Hugh Blair - Minister of the Church of Scotland and author of *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*. Tablet to his memory erected in 1815.
- 1811** – Lord President, Robert Blair of Avontoun - Solicitor General for Scotland and Lord president of the Court of Session. Close friend of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville.
- 1812** - Duncan Ban MacIntyre – Renowned Gaelic Poet
- 1817** - Alexander Monro *secundus* Professor of anatomy after his father
- 1826** - John Kay- Caricaturist
- 1831** - Henry McKenzie – Attorney for the Crown of Scotland and author of “The Man of Feeling” – a namesake that stuck with him forever afterwards.
- 1831**- William Ritchie- Founder of The Scotsman
- 1835** - Thomas McCrie – Minister and historian who wrote the *Life of John Knox*.
- 1855** – James Gillespie Graham- Architect
- 1858** – John Gray ‘Old Jock’ - Police constable and Greyfriars Bobby’s master¹²²
- 1872** – Greyfriars Bobby – Faithful Skye terrier who sat at his master’s graveside for 14 years.

¹²² Stanley Baldwin, *The Greyfriars Churchyard (1926)*.

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