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Some Letters of Robert Foulis

THE noble array of books issued from the press of Robert Foulis, and of his firm of R. and A. Foulis, is a worthy memorial of his skill and taste as a printer, of his eager desire to promote learning and to diffuse a taste for literature. We have, however, comparatively little information regarding himself and the incidents of his life, and anything which supplements this information is welcome. The following letters tell something of his story, and will be read with interest. The first four are in the possession of Mr. J. G. Burnett of Powis House, Aberdeen; the other two are in my own possession.

The earliest letter is addressed to Lord Aberdour, 1732-74, afterwards (1768) fourteenth Earl of Morton, who was a student at the University of Leyden, under the charge of Mr. John Leslie, 1727-90, subsequently professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen, of whom Mr. Burnett gave a sympathetic account in this Review (*S.H.R.* xiii. 30).

Lord Aberdour had been a student at the University of Glasgow during the years 1748 and 1749. The Messrs. Foulis, it will be remembered, were booksellers as well as printers and publishers, and their bookshop was a pleasant lounge, in which professors and students were accustomed to meet, dally with the books, talk over the topics of the day, and discuss questions of philosophy with the printer, criticise his most recent publications, and canvass his proposals for the future. In this way Lord Aberdour no doubt

became acquainted with Robert Foulis. Amongst his fellow-students were Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough and Lord Chancellor of England, and a warm friend of the printer; Simon Fraser, eldest son of the Lord Lovat who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1747, and to whom the Lovat estates were ultimately restored; John Millar, later the celebrated professor of law, and William McGill, who became one of the ministers of Ayr, and whose memory is kept fresh in Burns' verses.

Whether Lord Aberdour had a private tutor in Glasgow as he had at Leyden, does not appear, but it was a common arrangement for young men of fortune.¹ He was a student of moral philosophy under Thomas Craigie, the successor of Hutcheson, with whom he probably boarded. Simson, professor of mathematics, Leechman, professor of divinity, Alexander Dunlop, professor of Hebrew, and William Cullen, then lecturer on chemistry, were all friends of Foulis: James Moor, professor of Greek, was his brother-in-law.

Glasgow had begun to expand, but it still retained the clear, transparent atmosphere for which it was famous, and was still surrounded by the gardens and orchards celebrated by McUre. The West Port, near the head of the Stockwell, still spanned the Trongait; beyond it stood the stately Shawfield Mansion, in which Prince Charlie had made himself an unwelcome guest, and which was then owned by Col. William MacDowall of St. Kitts (d. 1748). He owned the site on the north side of the Trongait between the West Port and Spreull's Land, the property and residence of James Spreull, a prosperous merchant. On this site, a few years before his death, the Colonel built a tenement, one flat of which was occupied till her death in 1763 by Henrietta, Countess of Glencairn,² and the other by Miss Lilius Graham and her aunt Lady Montgomerie, widow of Sir Hugh Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, popularly known as Lady Skelmorlie.³ This tenement,

¹ See, for instance, Miss Elizabeth Isabella Spence, *Sketches of the Present Manners, Customs, and Scenery of Scotland*, i. p. 92, London, 1811, 8vo.

² Henrietta Stewart, daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Galloway, was married in 1704 to William, eleventh Earl of Glencairn. He died at Finlaystone, 14th March, 1734. The Countess lived in Col. MacDowall's tenement from 1741 till her death on 4th October, 1763, in her 81st year. Her daughter, Lady Margaret Cunningham, married, in 1732, Nicol Graham of Gartmore; and her daughter, Lady Henrietta, married, in 1735, John Campbell of Shawfield.

³ She was Lilius Gemmel, daughter of Peter Gemmel, a Glasgow merchant. She was married, in 1687, to Hugh Montgomerie of Hartfield, who succeeded to the

Spreull's Land, and Hutcheson's Hospital to the east, had long gardens behind them stretching to the Back Cow Loan, now Ingram Street, with the lands of Ramshorn and the orchards on Deanside Brae to the north.

When at Leyden in 1750 Lord Aberdour wrote to Robert Foulis at Glasgow to supply him with a copy of the *Adamus Exul* of Hugo Grotius. The literary world was at this time much stirred by the charges brought by William Lauder against Milton of having appropriated much in *Paradise Lost* from modern Latin poets. The charge was originally made in a series of letters in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1747. One of the poems particularly mentioned by Lauder was *Adamus Exul*, from which he gave extracts in the February number of that magazine (p. 83). The charges were repeated in *An Essay on Milton's use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost*,¹ published at London towards the close of 1749, or the beginning of 1750, and dedicated 'to the Learned Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.' The book would in ordinary course reach Leyden in the spring or summer of the latter year.

The question was by this time a familiar one, and was presumably discussed in the University circle during Lord Aberdour's residence in Glasgow.

Lauder had invested *Adamus Exul* with a certain amount of

baronetcy of Skelmorlie in 1731. Sir Hugh was a wealthy Glasgow merchant, several times provost, the representative of Glasgow in the Scottish Parliament; a commissioner on the Union, the first representative of Glasgow in the British Parliament, and in 1724 was elected rector of the University. He died in 1735, and his widow in 1755. *Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton*, i. pp. 166, 167, Edinburgh, 1859, 4to.

Mr. James Clark, 1660-1724, minister of the Tron Kirk, Glasgow, married Christian Montgomerie, daughter of the third baronet, and had a daughter Lillias. It was an impassioned sermon of Mr. Clark that caused the anti-Union riots in Glasgow. Defoe, *History of the Union*, p. 268, London, 1786, 4to.

¹The book sets out with this curious Advertisement: 'Gentlemen, who are desirous to secure their children from ill examples by a domestic education, or are themselves inclined to gain or to retrieve the knowledge of the *Latin* tongue, may be waited on at their own houses by the author of the following Essay, upon the receipt of a letter directed to the publisher, or the author at the corner house, the bottom of *Ayre Street, Piccadilly*. N.B. Mr. Lauder's abilities and industry in his profession can be well attested by persons of the first rank in literature in the metropolis.' The book concludes with this Appeal: 'Subscriptions for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, granddaughter to John Milton, are taken in by Mr. Dodsley in Pall-mall, Messrs. Cox and Collins, under the Royal Exchange, Mr. Cave, at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and Messrs. Payne and Bouquet, in Pater-noster row.'

mystery, for, he says, 'the tragedy, tho' it has passed through no less than four editions, was yet never printed amongst the rest of that great author's works, and was become so very scarce, that I could not procure a copy either in *Britain* or *Holland*; till the learned Mr. *Abraham Gronovius*, Keeper of the public library at *Leyden*, after great inquiry, obtained a sight of one, . . . sent to me (transcribed by his own hand) the first act of it, and afterwards the rest.'¹

Lauder printed long extracts from the poem in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and his story of its rarity was accepted. John Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, completely vindicated Milton, and showed from Lauder's own statements that he had tampered with the text of Grotius.² Douglas found that Lauder had tampered with the text of some of the authors from whom, he alleged, Milton had copied; but, although he suspected that Lauder had done the same as regards *Adamus Exul*,³ he does not seem to have made any exertion to find the original, although, as we have seen, Lauder mentions that it had gone through four editions, and in his *Essay* gives the place and date of its first publication.

On the appearance of Lauder's *Essay*, presumably it occurred to Lord Aberdour that it would be well to refer to the original text of the *Adamus Exul*, and not finding a copy in Leyden, wrote to Foulis to see if he could supply the want.⁴

¹ *Essay*, pp. 49, 50.

² *Milton vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism, brought against him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himself convicted of several Forgeries and Impositions on the Publick*, which appeared about the end of 1750. It is mentioned amongst the new books in the number of the *Scots Magazine* for November, 1750 (p. 552), and is reprinted in Douglas' *Select Works*, p. 175 *sqq.*, Salisbury, 1820, 4to.

See note by William Oldys on the answers to Lauder, quoted in *N. and Q.*, 2nd S. xi. 203.

³ 'We do not in the least doubt of Mr. Lauder's being able to accommodate . . . the *Adamus Exul* to the text of the *Paradise Lost* (for his Skill this way has been observed in repeated Instances).' *Milton Vindicated*, p. 63.

Douglas assumed that Lauder could not produce a printed copy. *Ib.* p. 70.

⁴ I have not seen the originals of the letters in Mr. Burnett's possession, but he was good enough to compare the proof with them. He writes that this letter was addressed not to Lord Aberdour, but to his father the Earl of Morton. He adds that the Earl of Morton was a book collector, and brought together a good library, which was sold 'by Messrs. Wheatley and Adlard, On Monday, May 18, 1829, and fifteen following days (Sundays excepted), At Twelve o'Clock.' See further as to Lord Morton, *infra*, p. 113.

In reply Foulis wrote this letter :

My Lord,

I was favour'd with the honour of Your Lordship's Letter. I have not Grotius' *Adamus Exul* at present, tho' I cannot be absolutely sure, till I have search'd among y^e remains of the late Professor Forbes' Library, who had a large collection of the Modern Latin Poets.

I intended to have had Casimer's *Lyrics* at y^e Press before this time ; but have not been able to procure a copy of the Plantin Edition in 4to, having seen no small copy that can be depended on for printing from.

I have just publish'd here, y^e first Book of Milton's *Paradise lost* with notes critical & explanatory, which are wrote with so much learning & Judgment, as I hope will make them acceptable to the Public, & in that case the Author will publish his notes on y^e rest of y^e Books. *Paradise Lost* without notes I have likeways printed from the Author's last edition, in the same manner with *Lucretius* & *Horace*.

I have taken y^e liberty of enclosing a sheet of *Anacreon*, two or three copys of which I am doing upon white Silk. *Pliny's* epistles and panegyrick are within half a sheet of ending, in y^e same manner with *Cicero*, a few copys are printed in 4to like *Caesar*. *Boetius de consolatione* is likeways finished on a new Letter, except a few various readings we have got from *Oxonian M.SS.* a few of this Author we have lykeways printed in 4to.

I have just got a Letter cutt in y^e same size & taste with *R. Stephens* largest Greek Type, with which he printed the *Poetæ Principes* & his *Folio Testament*. With this type we are setting a specimen of *Plato*, with which we join our proposals for printing all his works in Greek & Latin.

I beg Your Lordship will excuse the presumption which your Goodness has led me into, in troubling You with so long a Letter.

I am, My Lord,

with all imaginable respect & gratitude,

Your Lordship's

most oblidg'd & most obedient Servant,

ROBERT FOULIS.

Glasgow Dec^r 12th

1750

The letter represents the writer's style of familiar conversation, and is very much as he was accustomed to address the habitués of

the shop. He does not refer to Lauder's book, but he must have been well aware of the reason why this poem of Grotius was in request, and this probably prompted the reference to Milton.

While Foulis could not supply a copy of *Adamus Exul*, it cannot be classed as a rare book, although it is one that is not often met with, and is not well represented in public libraries. It was first published at Leyden in 1600 and several times afterwards;¹ but having been written when Grotius was a lad, barely eighteen years of age, it was not generally included in the collected editions of his works.²

It seems surprising that, notwithstanding Lauder's statement as to the difficulty in getting the book, no one had made the attempt. A reference to it would have revealed Lauder's amazing effrontery. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* and in the *Essay* he gives us one of the passages in which 'Grotius and Milton are almost wholly parallel':

Grotius. Nam, me iudice,
Regnare dignum est ambitu, etsi in Tartaro:
Alto praeesse Tartaro siquidem juvat,
Coelis quam in ipsis servi obire munia.

¹ It was reprinted at Leyden in 1608, 8vo; and subsequently with others of his poems; with *Christus Patiens* at Leyden in 1603 and 1608, 8vo; and Paris, 1610 and 1618, 8vo; and in his *Sacra*, Hagae Comit. (Albertus Henricus) 1601, 4to, in Italic type. There is a copy of the last in the Glasgow University library, which I believe was there in 1750. It is the edition mentioned by Lauder, *Essay*, sig. b. 2.

There is a copy of the *Sacra* (Hag. Com. 1601, 4to) which contains *Adamus Exul* in the British Museum, with an inscription in the hand-writing of Grotius. It was acquired in 1850.

Adamus Exul appeared in English in 1839 under the title: *Adamus Exul, or the Prototype of Paradise Lost, now first translated from the Latin*. London, 1839, 8vo. The translator was Francis Foster Barham. He translated from a copy of the edition of 1601 which had been in Richard Heber's library.

It had been translated in 1747, but the translation was not published. *Gentleman's Magazine*, xvii. (1747), 302.

Barham's translation was also printed in the *Monthly Magazine* of October, 1839. He promised a reprint of the original, but it did not appear.

Along with the Glasgow University copy of the *Sacra*, above referred to, there is bound up *Syntagma Aratorum opus*, the Greek text with Latin in Latin verse and notes by Grotius. *Ex officina Plantiniana*, 1600, 4to. This Johann Vogt describes (*Catalogus Librorum rariorum*, Hamburgi, 1747, 8vo) as 'liber perrarus,' but gives the date 1604, instead of 1600.

There is a convenient bibliography of Grotius by Dr. H. C. Rogge, librarian of the University of Amsterdam, *Bibliotheca Grotiano*, 'S Gravenhage, 1883, 4to. The poetical works are at pp. 18-60.

² Morhof, *Polyhistor*, i. 7: 3. 15, p. 1069, Lubecae, 1747, 4to. As to the scarcity of *Adamus Exul*, see *Das neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, ii. 342, Leipzig, 1752, 8vo.

Milton.

And, in my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, tho' in hell:
Better to reign in hell, than serve in heav'n.

B. i. 261.

And he adds, 'I have known some much touched with the daring boldness of the thought contained in the last passage, not suspecting that the merit of it was not due to the old English poet, but should have been placed to the account of the illustrious young Dutch bard, from whom *Milton* freely borrowed it, though, as it clearly appears, without any intention of making an acknowledgement.'¹

The lines quoted from Grotius are given by Lauder in his extracts from *Adamus Exul*: they do not, however, occur in the original, or in his reprint of the original,² but are an interpolation of his own. He translated Milton's lines into Latin, and passed them off as the work of Grotius,³ and adds in a footnote in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: 'Milton has these lines literally translated thus,' and then adds Milton's own words.

The editor of *Paradise Lost*, which R. and A. Foulis had just published, was John Callander of Craigforth; but he does not touch upon the Lauder controversy. The work, although praised by competent authorities, did not proceed beyond Book I.; but the remainder is in manuscript in the library of the Society of

¹ *Essay*, p. 58.

Douglas established the converse that Lauder quoted lines from *Paradise Lost* which did not exist, and then showed their parallelism with lines in *Adamus Exul*. *Milton Vindicated*, p. 60, London, 1751, 8vo. See the *Monthly Review* for December, 1750, p. 105.

² *Adamus Exsul, Tragoedia*, auctore Hugone Grotio, Londini, 1752. This is described as the fifth edition *prioribus longe emaculatio*. It is part of his *Delectus auctorum sacrorum Miltono facem praeluentium*, Londini, 1752, 8vo, 2 vol.

³ Lauder was an excellent classical scholar, and an adept in Latin verse; and had published *A Poem of Hugo Grotius on the Holy Sacrament [i.e. the Eucharistia] translated into English verse*, Edinburgh (R. Fleming and Company), 1732, 8vo. In the preface he mentions that he had made 'some few Additions in several Parts of the Poem,' but hoped that 'these Additions are neither foreign to the Author's Meaning, nor the Nature of the Argument.'

Hallam remarks that the *Adamus Exul* suggested much to Milton, which Lauder perceived. Not content, however, with pointing out what may have been suggestions to Milton, he altered the text of the poem to suit many passages in Milton's work, so as to make him appear as a plagiarist. *Literature of Europe*, iii. p. 274, London, 1872, 8vo. See Barham, *Adamus Exul*, p. 5.

Antiquaries of Scotland.¹ Mr. Callander presented a beautiful MS. on vellum of St. Jerome's Vulgate to the University library of Glasgow.

An edition of Plato, worthy of the great philosopher, was the dream of Foulis' life. He had already had it in his mind for some time; it occupied his attention for several later years, and Lord Aberdour must have heard it discussed. As far back as 1746 John Wilkes, then just returned from the University of Leyden, afterwards the notorious M.P. for Middlesex, had written supporting the proposal, and suggesting that Foulis should issue formal proposals on which subscriptions could be obtained. 'This,' he says, 'would be a trifling expense to you, as I imagine you would give the letter and paper of your 8vo Sophocles for a specimen. It would be the greatest honour to your press to print so noble an author, with as few errata as possible; and you would benefit the learned world beyond what Stephens or Aldus ever did.' Foulis, as appears from this letter to Lord Aberdour, was not satisfied to use the Sophocles type even for his *Proposals*, but had a new letter cut after a pattern used by Stephens, and with this type he printed a specimen of Plato, which was issued along with *Proposals for Printing by Subscription the whole Works of Plato*.²

The reference to Foulis' letter to Professor Forbes is acceptable.³

William Forbes, son of Dr. Thomas Forbes, of Aberdeen, formerly professor of medicine in the University of Pisa,⁴ was

¹ See David Laing in *Archaeologia Scotica*, iii. p. 84; and 'Life of Callander,' in Chambers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, s.v.

² These were issued in 1749. Duncan, *Notices and Documents illustrative of the literary history of Glasgow*, p. 54, Glasgow, 1831, 4to (Maitland Club).

³ I have his Thesis as candidate for admission to the Faculty of Advocates: *Disputatio juridica ad Titulum ff. Qui Testamenta facere possunt, & quem admodum Testamenta fiant*, Edinburgi (Andreas Anderson), 1696, 4to; and his *Oratio inauguralis de natura, fortuna, dignitate, utilitate, atque auctoritate Juris Civilis*, Edinburgi (Anderson), 1714, 4to. This was the Professor's inaugural discourse delivered before the University of Glasgow, 18th February, 1714.

There is an engraved portrait of Professor Forbes.

He married, 23rd January, 1700, Margaret Lindsay, daughter of Alexander Lindsay, merchant burghess of Edinburgh. They had a daughter, Janet Forbes. See Forbes v. Knox, 25th June, 1714, M. 11850. This report is taken from MS. Collection of Decisions made by Professor Forbes, now in the Advocates' Library.

⁴ As to Thomas Forbes, see *Scottish Notes and Queries*, xii. (1899), p. 116.

born about 1676, and in 1698 was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates. He was a sound and capable lawyer, and a lucid and industrious writer. His earliest work was *A Treatise on Church-lands and Tithes*, published in 1705, and in 1714 he was appointed to the newly-established professorship of law in the University of Glasgow. He was on friendly terms with Foulis. When the two brothers visited Paris in 1738 they carried a letter from the University of Glasgow to Mr. Thomas Innes, Principal of the Scots College, whom they saw frequently, and who wrote very fully regarding them to Mr. James Edgar, the secretary to the Chevalier de St. George at Rome.¹ 'As to our Glasgow gentlemen,' he says, 'they are brothers of the name of Foulis, both young men of very good parts. . . . They know very well your friend M. Will. Forbes, the lawyer, and by the account they give of him, it seems he is not now so peevish as he appears in his *Book of Teinds*, written several years ago, which I have; he hath also published *Institutions of the Scots Law*, and other pieces on that subject.' Again, a month later, he writes: 'Messieurs Foulis, the two Glasgow gentlemen, parted from this 4 or 5 days ago, to return home by London, carrying along with them no less than 6 or 7 hogsheads of books, which they had bought up here. I did not fail to charge them with your compliments for Mr. Wm. Forbes, Professor of Law, and to assure him from you, that you was still the same as to your principles in relation to religion² and government, as when you parted with him, and they'll not fail to report it as you desired.'

His book on Teinds was an excellent one, and is still an authority on some points of that somewhat obscure and knotty branch of the law. It was, however, attacked by James Gordon, the minister of Banchory Devenick,³ to whom Forbes made a

¹ The letters, which were in the possession of Mr. Thomas Thomson, were printed in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, 1822, p. 334; see Dibdin, *Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour*, ii. p. 762.

The letter by the University to Father Innes and his reply are printed in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ii. p. 367 sqq.

James Edgar (1688-1764) was born at Keithock in the county of Forfar. There is a sketch of his life in *Genealogical Collections concerning the Scottish House of Edgar*, p. 18 sqq., London, 1871, 4to (Grampian Club), with a portrait.

² Edgar was a protestant.

³ *Some Charitable Observations on a late treatise on church-lands and tithes, by Mr. Forbes, advocate; and tendered to the publick by a moderate son of the Church of England*, Edinburgh, 1706, 4to.

Gordon used the Prayer-book of the Church of England—not the Scotch

vigorous reply,¹ which is no doubt that to which Father Innes refers.

Forbes was a man of undoubted ability, of considerable learning, of good judgment, and of large experience of life; yet nevertheless, in 1730, he treats trials of witchcraft as a serious and undoubted crime, explains its character and the evidence to be adduced in support of a charge, and defends his position against that of Serjeant Hawkins in his *Pleas of the Crown*.² It is a curious coincidence that he was appointed to the chair of law on the recommendation of Sir John Maxwell, then Lord Justice Clerk, and a Senator of the College of Justice, under the title of Lord Pollok, and Rector of the University, who had taken an active part in 1697 in the prosecution of the Renfrewshire witches.³

It is interesting to know that Professor Forbes had a large collection of the modern Latin poets,⁴ and that on his death on 2nd October, 1745, his library was purchased by Robert Foulis.

or Laudian Service book—for some time, and thus esteemed himself ‘a moderate son of the Church of England.’ *New Statistical Account*, xi. (Kincardine), p. 172.

¹ *A few Remarks by William Forbes, advocate, on a scurrilous, erroneous and pedantic Pamphlet . . . by the Author of the Reformed Bishop, under the vizard of a moderat son of the Church of England*, Edinburgh, 1706, 8vo.

The *Reformed Bishop*, 1679, 8vo, it may be explained, caused great offence, and led to Gordon’s deposition for some time.

Gordon followed, in the language of pleading, ‘by a Duply,’ in the shape of another pamphlet, *Some just Reflections on a Pasquil against the Parson of Banchory*, 1706, 8vo; to which Forbes in turn replied in *A Letter from William Forbes, advocat, to a Gentleman in the country, concerning the Parson of Banchory, and his late Pamphlet*, Edinburgh, 1706, 8vo.

² *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, ii. pp. 31 *sqq.*, 370 *sqq.*, Edinburgh, 1730, 8vo.

‘Nothing seems plainer to me,’ he says (p. 371), ‘than that there may be, and have been witches, and that perhaps such are now actually existing; which I intend, God willing, to clear in a larger work concerning the Criminal Law.’

³ *A Relation of the diabolical practice, of above twenty Wizards and Witches of the Sheriffdom of Renfrew, . . .*, London, 1697, 4to; *Sadducismus debellatus, or a true narrative of the sorceries and witchcrafts exercised . . . upon Mrs. Christina, daughter of Mr. John Shaw of Bargarran*. *Ib.* 1698, 4to.

Sir John Maxwell wrote a curious letter to Professor George Sinclair regarding the bewitching of his father, George Maxwell of Pollok, which the professor printed in his extraordinary work, *Satan’s Invisible World Discovered*.

⁴ Sir William Hamilton was a collector of the same kind of literature, and his collection now forms part of the library of the University of Glasgow.

There is an amusing account of an encounter between Dr. Parr and Sir William on the modern Latin poets in *Edinburgh Essays*, pp. 257, 258, Edinburgh, 1857, 8vo.

In 1750 Robert Foulis lost his wife, Elizabeth Moor, sister of Professor Moor. Her death weighed so heavily upon him that he was recommended to leave Glasgow for a time. Acting on this advice, he visited the Continent with the object of furthering two schemes which he had very much at heart: the one his projected edition of Plato, and the other the establishment of an Academy of the Fine Arts in Glasgow. He set out in July, 1751, in company with his brother, James Foulis, and passed over to Leyden in order to consult Hemsterhuys, 1685-1766, the greatest Greek scholar of the day,¹ and Ruhnken, 1723-98, his pupil and successor. Here he had a friend in Lord Aberdour, and no doubt had introductions to members of the University from Professor Rouat and Professor Hercules Lindsay, both of whom had studied at Leyden,² and probably from Colonel Joseph Yorke, the British Ambassador at the Hague, or through him from Count Bentinck, who was one of the friends and patrons of Hemsterhuys.³ From Holland he proceeded to Paris, carrying letters of recommendation to Jean Capperonier, 1716-75, professor of Greek in the College of France, and the Abbé Claude Sallier, 1685-1761, both of the King's library in Paris, from Professor Moor, who had made their acquaintance in 1748 when he visited Paris for material for a new edition of the Greek text of Pappus.

¹ During the first half of the eighteenth century the study of Greek was neglected in the universities of Germany, except by students of theology, and their study of it was but slight. The same professor generally taught Hebrew as well as Greek. The study of Greek, on the other hand, had been pursued with great success in Holland. Wyttenbach, *Vita Ruhnkenii* in his *Opuscula*, i. pp. 531, 536, Lugd. Bat., 1821, 8vo.

According to Jean Bernard Leblanc, Greek at this period was not so much studied in France as it was in England, *Lettres d'un François*, Lett. lxii. vol. ii. p. 464, Paris, 1758, 12mo, 5th ed.

² Hercules Lindsay entered the University of Leyden in 1737; and William Rouat in 1741. Gerschom Carmichael, afterwards minister of Monimail, son of Professor Gerschom Carmichael, entered Leyden in 1739. The professor himself was not at that university.

³ Foulis acknowledges favours received at Leyden from Count Bentinck—William Bentinck of Rhoo—and he had his assistance later in the recovery of his pictures. Murray, *Robert and Andrew Foulis*, pp. 59, 60.

The brothers William and Charles Bentinck—two of the most illustrious of the nobles of Holland—were friends of Hemsterhuys. Ruhnken, *Elogium Hemsterhusii*, p. 29.

As to Lord Hardwicke and Colonel Joseph Yorke, see *Robert and Andrew Foulis*, p. 64, *supra*.

From Paris Foulis wrote to Mr. Leslie :

A Monsieur De Lessly à Leide
Hollande.

My Dear Friend,

I confess my fault & ask pardon for being so long of returning thanks for the kind letter, I had the pleasure of receiving. The Multiplicity of little affairs in which I have been engaged since I came here & being rarely alone at home has been in a good measure the occasion of my being so long awriting. All affairs go well here with regard to Plato. Mon^r. L'Abbé Sallier and Mon^r. Capperonnier honour me with particular Marks of friendship, besides the Collations they are to furnish us from the Kings Library, L'Abbé Sallier has given me a Copy of Plato with a good many notes by Kuster¹ wrote with his own hand, & what is still a great deal more valuable, the learn'd Mon^r. L'Abbé Fraggier²

¹Ludolf Küster (1670-1716), or as he sometimes styled himself, Neocorus, a celebrated Greek scholar and critic, German by birth and education, and for a short time a professor at Berlin, lived mostly in Holland, and spent some time in France and several years in England, engaged on editing Suidas, which was published at the University Press, Cambridge, in 1705 in 3 vols. folio. He turned Roman Catholic in 1715, and died next year. He was an arduous student and unwearied worker, and is described as 'a tall, thin, pale man, seemingly unable to bear fatigue, but nevertheless indefatigable, and of an uncommon application to letters.' Latterly his thinness disappeared and he became very fat. He is said to have died of an ailment brought on by sitting constantly doubled up writing at a low table with three or four circles of books around him. Monk, *Life of Bentley*, i. p. 404, 2d ed., London, 1833, 8vo.

Comparing Stephan Bergler (c. 1680-c. 1746) and Küster, Ruhnken says: 'ille [Bergler] veteris philosophiae scientia, hic [Küster] critica facultate, uterque Graecis literis tam excellens, ut ambiguum posteris relinquerint, uter utri ea laude praestaret' (Ruhnken, *Elogium Hemsterhusii*, p. 8, Lipsiae (Teubner), 1875, 8vo). Both assisted Fabricius in the preparation of his *Bibliotheca Graeca*: both were numbered by Hemsterhuys amongst his friends.

²So Foulis spells the name, but incorrectly, in a letter quoted by Mr. W. J. Duncan, who substitutes T for F, but there is no doubt that the reference is to Claude François Fraguier, 1666-1722, known as l'Abbé Fraguier, poet, scholar, and student of Plato. He entered the Order of the Jesuits in 1683, but retired in 1694. He was for some time professor of classics in their college at Caen, and is said to have read Homer over five times in four years. He contemplated a translation of the works of Plato into Latin, as he thought that the versions of Ficinus and Serranus left much to be desired, but this he did not carry out. He summarised the philosophy of Plato in a charming poem, *Mopsus, sive Schola Platonica de hominis perfectione*, Paris, 1721, 12mo, and wrote some papers on Plato which appeared in the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Inscriptions. Sitting lightly clad by an open window on a summer night, he caught a chill, which

intend to have given an Edition of Plato, & has wrote notes upon the whole. After his death his papers fell into the hands of L'Abbé Sallier who caused them to be fairly transcribed by Mon^r Capperonnier upon the Margin of the Francfort Edition of Ficinus Plato, & when the page could not contain them the rest he transcribed on papers apart refering always to the page. These papers & the Plato I have just received, & as they seem to be full of erudition, they will certainly be a principle Ornament to our Edition.

I am obliged to you for your good Advice & I shall take care not to hurt the project of Plato by any other. On the contrary whatever I engage in till that is finish'd will be concerted in such a manner as at least not to interfere with it, if they are not of importance in promoting it. What I wrote to M^r Haak, had something in it, tho' I intended it to be taken in jest, & I beg you will write nothing about it to Scotland, for reasons I shall tell off, when I have the pleasure of seeing you which I hope will be at Leyden.

I have not begun here to make any exchanges, but have purchased some old books which are not very common, & some designs that are Original & of the most celebrated Masters of the Italian, French, & Flemish Schools; Likewise some Antiques in bronze & in Marble & a good many scarce Prints. Since I left you, I have apply'd myself to the knowledge of these sort of things, & more particularly to the history of painting to know the stiles of the great Masters, & what is particular to each School & how to distinguish the Original from the Copy, but on this subject enough at present.

I am very much obliged to you for the copy of Casimir, I beg you will cause it to be sent directed for me at Glasgow to the care of M^r Dunlop Merchant at Rotterdam.

If you could find leisure to translate the little Pamphlet that pleases you so much with Mon^r De Boissie's preface,¹ I shall take care to have it printed neatly, & thrown in the way of people to whom it may be useful.

so affected the muscles of his neck that he was never afterwards able to raise his head.

He became a member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres in 1705, and of the Academy of France in 1708.

¹ Probably Jean François Boissie Ephorus, *i.e.* Governor, Overseer, or Tutor of Regteren Almelo Transilianus, who entered the University of Leyden in 1746.

The pleasure I had in the very agreeable Company of the Gentlemen at Leyden, makes me wish much to return that way. I have seen very few so accomplish'd, so polite, with so much solidity of Understanding & benignity of heart as Mon^r De Boissie; As I am very sensible of my Obligations to his Civilitys, & M^r Tavel^s¹ I beg you will return them thanks in my name in the warmest manner, & we beg that these Gentle-men would take the trouble of making our Compliments acceptable to their friends, whom we had the honour to be in Company with.

By a letter from Glasgow, I find my Brother is printing Tacitus like Cicero in four Vols: & likewise Pliny's natural history in the same size and manner. By another letter I learn an expedient that M^r Blackwell has fallen upon to show how much he is admir'd abroad. It is this, he has sent two Letters to Doct: Johnson which he calls Copys from learn'd Gentlemen here. One of them a letter from President Montesquieu so full of gross flattery as they tell me that no one could be Author of it but Blackwell of himself to himself. One Ar[]'s which is that a learned friend & he admir'd his letters [on Myth]ology so much that they mete every week to read them together, & in short he had outdone all whoever had outdone others. This seems to me a last & ridiculous shift, not worth detecting & have accordingly neglected it.

Mon^r L'Abbé Sallier ask'd me whether the Earl of Morton was at London, or in Scotland. He had hear'd that he was not to be London this Session of Parlement. I could not give him any information, but told him that I had the honour of being with Lord Aberdour at Leyden, for whom he asked in so particular a manner, as show'd a very great Regard for the Lord Morton. My Brother & I beg, you will make our Compliments, in the most respectful manner to my Lord Aberdour, I propose to write soon to M^r Macklane & Mynheer Haak. I would have spoke of M^r Craigie, of whose death no doubt you have hear'd, the subject is touching. It gives me pain to enter upon it. Adieu. I am &c.

ever Yours

ROBERT FOULIS.

Paris.

Feb: 3^d 1752

¹ There were two persons of this name at Leyden about this time, (a) David Augustinus Tavel, a Swiss, overseer or governor (Ephorus), or, as we would say, tutor, of Antony Bentinck, and (b) Frederick Solomon Tavel, governor of another Bentinck.

It thus appears that the Abbé Sallier presented Foulis with a copy of the edition of Plato by Ficinus, upon the margin of which Professor Capperonier had transcribed the annotations of the Abbé Fraguier. In addition to these, Foulis procured the annotations of other scholars and several ancient MSS., all of which were placed in the hands of Professor Moor. The latter made his own annotations upon a copy of the Basel edition of 1534. After the death of Foulis and Moor the collection was sold, and fell into the hands of Mr. William Laing, the well-known bookseller of Edinburgh, and was described in his Catalogue for 1792. From him they were purchased by the Bodleian Library, where they now are.

Mr. John Reekie, classical teacher in Glasgow, a student of Professor Moor, and an accomplished Greek scholar, collected an excellent library, which was sold by his representatives after his death. For the purposes of the sale a catalogue was prepared,¹ in which the following entry occurs (p. 4) :

39: Platonis Opera Omnia, Gr. & Lat. Ficini, 4 tom., half bound, full of manuscript notes. Francof., 1602.

The above is the best edition of Ficinus' Plato, and contains various readings, Scholia and a great many curious remarks most distinctly and beautifully written upon the margins of the whole work, extracted from manuscripts in the Vatican Library in Rome and the National Library in Paris. The above manuscript observations were procured at a very great expense by the late Messrs. Robert & Andrew Foulis, the celebrated printers to the University of Glasgow, for a new edition of Plato's works, to be published by them, similar to the splendid edition of Homer printed in Glasgow in 1756, but the work never was begun, although printed proposals were issued for subscriptions in the year 1751.

As Professor Moor's notes were made upon the Basel edition of 1534, the copy which fell into Mr. Reekie's hands must have been the identical one which the Abbé Sallier had presented to Robert Foulis in 1752.

Before Foulis set out on his Continental trip he had reissued the *Proposals* for his projected Plato both in Latin and English.²

¹ *Bibliotheca Reekiana; or a Catalogue of the curious distinguished library of the late Mr. John Reekie.* . . . Glasgow (R. Chapman), 1811, 8vo, 3 ll. + 56 pp.

Mr. Reekie possessed an inscribed stone from the Roman Wall, found in February, 1803, which was also sold. The inscription is given in the Catalogue.

There are notices of Reekie in *Northern Notes and Queries*, i. pp. 466, 470, 473 *sqq.* ; ii. p. 28. Glasgow, 1852-54, 4to.

² See Letter by Dr. William Hunter to Dr. William Cullen, 1st August, 1751. Murray, *Robert and Andrew Foulis*, p. 54, Glasgow, 1915, 4to ; Thomson, *Life of William Cullen*, i. p. 541, Edinburgh, 1859, 8vo.

The *Proposals* of 1751, which were dated 7th January, 1751, are given in

About this time Dr. Thomas Blackwell, 1701-57, Principal of and Professor of Greek in Marischal College, Aberdeen, offered to furnish critical notes for the work, together with an account of Plato's life and philosophy, but his terms were so high that the offer was declined,¹ and Blackwell thereupon published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*² proposals, in Latin, for an edition of his own, which, however, he never produced. This may account for the somewhat caustic tone of Foulis' reference to him; but, while Blackwell was a good scholar and an excellent teacher, he was far from being an attractive personality. 'He was,' says Mr. Ramsay of Ochertyre, 'an unpopular character, particularly among his brethren, who could not abide what they called his Bentleian arrogance, which was equally conspicuous in great or small matters—in the College hall, or in a drawing-room. In short, he was regarded by many as a learned coxcomb of some genius and much application.'³

On his return to Glasgow in 1753, Robert Foulis was still busy with this project. 'I have not yet begun,' he writes to his friend William Sturrock, 'to print Plato, not only because I would have all prior obligations discharged, but because I would have as few things to repent in the execution as possible. I would have all helps amassed, and at least one Volume entirely ready for the Press before it be begun. I would be thoroughly satisfied with regard to the elegance of the Greek character which I use. I would have some researches for finding a better Ink than ordinary, fully made out in the meantime. I was informed last post that there is a large packet of collations from Plato from the Vatican. Mr. Moor, who thinks to have the first Volume ready for the Press in three months, is greatly pleased with y^e Abbe Fraguier's Commentary, which perhaps we will print entire.'⁴

English by David Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers*, ii. p. 296. The Latin version, with a postscript dated 3rd July, 1751, announcing that the work would be edited by Professor James Moor, was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxi. (1751) p. 430.

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, ii. p. 340, London, 1780, fol. The information for this article was supplied by Professor Gerard of Aberdeen.

² xxi. (1751) p. 383.

³ *Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century*, i. p. 291. See Lord Woodhouselee, *Life of Lord Kames*, i. p. 166, and Appendix, p. 49. At the latter reference he reprints a character of Blackwell by Professor Gerard, a singularly bald and lifeless notice which gives no picture of the man or appreciation of his qualities.

⁴ Duncan, *Notices and Documents illustrative of the literary history of Glasgow*, p. 21. William Sturrock was eldest son of John Sturrock, merchant in London, and graduated M.A. Glasgow, in 1753.

Mr. Duncan by mistake calls him Horrock. See *Robert and Andrew Foulis*, p. 74.

Plato made little progress, and although Foulis hoped for many years to issue what he intended to be a monumental edition, it never appeared.

The brothers were well received at Leyden, they made a good impression on the eminent scholars to whom they were introduced, formed several friendships, and enjoyed their stay. Ruhnken possessed a copy of the *Proposals* in his library, and writing to Ernesti, at the time, speaks of the *fratres Foulisii, bibliopolæ, et arte sua et eruditione fere Stephanis pares*, of their intention to issue a magnificent edition of Plato (*splendissimam Platonis editionem*), and their visit in search of manuscripts of the text and the annotations of scholars,¹ and twenty years later their visit had not been forgotten.² Ruhnken undertook to collect material for Foulis, and although Foulis was unable to use it, Ruhnken's labour was not lost, as in 1754 he published for the first time the *Lexicon to Plato* by Timæus, the Sophist,³ founded upon manuscripts in the libraries of Paris. It may have been through Foulis that his attention was directed to these, and that he made the acquaintance of Capperonier and Sallier. Capperonier transcribed the manuscript on which the text was founded, and Ruhnken in his preface acknowledges his indebtedness to both. Capperonier he styles *cultissimi ingenii nec vulgaris eruditionis vir*,⁴ and speaks of Sallier as *singulare Gallicæ eruditæ ornamentum*.⁵

Sallier, it appears, knew the Earl of Morton, 1702-68, father of Lord Aberdour, so that through the latter Foulis had a further link of friendship with the abbé. Lord Morton was a man of

¹ Letter in 1751 by Ruhnken to Ernesti. Ruhnkenii *Epistolæ*, p. 9, Lipsiæ, 1812, 8vo. See also J. T. Bergman in his preface to Ruhnkenii *Opuscula*, i. p. xlii, Lugd. Bat., 1823, 8vo.

Bergman speaks of *fratres Foulisii Bibliopolæ Glasguenses clarissimi*.

Robert was no doubt the chief speaker, and Ruhnken did not realise that it was not James who was associated with him in business.

² *Vita Ruhnkenii* in his *Opuscula*, i. p. 698, Wyttenbach writes 'Edinburgensibus,' but this is clearly a mistake for 'Glasguensibus.' It is so corrected by J. T. Bergman, *Supplementa Annotationis ad Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii*, p. 47, Lugd. Bat., 1874, 8vo; and Preface to Ruhnkenii *Opuscula*, as in the preceding note.

³ *Lexicon vocum Platoniarum*, Lugd. Bat., 1754, 8vo; again, with many improvements, *ib.* 1789, 8vo.

Ruhnken also edited *Scholæ* upon Plato, Lugd. Bat., 1800, 8vo.

⁴ The MSS. of Capperonier were acquired after his death by the Bibliothèque du Roi.

⁵ He also refers to Sallier in a letter to Ernesti, Ruhnkenii *Epistolæ*, p. 9, Lipsic, 1812, 8vo.

culture, a trustee of the British Museum, and President of the Royal Society from 1764 till his death. In 1747, when travelling in France, he, with his wife and child and the Countess's sister, were for some unknown reason imprisoned in the Bastille for three months. It was probably during this visit that he formed the acquaintance of Sallier.

Amongst the other Scotsmen whom the two brothers met at Leyden was Archibald Maclaine, 1722-1804, minister of the Scottish church at the Hague, who had graduated at Glasgow in 1746, and whom Foulis must have known in Glasgow.

Foulis, as will have been observed, contemplated an edition of the poems of the Polish Jesuit, Casimir, as he was generally known in England, more correctly Matthias Casimir Sarbiewski, latinised Sarbievius, 1595-1640. He was popular in this country, and his poems were translated into English by G. Hills in 1646.¹ Foulis' project was no doubt discussed at Leyden, but he had not a copy of the text he had in view—the Plantin edition in 4to. This is the edition prepared by the Jesuits of Antwerp and dedicated to Urban VIII., and issued 'ex officina Plantiniana' by Balthasar Moretus.

This is a handsome, but rare edition. The Plantin edition was republished at Antwerp in 1634, of which there is a copy in the Glasgow University library. It is in 16mo, and in small type, but contains a few more poems than the edition of 1632.

Foulis' scheme was not carried out at the time, and at a later date became unnecessary, an edition having been published at Dresden in 1754, Vilna in 1749 and 1757, and another by Barbou at Paris in 1759.²

Mr. Leslie having found a copy—probably of the edition required—offered to forward it. Foulis asked that the book

¹ London, 1646, 12mo. Latin and English on opposite pages.

Casimir in his lyrics is thought to have approached Horace more nearly than other modern poets. He lived for some years at Rome, and was patronised by Pope Urban VIII., who presented him with a gold medal. See Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, iii. p. 275, London, 1872.

The Barbou edition of his poems was reprinted in 1791, and there was another edition published at Leipsic in 1842.

² There have been many recent editions of Casimir's poems. The latest is *Stara Tries*, 1892, 8vo, a beautiful and useful edition, with an excellent bibliography, pp. xxi-lxiv. There is also an excellent bibliography of Sarbiewski in De Backer, *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jesus*, vii. 627-645; ix. 839, Bruxelles, Paris, 1896, 1900, 4to.

should be forwarded to Glasgow through Mr. Dunlop, merchant at Rotterdam. This may refer to one of the partners of John and Robert Dunlop, who were at that time leading merchants in Rotterdam, and acted as correspondents of several Glasgow houses.¹

¹ In July, 1755, their affairs fell into disorder; they were declared bankrupt on the 12th of that month. See the Session Papers in Andrew Syme & Co., merchants in Glasgow, *v.* William Andrew, shipmaster in Crawfurdsdike, 1761. John Dunlop was brother-in-law of James Gibson, merchant in Paisley. See Session Papers in George Kippen & Company, merchants in Glasgow, *v.* James Davidson, merchant in Paisley, trustee for the creditors of James Gibson, 1762.

Mr. James Dunlop was for long a leading merchant and an influential Scotsman in Rotterdam. He was brother of William Dunlop, 1649-1700, principal of the University of Glasgow, 1690-1700; and uncle of Alexander Dunlop, 1684-1747, professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. He was cousin of William Carstairs and also of William Dunlop, third son of James Dunlop of Garnkirk, who was sent to Holland in 1681 for a commercial education. See Dunlop, *Memorabilia of the Families of Dunlop*, p. 21, Glasgow, 1898, 8vo; Story, *William Carstairs*, p. 54, London, 1874, 8vo.

(To be continued)

A Biographical Sketch of General Robert Melville of Strathkinness

WRITTEN BY HIS SECRETARY

With Notes by EVAN W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE, B.A.

GENERAL ROBERT MELVILLE was descended from the Melvilles of Carnbee,¹ in the county of Fife, in Scotland, a branch of the antient and noble family of the same name, of which the chief is the Earl of Leven and Melville.² The ancestor of the family is held to have been the first Norman who passed into Scotland. He was a person of distinction of Normandy, named De Malville or De Melville, who accompanied William the Conqueror into England, in the autumn of 1066. Meeting, however, with some cause of disgust from William, he, before the close of that year, secretly withdrew to the court of Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland.³ By Malcolm he was courteously received and early put in possession of lands, thence constituting the barony of Melville Castle in Mid-Lothian.

¹ General Robert Melville was the great-great-grandson of Sir John Melville of Carnbee. Sir John, having acquired the barony of Granton in Mid-Lothian in 1580, sold Carnbee in 1598. He was knighted by James VI. and died in the reign of Charles I. (*Baronage of Scotland*).

² John de Melville (*floruit* 1260 A.D.; cf. *Rymer*, ii. 471), grandson of Walter (*v. post*), had two sons, of whom the elder, Sir John de Melville (*fl.* 1290-1296 A.D.; cf. *Rymer*, iii. 651), was ancestor of the Earls of Leven and Melville, and the younger, Sir Robert Melville, was ancestor of the Carnbee line (*Douglas' Peerage*). General Melville was also connected with Lord Leven through his mother, whose paternal grandmother was Jean, daughter of Thomas Melville of Murdocairnie, second son of John Melville of Raith (d. 1626) and brother of John, Lord Melville, father of the first Earl of Melville. The second was much the closer connection.

³ A note in General Melville's handwriting, probably made in 1770, gives a different version, viz. 'The founder of the Melvills in Scotland is said to have been a person of considerable rank, who attended from Hungary Margaret, wife of King Malcolm Canmore.' This tradition is mentioned in *Douglas's Peerage*.

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Galfridus de Melville appears as a witness in many charters of Malcolm the 4th of Scotland, who died in 1165. He even made himself a donation of the church of Melville, in Lothian, to the monastery of Dunfermline, in Fife, in the year 1187.⁴ From three sons of Galfridus, namely, Sir Gregory, Philip, and Walter, are respectively descended the Melvilles of Lothian, Angus⁵ and Fife.

The parents⁶ of General Melville dying when he was very young, the care of his education devolved on his guardians.⁷ Placed by them at the Grammar School of Leven, in Fife, he early distinguished himself by a quick and lively apprehension, united to a singularly capacious and retentive memory. From this seminary his rapid progress in his education enabled him to be early removed to the Universities of Glasgow⁸ and Edinburgh, where his application was crowned with the happiest success. His fortune being but moderate, he, in compliance with the wishes of his friends that he should follow one of the learned professions, turned his attention to the study of medicine.⁹ His genius, however, strongly prompting him to adopt the military life, and the war then carrying on in Flanders¹⁰ presenting a favourable

⁴ Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland, and Caledonia*, i. 524, ii. 806.

⁵ The male line of Philip became extinct in 1468.

⁶ His father was the Rev. Andrew Melville, minister of Monimail, in Fife, from 1705 till his death in 1736. His mother was Helen, daughter of Robert Whytt of Bennoch, Fife, advocate, and Jean, daughter of Anthony Murray of Woodend, Perthshire. The Monimail register of baptisms gives five other children, born between 1720 and 1729, of whom one daughter, Jean, born in 1721, married in 1749 the Rev. Robert Preston, minister of the parish of Arbirlot.

⁷ A pencil note gives these as 'Lord Edgefield, one of the Senators of the College of Justice in Scotland, and Dr. Robert Whytt, his maternal uncle.' Of Lord Edgefield the lists of judges give no trace: it may perhaps have been Lord Elchies. Dr. Robert Whytt (1714-1766) was professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, president of Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, and a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1761 he was appointed First Physician to the King in Scotland, 'in the room of Dr. Andrew Sinclair deceased' (*Diploma*); the office was not, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* states, specially created for Dr. Whytt. In 1743 he married, as his second wife, Louisa, daughter of James Balfour of Pilrig, by whom he had fourteen children.

⁸ He matriculated at Glasgow University in 1737, the same year as Adam Smith and William Dalrymple, the 'Dalrymple mild' of Burns's *Kirk's Alarm*, all three being then fourteen years of age.

⁹ In addition to his uncle and guardian, Dr. Robert Whytt, others of his maternal relatives had studied for the medical profession.

¹⁰ War of the Austrian Succession.

opportunity for gratifying his natural and decided tendencies, young Melville was unable to resist the temptation. Concealing his project from his friends, he privately withdrew from Edinburgh to London; and there, after a proper communication of his views and motives, he was furnished with the requisite means of carrying his scheme into effect.

Repairing without loss of time to the Netherlands, he obtained, by purchase, early in 1744,¹ an ensigncy in the twenty-fifth regiment of foot,² commanded by the Earl of Rothes,³ and then encamped at Anderlecht, near Brussels.⁴ That campaign he served under Field-Marshal Wade,⁵ and all the following, until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, under H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, in the Low Countries; with the exception of part of the years 1745 and 1746, when, on account of the political troubles in the kingdom, the twenty-fifth regiment was employed in Britain.⁶

During this last service a detachment of the regiment, under Ensign Melville, formed a part of the garrison⁷ of Blair Castle, in the county of Perth, the antient seat of the Duke of Athol,

¹ The commission is dated 26th March, 1744.

² Now the King's Own Scottish Borderers.

³ John, 8th Earl of Rothes, K.T., P.C., b. 1698, was in command of the 25th Regiment from 1732 till 1745, and was subsequently commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland. He died in 1767.

⁴ This base was chosen in deference to the political anxieties of the Austrians, and in defiance of the military advice of the British commanders. The 25th Regiment formed part of the reinforcements sent to Flanders in 1744. General Melville seems to have begun his service with an ill-requited act of kindness, for at the foot of a list of 'old and desperate debts' which he drew up in 1770 appears this note: 'N.B. Due me since y^e beginning of 1744 by M^r James Johnston on his note then a Quarter Mr in the Grey Dragoons (lent him at Ghent) with Interest since—£ Sterl^r 15-0-0.'

⁵ Wade was appointed to the command in Flanders in December, 1743, on the resignation of the Earl of Stair, but himself resigned in October, 1744, principally from disgust at the failure of Dutch and Austrians to consent to any vigorous measures.

⁶ The 25th Regiment, of which Lord Sempill became commander on April 24th, 1745, took part in the Battle of Fontenoy on April 30th (O.S.), advancing in the second line, and was recalled to Britain in the following autumn to deal with the Jacobite rebellion. Landing at 'Grays in Essex' in November, it proceeded with Cumberland's army to Carlisle, whence it marched across England to Durham, and reached Edinburgh on January 17th, 1746, rejoining the Duke of Cumberland at Linlithgow in February. Thence it advanced to Perth by way of Stirling and Ardoch.

⁷ The garrison consisted of detachments from seven regiments, amounting in all to 300 men, and including a 'subaltern's command' from the 25th under Ensign Robert Melville.

commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.⁸ This antique edifice was closely invested and besieged by the enemy for a fortnight together: but by the steady resistance of the small party within the castle, they were compelled to raise the siege.⁹ During the whole of the attack Ensign Melville was able to maintain his post, with a small guard, on the flooring of an unfinished part of the castle, then in a state of reparation, and so close to the enemy as to overhear their conversation.

In the course of this service, of itself of little importance, Ensign Melville found exercise for a talent with which he was richly endowed; that of drawing valuable inferences from ordinary occurrences. Red hot shot were thrown from two pieces of artillery through the windows into the castle. This attack, formidable indeed in appearance, he soon discovered to be comparatively innocent in its effects. The hot shot rebounded from the rafters of the roof or from the walls of the apartment it entered, just as a cold shot would have done. Even after it fell on the boarded floor, it only reduced to charcoal the spot on which it lay, but produced no inflammation, and means were soon discovered of extinguishing the shot in vessels of water provided for the purpose. Observing and reflecting on these facts, he was led to the contrivance of various improvements in the construction and application of artillery in similar circumstances, afterwards brought to a high degree of perfection.

Returning with the regiment¹⁰ from Scotland to Flanders in the autumn of 1746, he joined the Allied army just in time to be present at the battle of Rocoux.¹ In the action of Lafeldt²

⁸ Sir Andrew Agnew (1687-1771), 5th baronet of Lochnaw, had taken part in the battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet as a cornet in the Scots Greys, had also been in action at Dettingen, and was at this time Lt.-Colonel of the 21st Regiment (Royal Scots Fusiliers). He was known as the Peerless Knight of Galloway. General Melville in a memorandum, dated 20th June, 1801, describes him as 'very old . . . almost blind yet very robust; passionate and obstinate in temper, who despised and hated the rebels; seemed neither desirous to procure any intelligence nor listen to any advice. . . . He had a perfect confidence in his own good fortune . . . with a very good stock of natural courage.'

⁹ The siege began on March 17th and was raised by Lord George Murray's force on April 1st.

¹⁰ The regiment was present at Culloden, where it was stationed on the left wing in the second line, its colonel, Lord Sempill, commanding the brigade. In autumn it embarked at Burntisland for Williamstadt, whence it proceeded to join the army at Maestricht.

¹ September 30th, 1746 (O.S.). The 25th spent the winter at Bois-le-duc.

² June 21st, 1747 (O.S.).

his conduct procured for him the privilege of delivering to the Duke of Cumberland the colours of the regiment of Monaco in the French service, which had been taken by the twenty-fifth regiment. On this occasion he was appointed a Lieutenant.³

In consequence of the battle of Fontenoy⁴ the regiment was thrown into Ath, then garrisoned by only two battalions of Austrians and Dutch. On the retreat of the Allies to Wilworden, Ath was invested by a large body of the French army, under the Comte de Clermont-Gallerande. The town was compelled to surrender; the slender garrison marched out with all military honours; and the British corps received not only the approbation of the Austrian Commandant of the place, but the public thanks of H.R.H. the Commander-in-chief.

During the siege of Ath Lieutenant Melville narrowly escaped destruction. The enemy at first threw their shells at the works alone, but one from an overcharged mortar, passing over the ramparts, in the middle of the night, fell within the town, and actually pierced through his field-bed, while he was absent upon duty in one of the outworks.

Towards the end of the year 1748⁵ the twenty-fifth regiment was ordered to Ireland: but from a succession of adverse events, it was upwards of five months on the passage. One delay was produced by the loss of the transport in which Lieutenant Melville, with the principal officers, was embarked. By some inconceivable blunder of the master, as well as by the severity of the weather, the vessel ran in upon the coast of Normandy, bent over the Calvados rocks, and was completely wrecked on the shore to the westward of Caen. Being treated with singular humanity by the people of the country, the troops were received into Caen, and even allowed to mount guard in the quarters allotted to them: an indulgence refused to French troops themselves on a march and in a town occupied by another garrison: an indulgence obtained principally by the private negotiation of Lieutenant Melville with the Commandant: for the indulgence was of such a nature that the British Commander could not with propriety solicit it.

³The commission is dated from the Headquarters at Heer, June 25th, 1747 (O.S.). It is not signed by the King, merely by the Duke of Cumberland as Captain-General.

⁴This paragraph and the next are chronologically out of place.

⁵Preliminaries were signed on 19th April, 1748 (O.S.) and the definitive peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in October.

From the spring of 1749 to the summer of 1755 Lieutenant Melville continued with the regiment in different parts of Ireland, with the exception of two periods⁶ in which he was employed on the recruiting service in Scotland, having been appointed a Captain in the same regiment in August, 1751.⁷

While on duty at the Cove fort in Cork harbour, applying to certain principles he had previously adopted on the subject of artillery the result of his observation and enquiries concerning the comparative advantages of batteries on land and afloat, Captain Melville was led to project guns, shot, and shells of a nature up to that time unknown to practice. His gun was to be much shorter, therefore much lighter, and consequently much more manageable than any then in use. His shot was so far to partake of the nature of a shell, as to be cast with a hollow in the centre, to receive inflammable substances, while it would be so strong as to answer at a proper distance the purpose of a solid shot. His shot, in fact, was to combine the properties of the shot, the shell and the carcass. Of this species of gun those called CARRONADES,⁸ from the great establishment at Carron, in Scotland, where they were first cast, have long been universally adopted. The larger sort, however, the MELVILLADES, have hitherto been seldom employed.

The twenty-fifth regiment having been moved from Ireland to Scotland in 1755, Captain Melville was engaged, while quartered at Glasgow, by his Colonel, the Earl of Home,⁹ although out of his turn of duty, to undertake the recruiting service of the regiment, then very low in numbers. By his exertions in this service, on a plan equally new and unexceptionable, he was so fortunate as, within a very short period, to raise one hundred and

⁶ One of these was in the autumn of 1751, when, in November, he attended and became a member of the old Revolution Club in Edinburgh; the other was in 1754, the year of his antiquarian discoveries (*v. post*).

⁷ The commission is dated 20th August, 1751, and endorsed 'captain in Lord Panmure's regiment in Ireland.' William, Earl of Panmure in the Peerage of Ireland, was M.P. for Forfarshire from 1734 till his death in 1782. He was in command of the K.O.S.B. from 1747 to 1752 and afterwards of the Royal Scots Fusiliers.

⁸ Carronades were designed by General Melville in 1759 and were at first called 'smashers.' They were adopted in the British navy in 1779 and their use was extended to other navies also. Somewhat similar in shape to a mortar, they were destructive at close quarters, especially against wooden ships. They were used with effect in the Battle of the Saints in 1782.

⁹ William, 8th Earl of Home, became colonel of the 25th Regiment in April 1752. He was governor of Gibraltar from 1757 to 1761.

fifty men, being forty more than could be raised by any other officer in the same time. Such were the maxims pursued by Captain Melville in the course of this service and such was the conduct of all persons acting in it under him, particularly in the capital of Scotland, that his parties were indulged by the magistrates of that city with peculiar privileges, and that the twenty-fifth acquired a fresh title to its original appellation, *the Royal Edinburgh Regiment*.

His services on this occasion procured for him a strong recommendation from General Bland,¹⁰ Commander-in-chief in Scotland, to Mr. Fox,¹ Secretary at War. From this resulted his speedy appointment to be aide-de-camp of General the Earl of Panmure, and to be Major of the thirty-eighth regiment of foot, then lying in Antigua, whither he repaired in spring, 1756.

During his visits to Scotland on public duty, while his regiment remained in Ireland, Captain Melville gave further proofs of the versatility as well as of the extent of his genius. It has been assigned as one reason why military antiquities have been less satisfactorily explained than the other branches of antiquarian research, that scholars and antiquaries have seldom been military men: and that military men have seldom been scholars and antiquaries. Polybius' treatise on Tacitus has unfortunately disappeared; and the other ancient writers who have noticed military affairs have mentioned the legionary arrangement in battle only in a cursory way. . . . Among the enquirers on this point was, and had early been, Captain Melville. In the autumn of 1751, what was considered to be a Roman *gladius* or legionary sword was shown to him in Scotland;² he at once discarded his systematic knowledge and, wielding the weapon, asked himself in what

¹⁰ General Humphrey Bland (1686-1763) was appointed governor of Edinburgh Castle in 1752 and commander-in-chief in Scotland in 1753.

¹ Henry Fox, 1st Viscount Holland.

² This was at Penicuik House, the so-called *gladius* forming part of Sir John Clerk's collection (Gough's *Camden*, ed. 1790, iii. 414*). In 1785 the Rev. James Douglas submitted to General Melville a recently discovered Roman *gladius* which the latter believed to be genuine. Their correspondence is published in *Archaeologia*, vol. vii. In his later years General Melville experimented with various weapons modelled upon the Roman sword. Particularly he evolved a type to which he gave the name of 'dashers.' During the French Revolution wars he repeatedly urged their adoption upon the military authorities. Letters are extant from the Duke of York, Sir John Moore, and others, politely refusing to comply. In 1810, the year after General Melville's death, Juan Fernandez in a letter to Mr. John Whyte-Melville announced that four hundred Spaniards were to be armed with 'dashers' 'as a trial.'

manner men armed with such a sword in the right hand, and with the legionary shield on the left, ought to be arranged in order to make the best use of their arms offensive and defensive. He immediately saw that they ought to be placed, not in deep and dense bodies, as had been generally supposed, but in shallow lines of two, or at most three, ranks of men. He discovered also that the men ought to stand not in files or one directly behind another, but those of the second rank opposite to and covering the intervals between the men in the front rank. Those in the third rank would, in the same way, be placed opposite to and covering the intervals of the second rank, and consequently directly behind the men of the front rank. In other words, he found that the legionary soldiers must have been placed in the *alternate* or *quincunx* order of *individuals*, and not of *dense bodies*.³ . . .

Comparing the relation given by Tacitus of the last campaign of Agricola in Scotland with the features of the country, he was led, from reasons of war, to conclude that the decisive action between the Caledonians and the Romans had taken place in a position very remote from that generally pointed out. The general opinion was that Galgacus sustained that signal overthrow by Agricola in the western parts of the vale of Strathern. Captain Melville, on the contrary, was persuaded that memorable defeat must have happened towards the eastern extremity of what is called the Grampian mountains, near the point where they abut on the German Ocean. With the view of ascertaining this point, in the autumn of 1754 he made a tour through the country he had selected, and had the good fortune to discover in it no fewer than four camps,⁴ unquestionably of Roman construction, and corresponding in other circumstances very accurately with the facts stated by the historian of Agricola.⁵

³This theory is not generally accepted. It relates only to the position of individual soldiers within the maniples, not to the quincunx arrangement of the maniples themselves, which was not disputed.

⁴These were Lintrose, Battledykes, Kirkbuddo, and Keithock—all in Forfarshire. In the same year General Melville also sketched the 'Roman Camp at Dalginross (Comrie) and the post of Innerpeffry' (near Muthill)—both in 'the western parts of the vale of' Strathearn. In the summer he had carefully examined the Antonine Wall and its forts (*v. Gough's Camden*, ed. 1790, iii. 414*).

⁵Dr. George Macdonald tells me that General Melville was undoubtedly the first to discover the four Forfarshire camps, although he did not publish anything about them till 1790, when he contributed some account of his discoveries to Gough's *Camden* (iii. pp. 414* ff.); that Maitland, whose book was published in 1757, was thus really indebted to General Melville for the facts upon which he

The thirty-eighth regiment,⁶ of which Mr. Melville was appointed to be Major in the spring of 1756,⁷ had been stationed in Antigua ever since its removal from Gibraltar in the beginning of that century.⁸ That island had often been made a receptacle for offenders from regiments at home: its military force was of course composed of the most disorderly troops. Excesses of every sort prevailed in the corps, in spite of the laudable exertions of many preceding field-officers to repress them.⁹ By the indefatigable zeal of the new Major, who in the summer of 1758 was the only field-officer with the regiment,¹⁰ and from the entire conviction he was able to infuse into the troops that he had their welfare and that alone at heart, Major Melville, with the hearty concurrence of most of the officers, succeeded in rendering the thirty-eighth regiment one of the most orderly in the service, and in restoring it to a state of discipline and spirit requisite for actual duty in the field.¹

An armament under General (?) Hodson² (*sic*) arriving at Barbadoes³ in December, 1758, for the purpose of attacking the French islands in the West Indies, the governor of Antigua was ordered to detach two hundred men of the thirty-eighth regiment to assist in an expedition against Martinique. In consequence of

based his own theory and his attack on Gordon's Strathearn hypothesis; and that the discovery of the four camps was certainly the basis of Roy's theory that the battle was fought in Kincardineshire or Aberdeenshire.

⁶ The 38th Regiment (now 1st Bn., South Staffordshire Regiment) was at that time commanded by Colonel Alexander Duroure.

⁷ The commission is dated 8th January, 1756.

⁸ The 38th Regiment was sent to Antigua from Gibraltar before the death of Queen Anne.

⁹ 'At St. Kitts, again, [a detachment of] the Thirty-eighth Foot, which for years had formed the garrison, was in a miserable condition; not forty per cent. of the men were fit for service; their clothing was in rags; they had neither hats nor shoes nor cartridge-boxes nor swords' (Fortescue, *H.B.A.* ii. 565).

¹⁰ Colonel Sir James Lockhart and Lt.-Colonel Talbot were at home on leave.

¹ In the spring of 1757 General Melville was sent to organise the defence of St. Kitts. Early in 1758 he was instructed to examine the condition of the French prisoners in Antigua, and in doing so he formed friendships to which he attributed an important influence on subsequent events in the French islands.

² Major-General Peregrine Hopson commanded the land forces and Commodore Moore the naval forces. Hopson, who had been governor of Nova Scotia before the war, died during this expedition, on 27th February, 1759.

³ Barbados was the recognised starting-point of British enterprises in the West Indies.

Major Melville's earnest solicitation, the governor⁴ permitted him, although the commanding officer of the regiment, to proceed on the expedition with the detachment, leaving the command of the corps in the island in the hands of the senior Captain.

On his arrival at Martinique Major Melville found that the attack had failed,⁵ and that the troops were re-embarked to proceed for Guadaloupe. During the attack on this island⁶ Major Melville commanded at the advanced posts with the light infantry, in which the detachment from the thirty-eighth regiment was included, and was completely successful in all the partial actions in which his troops were engaged. In one of these, after a night march and the surprise of a post very near the enemy's camp, Major Melville, leading on his men, was entering a house just left by the enemy. Precisely at that instant the building exploded, by which he was blown to some distance, and conceived to be killed. From the immediate effects of this accident he soon recovered: but to it must be attributed the decay of his sight, with which in his latter years he was afflicted, and which at last ended in total irremediable blindness.⁷

In recompense for his various services in Guadaloupe,⁸ Major Melville was appointed by the Commander of the Forces, General Barrington,⁹ to succeed Lieutenant-Colonel Debrisey,¹⁰ unfortunately blown up, as Commandant of Fort Royal.¹ In this

⁴ Sir George Thomas, Bart.

⁵ The attack took place on January 16th-18th, 1759.

⁶ The attack on Guadaloupe began on 24th January, 1759: the whole island had capitulated by May 1st.

⁷ In a memorandum drawn up for the Treasury in 1806, General Melville says: 'In consequence of that accident G. M. was confined at the time for some weeks but entirely recovered from its effects except that of a weakness of vision which gradually increased baffling all attempts towards cure and ultimately terminating about 17 years ago in the total loss of sight of that once active now veteran officer.'

⁸ His services, in addition to those mentioned above, consisted chiefly of cutting off enemy communications between the two halves of Guadaloupe and defending Fort Royal against attempts at recapture.

⁹ John Barrington, second in command under Hopson and commander-in-chief after his death, conducted the expedition with great skill. He was a brother of William, 2nd Viscount Barrington, who was Secretary at War from 1755 to 1761 and again 1765-78.

¹⁰ Lt.-Colonel Desbrisey received a salary of £1 per diem as governor of Fort Royal (*Calendar of Home Office Papers*, 1760-5, No. 59).

¹ His commission as Commandant of Fort Royal, signed by John Barrington only, is dated 24th March, 1759.

situation he remained until the final reduction of the island, when, besides being continued in the command of Fort Royal,² he was made Lieutenant-Governor of the island of Guadaloupe³ and its dependencies, and was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the sixty-third regiment.⁴

On the departure of the army under General Barrington for Britain,⁵ Lieutenant-Governor Melville remained as second in command in Guadaloupe under Brigadier-General Crump, then appointed Governor-in-chief, until early in 1760, when, by the sudden death of that officer, the government of the island, with the chief command of the troops, devolved on Governor Melville.⁶

In this situation he exerted himself to the utmost, and that at very considerable expense, to impress the new French subjects of the British Crown with favourable notions of the justice and liberality of the British Government. In this attempt he was so successful, not only in the colony immediately under his care, but in Martinique and some other French islands, that a correspondence was established with various individuals among the enemy, by which the surrender of those colonies to the British arms was greatly accelerated.

A Governor-in-chief⁷ arrived from England in Guadaloupe in the beginning of 1761, and Lieutenant-Governor Melville, whose

² Commission dated 15th September, 1759, and signed by the King.

³ Commission dated 20th June, 1759. The salary attached to this post was ten shillings per diem (*Calendar of Home Office Papers, ibid.*).

⁴ His commission, dated 14th May, 1759, appoints him Lieutenant-Colonel in the 38th Regiment, in which he had served since 1756. His new commission on the accession of George III., dated 27th October, 1760, also appoints him Lieutenant-Colonel in the 38th Regiment, 'commanded by David Watson Esq., Major-General.' General Watson, who had been in the 25th Foot when General Melville was an ensign in it, was appointed Colonel of the 38th Regiment on October 23rd, 1760. On the other hand, a memorandum drawn up in General Melville's old age refers, as does this passage, to his appointment being to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 63rd (the Manchester Regiment): Fortescue (*H.B.A.* ii. 356) states that the 63rd remained with Crump in Guadaloupe—which General Melville did, though not in a regimental capacity—while the 38th returned to Antigua.

⁵ Only three out of the seven regiments actually returned with Barrington to Britain: three others remained in Guadaloupe and one returned to Antigua.

⁶ This was only intended as a temporary arrangement. 'The King is persuaded that till the proper arrangements shall be taken with regard to the government of Guadaloupe, you will exert your utmost zeal and abilities for the safety and peace of that part of His Majesty's dominions which is, for the present, devolved to your care' (W. Pitt to Lieut.-Governor Melville, May 2nd, 1760).

⁷ Colonel Campbell Dalrymple.

health was then seriously impaired, was naturally desirous to return to his native climate: he had also received an additional testimony of His Majesty's approbation of his conduct by being advanced to the rank of a Colonel in the army.⁸ Anxious, however, for the completion of the scheme he had long had in agitation respecting the conquest of the French islands, to this object he sacrificed every consideration of interest and conveniency. The understanding he had established in the neighbouring French islands might be entirely cut off by his absence; nor was it of such a nature as that the management of it could possibly be transferred to other hands.

With such views Colonel Melville as second in command, with a part of the garrison of Fort Royal,⁹ joined the armament arrived at Guadaloupe from North America under Lord Rollo.¹⁰ The object of the expedition was the island of Dominica, which was surprised and taken, with very little loss on the part of the victors.¹ The hill and battery commanding Roseau were taken by Colonel Melville at the head of the grenadiers of the army.

With such caution and skill was this attack concerted and conducted that Dominica had surrendered before the French governor of Martinique, although the islands are within sight the one of the other, was informed of the attempt. The importance of Colonel Melville's services in the attack,² and particularly in the previous arrangements with persons in Dominica, was publicly acknowledged by Admiral Sir James Douglas³ and Brigadier-General Lord Rollo, the two commanders of the expedition.

In the beginning of 1762 Colonel Melville commanded a division under (?) General Monckton⁴ at the reduction of

⁸ 'To be Colonel of Foot in America only,' 18th February, 1761.

⁹ Three hundred of the garrison of Guadeloupe (Fortescue, *H.B.A.* ii. 538 note).

¹⁰ Andrew, 5th Lord Rollo, had distinguished himself at Dettingen. In the Seven Years' War he had already served in North America under Lord Amherst who now appointed him to the command of this expedition (Fortescue, *H.B.A.* ii. 537). Lord Rollo arrived on June 3rd and sailed on June 4th, 1761.

¹ On June 7th, 1761.

² He commanded the front division.

³ Admiral Sir James Douglas (1703-1787) served at Quebec in 1759 and in the West Indies, 1756-62. He was Commander-in-chief in the West Indies, 1763-1770.

⁴ Monckton had served under Braddock in 1755, capturing Fort Beauséjour. At Quebec he was Wolfe's second-in-command.

Martinique ; and notwithstanding severe illness from the climate, was present at the successful assault on the hill and battery of Tortenson. This success was speedily followed by the fall of Fort Royal.⁵ But a very small portion, however, of Martinique was yet in the power of the British ; by far the greater portion, with the capital, St. Pierre, a number of important fortifications, all the strong natural fastnesses in the interior of the island, still remained in the hands of the French commander. No sooner, however, did a party of the British arrive at a certain point within the island, one of three previously marked out by Colonel Melville's intelligence with the colonists,⁶ than a general defection among them took place, accompanied with a demand for an immediate surrender. In such circumstances the French Commander was compelled to accede to a capitulation,⁷ and a great waste of British blood was prevented : for such was the strength, natural and artificial, of the island, and such were the qualifications of the Commander of the island and his means of defence, that the reduction of Martinique, if at all practicable by the British armament employed, must have been purchased by a very heavy loss of the troops. This rapid conquest was the more important and precious that, within a few days after the surrender, a French squadron, filled with troops, appeared off Martinique : but on learning of the fall of the colony, the Commander, without any attempt for its recovery, immediately returned to St. Domingo. In the fate of Martinique were speedily involved the other French islands, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada and Tobago,⁸ yielded up on terms equally liberal and encouraging with those granted to Martinique.

The conquest of Martinique being thus effected, Colonel Melville returned to his post in Guadeloupe, chiefly that he might

⁵ The army landed at Martinique on 16th January, 1762. Morne Tortenson was captured on January 24th, and Morne Grenier on the 28th. Fort Royal surrendered on February 3rd.

⁶ 'Before the end of the year 1760 three persons of note from Martinico came to Guadeloupe in a vessel of truce with passports and recommendations from Mons^r de Boharnois on different ostensible grounds of private business, but in fact to settle a confidential Plan with G^r M. under the strictest engagements to inviolable secrecy between the parties, in order to effect a surrender of Martinico by a general defection in the case of its being attacked by British troops' (Memo. by General Melville).

⁷ On 12th February, 1762.

⁸ Of these islands only Grenada was strictly French ; the three others, with Dominica, had been declared 'neutral islands' at the Peace of 1748.

avoid the chance of intercourse with the persons in the island, by whose means the defection of the inhabitants and the prompt surrender of the island had been brought about. With such skill and caution had this defection been projected and conducted as to defeat every enquiry into the persons concerned in it. On the restoration of Martinique and some other of the islands to France,⁹ the most rigid inquisition was made respecting the leaders of the correspondence with the British. That such a correspondence and intelligence did exist it was impossible, from the clamour for a capitulation, to doubt. It is nevertheless remarkable that of the number of persons in the island suspected and even punished on the occasion, not even a hint was ever directed against any one of those with whom Colonel Melville had been connected. Nor indeed could any disclosure of this sort have taken place, for the whole understanding was maintained by verbal communication: not a word upon the subject was ever committed to writing: the inhabitants of Martinique themselves conducted the whole business by confidential members of their own number who, under various pretexts, both avowedly and clandestinely, found their way to Guadaloupe and to convey to Colonel Melville the information and resolutions with which they were charged.

Many years afterwards, when General Melville was employed on a mission to the court of Versailles, application was made to him, but in the manner the most delicate, from different quarters, to know whether certain persons, whose names were laid before him, had been in any way connected with him in the West Indies. To General Melville it gave no small satisfaction to be able to assure the applicants that, of the persons so pointed out, not one had been in any shape or measure concerned in his schemes, nor even by accident personally known to him. By his solemn testimony to this effect, the persons on whose account application had been made to him, or at least the descendants of some of them, were soon relieved from the obloquy and losses they had long endured, from suspicions entertained concerning them, by the Government of France.

To convey some notion of the spirit by which General Melville was actuated in the conduct of affairs, civil and military, during his command in Guadaloupe, the following specimen may suffice.

By the capitulation granted to the island the French Royal Council was preserved in the full enjoyment of all its functions and privileges; and the French laws, civil and criminal, remained

⁹ Martinique and Guadeloupe were restored to France at the Peace of 1763.

in their original obligation and force. Of the Royal Council the Governor was *ex officio* the president: and he was the only British subject in that powerful body. A meeting of this Council was held, in the capital of the island, in 1760, in which Governor Melville presided.¹⁰ The board was complete, all members present, and the Crown lawyers were engaged in conducting the business of the day. In the midst of this business the Governor's ears were assailed by a horrid shriek from a human being, proceeding from an inclosed area under a window of the Council Chamber. Springing instinctively from his seat to the window, the Governor beheld a miserable being fast bound to a post fixed upright in the ground. One leg of the sufferer was violently strained back towards the thigh by means of an iron hoop passed over the bended knee and inclosing both the leg and the thigh at some distance from the joint. Within this hoop and along the front of the leg was an iron wedge driven in by the executioner with a sledge hammer. Near the tortured man at a small table sat a person habited like a judge or a magistrate, with a secretary or clerk, to mark down upon paper the declarations or confessions of the wretch in agony.

Filled with horror at such a spectacle, careless as to the consequences to himself of his act, forgetful even of the assembly around him, the Governor, throwing open the window, ordered a serjeant upon duty to rush forward to prevent a repetition of the stroke upon the wedge, and to release the sufferer from his torture.

While this was doing the members of the Council had drawn round the Governor at the window, and the Attorney-General of the colony respectfully but firmly remonstrated against the interruption given to the customary course of justice. This he styled an infraction of the capitulation, which, in every other point and circumstance, he acknowledged had been most religiously observed and fulfilled by the Governor, to whose humanity the whole assembly could bear ample testimony, and whose conduct in the colony had given universal satisfaction.

To this representation Governor Melville answered that he had always been, and would always be, most solicitous, by the conscientious discharge of his duties, to merit the esteem and approbation of the colony, but that neither from his natural feelings as a man, nor from his education as a Briton, could he be reconciled to the practice of torture. He added that whether

¹⁰ The incident occurred during the interregnum between the governorships of Crump and Dalrymple, when General Melville was acting-governor.

the employment of torture in judicial proceedings were or were not authorised by the French laws, a point which he did not presume to determine, such a practice, where he commanded, he never would endure. He concluded by declaring that if his interference on that occasion were really an infraction of the capitulation, it would be the only kind of infraction of which it would ever be in their power to complain.

Perfect harmony was instantly restored; the whole members of the Council dined that day with the Governor: and the business was never more brought into discussion. The object of his clemency was reported to be singularly undeserving of favour; and the members of the Council, as gentlemen of liberal and humane minds and habits, were secretly well pleased with this temporary abrogation of a practice so hostile to every sentiment of nature and to every principle of justice. The effect produced on the minds of the inhabitants at large of Guadaloupe and the neighbouring French colonies by this singular incident was precisely what it ought to have been; to increase to the highest degree the popularity of their new British Governor. It deserves also to be stated that during the whole time of General Melville's residence in the West Indies he never once learned that the French governments there had ever again resorted to the practice of torture, neither in Guadaloupe after its restoration to France at the peace of 1763, nor in any other of their colonies.

The conquest of the French islands in the West Indies, an object lying near the heart of Colonel Melville, being at last happily accomplished, he returned to England,¹ where his services were highly approved. The measures, however, which he had previously taken to secure the success of the British arms, imperfectly known, could neither be duly appreciated nor openly acknowledged. The whole had been conducted with profound secrecy; nor was the secret ever divulged.

The favourable impression made on the minds of His Majesty's ministers by the conduct of Colonel Melville was speedily and abundantly manifested. He was in 1763 promoted to the rank of a Brigadier-General.² But the most unequivocal testimony of the confidence placed in his zeal and ability was his appointment to be Captain-General and Governor-in-chief [of] all the islands in the West Indies ceded by France to Britain by the peace of

¹ He arrived in England before the end of September, 1762.

² This is inaccurate. His commission as Brigadier-General is dated '26th September 1761 in the first year of our reign.'

1763. His commission under the Great Seal was dated on the 9th of April, 1764. For this appointment he always believed himself to have been principally indebted to the good opinion of the Earl of Egremont,³ then Secretary of State for the Colonies. In that capacity his Lordship had the best means of penetrating into the views and character of Brigadier-General Melville, and upon the observations he there made (for they were not ever personally acquainted) was his recommendation to His Majesty alone founded.

The islands comprehended within General Melville's government were Grenada and the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago,⁴ and to the particularly important and arduous duties of the government of so many separate colonies and islands, inhabited by a people from education, institutions and habits either hostile or at best aliens to the British government and nation:—colonies which, after the termination of General Melville's charge, were conceived to require each a separate governor and establishment:—to all these duties were added those attached to the appointment of the Commander-in-chief of the Forces within the bounds of his government.

So many and so important were the interests and objects, public and private, to be combined in forming the arrangements for the new government, that it was not until the close of October, 1764,⁵ that Governor Melville arrived in the islands entrusted to his administration. He was attended by storeships loaded with articles requisite for forming or improving settlements in the West Indies.⁶ Tobago was then uninhabited by Europeans, and generally covered with wood. Thither, therefore, Governor

³ Secretary of State for the Southern Department from October, 1761, till his death in August, 1763.

⁴ Of these islands only Grenada and the Grenadines had strictly been ceded by France; Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago had been 'neutral' islands since 1748, the fourth neutral island, St. Lucia, being annexed by France in 1763. The Earl of Cardigan had a claim to St. Vincent which caused some discussion as to the form of General Melville's commission (*Cal. Home Office Papers*, 1760-65, No. 1057).

⁵ He was thus at home for almost exactly two years.

⁶ His request for ordnance for the islands was granted in April, 1764; the original estimate of the expense was £23,319 18s. 1d., but this was reduced to £9295 12s. 11d. (*C.H.O.P.* 1760-5, No. 1279). In 1763 he proposed the erection of barracks in the Ceded Islands and was granted a warrant in April, 1765, for the erection of barracks for 500 men at St. Vincent (*C.H.O.P.* 1760-1765, Nos. 678, 1005, 1219).

Melville first repaired, after a short stay at Barbadoes, from which island he was accompanied by some colonists, resolved to make the experiment of a settlement in that new establishment. Dispatching with the due expedition the business in Tobago, he proceeded to Grenada, the seat of his government, there to enter on the great objects of his mission; carrying into effect His Majesty's instructions respecting the introduction and establishment of the British government, followed by legislatures in each colony, similar to those in other British colonies.⁷

During the whole of his government, which lasted no less than seven years, General Melville only once quitted his post, and that was in 1769, when he returned to England,⁸ by the direction of government at home, to be consulted on business of the highest importance to the prosperity and even the security of the colonies under his charge. The difficulties he had to encounter and to surmount, in a government so extensive and so complicated, were numberless and perplexing. He had the satisfaction, however, to perceive that his administration was always the most approved when it was the most understood.⁹ Some partial complaints, by a few disappointed persons who had formed extravagant expectations under his government, were preferred, while he was in London in January, 1770, nominally and *pro forma*, against him as Governor, but really against His Majesty's Council in Grenada. The grounds of these complaints, however, were found by government at home to be utterly frivolous and vexatious, and as such were entirely disregarded.¹⁰

⁷ There was a separate council for each island and a house of representatives for Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincent (*Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial)*, 1766-83, p. 7).

⁸ He was away from the West Indies from July, 1768, till April, 1770.

⁹ The Lords of the Admiralty, writing to Shelburne on 1st June, 1768, enclose a letter from Pye to the following effect: 'The Ceded Islands are in a most flourishing condition. The activity and vigilance of General Melvill, their Governor, does not a little contribute to it. The French are very quiet' (*C.H.O.P.* 1766-1769, p. 345). In his leisure hours, General Melville took considerable interest in various societies. As an English freemason, he was appointed Provincial Grand Master of the Ceded Islands and in this capacity founded the Britannick Lodge in 1766. He was also appointed in 1760 'Grand Master within the tropics' or the 'Beggars Bennisson and Merryland'—a society which he had joined at Anstruther in 1755. In 1764 he became 'Patron of all the Hob or Nob Societies' within his government. A 'Hob or Nob society or School of Temperance' was pledged to drink seven toasts in bumpers at each of its meetings.

¹⁰ He was accused of unconstitutionally permitting the Council to exercise legislative powers after he had prorogued the Assembly, of unfairly shielding

On the subject of a charge not the least uncommon against persons in his position, *peculation*, not even a hint was ever insinuated to the prejudice of Governor Melville. It was, on the contrary, well known, at home as well as abroad, that with opportunities of amassing wealth in the sale, the settlement and the administration of so many newly-acquired colonies, such as had never fallen to the lot of any other governor, he practised an honest and honourable abstinence. He firmly withstood the frequent and pressing proposals made to him by speculators to enter into their schemes of acquisition at the sales of the lands; although in these schemes he was at liberty, with perfect propriety, to embark. He even retired from his long and laborious administration, as a civil and a military commander, much poorer than many persons under his government, who had acquired extensive property on no other original foundation than credit and speculation. Even in the small purchases of land which he chose to make, in some of the islands under his command, Governor Melville was swayed much more by considerations of public advantage than by those of private emolument. Tobago almost a desert, and Dominica situated between and within view of the great French islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe, presented so few attractions to new colonists that unless the Governor, by selecting plantations in them, had evinced his confidence in their security as British possessions, few or no adventurers would have hazarded their property in establishments on either of those unpromising colonies.¹

It is but justice to add that although his annual salary from home, as Governor of so many colonies, scarcely exceeded one thousand pounds,² yet he not only refused to accept the usual

'Augustine, a negroe man slave,' from punishment, and of permitting the use of torture for extracting confessions from negroes (*Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial)*, 1766-83, pp. 221-8).

¹ General Melville's Dominica estate, known as Melville Hall, was valued in 1770 at £33,190 16s. od. (currency), and consisted of 1037 acres, with buildings, and 128 slaves. In Tobago, his estate of Carnbee consisted of 200 acres, valued at £4200 sterling. In Grenada, he also possessed in 1770 property in land, houses, and slaves, valued at £7770 4s. od. current money. This 'appraisal was reckoned very moderate' (*v.* General Melville's note-book). Referring to the Tobago settlement, General Melville's cousin, John Whyte Melville, wrote on his behalf in 1806: 'From the influence he had with his countrymen of N. Britain he saw it assume a most flattering appearance . . . and left it in a high state of improvement.'

² A Privy Seal dated 6th July, 1764, gave him a salary of £1200 from the 4½ per cents. His salary was brought up to £3000 by the addition of £1200

and proffered additional salaries from each colony under his charge, but also freely relinquished many customary fees and perquisites, when he conceived such a step conducive to the benefit of the new colonists.

The duties of a Major-General, a rank to which he was raised in 1766,³ he punctually discharged over the whole extent of his command, without any pay, allowance or remuneration whatever from the public on that account.

Overcome by the earnest and repeated solicitations of Mr. George Grenville, then First Lord of the Treasury, Governor Melville, before he left England,⁴ undertook the inspection of all receipts and expenditure of public money belonging to the department of the Treasury within his government. The opportunity of enriching himself, by even the fair and legitimate advantages, arising from the disposal of monies requisite for the service of so many colonies:—this opportunity for him possessed no charms. It seemed besides singularly incongruous that the inspection and controul of services and expenditures should be lodged in that very person upon whose opinion and recommendation the incurring of such expenditures would chiefly depend. For these and other reasons the urgent requests of the Minister he resisted until resistance seemed to verge into obstinacy. Carrying into this branch of his administration the same zeal for the public service and the same hostility to private speculation, which pervaded every other, he was able to confine the expenses of his government within a very moderate sum. It will hardly be believed that, for four separate colonies, during a period of seven years—in which too considerable extraordinary charges were necessarily incurred in the apprehension of a rupture with Spain⁵—the whole expenditures came short by some thousands of *fifty thousand pounds*.

For undertaking and executing the extraneous duties of a paymaster in his government General Melville, relying with implicit

from the local capitation tax and £600 from fees, etc. When the capitation tax was remitted by the King, the amount lost to the governor was made up from home (*C.H.O.P.* 1771, No. 687).

³ His commission 'to be major-general in the West Indies only' is dated 7th August, 1766.

⁴ *i.e.* before he left England to assume his command in 1764. George Grenville was First Lord of Treasury from 10th April, 1763, to 10th July, 1765. He was not in office during General Melville's leave of 1768-1770.

⁵ Over the Falkland Islands, 1766-1770. In 1769 General Melville and Captain Bennet offended the Spanish government, which was asked if it would be satisfied with the dismissal of the latter (*C.H.O.P.* 1770, No. 47).

confidence on the honour of the Minister, neither asked nor ever received any written permanent authority.⁶ When his accounts came to be examined and passed at home Mr. Grenville was no more.⁷ The existing Administration formally and publicly recognised the characteristic purity and the distinguished merits of General Melville's government in all its parts, and their entire conviction of the correctness of his statement respecting the verbal understanding and arrangement with Mr. Grenville. General Melville, however, had no regular written document of that arrangement to produce: other gentlemen under Mr. Grenville, acquainted with the transaction, who could have established the fact, had likewise quitted the world. By the *retroactive* application of an *ex multo post facto* regulation of the Board of Treasury,⁸ General Melville's demand, merely to be indemnified for the expenses he had unavoidably incurred for clerks, books, etc., requisite for conducting the business of the paymaster, was declared to be inadmissible. He had therefore the consolation to know that, in addition to all his former sacrifices of private to public advantage, the whole pecuniary concerns of his widely extended and intricately complicated government had been satisfactorily conducted, at his own personal risk and charge, without the public being called upon for one farthing of the expence of the management of these concerns.⁹

In another case where to personal exertions he united considerable pecuniary risk, General Melville's motives and services were more adequately appreciated. In an early period of his government he conceived the public service might derive important benefit from the establishment of a Botanic Garden in one at least of the islands committed to his care. With this view a portion of the Crown lands in the island of St. Vincent was set apart for the purpose. The establishment was formed, conducted and maintained at his own personal charge: at last, however, it was

⁶ The agreement was to the effect that General Melville should be allowed the difference of exchange on all bills drawn by him, as indemnification for his trouble and expenses. In the event, this amounted to the sum of £4427 1s. 4½d.

⁷ George Grenville died on 13th November, 1770. The audit of General Melville's accounts for his governorship (1764-1771) began in 1785, but was not completed till about 1800.

⁸ The regulation was made in September, 1790—nineteen years after the close of General Melville's governorship.

⁹ General Melville estimated that he had suffered the loss at least of £13,784 by being 'a servant of the public.'

taken under the special protection of His Majesty; and the expenses of its support are now defrayed out of the public purse. Richly stored with the most useful and ornamental vegetable productions, under the able management of Dr. Anderson, the Botanic Garden of St. Vincent has long enjoyed a very distinguished reputation.

From the day on which he retired from the islands of his government in the summer of 1771,¹⁰ General Melville, adhering to his favourite maxim of *taking nothing for doing nothing*, never received nor courted nor wished for any provision, salary, pension, or emolument whatever out of the public purse. His eminently useful and disinterested services, his much impaired health, his total loss of sight, originated by the exercise of his military duties, might, however, have abundantly warranted claims on his part, such as in similar circumstances are so commonly preferred and so usually admitted and gratified.

It was on his voyage home to Britain from his government that General Melville had the fortune to discover the solution of the embarrassing problem respecting the manner of distributing the oars and the rowers in the ships of the antients. To the theory of navigation, as founded on the principles of Geometry and Astronomy, his repeated courses across the Atlantic, aided by his frequent consultations with some of the most distinguished officers of the British Navy, had enabled him to join much more extended practical knowledge than commonly falls to the lot of a landsman. With the antient authorities and the modern comments on the subject, he had been long intimately acquainted. . . .

Laying the different theories entirely aside, General Melville proposed to himself two questions. . . . The first objects of enquiry were the purposes contemplated by the antients in the arrangement of their oars and rowers. To this question the evident answer was that their purposes were to obtain celerity and impetus in their movements. The next question, springing out of the first, was how this celerity and impetus were best to be obtained: and the answer seemed to be that the greatest possible quantity of motive power should be introduced into the smallest possible space. . . .

It occurred to General Melville that by adopting a double obliquity every possible advantage might be obtained. He therefore supposed the side of the ship, instead of rising vertically

¹⁰ General Melville's departure took place on 17th July, 1771. He was succeeded by Governor Leyborne.

or nearly so from the water, as in modern construction, to have spread outwards, at the distance of a few feet above the surface, diverging from the perpendicular with an angle of perhaps forty-five degrees. Upon this inclined side the seats for the rowers, each rower having his own short seat, were to be placed, in a diagonal alternate order, forming an equal angle of forty-five degrees with the base line of the inclined side. The effects produced by this double obliquity would be, that one row or tier of oars and rowers would be elevated only from fifteen to eighteen inches above the inferior tier, instead of four or five times that distance, as would have happened according to some other schemes; that each individual rower would be able to sit and ply his oar without impeding or being impeded by others in his labour; and that the uppermost tier of oars, even in a quinquereme, would not be of an unmanageable length or weight.

By this theory . . . multitudes of passages in antient authors were rendered intelligible. In it was discovered a perfect uniformity with the figures of ships preserved on antient coins and sculptures, and in the paintings discovered in the subterraneous ruins of Herculaneum.

The relations between General Melville and the Ceded Islands of America as a Governor and a Commander-in-chief of the forces were now finally closed. His conduct in these capacities had secured to him the approbation not only of his own heart, but of all persons with whom he was concerned, both at home and abroad. That this should be the case, in the management of affairs coming more directly within his competency, as a military man of genius and experience, it will not be difficult to believe. That he should be equally successful in the administration of civil and particularly of legal affairs, must be considered as his peculiar felicity. That he was singularly successful in these branches of his duties is nevertheless placed beyond all controversy by the remarkable fact that, from his decisions in the quality of Chancellor, within the bounds of his government, not a single appeal was ever made to His Majesty in Council, the ultimate resource in such cases, according to the constitution of the British Colonies.

To qualify him for the discharge of the difficult and delicate duties of a Chancellor, General Melville possessed a head clearly discriminating, a heart liberal and humane, a spirit far removed beyond even the suspicion of possible perversion, by motives of interested advantage, of hostility or of friendship. He was him-

self in the habit of accounting for much of his expedition and success in conducting the business of the Court of Chancery by his ignorance of the technical practice of that court. A stranger to the formalities and nicely balanced distinctions, which length of time and multiplied and various business had introduced into the courts at home, his constant object and aim were to distribute sound, substantial justice between man and man. His suitors were, in general, plain men of business: and that no measures were ever taken to obtain a reversal or even a revision of his decisions is the most unequivocal proof of their conviction, that his decisions were founded on the genuine principles of equity and integrity.

In discussions involving questions of technical import, General Melville availed himself of the knowledge possessed by the established lawyers of the Crown in the different colonies. Of these gentlemen Mr. Piggott,¹ His Majesty's Attorney-General in Grenada, father of Sir Arthur Piggott, who, a few years ago, filled the corresponding high and arduous office in England, enjoyed the Governor's peculiar esteem and confidence.

The three years of General Melville's life subsequent to his return from his government were occupied in arrangements necessary on the termination of his extended and complicated relations with the public. His own private affairs, much neglected during his long residence abroad, required no small portion of his time and attention.² When all these matters were placed in a state permitting him to turn his mind to other subjects, his attention was powerfully engaged by what had always been his favourite occupation—the study of military history and antiquities.

Paris, Spa, Flanders, Holland he had already visited: but the years 1774, 1775, and 1776 were devoted to a more complete tour through France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, etc. In this tour the subjects of the fine arts, in which he professed a very delicate taste, with great sensibility of their beauties and defects, were particularly examined. His leading

¹ John Piggott, 'of Barbadoes.' His son, Sir A. Piggott, was Attorney-General, February, 1806—May, 1807, and in that capacity conducted the impeachment of Lord Melville; he commenced practice in Grenada, and, like his father, became Attorney-General there.

² His 'attornies' for Scotland 'appointed under a full power of factory dated August 12th, 1770, had been '1st Samuel Charters Esq', Solicitor to his Majesty's Customs, at Edinburgh; 2nd, Major John Melvill of Cairny at Cupar; 3rd, Dr James Simson Physician at St Andrews; 4th Robt Whytt of Bennoch, at Edinburgh.' The last was the son and successor of Dr. Whytt.

object, however, which drew him aside into many a wandering from the customary tract of travellers, was to visit and verify the scenes of the most memorable battles, sieges or other military exploits recorded in antient or in modern history. Of these objects of his curiosity it may be sufficient just to say that, from the *Portus Itius* of Caesar, on the margin of the British Channel, to the *Cannae* of Polybius, on the remote shore of the Adriatic; from the field of Ramilies, on the (sic), to that of Blenheim, on the Danube, no scene of interest to the military scholar escaped at least a cursory view. With Polybius and Caesar in his hand, and referring to the most authentic relations of later warfare, he traced upon the ground the dispositions and operations of the most distinguished commanders of various periods. Noting the circumstances in which their judgment, skill and presence of mind were the most conspicuous, he treasured up, for future use, the evidences of the mistakes and errors, from which even the most eminent among them were not exempted.

By a careful personal examination of the shores of Britain and France, he satisfied himself respecting the points where Caesar embarked, and where he landed, in his expeditions to Britain. The former he fixed at and in the vicinity of the harbour of Boulogne, and the latter at and in the vicinity of Deale.³

Another point of military antiquity which strongly attracted the attention of General Melville was the course pursued by Annibal, from Gaule across the Alps into Italy. . . . That he might trace the route of the Carthaginian hero, in circumstances as similar as possible, General Melville chose for his researches a period of the year as near as prudence could allow to that in which Annibal traversed the Alps. He passed over the Little St. Bernard on the twenty-fourth day of September, when the approaches of an Alpine winter were already sufficiently manifest: and Annibal must have followed the same course only a few weeks later in the season. By this management the general face of nature and of the country, the distances and situations of the rivers, rocks and mountains, were found most accurately to tally with the relation of Polybius.

Not satisfied, however, with all these striking coincidences, General Melville crossed and recrossed the Alps, in various other directions, pointed out for the track of Annibal. Of these he

³ These places are probably correct for the first, but not for the second landing of Caesar. Cf. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, and Rice-Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 2nd edition, on 'Portus Itius.'

found that not one could, without doing great violence indeed to the text of the Greek historian, be brought, in any rational way, to correspond with his authentic narrative.

As an important branch of the military art of the antients, their warlike machines occupied no small share of the curiosity and attention of General Melville. His ideas on the construction of those implements of war led to the explanation of various passages in antient authors, which had baffled the penetration of the ablest commentators.

When the contest between the British Colonies and the Mother Country began to assume a serious aspect, General Melville found it proper to return to England rather earlier than he had purposed. In consequence of the recognition, on the part of France, of the independence of the British American Colonies, hostilities with that kingdom seemed to be unavoidable. General Melville was early consulted by Administration,⁴ on the means and the measures to be employed for protecting our own settlements in the West Indies, and for the conquest of those belonging to France. The impression on the minds of individuals connected with Administration, respecting his conduct in preparing the way for the conquest of the latter and in the government of a number of the former, was sufficiently recent and powerful to secure to his opinions a favourable reception. Had these opinions accorded with the views entertained by leading persons in His Majesty's counsels⁵ General Melville's local and military knowledge would again have been applied in his country's service, in an important command beyond the Atlantic. With the nature of that service, and with the qualifications of the distinguished officer at the head of the French force in the West Indies, he was too well acquainted to embark in projects of which it was impossible for him to augur a favourable issue. By personal intercourse with the Marquis de Bouillé during his government, as well as by public report, General Melville had formed too just an estimate of the talents and dispositions of the commander to whom he would be opposed to engage in the contest unless accompanied by a force far more respectable than that which it seemed to be in contemplation to place at his disposal.

To the opinions of a man who had filled the stations General Melville had filled, who had acted as General Melville had acted,

⁴On August 29th, 1777, he was promoted to be 'Lieutenant-General in the West Indies only.'

⁵Principally Lord George Germaine.

some attention, it may be thought, would have been due. When honoured with an offer of employment in the service of his country, it was his duty, it may on the other hand be thought, implicitly to accede to the terms on which that employment was to be conferred. Rank, influence and emolument were the sure companions of his service: his conduct, whatever might have been the result, would probably have ensured to him the approbation of all competent judges: popular applause he might in such a case have disregarded. For even total failure in the objects of his employment, he might perhaps have consoled himself with the consciousness that, engaging in it solely by the authority of his superiors, he had in it discharged his duty to the full extent of his powers. Considerations of this sort were of no importance in his judgment. The interests, the reputation of his country could never, he was confident, be promoted, they could not even be preserved, by the projects in agitation at home: in those projects he therefore declined being in any shape concerned. A system very discordant with his ideas was adopted: the result is well known: in a short time M. de Bouillé became the master of many a valuable British American island.⁶

The resemblance between General Melville and the Marquis de Bouillé was striking. Both men of approved valour and military skill; both distinguished by a high sense of honour; both actuated by motives the most disinterested, generous and humane; both accustomed to service in the probable scene of action; both inflamed with zeal in the cause of their respective countries; and each with a determination to recommend himself to his antagonist by a faithful discharge of his duties. A contest on proper terms between two such commanders must have furnished ample materials for the instruction of the politician as well as of the soldier.

The last service rendered to his country by General Melville, in a public capacity, related to Tobago, a colony originally planted by him at the commencement of his government, and long fostered by his peculiar care. This island, in the course of the conquests of M. de Bouillé, fell into his hands. In the defence the inhabitants, with the civil governor, George Ferguson, Esq., at their head, by their patriotic conduct merited and obtained

⁶The French captured Dominica in 1778, St. Vincent and Grenada in 1779, Tobago in 1781, and St. Kitts in 1782, while the Spaniards took the Bahamas in 1782. On the other hand, a small British force, sent on the advice of Rodney, captured St. Lucia with its excellent harbour in 1778.

from a generous victor a most liberal capitulation. By the intercepted dispatches of the French general it was known that, because the Governor and colonists had distinguished themselves in their own defence, he felt it to be his duty, as the representative of a beneficent sovereign, to grant every possible indulgence to the new subjects. Of his opinion concerning the professional defence of the island, some notion may perhaps be formed from his silence.⁷

By the preliminary articles of peace, arranged in the beginning of 1783, Tobago was ceded by Britain to France,⁸ without the customary stipulations securing the rights of the British settlers, proprietors, and traders, connected with the island. To remove as much as possible the alarm excited by this circumstance, equally unexpected and apparently unmerited by colonists who had so zealously exposed themselves in their country's cause, measures were taken by their friends at home for obtaining from the court of France some amelioration of their condition.

In prosecuting this design the first step was to select a proper negotiator. In such a case men whose personal interests are deeply involved seldom make an improper choice: favour and fancy give place to judgement. The attention of all interested in Tobago was turned towards General Melville, who was requested to repair to Versailles, there to solicit for the unfortunate colonists of Tobago indulgences to which, by the terms of the cession, they could form no claim. In acceding to this request, that the application from the new subjects to their new master might be the more decorous, General Melville himself suggested that a coadjutor should be given to him; and Mr. Young (afterwards Sir William Young⁹) was joined with him in the mission.

Of the application to the court of France the success surpassed the most sanguine expectation: and to the benevolent magnanimity of the ill-fated Lewis the Sixteenth, on the liberal suggestions of his enlightened Minister of the Marine and Colonies, the Marshal Duke de Castries, that success was by General

⁷ There were barely 200 British troops against 1200 French. Fortescue (*H.B.A.* iii. 350) attributes the surrender to the pusillanimity of the colonial militia, which was 'unable to endure the trial of seeing their houses in flames.'

⁸ The Peace of Versailles restored the *status quo ante bellum* in the West Indies, with the sole exception of Tobago, which was ceded to France, but which finally passed into British hands during the Napoleonic wars.

⁹ Sir William Young, 2nd Bart., was the son of Sir William Young, 1st Bart. (d. 1788), governor of Dominica, and the grandson of Brook Taylor. He was governor of Tobago from 1807 till his death in 1815.

Melville uniformly attributed. Let another circumstance, however, be added by one, the writer of these pages, who as secretary of General Melville on that mission, had unquestionable evidence of the fact. The representations of the minister, and the consequent decisions of the sovereign, were very materially influenced by esteem for the character of General Melville, and by confidence in the manly, candid and honourable conduct he displayed in every part of the negotiation. The humanity, liberality and disinterestedness which had marked the whole of his administration in Guadaloupe, while it remained under the British flag, and the whole of his general government of the French ceded islands had, in the persons of many individuals and in the connections of others of distinction in France, prepared for him a cordial, a confidential reception, such as it may have been the happiness of few negotiators to possess. At his last interview with M. de Castries, the minister expressed his royal master's entire satisfaction with the manner in which General Melville had conducted a very delicate negotiation. He concluded with declaring that His Majesty was convinced the General had, throughout the whole business, performed the part not only of a genuine friend of Tobago, but of an impartial umpire between that colony and France: *vous avez agi en vrais tiers* was the expression.

However extraordinary it may appear, it is yet unquestionably true that in disquisitions into the nature of the human mind and into the foundations and principles of moral science, General Melville found peculiar delight. His inherent and fearless love of truth, his natural acuteness and talent for discrimination, found in these researches ample occupation. He had remained at the University just long enough to acquire a relish for such exercises of the understanding; but not so long as to contract an overweening fondness for any particular system of reasoning and inquiry respecting such exercises. From the twentieth to the sixtieth year of his age he had been, in public and in private life, entirely devoted to pursuits of a very different nature. '*Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurrit.*' . . .

The unfortunate decay and loss of his sight seemed peculiarly favourable to the pursuit of metaphysical researches. His internal vision gained every day more and more strength in proportion as his external vision tended to extinction. In this it was his peculiar happiness that the moments of solitude, which usually lie heavy on the hands of the blind, were by him employed in

exercises at once delightful to himself and instructive to his fellowmen. . . .¹⁰

To close these imperfect outlines of the life, character and pursuits of General Melville it must be sufficient just to add that, while in private he was the friend 'of the widow, of the orphan and of those who have no helper,' in public he was a ready and a liberal contributor to the support of many of the most valuable charitable establishments.¹ The *Scotch Corporation* in London, by its management as well as by its constitution perhaps the least susceptible of abuse in the multitude of similar benevolent institutions in the capital, will long remember the services and regret the loss of its venerable recruiting General.²

The patron of unassuming merit, the encourager of ingenuous youth, his stores of knowledge were ever open to the candid enquirer. A genuine and ardent lover of truth in every pursuit in which mankind can be interested, and from whatever it proceeded, truth was by him ever most cordially welcomed. The conscientious and unshaken friend of the radical principles of liberty, religious and civil, General Melville evinced himself to be, in the fullest sense of the terms, the true friend and lover of his country and of his kind.

General Melville was a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. By the University of the latter city, his *alma mater*, he was honoured with the title of a Doctor of Laws.³ He was also an honorary member of the British Board of Agriculture, and an active associate of the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.⁴

Although he never had a regiment, a home government, or any other military employment whatever, after he quitted the West Indies, he was appointed a full General on the 12th of

¹⁰ Twelve pages of the MS. follow explaining General Melville's system of philosophy; they are not of sufficient interest to be reproduced here.

¹ He was appointed a governor of the Magdalen Hospital in June, 1764.

² General Melville was 'a zealous supporter of the institution and founder of its spring meeting' (*Extract from Minutes of the Court of Governors*, 2nd January, 1811). The same minute records the acceptance of General Melville's portrait, 'to be put up in the Hall.' It was destroyed in the fire of 1877.

³ On February 6th, 1798. The diploma describes him as 'inter duces copiarum Regiæ Majestatis Britannicæ insignem, doctrinaeque elegantioris, et præsertim Antiquitatis Romanæ scientissimum.'

⁴ He was made a burgher of Kirkcaldy (August 6th, 1754), of Edinburgh (July 6th, 1763) and of Dundee (October 14th, 1780).

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October, 1793⁵; and at his decease he was, with one exception, the oldest general in the British Army.⁶

General Melville, when his infirmities began to encrease, retired from London,⁷ where he had long resided, to Edinburgh, on the 6th of August, 1807, there to have the society of his nearest relatives. He died at Edinburgh at his house in George Street in the New Town, after a short illness, with little apparent pain, on ——⁸ the 29th day of August, 1809. He had nearly completed the eighty-sixth year of his age, having been born on the 12th of October, 1723, at Monimail, in the county of Fife, of which parish his father was minister. His mother was a daughter of Robert Whyte of Bennoch, near Kirkcaldy, in the same county, Esquire, and a sister of the late celebrated Dr. Robert Whyte (Whytt), one of His Majesty's physicians for Scotland, and Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh.

Dying a bachelor, General Melville is succeeded in his name⁹ and estate by his cousin, John Whyte Melville of Bennoch, Esquire.¹⁰

⁵ His commission is dated as above. Surely the promotion of a totally blind septuagenarian to be general in time of war is an unsurpassed example of eighteenth-century methods in the British Army.

⁶ This is repeated in Mr. Whyte-Melville's letter to the Scottish Hospital of 14th December, 1810. The *Dictionary of National Biography* wrongly describes him as the oldest general.

⁷ His London houses were in Brewer Street, Golden Square. On August 26th, 1797, he wrote that he was 'moving furniture, &c., into the next house No. 32, which I believe I had informed you of my having hired for one year.'

⁸ Tuesday.

⁹ His cousin John Whyte, only surviving son of Dr. R. Whytt, had in point of fact assumed the name of Melville, out of compliment to the General, on 1st September, 1797. The General had in his early years spelt his name Melvil; during his public life, Melvill; and during his later years, Melville.

¹⁰ The estate of Strathkinness, as it existed at the death of General Melville, had been partly bequeathed to him by Janet Tennant, widow of Andrew Melvill, Doctor of Medicine, 'of the family of Pittachope,' partly acquired by the purchase of neighbouring lands. It was left by General Melville to John Whyte Melville of Bennoch and his heirs male, failing whom to the male heirs of John Whyte Melville's three sisters—Louisa, Jean, and Martha—in the order of their seniority. On the death of John Whyte Melville's youngest son, without surviving male issue, in 1883, the estate accordingly reverted to James Mackintosh Balfour, grandson of Jean Whytt, who in 1773 had married her cousin, James Balfour of Pilrig.

Jean de Villiers Hotman

THE influence of François Hotman on the legal and political thought of Europe was sufficiently marked to reach Great Britain and to exercise a lasting influence there. His eldest son, Jean, inherited little of his father's genius, but the course of his varied career led him to form relations with some of the leading personages of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and he played a minor part in one of the most critical passages of British history. His writings had some vogue in his lifetime, but they have long since been forgotten. He was the first translator of King James' *Basilikon Doron*, and his French version may be said to have introduced the royal author to the literary circles of the Continent. It had passed through four editions by 1604, and an equally favourable reception was accorded to Hotman's *Traité de l'ambassadeur*.¹ This treatise has the qualities and limitations which belong to a collection of observations and reflections interlarded with reminiscences collected over a period of years by an active diplomatist. It appears to have been in circulation in manuscript in England before Hotman published it, and an English version of Books ii.-v. was printed in London in 1603 without the name of author or editor, and with a dedication to William, Earl of Pembroke.²

The life of Jean Hotman represents a revulsion from the Ishmael-like isolation of his father back to the family tradition of honourable service to the Crown. He was born at Lausanne in 1552, and shared the fugitive life of his parents. His father

¹ 'Don Royal de Jacques Roy d'Angleterre, Escosse et Irlande, traduit de l'Anglois par le Sieur de Villiers Hotman,' and 'De la charge et dignité de l'Ambassadeur, par Jean Hotman, Sieur de Villiers,' in *Opuscules Françaises des Hotmans* (Paris, 1616), 331 and 455.

² *The Ambassador*, printed at London by V. S. for James Shawe. The second edition of the original version was published in Paris in 1604, and a subsequent edition appeared at Düsseldorf in 1613. In a pamphlet, *Notes sur un petit livre intitulé l'Ambassadeur* (Paris, 1604), le sieur de Calazon charged Hotman with plagiarising Pascal's *Legatus*, and evoked Hotman's *Anti-Calazon*.

brought him up on a mixed diet of jurisprudence and the Scriptures. 'Hottomannus vero,' wrote Gravina, 'quamquam palam Cujacio detrahebat, tantum tamen ei tacito iudicio tribuit, ut filio natu maximo in mandatis dederit, ne Davidis Psalmos et Cujacii Paratitla e manibus umquam deponerit.'¹ He studied under his father at Valence, and obtained his doctorate at that University. He was subsequently *Prieur du collège des droits* at Caen, but he relinquished the post owing to some failure in the payment of his emoluments.² He was attached for some time to the household of Henry of Navarre. In 1579 he was tutor to the sons of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English Ambassador in Paris.³ Paulet was a noted Calvinist, and is known to history as the last gaoler of Queen Mary of Scotland. On 6th March, 1581, Jean Hotman was incorporated in the University of Oxford on the same day as Alberico Gentile.⁴ He had made the acquaintance of Alberico through Matteo Gentile, who had followed his brilliant son to England.⁵

At Christ Church Hotman continued his relations with the Paulet boys, who were there under his guardianship.⁶ His letters

¹ *Gravinae Orationes*, iv. 158.

² *Daresté, Revue Historique*, ii. 423 n.

³ Poulet to the Secretaries from Paris, on 21st October, 1579: "Otteman, a professor of the civil law, not unknown to you as I think, has his eldest son dwelling with me, and is schoolmaster to my children. He has lately written to his father that his friends here advise him to agree with his brethren for his portion of heritage; the father being a native of this town of good parentage and having a good right to lands of good value. 'Otteman,' the father, writes back from Basle on the 30th ult. that he could 'like well with' the advice mentioned if it were not that it would be better or worse very shortly, as all the world would know without delay. Further, having lately received a letter from one of Normandy, dwelling in this town, he forbears to write to the Norman, but commands his son to assure him that if those of his country would do their endeavour they should not want assistance, and that, doubting the messenger he durst not write as plainly as he would. It seems by this that there is something in brewing in that country.'

Mary to Beton (22nd August, 1582): 'Do not leave anything behind you of that which will be ready to send me, and principally of the affairs of Hotman of which you wrote me' (*Cal. of Scottish Papers*).

⁴ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (3rd ed.), ii. 217.

⁵ Hotman to M. Gentile, from Oxford (February, 1581): 'Sed eximia ejus in Jure Civili doctrina facit ut eum loco praeceptoris habeam, colam et observem' (*Hotmanorum Epistolae*, 261).

⁶ In April, 1581, Hotman wrote to Arthur Wake, a Canon of Christ Church who had been deprived of his living for nonconformity in 1573, that he had often heard of him since, 'in D Pouleti familiam receptus sum.' 'Credo,' he adds, 'Patris

give an interesting picture of sixteenth-century Oxford. The accommodation provided for himself and his charges at Christ Church was not satisfactory, and the health of the boys suffered,¹ but he was charmed with the warmth of his reception and the doctorate which was conferred upon him.² He noted, however, the entire cessation of work during the summer months,³ and the insular want of interest in foreign politics which prevailed.⁴ He gained a reputation at Oxford as a polyglot, though he protested that his linguistic facility was superficial,⁵ and the weight of his father's name added to his own personal charm led him to become an intermediary between the scholars of Oxford and the Continent.⁶ His intimate relations with the Paulet family soon brought him under the notice of the Earl of Leicester, to whose

mei nomen aliquando ad aures tuas pervenisse. Unus est ex Gallis exulibus, qui postquam Christo nomen dederunt, multas aerumnas perpassi sunt, et jam in exilio consenuerunt. Ego Calvinii et Ecclesiae Genevensis alumnus, quia te eidem ecclesiae addictissimum esse profiteris, non possum quin te eo magis amem, colam et observem' (*ibid.* 262).

¹ 'Adhuc inferiora duo coenacula habuimus, quae insalubria satis, et istorum adolescentum valetudini hac hyeme non fuerunt admodum consantineae. Egi multis verbis cum Jansone inquilino, ut superiorum aedium partem nobis concederet, quia et ipse frequens Londini est, et Pouletis abs te optionem datam intellegebam: Verum homo ille, ut mihi ex ipsius moribus animadvertere licuit, durus et agrestis, neque tui, neque adolescentum rationem unquam habere voluit' (*ibid.* 263). 'Major natu ex Pouletis fratribus, qui tuae humanitati a Patre peramanter et studiose commendati sunt, incidet in morbum, cujus causam, omnes una voce tribuunt, ejus loci quem nos inhabitamus et frigiditati et insalubritati,' etc. (*ibid.* 333).

It is interesting to note that this complaint is addressed to Tobie Matthew, the future Archbishop of York.

² 'Academia vestra mihi multis nominibus placet: et nullam in Gallia scio, neque in Germania, quae ei merito possit aequari' (Letter to Wake: *ibid.* 267). Cf. Letter to Bishop of Oxford: *ibid.* 268.

³ 'Hoc praesertim aestivo trimestri quo mera et mira ab omni opere cessatio' (Letter to Bodley: *ibid.* 265).

⁴ 'Hoc unum affirmare possum, nullam esse gentem, minus harum rerum studiosam. Itaque sollicita nostra curiositas, ridetur ab illis: Verum causa est in promptu, otium' (Letter to his father: *ibid.* 325).

⁵ In a charming letter to Sir Thomas Saville, Hotman enlarges on his own failings (*ibid.* 279).

⁶ We find him writing to Basle at the request of the University to recover John Caymond's schola on the First Two Books of Pliny's *Natural History*. The MS. had been sent years before by Dr. Caius, now dead, to Oporinus, the Basle printer, who had not printed it, and had probably lost it (Letter to Zuingerus: *ibid.* 267). Again he introduces some young Germans to Hovenden, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford (*ibid.* 287), and Cevalierius, a Hebrew scholar with letters from Beza, to a wide University circle (December, 1582); cf. *ibid.* 276.

party Sir Amyas belonged, and the son of the famous Calvinist pamphleteer and politician found favour in the eyes of the Queen's favourite. Leicester, in the course of his tortuous political career, found it expedient to support the Calvinist party in England, and Jean Hotman was of use to him as representing the leaders at Geneva and as a friend of their English disciples.

Before the end of the year 1582 Hotman was one of Leicester's secretaries, moving from the Court in London to Windsor and Nonesuch in attendance on 'illustrissimus Herus meus, Comes Leicestrensis.'¹ His Oxford friends envied his supposed political influence, and applied to him when in difficulties.² His situation, however, was far from brilliant, and in March, 1583, he was forced to apply for a loan to keep him going until Easter, when his stipend would be paid.³ He was in Paris in December of the same year.⁴ He accompanied Leicester on his expedition to the United Provinces (1585-7), and complained bitterly of the treatment which he received. He was refused a horse, and another took his place in the coach, while he had to go unarmed through poverty.⁵ His activities as Leicester's secretary were regarded with an unfriendly eye by the national party, and Motley, whose *History of the United Netherlands* is written from this point of view, refers to Hotman as 'Leicester's eaves-dropper-in-chief' and as 'a non-descript, whom Hohenlo characterised as a 'long lean Englishman with a little black beard.'⁶ He narrates with verve and humour the dangerous predicament in which Hotman found himself as the result of his indiscreet gossip with the Princess de Chimay, and the disastrous effect of his *gaucherie*.⁷ It is apparent,

¹ *Ibid.* 309.

² In May, 1582, Henry Cuffe, the future Professor of Greek at Oxford, who was executed for his share in the conspiracy of the Earl of Essex, wrote to Hotman to obtain the protection of Walsingham and others against 'fundatrix nostra' (*ibid.* 277).

³ *Ibid.* 320; cf. 330.

⁴ Stafford to Walsingham, 6th December, 1583: *Foreign Cal.*

⁵ Letter from Utrecht of 1586: *Hot. Epist.* 342: 'Pecuniam per Morum petii ab illustrissimo Comite, responsum, ut ex tripode, ambiguum.'

⁶ 'This meagre individual, however,' writes Motley, 'seems to have been of somewhat doubtful nationality. He called himself Otheman, claimed to be a Frenchman, had lived much in England, wrote with great fluency and spirit, both in French and English, but was said, in reality, to be named Robert Dale' (*The United Netherlands*, ii. pp. 136, 140, etc.). Motley's failure to identify Hotman is a striking illustration of his marked limitations.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 142.

however, that Hotman's position, especially during his master's absence in England, was a responsible one, and he was in direct correspondence with Queen Elizabeth. Leicester wrote to him with indignation of his presumption in addressing the queen, and the rebuke was perhaps well merited.¹ Hotman's activities during the period of his diplomatic apprenticeship display a combination of eager and tactless self-assertion and exaggerated subserviency, which he inherited from his father and which was characteristic of his age. The scholar whose latinity made him a useful political instrument, found it difficult and irksome to limit himself to the narrow field to which his employers sought to confine him. Conscious of intellectual superiority, he was apt to exceed his mandate, and his doctrinaire cast of mind made him a dangerous representative of his country or his cause. The United Provinces, unlike the United States of America of our day, offered no happy hunting ground to the professor statesman and diplomatist. On the other hand, Hotman's wide relations in the Calvinist world rendered him peculiarly useful to Leicester, and he was probably responsible for the abortive conspiracy to deliver Leyden to the Earl, in which Donellus, Saravia and Lipsius were involved.²

On Leicester's return to England, he turned his attention to Hotman's reiterated claims, and obtained for him a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral worth £28 a year. Hotman was not satisfied, and wrote bitterly to Camden that his patron was about to cast him off with the usual miserable pittance.³ It was all that he was destined to receive, and he had to find the recompense for his work in England in the personal relations which he formed there. The atmosphere of Tudor despotism was not congenial to this cosmopolitan exile,⁴ but the scholars

¹ Broersma and Huet, 'Brieven over het Lycestersche Tijdvak,' in *Bejdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap* (Amsterdam, 1913), pp. 139, 157, 170, 207, 238.

² Ch. Nisard, *Juste Lipse*, etc. (Paris, 1852), 72 and 81.

³ *Hot. Epis.* 349; cf. Wood, *op. cit.* For a judgment of Leicester's ingratitude, vide *Leicester's Correspondence*, Camden Society, 1844, p. xlii *et seq.*

Hotman still cherished hopes of further reward on the eve of his departure from England. 'Expecto tamen,' he wrote to Amerbach in 1590, 'in dies felicem ejus negotii exitum, quod me hic nimis multos jam menses detinet: munus aliquod sive honorarium a Regina, cujus spem faciunt mihi Magnates istius Aulae, amici mei praecipui' (*Epistolae*, 354).

⁴ With reference to an attack on the Duke d'Alençon, he wrote: 'Scio quam sit in Anglia periculosum hujuscemodi libros tractare' (*ibid.* 276).

that illuminated it were fascinating and took the exile to their bosom. Soon after his settlement in England Hotman found himself on terms of intimate friendship not only with his University colleagues, but also with some of the most influential figures in the world of English scholarship, including the Saville brothers, Camden, Bodley, Hakluyt and Sir Philip Sidney. The letters printed in *Hotomanorum Epistolae* present a charming picture of Elizabethan England. Sir Thomas Saville wrote him playfully regarding his supposed matrimonial intentions,¹ and Hotman supplied Camden with reports on foreign politics.² He wrote enthusiastically to John Saville of Sir Philip Sidney and of Ascham's Letters,³ and Thomas Saville consulted him regarding Bodin.⁴ Hotman was with Leicester on his 'semiaulica et semimilitare peregrinatione'⁵ at the date of the Battle of Zupthen, and in a letter to Justus Lipsius paid a glowing tribute to the fascinations of Sir Philip Sidney.⁶ His relations with the Sidney circle had been and remained of an intimate character. When in England he married Jeanne de Saint-Martin, a young Frenchwoman who was *dame de compagnie* to Penelope Rich, and the Hotman correspondence at Haarlem contains four affectionate letters from 'Stella' to Mme. Hotman, 'ma chère servante.'⁷

¹ 'Tibi si nuptiae animo fuerint, uxorem atram velis an albam, certiore me facias. Si formosam, etiam pecunias mitte. Probae enim et formosae in pretio sunt. Sin speciem haud ita spectes, uxorem accipies simul et pecunias' (*ibid.* 269).

² *Ibid.* 275. Camden in his *Annals* notes under the year 1581 the commencement of his friendship with Brisson, the distinguished French jurist, then on an embassy in England. On 6th February, 1589, Camden, like Hotman, obtained a prebend at Salisbury: vide *Gulielmi Camdeni et illustrium virorum Epistolae* (1691).

³ 'Multus de te mihi sermo cum Sidneio, cujus in te amando iudicium cum meo plane consentit... Incidi in Aschamii vestri Latinas Epistolas, quem hominem, ne natum quidem existimabam: valeant Longolianae, ceteraeque pueriles omnes Epistolae... Aschamius vester puritate Latini Sermonis cedere paucis, argumenti gravitate omnes mihi superare visus est' (*ibid.* 294).

⁴ 'De Bodino rogo quid, salutandum an praetereundum' (*ibid.* 300).

⁵ *Ibid.* 340.

⁶ He asks for tributes from Lipsius and Douza, and closes: 'Unum hoc in ipsius vita singulare animadverti: Cum essent in eo viro summae virtutes, ab omnium hominum invidia et obtreactione immunem fuisse, ut merito deliciae generis humani diceretur. Deus nos tanti viri praesentia indignos iudicavit' (*ibid.* 341).

⁷ 'Je baisse en toute humilité,' wrote Lady Rich to Jean Hotman in 1590, 'les mains de ma chere clarté et a monsieur de Busanval. Je lui souhaite les bonnes graces de sa maistresse et à monsieur Palevesin bon vant, et a monsieur de

The recently recovered correspondence of Jean Hotman throws some additional light on the enigmatic personality of Henry Constable, whose sonnets were published with others from the pen of Sir Philip Sidney, under the title *Diana*.¹ His verse has the Franco-Italian quality of the English poetic school of the period, and merits attention mainly as one of Shakespeare's sources. Constable became a convert to Roman Catholicism in early life, and endeavoured to mitigate the lot of his co-religionists in England by bargaining with James VI. He visited Scotland with a commission from the Pope, and spent six months there in 1598-9 without obtaining an audience.² The Scottish king was not prepared to promise concessions to English Catholics in return for papal support of his claim to the English succession. Constable was eager to attach himself to the party of the Earl of Essex, and the affectionate reference to him in Lady Rich's letter seems to indicate that he succeeded. The exhortation to him, 'qu'il ne soit plus amoureux,' seems to indicate that 'Stella' inspired him no less than Sidney and to determine the question of the inspiration of *Diana*. The correspondence also reveals Constable in the rôle of a pamphleteer on behalf of a *modus vivendi* between Roman Catholics and Protestants. This was probably his common interest with Jean Hotman, who sent a copy of Constable's lost treatise to Pierre l'Oyseleur, chaplain of William of Orange, and author of the famous *Apology* of his master. Hotman's letter evoked an interesting reply, in which l'Oyseleur deplored the conversion of Constable to Romanism, and cast doubts on the efficacy of his attempt at reconciliation.³

Sydnye, qui ne croye pas tout ce que l'on luy dict, et à monsieur Constable qu'il ne soit plus amoureux, et à vous mesme d'aymer bien vostre femme et à tous d'estre constants jusques à vanderdy. La plus constante de ceux, qui sont nommez en ce papier, hors mis une, Penelope Riche' (Blok, *Correspondance de Leycester*, Musée Teyler, Haarlem 1911, 256). The Constable referred to is Henry Constable (*vide infra*). The other references are to the French Ambassador and the diplomatist Palavicino.

In 1587 François Hotman wrote in affectionate terms to his daughter-in-law, and referred to an interesting family event then anticipated (Blok, *op. cit.* 224). According to Blok her maiden name was de la Viennigne.

¹ London, 1588, reprinted in Lee's *Elizabethan Sonnets*, ii. 75; cf. *ibid.* i. lxi. and Lee's notice in *D.N.B.*

² Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers*, ii. 766, etc.

³ Blok, *op. cit.* p. 257. The letter is dated November, 1590. In it l'Oyseleur protests against reports which had been spread abroad that he had spoken disrespectfully of James VI. Cf. letter of Constable to Anthony Bacon from Rouen,

After the death of Leicester, Hotman attached himself to the Earl of Essex, and soon gained his confidence. When Essex fled secretly from Court to join the expedition of 1589 against Spain and Portugal, Hotman was apparently in the circle of the initiated, and received a letter of farewell from Don Emanuel, the son of the Portuguese pretender, written from Plymouth when the fleet was on the point of setting sail.¹ In the same year he visited Scotland under the auspices of Archibald Douglas, the Scottish Ambassador in England, and in the interests of the Earl of Essex. On 29th July Hotman wrote to Douglas from Edinburgh that 'in two or three days we hope to start to find where the king will be. People think it will be at Aberdeen.'² The mission on which he was engaged was probably concerned with the dark intrigues which were excited by expectations of the death of Queen Elizabeth. Henry Constable was in Scotland at the same time on behalf of the Roman Catholic interest, and since the death of the Earl of Leicester, Hotman had acted as one of the semi-official agents of Henry of Navarre, occupying an anomalous position by the side of the French Ambassador. On 7th October Thomas Fowler, an English political agent, wrote to Lord Burghley that 'the said Ottoman had many secret conferences with the king which pleased him exceedingly.'³ The affair had some importance, and the letters of Fowler veiled the exalted names of the persons concerned in the terms of a Latin cypher. Hotman's relations with King James at this period probably resulted in his translation of the *Basilikon Doron*, to which reference has already been made.

Either in Scotland, or previously in the Low Countries, Hotman had made the acquaintance of William Fowler, the secretary of Queen Anne, and the author of a large body of pedestrian verse only recently printed.⁴ After Hotman's return to Basle, Fowler wrote him an interesting letter from Delft.⁵ He had forwarded to King James Hotman's gift of some of his

dated January, 1596, in which the former refers to 'a copy of a little encounter between the ministers of the French gospel' (*Diana*, ed. London, 1859, p. xi).

¹ Blok, *op. cit.* 249; cf. Cheyney, *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada, etc.* (London, 1914), i. 153 *et seq.*

² MSS. *Marquis of Salisbury*, iii. 426; cf. *Epistolae*, 361.

³ Murden's *State Papers*, 639 and 640.

⁴ *Works of W. Fowler*, ed. Meikle (Edinburgh, 1914).

⁵ *Epistolae*, p. 379. The letter is written from 'Delfos non apud Apollinis, sed Bacchisanum,' and is dated 25th December, 1593.

father's writings, including his treatise, *De castis nuptiis*. The gift was very opportune, the Scots Estates being exercised on the subject of clandestine marriages.¹ He refers to the Catholic earls and the position of Bothwell. He had apparently been asked by Jean Hotman to dispose of some of his father's alchemical preparations in Scotland, but he had found the traders indifferent.² In an undated letter, probably written from Paris in the early years of the seventeenth century, Hotman complained to Fowler of the failure of King James to reward him for his translation of the royal masterpiece. He had not found it possible to dedicate his collected edition of his father's works to the king, but he had sent him a well-bound copy, and understood from the relative of the English Ambassador in France, who had presented it in his name, that the gift had been well received. He had translated the Βασιλικὸν δῶρον at the king's command, and had been promised a rich reward, but he had received nothing. His wife, he added, was going to England, and he had asked Sir Robert Sidney and Lady Rich, the brother and the 'Stella' of Sir Philip Sidney, to aid her to obtain a reward. He urged Fowler to assist, and wrote of his favour with the queen and at Court.³

During Jean Hotman's residence in England his attention was mainly devoted to affairs, but he did not leave the country without breaking a lance on behalf of the cause of juristic humanism, with which his father's reputation was bound up. His opponent was his quondam friend, Alberico Gentile, and the publication by the latter at the end of the year 1582 of his *De juris interpretibus*

¹ 'Praesertim cum ministri nostri conarentur, ut publica Edicta in publicis Comitibus fierent, quibus rescinderentur hujusmodi clandestina matrimonia, quae absque Pastorum legitima vocatione, per obscuros et exauctoratos Presbyteros Anglos et Papistas in nostris confinibus et alibi crebro fierent. Tum etiam cum legitimum non interveneret divortium, spretis legibus et uxoribus, iniqui ex damnato coitu consensus assurgerent.' This passage is an interesting piece of evidence on the interest taken by the king in the painful development of Matrimonial Law which followed the Reformation. Cf. *S.H.R.* ix. 10.

² Jam expeditionem paramus in patriam, ibi ego curaturus illud negotium vestrum de Hydromele commodiori occasione quam antea. Quosdam mercatores tamen conveni, sed stolidos et parcos. Nihil illos istae utiles inventiones movent. Qui non 500,000 aureorum spem 50 aureis vellent emere, sed tamen non disistam, nec dissido quin homines cordatiores ad hoc opus utilissimum attraham.'

³ *Ibid.* 368. The letter is addressed *cuidam anglo*, but the internal evidence clearly indicates that it was written to Fowler. Another Scottish friend of Jean Hotman was Archibald Douglas, the notorious parson of Glasgow and Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth (*Salisbury MSS. H.M.C.* iv.).

dialogi sex seems to have permanently alienated Hotman.¹ The ground of offence was probably the criticism of François Hotman in which the author indulged.² Jean Hotman's protests first find expression in a letter to Bergmann from Windsor of November, 1582, in which, with reference to his correspondent's *Liber Iconum omnium Jurisconsultorum*, he denounces those who would divorce jurisprudence from history and letters, and quotes many of the expressions employed by Alberico Gentile without naming him.³ Alberico is named and denounced in unmeasured terms in a letter to a foreign friend whom I cannot identify.⁴ In March of the following year Hotman wrote to Sir Henry Saville of Gentile: 'Scribunt ad me e Germania et Gallia viri docti, mirari se quod Anglia asinorum expers, tantum ferat et alat asinum.'⁵ Gentile apparently learned of the indignation which his treatise had excited, and wrote gushing letters to his friend without entering on dangerous ground.⁶ He received no reply, and at length wrote in plain and rather anxious terms for Hotman's opinion.⁷ No reply has been preserved, and probably none was sent.

It is an ungrateful task to rake the ashes of dead controversies, but Alberico Gentile's *Dialogues* are interesting, not only as the first treatise of a great jurist, but also as the academic summing up of a controversy which had lasted for a century. The quarrel began between the degenerate Bartolists and Alciatus and his followers, between the mere *practiciens* and those who would

¹ Printed in Panziroli, p. 540. The treatise is dedicated from Oxford to the Earl of Leicester. In January, 1582, some months before its publication, Henry Cuffe wrote to Hotman with reference to the arrival of Niphus, the opponent of Scaliger, from Padua: 'Sed nosti naturam Italarum. Non sunt multi Itali Gentili nostro similes, id est non sunt simplices et aperti, sed vafri et versipelles' (*Epistolae*, 272). Hotman's breach with Alberico Gentile did not alter his relations with his brother Scipio. Ten years later he applied to the latter for a set of memorial verses to his father (*ibid.* 357, etc., and 394).

² Jean Hotman's filial devotion extended to his father's friends, and we find him writing indignantly to Lipsius of the unworthy treatment which Donellus received at Leyden (*ibid.* 345).

³ *Ibid.* 297.

⁴ 'Ceterum quaeris ex me, quid de Gentiliano Scripto iudicii mei sit: Quasi vero non satis memineris ejus sermonis qui mihi tecum aliquando fuit ad multam noctem istic in ambulatione nostra. Certe si quid mei iudicii est, ridiculum stylum, absurdas opiniones, rationes ipsius nullas, verbosam et inanem orationem, cetera insulsa, illepida, nullius momenti esse arbitror, etc.' (*ibid.* 306).

⁵ *Ibid.* 321.

⁶ *Ibid.* 328 et seq.

⁷ 'Tu vero siles Hotomanne? Quid ais de Libello meo? Sat scio non probari opiniones, qui coram refutare solebas...' (*ibid.* 333).

colour jurisprudence with history. It ended with the positions reversed. The historians had become antiquarians, and the *practiciens* had changed places with them. Just as in the field of political theory the Jesuits of the second generation adopted the theories of the early Huguenots,¹ so in the realm of the law practical lawyers adopted the theories of an earlier age and opposed to doctrinaire humanism the freedom of practice.² The change was typical of the sixteenth century, in which every combatant was on the alert to grasp the weapon that his opponent dropped and plunge it in his heart. In the course of many a contest the *secutor* seized the spear of the *retiaris*, and the latter cast off his net and donned defensive armour. The operation of this empirical rule is clearly traced in Gentile's pages.

The legal humanists of the preceding generation, in opposing the *mos Italicum* of the Bartolists, had often been dubbed *grammatici* and *sophistae* by the members of the older school,³ but they had gained the day, and, in spite of the opposition of Dumoulin, reigned supreme in Northern Europe. In Italy, however, the old tradition maintained itself, and Alberico Gentile reached Oxford bearing the stamp of the law schools of Perugia. He found the French fashion of juristic humanism in vogue, and an element of national sentiment coloured his polemic. The fifth Dialogue closes with a reminiscence of his studies at Perugia, when the students drowned the voice of Rudulfus discoursing on history. The tumult only ceased when he mentioned the name of Bartolus.⁴ The principal thesis of

¹ 'Voyez l'horrible imprudence dequoy nous pelotons les raisons divines : et combien irreligieusement nous les avons et rejettees et reprises selon que la fortune nous a changé de place en ces orages publiques. Cette proposition si solenne : S'il est permis au subject de se rebeller et armer contre son Prince pour la defense de la religion : souviennne vous en quelles bouches ceste annee passee l'affirmative d'icelle estoit l'arc-boutant d'un party : la negative, de quel autre party c'estoit l'arc-boutant : et oyez à present de quel quartier vient la voix et instruction de l'une et de l'autre . . .' (Montaigne, *Essais*, ii. 12).

² Cf. the struggle between the Ciceronians and anti-Ciceronians in the field of classical studies.

³ Douaren, the distinguished follower of Alciatus, deals with such criticism in his *Epistola de ratione docendi discendique Juris conscripta* (1544), *Epistola de suo in Biturigum civitatem reditu* (1550), and *Oratio habita in cooptatione Domini Hugonis Donelli* (1551) : vide *Opera*, Frankfort, 1607, pp. 1100, 1108 and 1112.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 636. Cf. 'Dum Perusii, dum alibi post doctoratus lauream in Italia vixi, semper his politioribus tribui aliquas horas : non enim multas potui prasi deditus ; et vix Hottomanni tunc temporis quaedam transierunt Alpes ;

Gentile, however, is summed up in the contention that jurisprudence is a science which cannot be divorced from practice, that it had fallen into the hands of professors,¹ and that students were overwhelmed with textual criticism, dialectical subtleties, and antiquarian disquisitions,² and knew nothing of law in the proper sense of the term at the end of their course. The pretensions of the professors knew no bounds. 'Sunt isti etiam,' he wrote, 'Theologi, Metaphysici, Astrologi, Musici, Rhetores, Poetae, Dialectici et nautae etiam. Postquam placet et agricolae, venatores, et fabri et quarumcunque mechanicarum periti. Dii boni, qualia monstra!'³ Their humanistic claims had produced a kind of legal Ciceronianism, and had ended in the formation of a dialectical school of commentators as barren as the glossators whom they despised.⁴ *Isti encyclopedei*, he calls them, *grammaticali, logicoconsultissimi, historiarum consultissimi*.⁵ The serious study of Civil Law alone is sufficient to occupy a lifetime, 'nam de fortunis et capite hominis agimus.'⁶ Canon Law

aliorum nec nomina cognoscebamus' (*ibid.* 542); and '... quaerulus item clamitat Baro: et colophonem apponit Hottomannus, qui Baldum ipsum, non alios solum, ait, scripsisse fere nihil, nisi quod prius tractaret Bartolus, ac hujus etiam mores furaces, plagiorosque incusat' (*ibid.* 622).

¹ 'Alter, qui Augiae stabulum dicit nostram scolam, et illud quoque potest, *aurum colligimus quasi ex stercore Ennii* . . . Triumphant igitur in suis scholis, aut Academiis, ipsi in foro, in luce civitatis nulli sunt' (*ibid.* 620). This is a shrewd thrust at François Hotman.

² 'Saepissime de lana caprina rixantur. Tres menses in una rubrica ponunt; in cujus continuatione usque etiam ad superstitionem sunt studiosi. An vel ex his verum non est, quod dicitur, jurisprudentiam ex matrona esse meretricem?' (*ibid.* 619).

³ *Ibid.* 562. Gentile expressly includes François Hotman in this category. Cf. p. 552. Cujas was frequently subjected to the same kind of criticism. 'Quand on vouloit mespriser Monsieur Cujas, on l'appelloit Grammairien, mais il s'en rioit, et disoit que telles gens estoient marris de ne l'estre pas' (*Scaligerana*, 116).

⁴ 'Ait Cicero, artes omnes se ipsas per se singulas tueri: nam Oratorium excepit solam. Credant suo Ciceroni recentiores et huic auctoritati' (*Panziroli*, 563). Cf. p. 579.

⁵ 'Alciatum vocare Ciceronianum, et ex albo jurisconsultorum expungendum, dicere solitus est clarissimus Decius. Quid credam de aliis, qui scholia in Caesarem, Commentaria in orationes Ciceronis, similia multa ediderunt?' (*ibid.* 579). The reference is clearly to François Hotman. Again, 'Et pessime quoque faciunt, qui nos ab ista simplicitate conantur deducere in illos Dialecticos labyrinthos, Hottomannus, Vigelius, caeterique logicographi' (*ibid.* 612). Again, 'Accursianos Realas, Nominales Alciatios' (*ibid.* 582).

⁶ *Ibid.* 550.

must be left to specialists, and the adaptation of Civil Law to the needs of the day is the most fruitful task for the jurist.¹ The *Dialogues* have an academic tone, and cannot be taken as evidence of a widespread reaction from the spirit which had directed legal education for a generation, but they have some evidential value as coming from the pen of one of the great jurists of modern history.² The note of hostility to the work of François Hotman which pervades them, is sufficient to explain the indignation excited in the breast of his son.³

In spite of the coldness which existed between Jean Hotman and Alberico Gentile, they were associated as legal advisers on the delicate questions which arose out of the complicity of Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, in the intrigues for the liberation of Mary Stuart. The government of Elizabeth sought the joint opinion of the two foreign jurists on the extent to which a foreign ambassador was free from pursuit at the instance of the criminal authorities of the country to which he was accredited.⁴ This affair was probably of importance in the intellectual life of Gentile in fixing his attention on the untilled field of international law, in which he became a pioneer, but to Hotman it was simply an episode. His interest was in practical life and in the lighter side of scholarship. Before his arrival in England he had obtained some experience of diplomacy, and had been in the household of the English Ambassador at Paris. His residence in England was varied by visits to Scot-

¹ 'Placent maxime mei interpretes, qui ad sua tempora accommodarunt leges Justiniani: nam dubium non est quod si ille hodie viveret, nec faceret omnino aliter' (*ibid.* 627).

² Holland treats the *Dialogues* as a serious expression of their author's abiding view on the questions discussed (Holland, *Studies in International Law*, p. 16).

³ e.g. 'Hottomannus inculat etiam durius, quod sui potius acumen ostentare, quam lectorum studiis consulere velle videantur' (*Panziroli*, 644). Cf. p. 657, where Gentile criticises Hotman's *Anti-Tribonian*. It must be noted, however, that in his *De jure belli*, Gentile frequently refers to F. Hotman as an authority on legal questions.

⁴ 'Me trouvant pour lors en la Court d'Angleterre, quelques Seigneurs de Conseil et des plus grands, me firent l'honneur, comme pareillement au feu Docteur Alberic Gentilis, d'en vouloir entendre nostre avis; bien que ce Royaume la ne manque de personnes d'experience et d'erudition...' (*Traité de l'Ambassadeur: Opuscules des Hotmans* (Paris, 1616), p. 559). Cf. Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip (26th January, 1584), *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1580-6. Cf. *Traité de l'Ambassadeur*, pp. 507 and 591. This episode is treated by Gentile in his *De Legationibus* (London, 1585), Bk. ii. c. 18, 'Si legatus in principem conjuraverit apud quem legatus est?' (p. 77).

land¹ and France,² which were probably semi-official, and by his experiences in the Low Countries with Leicester. His prebend at Salisbury seemed a meagre reward for years of service, the death of his patron cut off the hope of more, and the rising star of Henry of Navarre seemed to offer a field of fruitful activity in France for the son of one of the Old Guard of the Huguenot party.³ Further, his father's death and an embarrassed inheritance rendered his presence necessary at Basle. In June, 1590, he wrote to Amerbach from London that he was setting out for Switzerland *via* France,⁴ and in December, 1592, he addressed a friendly letter to Scipio Gentile from Basle.⁵ In the interval he had joined Henry of Navarre before the walls of Paris, having been entrusted with a small commission by Queen Elizabeth.⁶ He apparently found no opening there and proceeded to Basle, where he occupied himself with the publication of his father's collected works and the attempt to recover something of his dissipated patrimony.⁷ In turning over the family papers, his thoughts were directed, as in the case of his father, to his unknown relatives in Silesia, and he corresponded with Monavius on the subject, but the old men were dead, and the boys that were left had no interest in their French kinsmen.⁸

On his return to France he played a worthy part as a diplomatist, and represented France under Henry IV. and Louis XIII. at the Courts of the German princes. He reverted to the family type, and became in course of time M. de Villiers Hotman, having apparently obtained possession of the family estates.⁹ He effected a reconciliation with the various branches

¹ *Ut supra.*

² *Epistolae*, p. 343.

³ As early as June, 1587, Hotman had written to Leicester from Holland for permission 'to goe to my old master ye King of Navarre, whose fortune I would rather runn with danger, than to remaine here in such a disgrace as I have ben.' Broersma and Huet, *op. cit.* 238.

⁴ *Epistolae*, 355. In December, 1590, he wrote to Archibald Douglas from Dieppe, where he was awaiting the arrival of Biron (*Salisbury MSS. H.M.C.* part iv.).

⁵ *Ibid.* 357.

⁶ *Traité de l'Ambassadeur*, p. 469: '... comme la dernière Reine d'Angleterre m'en fit porter parole au feu Roy, quand je retourney le trouver durant le siege de Paris, sur le sujet d'un gentilhomme de qualité qui avoit esté envoyé aux Princes protestans d'Allemagne, et qui n'y estoit pas le bien venu.'

⁷ *Epistolae*, p. 359. 'Labor, tamen, quia nemo me in eo juvare potest: etenim bonus senex non tam scribebat quam notis soli mihi cognitis animi sensa signabat' (*ibid.* 376). *Franc. Hotmani Opera* (Lugduni, 1599-1600), 5 vol.

⁸ *Epistolae*, 332, 361 and 372.

⁹ *Ibid.* 402.

of the Hotman family, and was on most intimate terms with his uncle, Antoine Hotman, the old Leaguer, until the death of the latter in 1596. In 1597 he accompanied another uncle, François, sieur de Mortefontaine, on a diplomatic mission to the Swiss Cantons, and remained with him until the death of the ambassador in 1600. Hotman was slowly but surely reaping the modest harvest of a life spent behind the scenes of the diplomatic stage. Henry IV., with his unflinching penetration, appreciated the value of his unique preparation for the political situation which was slowly defining itself in Europe. Hotman was heir to his father's prestige in the Calvinist world, and in Switzerland and Western Germany. He was well known in England and to King James, and he was well acquainted with the inner political life of the United Provinces. The verdict of modern historians has been given against the reality of Sully's *Grand Dessein*, and in any event the death of Henry IV. relegated it to the realm of unfulfilled projects.¹ Had it been attempted, Hotman would certainly have been an important instrument in the hands of the French king, and even if we neglect the implications which Sully in his retirement attempted to impose on the political situation at the opening of the seventeenth century, that situation gave Hotman his chance.² The disputed succession of Clèves and Juliers, which threatened to embroil Europe, led to his appointment as French resident minister at the Court of Düsseldorf. The position was one of great delicacy and responsibility, in which the status of the Protestant party in the Empire was involved.

During his residence at Düsseldorf and immediately before the death of Henry IV., Hotman sent a report to Paris, dealing at length with the manner in which the king's death was anticipated, in speech and writings, in the Low Countries and in Western Germany. This report was subsequently extensively used by Cardinal Richelieu in the preparation of his *Mémoires*.³ In the following year Hotman was despatched by the French queen to Aix-la-Chapelle, where a tumult had been caused by

¹ Lavissee, vi. pt. ii. p. 119 et 199.

² Schickler, 'Hotman de Villiers, et son temps,' *Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*, xvii. 145. Cf. Delaborde, 'Correspondance du Dumaury avec Hotman de Villiers' (*Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français* (1866), xv. pp. 401 and 497).

³ *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* (ed. Paris, 1907), i. 75 n. Hotman was in Paris in July, 1607, as a guest of Casaubon. *Casauboni Ephemerides*, ii. 535.

quarrels between Romanists and Protestants regarding the establishment of Jesuits. He was accompanied by the Marquis de la Vieuville, and a settlement was reached in October, 1611.¹

Hotman accomplished his difficult task with success, until the death of Henry IV. changed the policy of France. Marie de Médicis had no sympathy with German Protestantism, and, while Hotman retained his post and was treated with confidence by the government, he felt that his position was becoming a false one. A quarrel with the Count Palatine, in which the diplomatic dignity of the French resident was involved, resulted in Hotman's recall in 1614. He was now sixty-two years of age, and, though he lived to be eighty-four, the records of the period contain no trace of further diplomatic activity on his part. He resisted the current which was sweeping the Huguenot leaders back to the Roman communion, and his Protestantism was probably sufficient ground for his exclusion from public office. He had relations with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was English Ambassador to France during the Protestant Civil War of 1621-22; the collection of the Earls of Powis, whose ancestor married the last of the Herberts, containing a long account of an attack on 'M. de Villiers Hotman' at Villiers, near Verneuil, on 27th September, 1621.² His relationship with this extraordinary personage probably dated from his residence at Düsseldorf. Herbert, having volunteered for service with the English expeditionary force, took part in the struggle before Juliers, and, on his appointment in 1619 to the Embassy at Paris, he was glad to make use of Hotman's wide relations in the Protestant world. 'In Paris,' he wrote, 'I had the chief intelligence which came to . . . Monsieur Villers, for the Swiss.'³ Hotman's old Oxford friend, Sir Isaac Wake, was then ambassador in Switzerland, and this casual reference gives some indication of the discreet but influential part played by Hotman in his later years.

The summary account of the activities of Jean Hotman to be found in, e.g., the *Biographie Générale* contains a reference to his interest in the reconciliation of Catholics and Protestants, but it was left to an Englishman to elucidate his activities in this field. In the year 1867 Dr. Pusey, who carried on an

¹ *Richelieu*, 179.

² *H.M.C. Report*, x. part iv.

³ *Autobiography* (ed. Lee, London, 1886), 233. Cf. Rémusat, *Lord Herbert de Cherbury* (Paris, 1874), 79. Like Hotman, Herbert was a friend of Casaubon and Grotius.

active propaganda in France during the years which preceded the Vatican Council, presented to the *Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français* a collection of the writings of Jean Hotman. This new material aroused the interest of the French Protestant world, and recalled Hotman from the oblivion into which he had fallen.¹ It revealed him as participating in the aspirations for reunion of Casaubon and as a predecessor of the High Anglicans of the last generation.² The beginnings of his attitude reveal no more than the pacific aspirations of a political character which marked the *politiques*. He observed the tendencies of Henry IV. and regarded them from the national point of view, in which religious considerations were subordinate to political aims. So far, he was in line with a distinctively French development, but when Henry had made what was from the Huguenot standpoint *il grand rifiuto*, Hotman did not weary in well-doing, and his activities had a distinctively ecclesiastical note. In this second stage of his progress he may be characterised as an Anglican of the type which was evolved during the latter years of Queen Elizabeth.

In his earlier pamphlets and memoranda on reunion, Hotman found the point of contact between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the primitive church. 'A ses yeux, en effet,' writes M. Schickler, 'la Réforme n'était pas un schisme mais un retour au christianisme primitif, une rénovation à laquelle tous étaient appelés à participer sans sortir de l'Eglise universelle dont personne n'entendait se séparer. Il s'agissait donc uniquement de ramener la religion à son origine dont nul ne contestait la divinité, et dès lors le rapprochement devait être facile.'³ The means by which a reconciliation would be effected was a national council which would find a common ground in the revival of Gallicanism. This conciliar idea was the expedient favoured by Henry of Navarre, who regarded the question of religion

¹ Liddon's *List of Pusey* (2nd ed.), iv. 95 *et seq.* During his residence in Switzerland, which followed his departure from England, Hotman was absorbed by the religious question. It was considered by him in the first instance from the liturgical point of view—an illuminating side light on the influences to which he had been subjected in England. In October, 1593, Bongars wrote to Camerarius, 'Hotmanus editionem parat liturgiarum veterum. Et in illo tuo volumine libellus est, ipsi novus. Cuperet aut exscribi, aut editum, ut est, ad se mitti. Quod petit in publicum utile est.' *Lettres de Jaques de Bongars* (La Haye, 1695), 311 and 620.

² Pattison's *Isaac Casaubon* (ed. 1875), p. 300 *et seq.* Schickler, *op. cit.* xvii. 401 and 513.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 402.

from a purely political point of view, but as the years passed and the Bull of Sixtus V. placed Henry beyond the pale, the latter realised that the situation was too serious for what may be described as a local application of Gallicanism. He found it necessary to advocate the summoning of a General Council. The differences between the two religious parties were becoming more bitter under the influence of the League, and the reaction which it evoked from the Calvinist supporters of Henry's claims, and the abandonment by the pamphleteers of the idea of a National in favour of that of a General Council, were tacit admissions that a *transaction religieuse* had become impossible. Henry's abjuration removed the controversy from the political plane and for some years previous to that date his unconcealed Romeward tendency had made it clear to the supporters of reunion projects that their cause had become exclusively theological or ecclesiastical.

The king's gradual abandonment of the search for a *via media* did not distract Hotman from the enterprise. His Calvinist brethren called him 'moigneur, pacificateur, reconciliateur, appointeur et brouillon,' and he received no encouragement from the opposite camp, but he had confidence in the existence of an intellectual aristocracy in France, 'bons Français, vrais enfants de l'Eglise catholique et vrais membres de la gallicane.'¹ In the year 1585 one of his Catholic relatives, Jean Hotman, sieur d'Infendie, had published an anonymous pamphlet in favour of reunion,² and Hotman carried on the tradition and sought to defend the common ground on which he believed a reconciliation to be possible, from the assaults of Cardinal du Perron and his school. His tone is largely theological, and he relies on a conception of the Church which would embrace both Romanists

¹ 'Je sais d'ailleurs,' wrote Hotman, 'qu'il y a prou de gens qui font mieux leurs affaires dans le désordre et parmi la confusion, suivant le dire de Tacitus : Omne desperatis in turbido consilium. J'en connais d'autres desquels les opinions sont aussi vieilles qu'eux, et qu'ils pensent leur être malséant s'ils ne les portaient avec eux jusqu'au tombeau, ne plus ne moins que les femmes, lesquelles font enterrer quant et elles quelque bague ou autre chose qu'elles ont affectionné de leur vivant. Mais le plus grand nombre est de ceux dont j'ai tantôt parlé qui ont le cerveau faible et qui s'offense à chacun changement de temps, et l'estomac si débile qu'il ne peut digérer autre viande que celle qu'il a accoutumé' (Hotman MSS. 51, quoted by Schickler, *op. cit.* 411). He is dealing with Protestant critics.

² Schickler, *op. cit.* 464. This Hotman was probably an uncle, and may have been tinged with Protestantism. (Cf. 'Hottomanus Calvino,' 25th March, 1556 : *Calvini Opera*, xvi. 81, n. 4 ; *ibid.* 497 ; *ibid.* pt. ii. 15.) He was the author of some philosophical treatises which were published by Jean Hotman after his death under the title, *Trois divers traittez du feu Sieur d'Infandie Hotman* (Paris, 1597).

and Protestants. Internal disputes, in his view, must be referred to a General Council, and the reformation of abuses is the task not of the Papacy, but of each branch, e.g. the Gallican Church, in its own jurisdiction.¹ He maintained that the Jesuits were not 'recevables à donner avis dans une assemblée de l'Eglise gallicane, ou les seul prélats, évêques, docteurs et pasteurs de la dite Eglise doivent avoir séance.'² On the other hand, he urged his co-religionists to agree to concessions, and protested against the deification of the early Reformers, which tended to create a Protestant Papacy with dead popes at its head.

The fateful abjuration of the king did not dash Hotman's zeal for the cause of reunion, and he engaged in controversy with Palma Cayet, who had hastened to follow his master's example. Four years later he sent some of his writings to the pope by the hands of Oratio Ruscellaï, a Florentine abbé of doubtful reputation whose acquaintance he had made in Switzerland, but his *Tableau de l'Eglise catholique* fell upon stony ground. As time passed the optimistic advocates of reunion fell into disrepute with their co-religionists, and Hotman's attention was diverted during the latter part of his life to the studies and political interests which he shared with the *illuminati* of France and England. He was an honoured friend of Camden and his circle on the one hand, and of Casaubon, de Thou, Pithou, Labbé and Pirescius on the other, and a correspondent of Lipsius and Grotius.³ The daughter of the last spent some time in Paris in the care of Mme. Hotman, and Hotman's son paid a return visit to Grotius.⁴ Hotman remained on terms of friendship with Leicester's widow,

¹ 'Response à la Supplication adressée au roy pour se faire catholique, et aux moyens nouveaux pour induire Sa Majesté d'aller à la messe': Hotman MSS. 29, cited *ibid.* 469. This is a reply to Cardinal de Perron's *Remonstrance d'Angers*.

² 'En France, nous tenons tous, ou la pluspart, même tous les grands de notre religion, que suivant la définition de Saint Augustin et le consentement de tous les anciens, il n'y a qu'une Eglise chrétienne et catholique, épandue par tout le monde, et composée de tous ceux qui connaissent et reconnaissent Jésus-Christ comme l'auteur de leur salut; que l'Eglise romaine fait partie de cette Eglise, ores qu'elle soit pleine d'erreurs, d'abus et de superstitions' ('Projet de réponse à quelques ministres de Genève': Hotman MSS. 41, *ibid.* 515).

³ 'Avis et dessein nouveau sur le fait de la religion en l'Eglise gallicane, pour être proposé au prochain concile national,' etc. (*ibid.* 518, 522).

⁴ *Epistolae*, 389, 391, 393 et *sqq.*; *Camdeni Epistolae* (London, 1691), ix. xlvi. 21, 99, 108, 174, 187, 195, 202 and 264; and *Original Letters* (Camden Society, 1843), p. 105.

⁵ *Epistolae*, 410 et *sqq.*

whose son Charles lived with him for some time in Paris.¹ As the years passed death thinned the circle of *illuminati*. The great Thuanus vanished from the stage, and Camden voiced the sorrow of his English friends.² In his turn Camden announced the deaths of Raleigh and Archbishop Bancroft. In an undated letter, probably addressed to de Thou, Hotman draws a charming picture, after the manner of Etienne Pasquier, of his retirement in his country house, cheered by royal approval and by the society of his wife. He confesses the fault of writing long letters, but he is old and claims a license for verbosity. He finds peace and consolation in reading the Scriptures, and sympathises with his friend in the losses which every booklover sustains at the hands of ignorant servants. It is a far cry from the misery of his father's declining years in exile, broken with poverty and racked with the vain dreams of the alchemist. The circle was complete, and the Hotman family tradition had been re-established.³

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

¹ *Epistolae*, 390 et sqq. In a letter to Balzac Hotman bore witness to the value of Queen Elizabeth's assistance to the Huguenot party. 'Plusieurs de vos amis eussent désiré,' he wrote, 'que votre plume se fut abstinée de toucher à la vie d'une grande princesse qui est et sera louée en tous les siècles, et laquelle n'a pas peu contribué, par l'assistance de ses moyens, au rétablissement de cet Etat lors de la Ligue, et vous en pourrois montrer une douzaine de lettres de remerciements du feu roy, cela étant non-seulement de ma cognoissance, mais la plupart de ma négociation, lorsque je servais Sa Majesté en Angleterre' (Schickler, 'Hotman de Villiers et son temps': *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*, xvii. 106).

² *Epistolae*, 403 and 408.

³ *Ibid.* 408. The tradition was maintained by succeeding generations. Mention may be made of Vincent Hotman, seigneur de Fontenay, son of Timoleon Hotman, *tresorier de France*, who was *intendant des Finances* in 1666. He married Marguerite Colbert, the sister of the great minister of Louis XIV., and died without issue in 1683. *Mémoires du P. René Rapin* (Paris, 1865), iii. 386 n.