



James Oglethorpe

1684-1734

Georgia

A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

EDITED BY
ROBERT CHAMBERS,
ONE OF THE EDITORS OF "CHAMBERS'S EDINBURGH JOURNAL."

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ALPHONSE



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE



JAMES HENRY

Author of "The History of the English Language"

London: Printed by J. Baskin, 1788.



WILLIAM SHERRIN

OF BOSTON

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS



JOHN BROWN.

1775-1820.

Portrait by G. Kneller.

THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.



BY J. G. W. W. W. W. W.

IN THE CITY OF LONDON, AT THE SIGN OF THE ...

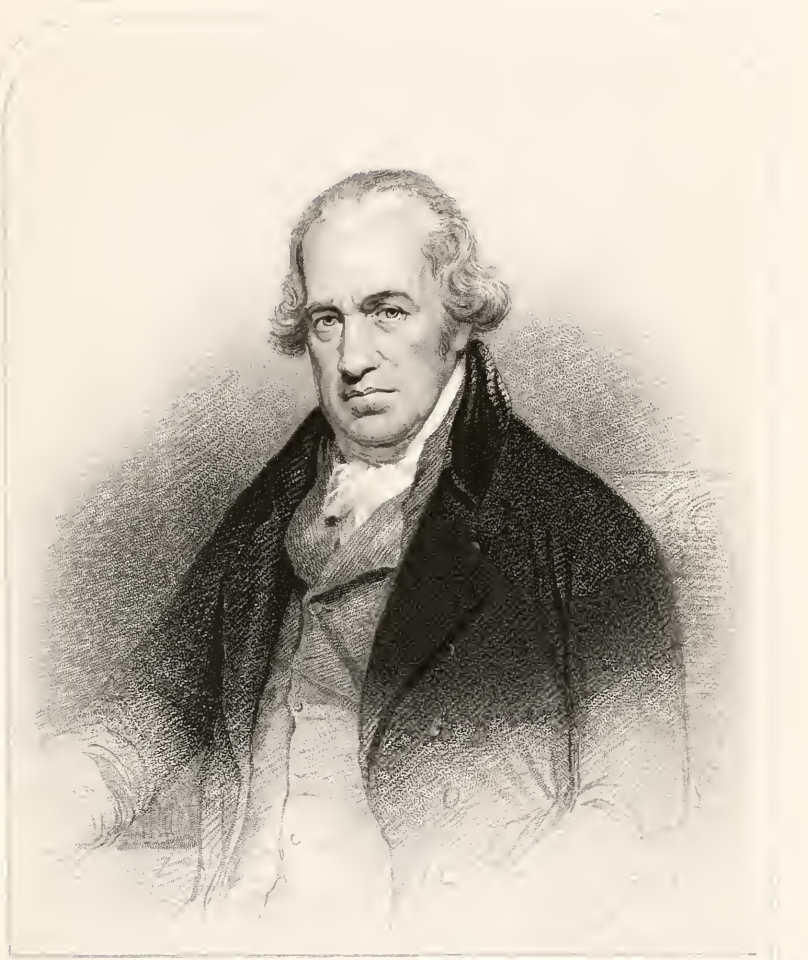
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GEORGE BISHOP

of the University of Cambridge

Engraved by J. Smith



ALPHONSE SIBRE
1750-1820



WILLIAM GODDARD
Author of the "Cyclopaedia of Commerce"
London, 1807

cash payments of the bank ; this, they thought, could not be safely done at an earlier period than two years from the time of their report ; but they recommended that early provision should be made by parliament for this purpose." This report excited much discussion both within and without the walls of the house. The press swarmed with pamphlets on the present state of the currency, and the remedies proposed ;—the journals teemed with dissertations on the same subject ;—the comparative merits of a metallic and a paper currency formed the topic of discussion in every company ;—ministers opposed the committee's proposition ;—and finally, Mr Vansittart, at the head of the anti-bullionists or *practical men*, as they called themselves, got a series of counter-resolutions passed after four nights' keen discussion, in which the speeches of Mr Horner and several other members extended to three hours' length.

Although defeated in their struggle, the appearance which Mr Horner made in it, was so highly respectable as to deepen the impression which his talents and knowledge had already made on the house ; and from this period he appears to have exercised very considerable influence with all parties. Indeed, the urbanity of his manners, and the moderation with which he pressed his own views, were such as secured for him the respect, at least, of those from whom he differed in opinion ; and while steadily and consistently supporting the party to which he belonged, he displayed a spirit of tolerance towards his opponents which totally subdued any thing like personal animosity on their part. His efforts were then often more successful than those of more gifted men, who, with greater talents, have nevertheless greater prejudice, frequently amounting to personal dislike, to struggle against. It has been supposed that had Mr Horner been in parliament after the death of Mr Ponsonby, he would have become the leader of the opposition. But for an honour so great as this, providence had not destined him. Constant application to business and the increasing weight and multiplicity of his engagements, at last overpowered a constitution which never was very strong. Indications of pulmonary consumption soon appeared, and immediate removal to a warmer climate was deemed necessary by his physicians. Crossing, therefore, to the continent, he passed through France and entered Italy ; but the seeds of mortal disease had begun to spring before he took farewell of his own country, and he expired at Pisa, on the 8th of February, 1817, in the 38th year of his age. His remains were interred in the Protestant burying-ground at Leghorn, which also contains the ashes of Smollett.

On the occasion of a new writ being moved for the borough of St Mawes, which Mr Horner had represented, the character of the deceased member was elegantly sketched by lord Morpeth, and eloquent and affecting tributes of respect paid to his memory by several of the most distinguished members of the house.

A contemporary, who was acquainted with Mr Horner, both at school and at the university, thus expresses his opinion of him : " The characteristics of Mr Horner's mind, if I apprehend them rightly, were clearness of perception, calmness of judgment, and patience of investigation : producing as their consequences, firmness of conduct and independence of principles. Carrying these qualities into public life, he evinced greater moderation and forbearance than are often found in the narrow and comparatively unambitious strifes of a less extended scene. He entered parliament at rather an early age, and soon became not only a useful and conspicuous man of business, but drew more respect to his personal character, and was regarded by both orders of the House of Commons with greater confidence and interest, than any young member had attracted, perhaps, since the early days of Mr Pitt. This will appear higher praise when it is added, with truth, that no man coming into that house under the patronage of a whig nobleman could have acted with greater liberality

towards extended ideas of popular right,—with more fairness and firmness to the persons of his opponents,—or with more apparent latitude of individual judgment, on some of the most trying occasions, in all those scenes that have occurred in our recent parliamentary history. As a public speaker, he was not remarkable for the popular graces and attractions. If eloquence consists in rousing the passions by strong metaphors,—in awakening the sympathies by studied allusions,—or in arresting attention by the sallies of a mind rich in peculiar associations, Mr Horner was not eloquent. But if eloquence be the art of persuading by accurate reasoning, and a right adjustment of all the parts of a discourse, by the powers of a tact which is rather intellectually right than practically fine, Mr Horner was eloquent. He spoke with the steady calmness of one who saw his way on principle, while he felt it simply and immediately, through sobriety of judgment and good conduct; and never seemed to be more excited by his subject, or more carried away in the vehemence of debate, than to make such exertions as left one uniform impression on the minds of his hearers that he spoke from an honest internal conviction and from a real desire to be useful. In private life, he was distinguished by an impressive graveness which would have appeared heavy, had it not been observed in permanent conjunction with an easy steadiness of conversation, and a simplicity of manners very far from any thing cold, affected, or inelegant. His sense of honour was high and decided. His taste for literature, like his taste for conduct, was correct. As his acts of friendship or of duty were done without effort or finesse, so did he enjoy with quietness and relish those tender and deeply felt domestic affections which can sweeten or even adorn almost any condition of life. He was not fitted to win popularity, but his habitual moderation,—his unaffected respect for every thing respectable that was opposed to him,—and the successful pains which he took to inform himself well on the grounds and nature of every business in which he bore a part, gained him an influence more valuable to a man of judgment, than popularity.”

Mr Horner sat to the celebrated Raeburn for his picture some years before his demise. The painter has produced a faithful likeness, but no engraving of it has yet been executed.

HORSLEY, JOHN, an eminent antiquary, historian, and divine, was born at Pinkie House in Mid-Lothian, in the year 1685. His parents were English non-conformists, who are supposed to have fled into Scotland on account of the persecution in the reign of Charles II. How it happened that they resided at Pinkie House, then the property of the earl of Dunfermline, as successor to the estates of the abbey of Dunfermline, is not known. It is clearly ascertained that his progenitors belonged to Northumberland, and were of no mean standing. His parents returned to Northumberland immediately after the Revolution, and it is understood that the subject of this notice received the initiatory part of his education at the Newcastle grammar school. He was thereafter sent to pursue his academical studies at Edinburgh; and it would appear, that at a very early age, as we find by the laureation book of the college, he was admitted master of arts in 1701, being then just sixteen years of age. After finishing his theological course, he returned to England, and preached for several years merely as a licentiate; but in 1721, he was ordained minister of a congregation of Protestant dissenters at Morpeth. His mind, however, was directed to other pursuits besides his profession, and his great attainments in geology, mathematics, and most of the other abstruse sciences, of which he gave unquestionable proofs, would probably have gained him a wider and more permanent fame in the present day, than at a time when their principles were in general little understood, and less attended to. In 1722 he invented a simple and ingenious mode of

determining the average quantity of rain which fell, by means of a funnel, the wider cylinder of which was thirty inches in diameter, and terminated in a pipe three inches in diameter, and ten in length; the latter being graduated in inches and tenths. Ten measures of the pipe being equal to one inch of the cylinder, one measure to one-tenth of an inch, one inch of the measure to one-hundred, and one-tenth to one-thousand part,—the depth of any particular quantity of rain which fell might be set down in decimals with ease and exactness; and the whole, at the end of each month or year, summed up without any trouble. Shortly after, and probably in consequence of this invention, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and commenced giving public lectures on hydrostatics, mechanics, and various branches of natural philosophy, at Morpeth, Alnwick, and Newcastle. His valuable apparatus for illustrating and explaining his lectures, after passing through various hands after his death, were, in 1821, deposited in the library belonging to the dissenters in Red Cross Street, London, being bequeathed to the public by Dr Daniel Williams. By manuscripts afterwards found among Mr Horsley's papers, it appears that about the year 1728, he conceived the idea of writing a history of Northumberland, and from the extensive design of the work which he had sketched out, embracing its antiquities, traditions, geological structure, &c., and his ability for the task, it is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete it. A map of the same county, commenced by him, was afterwards completed by Mr Mark, the surveyor employed by him, and published at Edinburgh in 1753. Mr Horsley also published a small book on experimental philosophy, in connexion with the course of lectures above noticed. His great work, however, by which his name will most probably be transmitted to posterity, and to which he dedicated the greater part of his short but busy career, is his "Britannia Romana," or the Roman affairs of Britain, in three books. This work is in folio, and consists of five hundred and twenty pages, with plates exhibiting maps of the Roman positions, copies of ancient coins, sculptures, inscriptions, &c. It is dedicated to Sir Richard Ellys, Bart., contains a lengthy preface, a chronological table of occurrences during the Roman domination, a copious index of the Roman names of people and places in Britain, &c. It was printed at London for John Osborne and Thomas Longman, &c., in 1752; but Mr Horsley lived not to see the fate of a work which had unceasingly engrossed his time, thoughts, and means for several years. His death took place at Morpeth, on the 15th January, 1732, exactly thirteen days after the date of his dedication to Sir Richard Ellys, and while yet in his 46th year. The enthusiastic ardour with which he devoted himself to this work, may be gleaned from the following passage in the preface:—"It is now four years since I was prevailed with to complete this work, for which time I have pursued it with the greatest care and application. Several thousand miles were travelled to visit ancient monuments, and re-examine them where there was any doubt or difficulty." He also went to London to superintend the progress of his work through the press, and engaged in an extensive correspondence on the subject with many of the most learned writers and antiquaries of the day. The "Britannia" is now a very rare work, and it would appear that the plates engraved for it are entirely lost. Mr Horsley was married early in life to a daughter of a professor Hamilton, who, according to Wood, in his *Ancient and Modern State of Cramond*, was at one time minister of that parish. By her he had two daughters, one of whom was married to a Mr Randall, clerk in the Old South Sea House, London; the other to Samuel Halliday, esq., an eminent surgeon at Newcastle. From a passage in his manuscript history of Northumberland, it would also appear that he had a son, but we find no other mention made of him, either in his own writings or elsewhere.

The greater part of Mr Horsley's various unfinished works, correspondence, and other manuscripts, fell after his death into the hands of the late John Cay, Esq. of Edinburgh, great-grandson of Mr Robert Cay, an eminent printer and publisher at Newcastle, to whose judgment in the compiling, correcting, and getting up of the *Britannia Romana*, Mr Horsley appears to have been much indebted. From these papers, as printed in a small biographical work by the Rev. John Hodgson, vicar of Whelpington in Northumberland, published at Newcastle in 1831, the most of the facts contained in this brief memoir were taken.

HUME, ALEXANDER, a vernacular poet of the reign of James VI., was the second son of Patrick Hume, fifth baron of Polwarth. Until revived by the tasteful researches of Dr Leyden, the works of this, one of the most elegant of our early poets, lay neglected, and his name was unknown except to the antiquary. He had the merit of superseding those "godlie and spiritual sangis and ballatis," which, however sacred they may have once been held, are pronounced by the present age to be ludicrous and blasphemous, with strains where piety and taste combine, and in which the feelings of those who wish to peruse writings on sacred subjects, are not outraged. The neglect which has long obscured the works of this poet, has impeded inquiries as to his life and character. He is supposed to have been born in the year 1560, or within a year or two prior to that date. Late investigators have found that he studied at St Andrews, and that he may be identified with an Alexander Hume, who took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at St Leonard's college of that university in the year 1574. The outline of his farther passage through life is expressed in his own words, in his epistle to Mr Gilbert Moncrieff, the king's physician. He there mentions, that, after spending four years in France, he was seized with a desire to become a lawyer in his own country, and he there draws a pathetic picture of the miseries of a briefless barrister, sufficient to extract tears from half the faculty.

"To that effect, three years or near that space,
I haunted maist our highest pleading place
And senate, where great causes reason'd war;
My breast was bruist with leaning on the bar;
My buttons brist, I partly spitted blood,
My gown was trail'd and trampid quhair I stood;
My ears were deif'd with maissurs cryes and din
Quhilk procuratoris and parties callit in."

Nor did the moral aspect of the spot convey a more soothing feeling than the physical. He found

"The pair abusit ane hundredth divers wayes;
Postpon'd, deffer'd with shifts and mere delayes,
Consumit in gudes, ourset with grief and paine."

From the corrupt atmosphere of the law, he turned towards the pure precincts of the court; but here he finds that

"From the rocks of Cyclades fra hand,
I struck into Charybdis stinking sand."

He proceeds to say that, "for reverence of kings he will not slander courts," yet he has barely maintained his politeness to royal ears, in his somewhat vivid description of all that the calm poet experienced during his apprenticeship at court.

"In courts, Monterief, is pride, envie, contention,
Dissimulance, despite, disceat, dissention,
Fear, whisperings, reports, and new suspicion,
Fraud, treason, lies, dread, guile, and sedition;

Great greediness, and prodigality;
Lusts sensual, and partialitie,”

with a continued list of similar qualifications, whose applicability is likely to be perceived only by a disappointed courtier, or a statesman out of place. During the days of his following the bar and the court, it is supposed that Hume joined in one of those elegant poetical amusements called “Flytings,” and that he is the person who, under the designation of “Polwart,” answered in fitting style to the abuse of Montgomery. That Alexander Hume was the person who so officiated, is, however, matter of great doubt: Dempster, a contemporary, mentions that the person who answered Montgomery was *Patrick Hume*, a name which answers to that of the elder brother; and though Leyden and Sibbald justly pay little attention to such authority, knowing that Dempster is, in general, as likely to be wrong as to be right, every Scotsman knows that the patrimonial designation “Polwart,” is more appropriately the title of the elder than of the younger brother; while Patrick Hume of Polwart, a more fortunate courtier, and less seriously disposed than his brother, has left behind him no mean specimen of his genius, in a poem addressed to James VI., entitled “The Promise.” Whichever of the brothers has assumed Polwart’s share in the controversy, it is among the most curious specimens of the employments of the elegant minds of the age.

If the sacred poet, Alexander Hume, was really the person who so spent his youthful genius, as life advanced he turned his attention to more serious matters; that his youth was spent more unprofitably than his riper years approved, is displayed in some of his writings, in terms more bitter than those which are generally used by persons to whom expressions of repentance seem a becoming language. He entered into holy orders, and at some period was appointed minister of Logie, a pastoral charge of which he performed with vigour the humble duties, until his death in 1609.

Before entering on the works which he produced in his clerical retirement, it may be right to observe that much obscurity involves his literary career, from the circumstance that three other individuals of the same name, existing at the same period, passed lives extremely similar, both in their education, and in their subsequent progress. Three out of the four attended St Mary’s college at St Andrews in company;—presuming that the subject of our memoir took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1574, one of his companions must have passed in 1571, the other in 1572. It is supposed that one of these was minister of Dunbar in 1582; the other is known to have been appointed master of the High school of Edinburgh in 1596, and to have been author of a few theological tracts, and of a Latin grammar, appointed by act of parliament, and by the privy council, to be used in all grammar schools in the kingdom: this individual has been discovered by Dr M’Crie, to have afterwards successively officiated as rector of the grammar schools of Salt-Preston and of Dunbar. The fourth Alexander Hume, was a student at St Leonard’s college, St Andrews, where he entered in 1578: he too was a poet, but the only existing specimen of his composition is the following simple tribute to the labours of Bellenden, inscribed on a blank leaf of the manuscript of the translation of Livy,

“ Fyve buikes ar here by Ballantyne translated,
Restis yet ane hundred threttie fyve behind;
Quilkis if the samyn war als weil completed,
Wuld be ane volume of ane monstrous kind.¹

¹ The ingenious poet probably overlooks the fact of so many of Livy’s books being lost, with the deliberate purpose of increasing the effect of his verses.

Ilk man perfytes not quhat they once intend,
 So frail and brittle ar our wretched dayes;
 Let some man then begine quhair he doeth end,
 Give him the first, tak thame the second praise:
 No, no! to Titus Livius give all,
 That peerles prince for feattis historickall."

M. A. Home, St Leonardes.

A small manuscript volume bearing the name of Alexander Hume, and entitled "Rerum Scotticarum Compendium," is probably from the pen of one of these four, but of which, it may now be impossible to determine.

Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, is, however, the undoubted author of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs, wherein the right use of poesie may be espied: whereunto are added, the experience of the author's youth, and certain precepts serving to the practice of sanctification." This volume, printed by Waldegrave in 1599, was dedicated to Elizabeth Melvill, by courtesy styled lady Culross, a woman of talent and literary habits, the authoress of "Ane godlie dream, compylit in Scottish meter," printed at Aberdeen in 1644. The Hymns and Sacred Songs have been several times partially reprinted, and the original having fallen into extreme rarity, the whole has lately been reprinted by the Bannatyne club. In the prose introduction, the author addressing the youth of Scotland, exhorts them to avoid "profane sonnets and vain ballads of love, the fabulous feats of Palmerine, and such like reveries."—"Some time," he adds, "I delighted in such fantasies myself, after the manner of riotous young men: and had not the Lord in his mercy pulled me aback, and wrought a great repentance in me, I had doubtless run forward and employed my time and study in that profane and unprofitable exercise, to my own perdition." The first of his hymns he styles his "Recantation:" it commences in the following solemn terms:

Alace, how long have I delayed
 To leave the laits² of youth!
 Alace how oft have I essayed
 To daunt my lascive mouth,
 And make my vayne polluted thought,
 My pen and speech prophaine,
 Extoll the Lord quhilk made of nocht
 The heaven, the earth, and maine.

Skarce nature yet my face about,
 Hir virile net had spun,
 Quhen als oft as Phœbea stout
 Was set agains the Sun:
 Yea, als oft as the fierie flames
 Arise and shine abroad,
 I minded was with saugs and psalms
 To glorifie my God.

But ay the canered carnall kind,
 Quhilk lurked me within,
 Seduced my heart, withdrew my mind,
 And made me slave to sin.
 My senses and my saull I saw
 Debait a deadlie strife,
 Into my flesh I felt a law
 Gainstand the Law of life.

² Habits or manners.

Even as the falcon high, and haire
 Furth fleeing in the skye,
 With wanton wing hir game to gaif,
 Disdaines her caller's cry ;
 So led away with liberty,
 And drowned in delight,
 I wandred after vanitie—
 My vice I give the wight.

But by far the most beautiful composition in the collection, is that entitled the "Day Estival," the one which Leyden has thought worthy of revival. This poem presents a description of the progress and effects of a summer day in Scotland, accompanied by the reflections of a mind full of natural piety, and a delicate perception of the beauties of the physical world. The easy flow of the numbers, distinguishing it from the harsher productions of the same age, and the arrangement of the terms and ideas, prove an acquaintance with English poetry ; but the subject and the poetical thoughts are entirely the author's own. They speak strongly of the elegant and fastidious mind, tired of the bar, and disgusted with the court, finding a balm to the wounded spirit, in being alone with nature, and watching her progress. The style has an unrestrained freedom which may please the present age, and the contemplative feeling thrown over the whole, mingled with the artless vividness of the descriptions, bringing the objects immediately before the eye, belong to a species of poetry at which some of the highest minds have lately made it their study to aim. We shall quote the commencing stanza, and a few others scattered in different parts of the Poem :

O perfect light ! which shed away
 The darkness from the light,
 And left one ruler o'er the day,
 Another o'er the night.

Thy glory, when the day forth flies,
 More vively does appear
 Nor at mid-day unto our eyes
 The shining sun is clear.

The shadow of the earth anone
 Removes and drawis by ;
 Syne in the east, when it is gone,
 Appears a clearer sky :
 Which soon perceives the little larks,
 The lapwing, and the snipe ;
 And tunes their songs, like nature's clerks,
 Our meadow, moor, and stripe.

• • • •

The time so tranquil is and still,
 That no where shall ye find,
 Save on a high and barren hill,
 An air of passing wind.
 All trees and simples, great and small,
 That balmy leaf do bear,
 Nor they were painted on a wall
 No more they move or stir.
 Calm is the deep and purpou sea,
 Yea smother nor the sand :

The wallis that weltering wont to be
 Are stable like the laud.

* * * *

What pleasure 'twere to walk and see,
 Endlong a river clear,
 The perfect form of every tree
 Within the deep appear ;
 The salmon out of crooves and creels
 Up hauled into skouts,
 The bells and circles on the weills
 Through louping of the trouts.
 O then it were a seemly thing,
 While all is still and calme,
 The praise of God to play and sing
 With cornet and with shalme.

Rowe, in his manuscript History of the Church of Scotland, has told us that Hume "was one of those godlie and faithful servants, who had witnessed against the hierarchy of prelates in this kirk." He proceeds to remark, "as to Mr Alexander Hoome, minister at Logie beside Stirling, I nixt mention him: he has left ane admonition behind him in write to the kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the bishops, who were then fast rising up, had left the sincere ministers, who wold gladlie have keepest still the good old government of the kirk, if these corrupt ministers had not left them and it; earnestlie entreating the bishops to leave and forsake that course wherin they were, els their defection from their honest brethren, (with whom they had taken the covenant.) and from the cause of God, would be registrate afterwards to their eternale shame." The person who has reprinted Hume's Hymns and Sacred Songs for the Bannatyne club, has discovered among the elaborate collections of Wodrow, in the Advocate's Library, a small tract entitled, "Ane afold Admonition to the Ministerie of Scotland, be ane deing brother," which he, not without reason, presumes to be that mentioned by Rowe; founding the supposition on the similarity of the title, the applicability of the matter, and a minute circumstance of internal evidence, which shows that the admonition was written very soon after the year 1607, and very probably at such a period as might have enabled Hume (who died in 1609) to have denominated himself "ane deing brother." The whole of this curious production is conceived in a style of assumption, which cannot have been very acceptable to the spiritual pride of the Scottish clergy. It commences in the following terms of apostolical reprimand:—"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. It is certainlie knawin, bretheren, to the greiff of monie godlie heartes and slander of the Gospell, that thair ar dissentionis among you: not concerning the covenant of God, or the seales of the covenant, but chieflie concerning twa poyntis of discipline or kirk government, wharanent you are divydit in twa factionis or opinionis." From this assumed superiority, the admonitionist stalks forth, bearing himself in lofty terms, never condescending to argue, but directing like a superior spirit; and under the Christian term of humility, "bretheren," concealing an assumption of spiritual superiority, which the word "sons" would hardly have sufficiently expressed.

HUME, DAVID, of Godscroft. The scantiness of the materials for lives of literary Scotsmen hrs, with us, often been a subject of remark and regret; and we are sure that every one who has had occasion to make investigations into this department of our national history will at once acquiesce in its truth. Our statesmen have been applauded or condemned—at all events they have been immortalized—by contemporary writers; the deeds of our soldiers have been celebrated

in works relative to our martial achievements ; and our divines have always, and more especially in the darker ages, preserved a knowledge of themselves and their transactions,—but literary men are nearly forgotten, and for what is known of them we are principally indebted to the labours of continental biographers. It would be difficult to point out a more striking illustration of this than the well known individual whose name appears at the head of this article. His name is familiar to every one who is in the least degree conversant with Scottish history or poetry ;—he was descended from an honourable family—he acted a prominent part in some of the earlier transactions of his own time, and still almost nothing is known of his history. The indefatigable Wodrow has preserved many scattered hints regarding him in his Biographical Collections in the library of Glasgow college, and except this we are not aware of any attempt at a lengthened biographical sketch of him. In drawing up the following, we shall take many of our facts from that biography, referring also to the excellent works of Dr M' Crie, and occasionally supplying deficiencies from the few incidental notices of himself in Hume's works.

David Hume, it is probable, was born about, or a few years prior to, the period of the Reformation. His father was Sir David Hume, or Home, of Wedderburn, the representative of an old and distinguished family in the south or Scotland. His mother was Mary Johnston, a daughter of Johnston of Elphinstone. This lady died early, and her husband, after having married a second wife, who seems to have treated his family in a harsh and ungenerous manner, died of consumption while the subject of this memoir was a very young man. The family thus left consisted of four sons—George, David, James, and John ; and four daughters—Isabell, Margaret, Julian, and Joan.

Of the early education of David Hume, we have not been able to learn almost any thing. His elder brother and he were sent to the public school of Dunbar, then conducted by Mr Andrew Simson, and there is abundant evidence that he made very considerable progress in the acquisition of classical knowledge. He has left a poem, entitled *Daphn-Amaryllis*, written at the age of fourteen, and he incidentally mentions the expectations George Buchanan formed of his future eminence from his early productions. After receiving, it may be conjectured, the best education that a Scottish university then afforded, Hume set out for France, accompanied by his relation, John Haldane of Gleneagles. His intention was to have also made the tour of Italy, and for that purpose he had gone to Geneva, when his brother's health became so bad as to make his return desirable. On receiving the letters containing this information, he returned to Scotland without delay, "and arrived," to use his own words in his *History of the Family of Wedderburn*, "much about the time that Esme, lord Aubigny, (who was afterwards made duke of Lennox,) was brought into Scotland—and that Morton began to decline in his credit, he being soon after first imprisoned, and then put to death ;" that is about the beginning of 1581.

Sir George Home seems to have recovered his health soon afterwards, and David was generally left at his castle to manage his affairs, while he was engaged in transactions of a more difficult or hazardous nature. This probably did not continue long, for the earliest public transaction in which we have found him engaged took place in 1583. When king James VI. withdrew from the party commonly known by the name of the Ruthven lords, and re-admitted the earl of Arran to his councils, Archibald, "the good earl" of Angus, a relation of Hume's family, was ordered to confine himself to the north of Scotland, and accordingly resided for some time at the castle of Brechin, the property of his brother-in-law the earl of Mar. At this period Hume seems to have lived in Angus's house, in the capacity of a "familiar servitour," or confidential secretary.

When the Ruthven party were driven into England, Hume accompanied his master and relation; and while the lords remained inactive at Newcastle, requested leave to go to London, where he intended pursuing his studies. To this Angus consented, with the ultimate intention of employing him as his agent at the English court. During the whole period of his residence at the English capital, he maintained a regular correspondence with the earl, but only two of his letters (which he has printed in the History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus) have come down to us.

The Ruthven lords returned to Scotland in 1585, but soon offended the clergy by their want of zeal in providing for the security of the church. Their wrath was still farther kindled, by a sermon preached at this time before the king at Linlithgow, by John Craig, in which the offensive doctrine of obedience to princes was enforced. A letter was accordingly prepared, insisting upon the claims of the church, and transmitted to Mr Hume, to be presented to Angus. A very long conference took place betwixt the earl and Hume, which he has set down at great length in the above-mentioned work. He begins his own discourse by refuting the arguments of Craig, and shows, that although it is said in his text, "I said ye are gods," it is also said, "Nevertheless ye shall die;" "which two," Hume continues, "being put together, the one shows princes their duty—*Do justice as God doth*; the other threateneth punishment—*Ye shall die if you do it not*." He then proceeds to show, that the opinions of Bodinus in his work *De Republica*, and of his own countryman Blackwood [see Blackwood], are absurd; and having established the doctrine that tyrants may be resisted, he applies it to the case of the Ruthven lords, and justifies the conduct of Angus as one of that party. He then concludes in the following strain of remonstrance:—"Your declaration which ye published speaks much of the public cause and common weal, but you may perceive what men think your actions since they do not answer thereto by this letter, for they are begun to think that howsoever you pretend to the public, yet your intention was fixed only on your own particular, because you have done nothing for the church or country, and have settled your own particular. And it is observed, that of all the parliaments that were ever held in this country, this last, held since you came home, is it in which alone there is no mention of the church, either in the beginning thereof, (as in all others there is,) or elsewhere throughout. This neglect of the state of the church and country, as it is a blemish of your fact obscuring the lustre of it, so is it accounted an error in policy by so doing, to separate your particular from the common cause of the church and country, which, as it hath been the mean of your particular restitution, so is it the only mean to maintain you in this estate, and to make it sure and firm."

During the subsequent short period of this earl's life, Hume seems to have retained his confidence, and to have acted the part of a faithful and judicious adviser. After Angus's death, which took place in 1588, it is probable that he lived in retirement. Accordingly, we do not find any further notice of him till he appeared as an author in 1605.

One of king James's most favourite projects was the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and soon after his accession to the English throne, commissioners were appointed to consider the grounds upon which this object could be safely and advantageously attained. It would altogether exceed our limits were we to give even a faint outline of the proceedings of these commissioners, and it is the less necessary as their deliberations did not lead to the desired result. The subject, however, met with the attention of the most learned of our countrymen. The first work written on this subject was from the pen of Robert Pont, one of the most respectable clergymen of his day, and a senator of the col-

lege of justice, while ecclesiastics were permitted to hold that office. His work, which was published in 1604, is in the form of a dialogue between three imaginary personages—Irenæus, Polyhistor, and Hospes, and is now chiefly interesting as containing some striking remarks on the state of the country, and the obstacles to the administration of justice. Pont was followed by David Hume, our author, who published next year his treatise, *De Unione Insulæ Britannicæ*, of which bishop Nicholson only says that "it is written in a clear Latin style, such as the author was eminent for, and is dedicated to the king: it shows how great an advantage such a union would bring to the island in general, and in particular to the several nations and people of England and Scotland, and answers the objections against the change of the two names into that of Britain—the alteration of the regal style in writs and processes of law—the removal of the parliament and other courts into England," &c. The first part only of this work of Hume's was published. Bishop Nicholson mentions that a MS. of the second part was in Sir Robert Sibbald's collection, and Wodrow also possessed what he considered a very valuable copy of it. It would be improper to pass from this part of our subject, without referring to Sir Thomas Craig's work on the same subject, which still remains unprinted; although in the opinion of his accomplished biographer, Mr Tytler, "in point of matter and style, in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it deserves to rank the highest of all his works."

In the year 1608, Hume commenced a correspondence on the subject of episcopacy and presbytery with James Law, then bishop of Orkney, and afterwards promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow. This epistolary warfare took its rise in a private conversation between Mr Hume and the bishop, when he came to visit the presbytery of Jedburgh in that year. The subject presented by much too large a field to be exhausted at a private meeting, and accordingly supplied materials for their communications for about three years. But here again we are left to lament that so little of it has been preserved. Calderwood has collected a few of the letters, but the gaps are so frequent, and consequently so little connexion is kept up, that they would be entirely uninteresting to a general reader. In 1613, Hume began a correspondence of the same nature with bishop Cowper on his accepting the diocese of Galloway. The bishop set forth an apology for himself, and to this Hume wrote a reply, which, however, was not printed, as it was unfavourable to the views of the court. Cowper answered his statements in his *Dicaiology*, but printed only such parts of Hume's argument as would be most easily refuted. To this Hume once more replied at great length.

Shortly before this period he undertook the "History of the House of Wedderburn, (written by a son of the family, in the year 1611,"—a work which has hitherto remained in manuscript. "It has sometimes grieved me," he remarks, in a dedication to the earl of Home, and to his own brother, "when I have been glancing over the histories of our country, to have mention made so seldom of our ancestors,—scarce above once or twice,—and that too very shortly and superficially; whereas they were always remarkable for bravery, magnanimity, clemency, liberality, munificence, hospitality, fidelity, piety in religion, and obedience to their prince; and, indeed, there never was a family who had a greater love and regard for their country, or more earnestly devoted themselves to, or more frequently risked their lives for, its service. It ought, in a more particular manner, to grieve you that they have been so long buried in oblivion, and do you take care that they be so no more. I give you, as it were, the prelude, or lay the ground-work of the history; perhaps a pen more equal to the task, or at least, who can do it with more decency, will give it the finishing stroke."

He does not enter into a minute inquiry into the origin of the family, a species of antiquarianism of which it must be confessed our Scottish historians are sufficiently fond:—"My intention," he says, "does not extend farther than to write those things that are peculiar to the House of Wedderburn." The work begins with "David, first laird of Wedderburn," who appears to have lived about the end of the fourteenth century, and concludes with an account of the earlier part of his brother's life.

During the latter period of his life, Hume appears to have devoted himself almost entirely to literary pursuits. He had appeared before the world as a poet in his "*Lusus Poetici*," published in 1605, and afterwards incorporated into the excellent collection entitled "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*," edited by Dr Arthur Johnston. He seems to have added to his poetical works when years and habits of study might be supposed to have cooled his imaginative powers. When prince Henry died, he gave vent to his grief in a poem entitled "*Henrici Principis Justa*," which, Wodrow conjectures, was probably sent to Sir James Semple of Beltrees, then a favourite at court, and by whom it is not improbable that it was shown to his majesty. A few years afterwards (1617) he wrote his "*Regi Suo Gratiulatio*,"—a congratulatory poem on the king's revisiting his native country. In the same year he prepared (but did not publish) a prose work under the following title, "*Cambdenia; idest, Examen nonnullorum a Gulielmo Cambdeno in 'Britannia' sua positorum, præcipue quæ ad irrisionem Scoticæ gentis, et eorum et Pictorum falsam originem.*" "In a very short preface to his readers," says Wodrow, "Mr Hume observes that nothing more useful to this island was ever proposed, than the union of the two islands, and scarce ever any proposal was more opposed; witness the insults in the House of Commons, and Paget's fury, rather than speech, against it, for which he was very justly fined. After some other things to the same purpose, he adds, that Mr Cambden hath now in his *Britannia* appeared on the same side, and is at no small labour to extol to the skies England and his Britons, and to depress and expose Scotland,—how unjustly he does so is Mr Hume's design in this work." Cambden's assertions were also noticed by William Drummond in his *Nuntius Scoto-Britannus*, and in another of his works more professedly levelled against him, entitled "*A Pair of Spectacles for Cambden.*"

The last work in which we are aware of Hume's having been engaged, is his largest, and that by which he is best known. The *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus*, seems to have been first printed at Edinburgh, by Evan Tyler, in 1644, but this edition has several discrepancies in the title-page. Some copies bear the date 1648, "to be sold by T. W. in London," and others have a title altogether different, "*A Generall History of Scotland, together with a particular history of the houses of Douglas and Angus,*" but are without date. After mentioning in the preface that, in writing such a work it is impossible to please all parties,—that some may say that it is an unnecessary work—others, that it is merely a party-statement,—and a third complain of "the style, the phrase, the periods, the diction, and the language," Hume goes on to say, "in all these particulars, to satisfy all men is more than we can hope for; yet thus much shortly of each of them to such as will give ear to reason: that I write, and of this subject, I am constrained to do it, not by any violence or compulsion, but by the force of duty, as I take it; for being desired to do it by those I would not refuse, I thought myself bound to honour that name, and in it and by it, our king and country. . . . Touching partiality, I deny it not, but am content to acknowledge my interest. Neither do I think that ever any man did set pen to paper without some particular relation of kindred, country, or such like. The Romans in writing the *Romane*, the Grecians in writing their *Greek histories*;

friends writing to, of, or for friends, may be thought partiall, as countreymen and friends. The vertuous may be deemed to be partiall towards the vertuous, and the godly towards the godly and religious: all writers have some such respect, which is a kind of partiality. I do not refuse to be thought to have some, or all of these respects, and I hope none wil think I do amisse in having them. Pleasing of men, I am so farre from shunning of it, that it is my chief end and scope: but let it please them to be pleased with vertue, otherwise they shal find nothing here to please them. If thou findest any thing here besides, blame me boldly; and why should any be displeas'd that wil be pleas'd with it? would to God I could so please the world, I should never displease any. But if either of these (partiality or desire to please) carry me besides the truth, then shal I confesse my self guilty, and esteem these as great faults, as it is faultie and blame-worthy to forsake the truth. But, otherwise, so the truth be stuck unto, there is no hurt in partiality and labouring to please. And as for truth, clip not, nor champ not my words (as some have done elsewhere), and I beleve the worst affected will not charge mee with lying. I have ever sought the truth in all things carefully, and even here also, and that painfully in every point: where I find it assured, I have set it down confidently; where I thought there was some reason to doubt, I tell my authour: so that if I deceive, it is my self I deceive, and not thee; for I hide nothing from thee that I myself know, and as I know it, leaving place to thee, if thou knowest more or better, which, if thou doest, impart and communicate it; for so thou shouldest do, and so is truth brought to light, which else would lye hid and buried. My paines and travel in it have been greater than every one would think, in correcting my errors; thine will not bee so much, and both of us may furnish matter for a third man to finde out the truth more exactly, than either of us hath yet done. Help, therefore, but carp not. For the language, it is my mother-tongue, that is, Scottish: and why not, to Scottish men? why should I contemne it? I never thought the difference so great, as that by seeking to speak English, I would hazard the imputation of affectation. Every tongue hath its own vertue and grace. Some are more substantiall, others more ornate and succinct. They have also their own defects and faultinesses, some are harsh, some are effeminate, some are rude, some affectate and swelling. The Romanes spake from their heart, the Grecians with their lips only, and their ordinary speech was complements; especially the Asiaticke Greeks did use a loose and blown kind of phrase. And who is there that keeps that golden mean? For my own part, I like our own, and he that writes well in it, writes well enough to me. Yet I have yeelded somewhat to the tyrannie of custome and the times, not seeking curiously for words, but taking them as they come to hand. I acknowledge also my fault (if it be a fault), that I ever accounted it a mean study, and of no great commendation to learn to write, or to speak English, and have loved better to bestow my pains and time on forreign languages, esteeming it but a dialect of our own, and that, (perhaps) more corrupt." The work commences with a preface concerning "the Douglasses in general, that is, their antiquity, to which is joined their original, nobility and descent, greatness and valour of the family of the name of Douglas." The history begins with Sholto Douglas, the first that bore the name, and the vanquisher of Donald Bane, in the reign of king Salvathius,—and concludes with the death of Archibald, ninth earl of Angus, who has been already noticed in the course of this memoir. With this work closes every trace of David Hume. It is supposed to have been written about 1625, or between that period and 1630, and it is not probable that he survived that period long. Supposing him to have been born about 1560, he must then have attained to the age of three score years and ten.

Respecting Hume's merits as a poet, different opinions exist. While in the opinion of Dr Irving he never rises above mediocrity, Dr M'Crie places him in a somewhat higher rank: "The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed; and if deficient in vigour his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions." These opinions are, after all, not irreconcilable; the poetry of Hume possesses little originality, but the reader is charmed with the readiness and the frequency of his imitations of the Roman poets.

As an historian, Hume can never become popular. He is by much too prolix,—nor will this be wondered at when we consider the age at which he wrote his principal historical work. To the reader, however, who is disposed to follow him through his windings, he will be a most valuable, and in many cases, a most amusing author. As the kinsman of the earls of Angus, he had access to many important family papers, from which he has compiled the history prior to his own time. But when he writes of transactions within his own recollection, and more especially those in which he was personally engaged, there is so much judicious remark and honesty of intention, that it cannot fail to interest even a careless reader.

Besides the works which we have mentioned, Hume wrote "Apologia Basiliica, Seu Machiavelli Ingenium Examinatum, in libro quem inscripsit Princeps, 4to, Paris, 1626." "De Episcopatu, May 1, 1609, Patricio Simsono." "A treatise on things indifferent." "Of obedience to superiors." In the *Biographie Universelle* there is a memoir of him, in which it is mentioned that "Jaques I^{er}. P'employé a concilier les differends qui s'estaient elevé entre Dumoulin et Tilenus au sujet de la justification," and he is also there mentioned as having written "Le Contr' Assassin, ou Reponse a l'Apologie des Jesuites," Geneva, 1612, 8vo, and "L'Assassinat du Roi, ou Maximes Pratiquées en la personne du default Henrie le Grand," 1617, 8vo.

HUME, DAVID, the celebrated metaphysician, historian, and political economist, was the second son of Joseph Hume of Ninewells, near Dunse, and was born in the Tron church parish, Edinburgh, on the 26th of April, 1711, O. S. His mother was daughter to Sir David Falconer, a judge of the court of session under the designation of lord Newton, and for some years president of the college of justice. The family of Hume of Ninewells was ancient and respectable, and the great philosopher has himself informed us, that on the side both of father and mother, he was the descendant of nobility, a circumstance from which he seems to have derived a quiet satisfaction, probably owing more to his respect for the manners and feelings of the country and age in which he lived, than to his conviction of the advantages of noble birth. It is to be regretted that little is known about the early life of Hume, and the habits of his boyish years. There are indeed very few instances, in which the information which can be derived about the early habits and inclinations of a man who has afterwards distinguished himself, repays the labour of research, or even that of reading the statements brought forward; while many who have busied themselves in such tasks have only shown that the objects of their attention were by no means distinguished from other men, in the manner in which they have spent their childhood; but it must be allowed that in the case of Hume, a narrative of the gradual rise and development of that stoical contempt towards the objects which distract the minds of most men, that industry without enthusiasm, that independence without assumption, and strict morality founded only on reason, which distinguished his conduct through life, might have taught us a lesson of the world, and would at least have gratified a well grounded

curiosity. The absence of such information allows us, however, to make a general inference, that no part of the conduct of the schoolboy was sufficiently remarkable to be commemorated by his friends, and that, as he was in advanced life (independent of the celebrity produced by his works) a man of unobservable and unassuming conduct; he was as a boy docile, well behaved, and attentive, without being remarkable either for precocity of talent, or that carelessness and insubordination which some biographers have taken pains to bring home to the subjects of their memoirs. In early infancy Hume was deprived of his father, and left to the guidance of his mother and an elder brother and sister; with the brother who succeeded by birthright to the family property, he ever lived on terms of fraternal intimacy and affection, and towards his two female relatives he displayed, through all the stages of his life, an unvarying kindness and unremitting attention, which have gone far, along with his other social virtues, in causing him to be respected as a man, by those who were his most bitter opponents as a philosopher.

The property of the respectable family of Ninewells was not large, and the limited share which fell to the younger brother precluded the idea of his supporting himself without labour. Having finished the course of study which such an institution was capable of providing, he attended for some time the university of Edinburgh, then rising in reputation; of his progress in study he gives us the following account: "I passed through the ordinary course of education with success, and was seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments; my studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me: but I found an insurmountable aversion to every thing but the pursuits of philosophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors I was secretly devouring."¹ Of this aversion not only to the *practice*, but to the abstract *study* of the law, in a mind constituted like that of Hume, guided by reason, acute in the perception of differences and connexions, naturally prone to industry, and given up to the indulgence neither of passion nor sentiment, it is difficult to account. We are ignorant of the method by

¹ It is almost unnecessary to mention, that when we use the words of Hume about himself, we quote from that curious little memoir called "My Own Life," written by Hume on his death-bed, and published in 1777, by Mr Strahan, (to whom the manuscript was consigned) previously to its publication in the ensuing edition of the History of England. In a work which ought to contain a quantity of original matter proportioned to the importance of the subjects treated, some apology or explanation may be due, for quoting from a production which has been brought so frequently before the public; but in the life of a person so well known, and into whose conduct there has been so much investigation, while we try to bring together as much original matter as it is possible to obtain, we must frequently be contented with statements modeled according to our own views, and in our own language, of facts which have already been frequently recorded. Independent of this necessity, the memoir of the author written by himself, is so characteristic of his mind and feelings, both in the method of the narrative, and in the circumstances detailed, that any life of Hume which might neglect reference to it, must lose a very striking chain of connexion betwixt the mind of the author and the character of his works. Let us here remark, that while (in the words of Hume himself) "it is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without vanity," this little memoir seems to have defied criticism to discover anything injudicious or assuming, either in the details or reflections. It is true, he has been slightly accused of speaking with too much complacency of his own good qualities: but be it remarked, those qualities of disposition to study, sobriety, and industry, are such as a man of genius is seldom disposed to arrogate to himself, at least without some hints of the existence of others more brilliant and distinguishing. We cannot help being of opinion, that the author's philosophical command over his feelings has prompted him to avoid the extremes which the natural egotism and vanity of most men would have caused them to fall into on similar occasions, of either alluding to very high qualities which the suffrages of others had allowed that they possessed, or gaining credit for humility, by not recognizing the existence of qualities which they know their partial friends would be ready to admit.

which he pursued his legal studies, and this early acquired disgust would at least hint, that like his friend lord Kames, he commenced his career with the repulsive drudgery of a writer's office, in which his natural taste for retirement and reflection was invaded by a vulgar routine of commercial business and petty squabbling, and his acuteness and good taste offended by the tiresome formalities with which it was necessary he should occupy much valuable time, previously to exercising his ingenuity in the higher walks of the profession. But to those who are acquainted with the philosophical, and more especially with the constitutional writings of Mr Hume, the contemptuous rejection of the works of the civilians, and the exorbitant preference for the Roman poets, will appear at least a singular confession. To him any poet offered a mere subject of criticism, to be tried by the standard of taste, and not to gratify his sentiment; while in the works of the civilians he would have found (and certainly did find) the acute philosophical disquisitions of minds which were kindred to his own, both in profundity and elegance, and in the clear and accurate Vinnius, whom he has sentenced with such unbrotherly contempt, he must have found much which as a philosopher he respected, whatever distaste arbitrary circumstances might have given him towards the subject which that great man treated.

In 1734, the persuasions of his friends induced Mr Hume to attempt the bettering of his income by entering into business, and he established himself in the office of a respectable merchant in Bristol; but the man who had rejected the study of the law, was not likely to be fascinated by the bustle of commerce, and probably in opposition to the best hopes and wishes of his friends, in a few months he relinquished his situation, and spent some years in literary retirement in France, living first at Rheims, and afterwards at La Fleche in Anjeau. "I there," he says, "laid that plan of life which I have steadily and successfully pursued. I resolved to make a very rigid frugality supply my deficiency of fortune, to maintain unimpaired my independency, and to regard every object as contemptible, except the improvement of my talents in literature;" and with the consistency of a calm and firm mind, he kept his resolution. For some time previous to this period, Hume must have been gradually collecting that vast mass of observation and reflection which he employed himself during his retirement in digesting into the celebrated Treatise on Human Nature. In 1737, he had finished the first two volumes of this work, and he then returned to London to superintend their publication. From this date commenced the earliest traces of that literary and social correspondence which furnishes many of the most characteristic commentaries on the mental habits of the philosopher. With Henry Home, afterwards lord Kames, a near neighbour of the family of Ninewells, and probably a connexion of the philosopher (for *he* was the first member of the family who adopted the name of *Hume*, in preference to the family name *Home*,) he contracted an early friendship, and a similarity of pursuits continued the intercourse. To that gentleman we find the subject of our memoir writing in the following terms, in December, 1737: "I have been here near three months, always within a week of agreeing with my printers: and you may imagine I did not forget the work itself during that time, when I began to feel some passages weaker for the style and diction than I could have wished. The nearness and greatness of the event roused up my attention, and made me more difficult to please than when I was alone in perfect tranquillity in France." The remaining portion of this communication, though given in the usual placid and playful manner of the author, tells a painful tale of the difficulties he had to encounter, and of hope deferred. "But here," he says, "I must tell you one of my foibles. I have a great inclination to go down to Scotland this spring to see my friends, and have your advice concerning my

philosophical discoveries: but cannot overcome a certain shame-facedness I have to appear among you at my years without having got a settlement, or so much as attempted any. How happens it, that we philosophers cannot as heartily despise the world as it despises us? I think in my conscience the contempt were as well founded on our side as on the other." With this letter Mr Hume transmitted to his friend a manuscript of his *Essay on Miracles*, a work which he at that period declined publishing along with his other productions, looking on it as more likely to give offence, from the greater reference of its reasonings to revealed religion.

Towards the termination of the year 1738, Hume published his "Treatise of Human Nature; being an attempt to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects." The fundamental principles on which the whole philosophy of this work is reared, discover themselves on reading the first page, in the division of all perceptions—in other words, of all the materials of knowledge which come within the comprehension of the human mind,—into impressions and ideas. Differing from almost all men who, using other terms, had discussed the same subject, he considered these two methods of acquiring knowledge, to differ, not in quality, but merely in degree; because by an observation of the qualities of the mind, on the principle of granting nothing which could not be demonstrated, he could find no real ground of distinction, excepting that the one set of perceptions was always of a more vivid description than the other. The existence of *impressions* he looked on as prior in the mind to the existence of *ideas*, the latter being merely dependent on, or reflected from the former, which were the first inlets of all knowledge. Among *perceptions* he considered the various methods by which the senses make the mind acquainted with the external world, and along with these, by a classification which might have admitted a better arrangement, he ranked the *passions*, which he had afterwards to divide into those which were the direct consequents of the operations of the senses, as *pain* and *pleasure*, and those which the repetition of impressions, or some other means, had converted into concomitants, or qualifications of the mind, as *hatred*, *joy*, *pride*, &c. By *ideas*, Mr Hume understood those arrangements of the perceptions formed in the mind by *reasonings* or *imagination*; and although he has maintained the distinction between these and the *impressions* of the senses to be merely in degree, all that has been either blamed or praised in his philosophy is founded on the use he makes of this distinction. He has been accused, and not without justice, of confusion in his general arrangement, and disconnexion in the subjects he has discussed as allied to each other; but a careful peruser of his works will find the division of subject we have just attempted to explain, to pervade the whole of his extraordinary investigations, and never to be departed from, where language allows him to adhere to it. The *ideas*, or more faint *perceptions*, are made by the author to be completely dependent on the *impressions*, showing that there can be no given *idea* at any time in the mind, to which there has not been a corresponding *impression* conveyed through the organs of sense. These ideas once existing in the mind, are subjected to the operation of the memory, and form the substance of our thoughts, and a portion of the motives of our actions. Thus, at any given moment, there are in the mind two distinct sources of knowledge, (or of what is generally called knowledge,)—the impressions which the mind is receiving from surrounding objects through the senses, and the thoughts, which pass through the mind, modified and arranged from such impressions, previously experienced and stored up. Locke, in his arguments against the existence of innate ideas, and Dr Berkeley, when he tried to show that the mind could contain no abstract ideas, (or ideas

not connected with anything which the mind had experienced,) had formed the outline of a similar division of knowledge; but neither of them founded on such a distinction, a system of philosophy, nor were they, it may be well conceived, aware of the extent to which the principles they suggested might be logically carried. The division we have endeavoured to define, is the foundation of the sceptical philosophy. The knowledge immediately derived from *impressions* is that which truly admits the term "knowledge" to be strictly applied to it; that which is founded on *experience*, derived from *previous impressions*, is something which always admits of doubt. While the former are always certain, the mind being unable to conceive their uncertainty, the latter may not only be conceived to be false, but are so much the mere subjects of probability, that there are distinctions in the force which the mind attributes to them—sometimes admitting them to be doubtful, and making no more distinction, except in the greater amount of probabilities betwixt that which it pronounces doubtful, and that which it pronounces certain. As an instance—when a man looks upon another man, and hears him speak, he receives through the senses of hearing and sight, certain impressions, the existence of which he cannot doubt; on that man, however, being no longer the object of his senses, the impressions are arranged in his mind in a reflex form, constituting what Mr Hume has called ideas; and although he may at first be convinced in a manner sufficiently strong for all practical purposes, that he has actually seen and heard such a man, the knowledge he has is only a mass of probabilities, which not only admit him to conceive it a possibility that he may *not* have met such a man, but actually decay by degrees, so as probably after a considerable period to lapse into uncertainty, while no better line of distinction can be drawn betwixt the certainty and the uncertainty, than that the one is produced by a greater mass of probabilities than the other. The author would have been inconsistent, had he admitted the reception of knowledge of an external world, even through the medium of the senses: he maintained all that the mind had really cognizance of, to be the *perceptions* themselves; there was no method of ascertaining with certainty what caused them. The human mind, then, is thus discovered to be nothing but a series of perceptions, of which some sets have such a resemblance to each other, that we always naturally arrange them together in our thoughts. Our consciousness of the identity of any given individual, is merely a series of perceptions so similar, that the mind glides along them without observation. A man's consciousness of his own identity, is a similar series of impressions. "The mind," says the author, "is a kind of theatre, where several perceptions successively make their appearance—pass, repass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. There is properly no *simplicity* in it at one time, nor *identity* in different, whatever natural propensity we may have to imagine that simplicity and identity. The comparison of the theatre must not mislead us. They are the successive perceptions only that constitute the mind; nor have we the most distant notion of the place where these scenes are represented, or of the materials of which it is composed."¹ From such a conclusion, the passage to scepticism on the immateriality of the soul was a natural and easy step: but on such a subject we must be cautious as to the manner in which we make remarks on the observations made by Hume—we neither appear as among his vindicators, nor for the purpose of disputing his conclusions—our purpose is, as faithful biographers, to give, as far as our limits and our knowledge of the subject may admit, a sketch of his leading doctrines, and if we have any thing to vindicate, it will be the author's real meaning, which certain zealous defenders of Christianity, have shown an anxiety to turn as batteries against it. In his reasonings on the immateriality of the soul he is truly scepti-

¹ Works (1826), i. 322.

cal; that is, while he does not *deny* the immateriality of the soul, he endeavours to show that the mind can form no certain conception of the immaterial soul. Refining on the argument of a reasoning poet, who probably was not aware of the full meaning of his own words when he said—

—— “Of God above, or man below,
What can we reason, but from what we know,”

the author of the treatise on Human Nature maintained that the mere succession of impressions, of which the mind was composed, admitted of no such impression as that of the immateriality of the soul, and consequently did not admit of the mind comprehending in what that immateriality consisted. Let it be remembered, that this conclusion is come to in the same manner as that against the consciousness of the mind to the existence of matter; and that in neither case does the author maintain certain opinions which men believe to be *less certain* than they are generally conceived to be, but gives to them a name different from that which language generally bestows on them—that of *masses of probabilities*, instead of *certainities*,—the latter being a term he reserves solely for the impressions of the senses. “Should it here be asked me,” says the author, “whether I sincerely assent to this argument, which I seem to take such pains to inculcate, and whether I be really one of those sceptics, who hold that all is uncertain, and that our judgment is not in *any* thing, possessed of *any* measures of truth and falsehood; I should reply, that this question is entirely superfluous, and that neither I, nor any other person, was ever sincerely and constantly of that opinion. Nature, by an absolute and uncontrollable necessity, has determined us to judge as well as to breathe and feel; nor can we any more forbear viewing certain objects in a stronger and fuller light, upon account of their customary connexion with a present impression, than we can hinder ourselves from thinking, as long as we are awake, or seeing the surrounding bodies, when we turn our eyes towards them in broad sunshine. Whoever has taken the pains to refute the cavils of this *total* scepticism, has really disputed without an antagonist, and endeavoured by arguments to establish a faculty which nature has antecedently implanted in the mind, and rendered unavoidable.”² With this extremely clear statement, which shows us, that while Hume had a method of accounting for the sources of our knowledge differing from the theories of other philosophers, in the abstract certainty which he admitted to pertain to any knowledge beyond the existence of an impression, his belief in the ordinary admitted sources of human knowledge was not less practically strong than that of other people,—let us connect the concluding words on the chapter on the immortality of the soul: “There is no foundation for any conclusion *a priori*, either concerning the operations or duration of any object, of which ’tis possible for the human mind to form a conception. Any object may be imagined to become entirely inactive, or to be annihilated in a moment: and ’tis an evident principle, *that whatever we can imagine is possible*. Now this is no more true of matter than of spirit—of an extended compounded substance, than of a simple and unextended. In both cases the metaphysical arguments for the immortality of the soul are equally inconclusive; and in both cases the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy of nature, are equally strong and convincing. If my philosophy, therefore, makes no addition to the arguments for religion, I have at least the satisfaction to think it takes nothing from them, but that every thing remains precisely as before.”³ Without pretending to calculate the ultimate direction of the philosophy of Hume, as it regards revealed religion, let us repeat the remark, that many persons

² Works, vol. i. p. 240.

³ Works i. p. 319.

bused themselves in increasing its terrors as an engine against the Christian faith, that they might have the merit of displaying a chivalrous resistance. The presumptions thus formed and fostered, caused a vigorous investigation into the grounds of all belief, and many good and able men were startled to find that it was necessary to admit many of the positions assumed by their subtle antagonist, and that they must employ the vigorous logic they had brought to the field, in stoutly fortifying a position he did not attack. They found "the metaphysical arguments inconclusive," and "the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy of nature, equally strong and convincing:" and that useful and beautiful system of natural theology, which has been enriched by the investigations of Derham, Tucker,⁴ and Paley, gave place to obscure investigations into first causes, and idle theories on the grounds of belief, which generally landed the philosophers in a circle of confusion, and amazed the reader with incomprehensibilities. One of the most clear and original of the chapters of the Treatise on Human Nature, has provided us with a curious practical instance of the pliability of the sceptical philosophy of Hume. In treating the subject of cause and effect, Mr Hume, with fidelity to his previous division of perceptions, found nothing in the effect produced on the mind by any two phenomena, of which the one received the name of cause, the other that of effect, but two *impressions*, and no connexion betwixt them, but the sequence of the latter to the former; attributing our natural belief that the one is a cause, and the other its effect, to the habit of the mind in running from the one impression to that which is its immediate sequent, or precedent; denying that we can have any conception of cause and effect beyond those instances of which the mind has had experience, and which habit has taught it; and, finally, denying that mankind can penetrate farther into the mystery, than the simple knowledge that the one phenomenon is experienced to follow the other. Men of undoubtedly pure religious faith have maintained the justness of this system as a metaphysical one, and it has found its way into physical science, as a check to vague theories, and the assumption of conjectural causes: in a memorable instance, it was however attacked as *metaphysically* subversive of a proper belief in the Deity as a first cause. The persons who maintained this argument, were answered, that an opposite supposition was *morally* subversive of a necessity for the constant existence and presence of the Deity; because, if "a cause had the innate power within it of producing its common effect, the whole fabric of the universe had an innate power of existence and progression in its various changes, which dispensed with the existence of a supreme regulator."

The second volume of the Treatise on Human Nature, discusses the passions on the principles laid down at the commencement of the previous volume. The subjects here treated, while they are not of so strikingly original a description as to prompt us to enlarge on their contents, may be a more acceptable morsel to most readers, and certainly may be perused with more of what is termed satisfaction, than the obscure and somewhat disheartening investigations of the pure metaphysician. Of the usual subtilty and acuteness of the author they are of course not destitute; but the theatre of investigation does not admit of much abstraction, and these qualities exercise themselves on subjects more tangible and comprehensible, than those of the author's prior labours.

The production of the Treatise on Human Nature, stands almost alone in the history of the human mind; let it be remembered that the author had just reached that period of existence when the animal spirits exercise their strongest

⁴ Not Josiah, but Abraham Tucker, who, under the assumed name of "Search," wrote a book on the light of nature, in 9 vols., 8vo. An unobtrusive and profound work, not very inviting, and little read, which later philosophers have pillaged without compunction.

sway, and those whom nature has gifted with talents and observation, are exulting in a brilliant world before them, of which they are enjoying the prospective felicity, without tasting much of the bitterness; and that this extensive treatise, so varied in the subjects embraced, so patiently collected by a lengthened labour of investigation and reflection, and entering on views so adverse to all that reason had previously taught men to believe, and so repulsive to the common feelings of the world, was the first literary attempt which the author deigned to place before the public. Perhaps a very close examination of the early habits and conduct of the author, could the materials of such be obtained, would scarcely furnish us with a clue to so singular a riddle; but in a general sense, we may not diverge far from the truth in supposing, that the circumstances of his earlier intercourse with the world, had not prompted the author to entertain a very charitable view of mankind, and that the bitterness thus engendered coming under the cognizance of his reflective mind, instead of turning him into a stoic and practical enemy of his species, produced that singular system which, holding out nothing but doubt as the end of all mortal investigations, struck a silent blow at the dignity of human nature, and at much of its happiness. In a very singular passage, he thus speaks of his comfortless philosophy, and of the feelings it produces in the mind of its Cain-like fabricator. "I am first affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who, not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me, in order to make a company apart, but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads that storm which beats upon me from every side. I have exposed myself to the enmity of all metaphysicians, logicians, mathematicians, and even theologians; and can I wonder at the insults I must suffer? I have declared my disapprobation of their systems; and can I be surprised if they should express a hatred of mine and of my person? When I look abroad, I foresee on every side dispute, contradiction, anger, calumny, and detraction. When I turn my eye inward, I find nothing but doubt and ignorance. All the world conspires to oppose and contradict me: though such is my weakness, that I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves, when unsupported by the approbation of others. Every step I take is with hesitation, and every new reflection makes me dread an error and absurdity in my reasoning."⁵ In the same spirit he writes to his friend, Mr Henry Home, immediately after the publication of the treatise: "Those," he says, "who are accustomed to reflect on such abstract subjects, are commonly full of prejudices; and those who are unprejudiced, are unacquainted with metaphysical reasonings. My principles are also so remote from all the vulgar sentiments on the subject, that were they to take place, they would produce almost a total alteration in philosophy; and you know revolutions of this kind are not easily brought about."⁶

Hume, when the reflection of more advanced life, and his habits of unceasing thought had made a more clear arrangement in his mind, of the principles of his philosophy, found many things to blame and alter in his treatise, not so much in the fundamental arguments, as in their want of arrangement, and the obscure garb of words in which he had clothed them. On the feelings he entertained on this subject, we find him afterwards writing to Dr John Stewart, and we shall here quote a rather mutilated fragment of this epistle, which has

⁵ Works, i. p. 335.

⁶ Tytler's Life of Kames.

hitherto been unprinted, and is interesting as containing an illustration of his arguments on belief:—"Allow me to tell you that I never asserted so absurd a proposition, as that any thing might arise without a cause. I only maintained that our certainty of the falsehood of that proposition proceeded neither from intuition nor demonstration, but from another source. That Cesar existed, that there is such an island as Sicily; for these propositions, I affirm, we have no demonstration nor intuitive proof. Would you infer that I deny their truth, or even their certainty? and some of them as satisfactory to the mind, though, perhaps, not so regular as the demonstrative kind. Where a man of sense mistakes my meaning, I own I am angry, but it is only with myself, for having expressed my meaning so ill as to have given occasion to the mistake. That you may see I would no way scruple of owning my mistakes in argument, I shall acknowledge (what is infinitely more material) a very great mistake in conduct; viz. my publishing at all the Treatise of Human Nature, a book which pretended to innovate in all the sublimest parts of philosophy, and which I composed before I was five and twenty. Above all, the positive air which pervades that book, and which may be imputed to the ardour of youth, so much displeases me, that I have not patience to review it. I am willing to be unheeded by the public, though human life is so short that I despair of ever seeing the decision. I wish I had always confined myself to the more easy paths of erudition; but you will excuse me from submitting to proverbial decision, let it even be in Greek."

The effect produced on the literary world by the appearance of the Treatise on Human Nature, was not flattering to a young author. "Never literary attempt," says Mr Hume, "was more unfortunate than my 'Treatise on Human Nature. It fell *dead-born from the press*, without reaching such distinction, as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted with great ardour my studies in the country." The equanimity, and contempt for public opinion which Hume has here arrogated to himself, seems to have been considered as somewhat doubtful, on the ground of the following curious statement in Dr Kenrick's London Review:—"His disappointment at the public reception of his Essay on Human Nature, had indeed a violent effect on his passions in a particular instance; it not having dropped so *dead-born* from the press but that it was severely handled by the reviewers of those times, in a publication entitled, *The Works of the Learned*; a circumstance which so highly provoked our young philosopher, that he flew in a violent rage to demand satisfaction of Jacob Robinson, the publisher, whom he kept, during the paroxysm of his anger, at his sword's point, trembling behind the counter, lest a period should be put to the life of a sober critic by a raving philosopher." Mr John Hill Burton, in his life of Hume, observes—"There is nothing in the story to make it in itself incredible; for Hume was far from being that docile mass of imperturbability which so large a portion of the world have taken him for. But the anecdote requires authentication, and has it not. Moreover, there are circumstances strongly against its truth. Hume was in Scotland at the time when the criticism on his work was published; he did not visit London for some years afterwards; and to believe the story, we must look upon it not as a momentary ebullition of passion, but as a manifestation of long-treasured resentment; a circumstance inconsistent with his character, inconsistent with human nature in general, and not in keeping with the modified tone of dissatisfaction with the criticism, evinced in his correspondence." We have perused with much interest the article in "*The Works of the Learned*" above alluded to, and it was certainly not likely to engender calm feelings in the mind of the author reviewed. It is of some length, attempting no philosophical confutation, but from the in-

geny with which the most objectionable passages of the Treatise are brought forward to stand in naked grotesqueness without connexion, it must have come from some one who had carefully perused the book, and from no ordinary writer. The vulgar raillery with which it is filled might point out Warburton, but then the critic does not call the author a liar, a knave, or a fool, and the following almost prophetic passage with which the critic concludes (differing considerably in tone from the other parts), could not possibly have emanated from the head and heart of the great defender of the church: "It bears, indeed, incontestable marks of a great capacity, of a soaring genius, but young, and not yet thoroughly practised. The subject is vast and noble, as any that can exercise the understanding; but it requires a very mature judgment to handle it as becomes its dignity and importance; the utmost prudence, tenderness, and delicacy, are requisite to this desirable issue. Time and use may ripen these qualities in our author; and we shall probably have reason to consider this, compared with his later productions, in the same light as we view the *juvenile* works of *Milton* or the first manner of a *Raphael*."

The third part of Mr Hume's Treatise of Human Nature was published in 1740: it treated the subject of morals, and was divided into two parts, the first discussing "Virtue and Vice in general," the second treating of "Justice and Injustice." The scope of this essay is to show that there is no abstract and certain distinction betwixt moral good and evil, and while it admits a sense of virtue to have a practical existence in the mind of every human being, (however it may have established itself,) it draws a distinction betwixt those virtues of which every man's sense of right is capable of taking cognizance; and justice, which it maintains to be an artificial virtue, erected certainly on the general wish of mankind to act rightly, but a virtue which men do not naturally follow, until a system is invented by human means, and based on reasonable principles of general utility to the species, which shows men what is just, and what is unjust, and can best be followed by the man who has best studied its general artificial form, in conjunction with its application to utility, and who brings the most acute perception and judgment to assist him in the task.⁸ Before publishing this part of the work, Hume submitted the manuscript to Francis Hutcheson, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow, whose opinions he was more disposed to receive with deference than those of any other man. Nevertheless, it was only in matters of detail that he would consent to be guided by that eminent person. The fundamental principles of the system he firmly defended. The correspondence which passed betwixt them shows how far Hume saw into the depths of the utilitarian system, and proves that it was more completely formed in his mind than it appeared in his book. "To every virtuous action (says he) there must be a motive or impelling passion distinct from the virtue, and virtue can never be the sole motive to any action." The greater plainness of the subject, and its particular reference to the hourly duties of life, made this essay more interesting to moral philosophers, and laid it more widely open to criticism, than the Treatise on the Understanding, and even that on the Passions. The extensive reference to principles of utility, produced discussions to which it were an idle and endless work here to refer; but without any disrespect to those celebrated men who have directly combated the principles of this work, and supported totally different theories of the formation of morals, those

⁸ Thus this portion of the system bore a considerable resemblance to the theory so elaborately expounded in the *Leviathan* of Hobbes, with this grand distinction, that Hume, while maintaining the necessity that a system of justice should be framed, does not maintain that it had its origin in the natural injustice of mankind, and their hatred of each other, nor does he attribute the formation of the system to a complicated social contract, like that which occurred to the mind of the *Maldesbury* philosopher.

who have twisted the principles of the author into excuses for vice and immorality, and the destruction of all inducements to the practice of virtue, deserve only the fame of being themselves the fabricators of the crooked morality of which they have endeavoured to cast the odium upon another. When Mr Hume says, "The necessity of justice to the support of society is the sole foundation of that virtue: and since no moral excellence is more highly esteemed, we may conclude, that this circumstance of usefulness has, in general, the strongest energy, and most entire command over our sentiments. It must, therefore, be the source of a considerable part of the merit ascribed to humanity, benevolence, friendship, public spirit, and other social virtues of that stamp; as it is the sole source of the moral approbation paid to fidelity, justice, veracity, integrity, and those other estimable and useful qualities and principles:"—it was not difficult for those benevolent guardians of the public mind, who sat in watch to intercept such declarations, to hold such an opinion up to public indignation, and to maintain that it admitted every man to examine his actions by his own sense of their utility, and to commit vice by the application of a theory of expediency appropriated to the act. It is not necessary to be either a vindicator or assailant of Mr Hume's theory, to perceive that what he has traced back to the original foundation of expediency, is not by him made different in its practice and effects, from those which good men of all persuasions in religion and philosophy admit. While he told men that he had traced the whole system of the morality they practised, to certain principles different from those generally admitted, he did not tell men to alter their natural reverence for virtue or abhorrence towards vice; the division betwixt good and evil had been formed, and while giving his opinion *how* it had been formed, he did not dictate a new method of regulating human actions, and except in the hands of those who applied his theories of the origin of virtue and vice, to the totally different purpose of an application to their practice in individual cases, he did no more to break down the barriers of distinction betwixt them, than he who first suggested that the organs of sight merely presented to the mind the *reflections* of visible objects, may be supposed to have done to render the mind less certain of the existence of external objects. "There is no spectacle," says the author, "so fair and beautiful as a noble and generous action; nor any which gives us more abhorrence than one which is cruel and treacherous. No enjoyment equals the satisfaction we receive from the company of those we love and esteem; as the greatest of all punishments is to be obliged to pass our lives with those we hate or contemn. A very play or romance may afford us instances of this pleasure which virtue conveys to us, and the pain which arises from vice;"⁹ and it would be difficult to find in this elaborate essay, any remark to contradict the impression of the author's views, which every candid mind must receive from such a declaration.

The neglect with which his first production was received by the public, while it did not abate the steady industry of its author, turned his attention for a time to subjects which might be more acceptable to general readers, and in the calm retirement of his brother's house at Ninewells, where he pursued his studies with solitary zeal, he prepared two volumes of unconnected dissertations, entitled "Essays Moral and Philosophical," which he published in 1742. These essays he had intended to have published in weekly papers, after the method pursued by the authors of the Spectator; "but," he observes, in an advertisement prefixed to the first edition, "having dropped that undertaking, partly from laziness, partly from want of leisure, and being willing to make trial of my talents for writing before I ventured upon any more serious compositions, I was induced to commit these trifles to the judgment of the public." A

⁹ Works, ii. 237.

few of the subjects of these essays are the following: "Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion," "That Politics may be reduced to a Science," "Of the Independency of Parliament," "Of the Parties in Great Britain," "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm," "Of Liberty and Despotism," "Of Eloquence," "Of Simplicity and Refinement," "A character of Sir Robert Walpole," &c. Of these miscellaneous productions we cannot venture the most passing analysis, in a memoir which must necessarily be brief: of their general character it may be sufficient to say, that his style of writing, which in his Treatise was far from approaching the purity and elegance of composition which he afterwards displayed, had made a rapid advance to excellence, and that the reading world quickly discovered from the justness and accuracy of his views, the elegance of his sentiments, and the clear precision with which he stated his arguments, that the subtle calculator of the origin of all human knowledge could direct an acute eye to the proceedings of the world around him, and that he was capable of making less abstract calculations on the motives which affected mankind. A few of these essays, which he seems to have denounced as of too light a nature to accompany his other works, were not republished during his life; among the subjects of these are "Impudence and Modesty," "Love and Marriage," "Avarice," &c. Although these have been negatively stigmatized by their author, a general reader will find much gratification in their perusal: the subjects are handled with the careless touch of a satirist, and in drawing so lightly and almost playfully pictures of what is contemptible and ridiculous, one can scarcely avoid the conviction that such is the aspect in which the author wishes to appear; but on the other hand there is such a complete absence of all grotesqueness, of exaggeration, or attempt at ridicule, that it is apparent he is drawing a picture of what he knows to be unchangeably rooted in human nature, and that knowing raillery to be useless, he is content as a philosopher merely to depict the deformity which cannot be altered. Among the essays he did not re-publish, is the "Character of Sir Robert Walpole," a singular specimen of the author's ability to abstract himself from the political feelings of the time, calmly describing the character of a living statesman, whose conduct was perhaps more feverishly debated by his friends and enemies than that of almost any minister in any nation, as if he were a person of a distant age, with which the author had no sympathy, or of a land with which he was only acquainted through the pages of the traveller. It was after the publication of this work that Hume first enjoyed the gratification of something like public applause. "The work," he says, "was favourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment." He still rigidly adhered to his plans of economy and retirement, and continued to reside at Ninewells, applying himself to the study of Greek, which he had previously neglected. In 1745, he was invited to become tutor to the marquis of Annandale, a young nobleman whose state of mind at that period rendered a superintendent necessary; and though the situation must have been one not conducive to study, or pleasing to such a mind as that of Hume, he found that his circumstances would not justify a refusal of the invitation, and he continued for the period of a year in the family of the marquis.

During his residence in this family, the death of Mr Cleghorn, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, caused a vacancy, which Mr Hume very naturally considered he might be capable of filling. The patrons of the university, however, and their advisers, took a different view of the matter, and judged that they would be at least more safe, in considering a person of his reputed principles of philosophy, as by no means a proper instructor of youth: nor were virulence and party feeling unmingled with cool judgment in fixing their choice. "I am informed," says Hume, in one of his playful letters

addressed to his friend Mr Sharp of Hoddam, "that such a popular clamour has been raised against me in Edinburgh, on account of scepticism, heterodoxy, and other hard names which confound the ignorant, that my friends find some difficulty in working out the point of my professorship, which once appeared so easy. Did I need a testimonial for my orthodoxy, I should certainly appeal to you; for you know that I always imitated Job's friends, and defended the cause of providence when you attacked it, on account of the headaches you felt after a debauch, but as a more particular explication of that particular seems superfluous, I shall only apply to you for a renewal of your good offices, with your friend lord Tinwald, whose interest with Yetts and Allan may be of service to me. There is no time to lose; so that I must beg you to be speedy in writing to him, or speaking to him on that head." The successful candidate was Mr James Balfour, advocate, a gentleman who afterwards became slightly known to the literary world as the author of "A Delineation of the Nature and Obligations of Morality, with reflections on Mr Hume's Inquiry concerning the principles of Morals," a work which has died out of remembrance, but the candid spirit of which prompted Hume to write a complimentary letter to the (then) anonymous author. The disappointment of not being able to obtain a situation so desirable as affording a respectable and permanent salary, and so suited to his studies, seems to have preyed more heavily than any other event in his life, on the spirits of Mr Hume; and with the desire of being independent of the world, he seems for a short time to have hesitated whether he should continue his studies, or at once relinquish the pursuit of philosophical fame, by joining the army.

During the ensuing year, his desire to be placed in a situation of respectability was to a certain extent gratified, by his being appointed secretary to lieutenant-general St Clair, who had been chosen to command an expedition avowedly against Canada, but which terminated in a useless incursion on the coast of France. In the year 1747, general St Clair was appointed to superintend an embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin, and declining to accept a secretary from government, Hume, for whom he seems to have entertained a partiality, accompanied him in his former capacity. He here enjoyed the society of Sir Henry Erskine and captain (afterwards general) Grant, and mixing a little with the world, and joining in the fashionable society of the places which he visited, he seems to have enjoyed a partial relaxation from his philosophical labours. Although he mentions that these two years were almost the only interruptions which his studies had received during the course of his life, he does not seem to have entirely neglected his pursuits as an author; in a letter to his friend Henry Home, he hints at the probability of his devoting his time to historical subjects, and continues, "I have here two things going on, a new edition of my *Essays*, all of which you have seen except *one* of the Protestant succession, where I treat that subject as coolly and indifferently as I would the dispute betwixt Cesar and Pompey. The conclusion shows me a whig, but a very sceptical one."¹⁰

Lord Charlemont, who at this period met with Mr Hume at Turin, has given the following account of his habits and appearance, penned apparently with a greater aim at effect than at truth, yet somewhat characteristic of the philosopher: "Nature I believe never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful in that science pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his mind, in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes vacant and spiritless; and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a

¹⁰ Tytler's Life of Kames.

turtle-eating alderman than of a refined philosopher. His speech in English was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scottish accent, and his French, was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old,¹¹ he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing a uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the train-bands. Sinclair was a lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was therefore thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer; and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet.¹²

The letter to Mr Home we have quoted above, gives an idea of the literary employments of the author during the intervals of his official engagements at Turin, and on his return to Britain he exhibited the fruit of his labour in a second edition of his "Essays, Moral and Political," which was published in 1748, with four additional essays, and in a re-construction of the first part of his Treatise of Human Nature, which he published immediately after, under the title "Philosophical Essays concerning the Human Understanding," and formed the first part of the well-known corrected digest of the Treatise of Human Nature, into the "Inquiry concerning Human Nature." In the advertisement the author informs the public that "most of the principles and reasonings in this volume were published in a work in three volumes, called A Treatise of Human Nature, a work which the author had projected before he left college, and which he wrote and published not long after. The philosophy of this work is essentially the same as that of which he had previously sketched a more rude and complicated draught. The object, (or more properly speaking, the conclusion arrived at, for the person who sets out without admissions, and inquires whether any thing can be *ascertained* in philosophy, can scarcely be said to have an *object* in view,) is the same system of doubt which he previously expounded; a scepticism, not like that of Boyle and others, which merely went to show the uncertainty of the conclusions attending particular species of argument, but a sweeping argument to show that by the structure of the understanding, the result of all investigations, on all subjects, must ever be doubt." The Inquiry must be to every reader a work far more pleasing, and we may even say, instructive, than the Treatise. While many of the more startling arguments, assuming the appearance of paradoxes, sometimes indistinctly connected with the subject, are omitted, others are laid down in a clearer form; the whole is subjected to a more compact arrangement, and the early style of the writer, which to many natural beauties, united a considerable feebleness and occasional harshness, makes in this work a very near approach to the elegance and classic accuracy, which much perseverance, and a refined taste enabled the author to acquire in the more advanced period of his life. Passing over, as our limits must compel us, any attempt at an analytical comparison of the two works, and a narrative of the changes in the author's opinions, we must not omit the circumstance, that the Essay on Miracles, which it will be remembered the author withheld from his Treatise, was attached to the Inquiry, probably after a careful revision and correction. Locke had hinted in a few desultory observations the grounds of a disbelief in the miracles attributed to the early Christian church, and Dr Conyers Middleton, in his Free Inquiry into the miraculous powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian church from the earliest ages,

¹¹ His lordship must have made a mis-calculation. Hume was then only in his 38th year.

¹² Hardy's Life of lord Charlemont, p. 8.

published very nearly at the same period with the Essay of Hume, struck a more decided blow at all supernatural agency beyond what was justified by the sacred Scriptures, and approached by his arguments a dangerous neighbourhood to an interference with what he did not avowedly attack. Hume considered the subject as a general point in the human understanding to which he admitted no exceptions. The argument of this remarkable essay is too well known to require an explanation; but the impartiality too often infringed when the works of this philosopher are the subject of consideration, requires that it should be kept in mind, that he treats the proof of miracles, as he does that of the existence of matter, in a manner purely sceptical, with this practical distinction,—that supposing a person is convinced of, or chooses to say he believes in the abstract existence of matter, independent of the mere impressions conveyed by the senses, there is still room to *doubt* that miracles have been worked. It would have been entirely at variance with the principles of scepticism to have maintained that miracles were not, and could not have been performed, according to the laws of nature; but the argument of Mr Hume certainly leans to the practical conclusion, that our uncertainty as to what we are said to have *experienced*, expands into a greater uncertainty of the existence of miracles, which are contrary to the course of our experience; because belief in evidence is founded entirely on our belief in experience, and on the circumstance, that what we hear from the testimony of others coincides with the current of that experience; and whenever testimony is contradictory to the current of our experience, the latter is the more probable, and should we be inclined to *believe* in it, we must at least *doubt* the former. Thus the author concludes “That no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish: and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior.” The application of his argument to the doctrines of Christianity he conceives to be, that “it may serve to confound those dangerous friends, or disguised enemies to the Christian religion, who have undertaken to defend it by the principles of human reason; our most holy religion is founded on *faith*, not on reason; and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fitted to endure.”¹³ Hume is repeatedly at pains to protest against his being supposed to be arguing in the essay against the Christian faith. These protests, however, as his biographer, Mr Burton, is constrained to admit, were uttered briefly and coldly, and in such a manner as made people feel, that if Hume believed in the doctrines of the Bible, he certainly had not his heart in them. A want of proper deference for religious feeling (adds this writer) is a defect that runs through all his works. There is no ribaldry, but at the same time there are no expressions of decent reverence. It is to be observed, also, that the argument of Hume against miracles is still a favourite weapon of the enemies of revealed religion. At the same time, it must be admitted that under proper regulation, the argument is of use in defining the boundaries of inductive reasoning, and in this way has proved undoubtedly serviceable to the progress of science.

The work by Dr Campbell in confutation of this essay, at first produced in the form of a sermon, and afterwards expanded into a treatise, which was published in 1762, is well known and appreciated. This admirable and conclusive production, while yet in manuscript, was shown to Hume by Dr Blair. Hume was much pleased with the candour of the transaction; he remarked a few passages hardly in accordance with the calm feelings of the other

¹³ Works, iv. 135, 153

portions of the work, which at his suggestion the author amended; and he personally wrote to Dr Campbell, with his usual calm politeness, thanking him for treatment so unexpected from a clergyman of the church of Scotland; and, with the statement that he had made an early resolution not to answer attacks on his opinions, acknowledged that he never felt so violent an inclination to defend himself. The respect which Campbell admitted himself to entertain for the sceptic is thus expressed:

“The Essay on Miracles deserves to be considered as one of the most dangerous attacks that have been made on our religion. The danger results not solely from the merit of the *piece*: it results much more from that of the *author*. The piece itself, like every other work of Mr Hume, is ingenious; but its merit is more of the oratorical kind than of the philosophical. The merit of the *author*, I acknowledge, is great. The many useful volumes he has published of *history*, as well as on *criticism*, *politics*, and *trade*, have justly procured him, with all persons of taste and discernment, the highest reputation as a writer. * * In such *analysis* and *exposition*, which I own, I have attempted without ceremony or reserve, an air of *ridicule* is unavoidable; but this *ridicule*, I am well aware, if founded on *misrepresentation*, will at last rebound upon myself.”¹¹

Dr Campbell was a man of strong good sense, and knew well the description of argument which the world would best appreciate, approve, and comprehend, in answer to the perplexing subtleties of his opponent. He struck at the root of the system of perceptions merging into experience, and experience regulating the value of testimony, which had been erected by his adversary,—and appealing, not to the passions and feelings in favour of religion, but to the common convictions which we deem to be founded on reason, and cannot separate from our minds, maintained that “testimony has a natural and original influence on belief, antecedent to experience,” from which position he proceeded to show, that the miracles of the gospel had received attestation sufficient to satisfy the reason. With his usual soundness and good sense, though scarcely with the profundity which the subject required, Dr Paley joined the band of confutors, while he left Hume to triumph in the retention of the effects attributed to experience, maintaining that the principle so established was counteracted by our natural expectation that the Deity should manifest his existence, by doing such acts contrary to the established order of the universe, as would plainly show that order to be of his own fabrication, and at his own command.

Before leaving the subject of the Inquiry concerning Human Understanding, we may mention that Mr Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria*, has accused Hume of plagiarizing the exposition of the Principles of Association in that work, from the unexpected source of the Commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, on the *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle, and the charge, with however much futility it may be supported, demands, when coming from so celebrated a man, the consideration of the biographer. Mr Coleridge’s words are, “In consulting the excellent Commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, on the *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle, I was struck at once with its close resemblance to Hume’s *Essay* on Association. The main thoughts were the same in both, the *order* of the thoughts was the same, and even the illustrations differed only by Hume’s occasional substitution of modern examples. I mentioned the circumstance to several of my literary acquaintances, who admitted the closeness of the resemblance, and that it seemed too great to be explained by mere coincidence; but they thought it improbable that Hume should have held the pages of the angelic doctor worth turning over. But some time after, Mr Payne, of the King’s Mews, showed Sir

¹¹ Edit. 1797, Advert. p. viii.

James Mackintosh some odd volumes of St Thomas Aquinas, partly, perhaps, from having heard that Sir James (then Mr) Mackintosh, had, in his lectures, passed a high encomium on this canonized philosopher, but chiefly from the facts, that the volumes had belonged to Mr Hume, and had here and there marginal marks and notes of reference in his own hand-writing. Among these volumes was that which contains the *Parva Naturalia*, in the old Latin version, swathed and swaddled in the commentary afore mentioned." When a person has spent much time in the perusal of works so unlikely to be productive, as those of Aquinas, the discovery of any little coincidence, or of any idea that may attract attention, is a fortunate incident, of which the discoverer cannot avoid informing the world, that it may see what he has been doing, and the coincidence in question is such as might have excused an allusion to the subject, as a curiosity. But it was certainly a piece of (no doubt heedless) disingenuousness on the part of Mr Coleridge, to make so broad and conclusive a statement, without accompanying it with a comparison. "We have read," says a periodical paper alluding to this subject, "the whole commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, and we challenge Mr Coleridge to produce from it a single illustration, or expression of any kind, to be found in Hume's essay. The whole scope and end of Hume's essay is not only different from that of St Thomas Aquinas, but there is not in the commentary of the 'angelic doctor' one idea which in any way resembles, or can be made to resemble, the beautiful illustration of the prince of sceptics."¹⁵ The theory of Hume on the subject as corrected in his Inquiry, is thus expressed: "To me, there appear to be only three principles of connexion among ideas, namely, *resemblance*, *contiguity*, in time or place, and *cause* or *effect*. That these principles serve to connect ideas, will not, I believe, be much doubted. A picture naturally leads our thoughts to the original. The mention of one apartment in a building naturally introduces an inquiry or discourse concerning the others; and if we think of a wound, we can scarcely forbear reflecting on the pain which follows it."¹⁶ From a comparison of this, with what Mr Coleridge must have presumed to be the corresponding passage in Aquinas,¹⁷ it will be perceived that a natural wish to make the most of his reading had prompted him to propound the discovery. Had no other person besides Aquinas endeavoured to point out the regulating principles of association, and had Hume with such a passage before him pretended to have been the first to have discovered them, there might have been grounds for the accusation; but the methods of connexion discovered by philosophers in different ages, have been numerous, and almost always correct, as *secondary* principles. It was the object of Hume to gather these into a thread, and going back to principles as limited and ultimate as he could reach, to state as nearly as possible, not all the methods by which ideas were associated, but to set bounds to the abstract principles under which these methods might be classed. Aquinas, on the other hand, by no means sets bounds to the principles of association; he gives three *methods* of association, and in the matter of *number* resembles Hume; but had he given *twenty* methods, he might have more nearly embraced what Hume has embraced within his three principles. The method of association by resemblance is the

¹⁵ Blackwood's Magazine, v. iii. 656.

¹⁶ Works, iv. p. 26.

¹⁷ The passage is as follows: "similiter etiam quandoque reminiscitur aliquis incipiens ab aliqua re, cujus memoratur a qua procedit ad aliam *triplici ratione*. Quandoque quidem ratione *similitudinis*, sicut quando aliquis memoratur de Socrate, et per hoc occurrit ei Plato, qui est similis ei in sapientia; quandoque vero ratione *contrarietatis*, sicut si aliquis memoretur Hectoris, et per hoc occurrit ei Achilles. Quandoque vero ratione *propinquitatis* cujuscuque, sicut cum aliquis memor est patris, et per hoc occurrit ei filius. Et eadem ratio est de quacunque alia propinquitate vel societatis, vel loci, vel temporis, et propter hoc fit reminiscencia, quia motus horum se invicem consequuntur."

only one stated by both : with regard to the second principle by Aquinas, contrariety, from the illustration with which he has accompanied it, he appears to mean local or physical opposition, such as the opposition of two combatants in a battle, and not the interpretation now generally bestowed on the term by philosophers. But supposing him to have understood it in the latter sense, Hume has taken pains to show that contrariety cannot easily be admitted as a fourth ultimate principle : thus in a note he says, " For instance, contrast or contrariety is also a connexion among ideas, but it may perhaps be considered as a mixture of *causation* and *resemblance*. Where two objects are contrary, the one destroys the other ; that is, is the cause of its annihilation, and the idea of the annihilation of an object, implies the idea of its former existence." Aquinas, it will be remarked, entirely omits " cause and effect," and his " contiguity" is of a totally different nature from that of Hume, since it embraces an illustration which Hume would have referred to the principle of " cause and effect."

" I had always," says Hume, in reference to the work we have just been noticing, " entertained a notion that my want of success in publishing the *Treatise of Human Nature*, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter, and that I had been guilty of a very usual indiscretion, in going to the press too early. I, therefore, cast the first part of the work anew, in the *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, which was published while I was at Turin. But this piece was at first little more successful than the *Treatise of Human Nature*. On my return from Italy, I had the mortification to find all England in a ferment, on account of Dr Middleton's *Free Inquiry*, while my performance was entirely overlooked and neglected."

About this period, Hume suffered the loss of a mother, who, according to his own account, when speaking of his earlier days, was " a woman of singular merit, who, though young and handsome, devoted herself entirely to the rearing of her children ;" and the philosopher seems to have regarded her with a strong and devoted affection. He was a man whose disposition led him to unite himself to the world by few of the ordinary ties, but the few which imperceptibly held him, were not broken without pain ; on these occasions the philosopher yielded to the man, and the cold sceptic discovered the feelings with which nature had gifted him, which at other moments lay chained by the bonds of his powerful reason. A very different account of the effect of this event, from what we have just now stated, is given in the passage we are about to quote (as copied in the *Quarterly Review*,) from the travels of the American Silliman. Without arguing as to the probability or improbability of its containing a true statement, let us remark that it is destitute of *proof*, a quality it amply requires, being given by the traveller forty years after the death of the philosopher, from the report of an individual, while the circumstance is not one which would have probably escaped the religious zeal of some of Mr Hume's commentators.

" It seems that Hume received a religious education from his mother, and early in life was the subject of strong and hopeful religious impressions ; but as he approached manhood they were effaced, and confirmed infidelity succeeded. Maternal partiality, however, alarmed at first, came at length to look with less and less pain upon this declension, and filial love and reverence seem to have been absorbed in the pride of philosophical scepticism ; for Hume now applied himself with unwearied and unhappily with successful efforts, to sap the foundation of his mother's faith. Having succeeded in this dreadful work, he went abroad into foreign countries ; and as he was returning, an express met him in London, with a letter from his mother, informing him that she was in a deep decline, and could not long survive : she said she found herself without any support in her distress : that he had taken away that source of comfort upon which, in all cases

of affliction, she used to rely, and that she now found her mind sinking into despair. She did not doubt but her son would afford her some substitute for her religion, and she conjured him to hasten to her, or at least to send her a letter, containing such consolations as philosophy can afford to a dying mortal. Hume was overwhelmed with anguish on receiving this letter, and hastened to Scotland, travelling day and night; but before he arrived, his mother expired. No permanent impression seems, however, to have been made on his mind by this most trying event; and whatever remorse he might have felt at the moment, he soon relapsed into his wonted obduracy of heart."

On the appearance of this anecdote, Baron Hume, the philosopher's nephew, communicated to the editor of the Quarterly Review the following anecdote, of a more pleasing nature, connected with the same circumstance; and while it is apparent that it stands on better ground, we may mention that it is acknowledged by the reviewer as an authenticated contradiction to the statement of Silliman. "David and he (the hon. Mr Boyle, brother of the earl of Glasgow) were both in London, *at the period when David's mother died.* Mr Boyle, hearing of it, soon after went into his apartment, for they lodged in the same house, where he found him in the deepest affliction, and in a flood of tears. After the usual topics of condolence, Mr Boyle said to him, 'My friend, you owe this uncommon grief to your having thrown off the principles of religion; for if you had not, you would have been consoled with the firm belief, that the good lady, who was not only the best of mothers, but the most pious of Christians, was completely happy in the realms of the just.' To which David replied, 'Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical world, yet, in other things, I do not think so differently from the rest of mankind as you imagine.'"

Hume returned, in 1749, to the retirement of his brother's house at Nine-wells, and during a residence there for two years, continued his remodeling of his *Treatise of Human Nature*, and prepared for the press his celebrated *Political Discourses*. The former production appeared in 1751, under the title of an "Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals," published by Millar, the celebrated bookseller. Hume considered this the most perfect of his works, and it is impossible to resist admiration of the clearness of the arguments, and the beautiful precision of the theories; the world, however, did not extend to it the balmy influence of popularity, and it appeared to the author, that all his literary efforts were doomed to the unhappy fate of being little regarded at first, and of gradually decaying into oblivion. "In my opinion," he says, "(who ought not to judge on that subject.) [it] is, of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the world."

In 1753, and during the author's residence in Edinburgh, appeared his "Political Discourses." The subjects of these admirable essays were of interest to every one, the method of treating them was comprehensible to persons of common discernment; above all, they treated subjects on which the prejudices of few absolutely refused conviction by argument, and the author had the opportunity of being appreciated and admired, even when telling truths. The book in these circumstances, was, in the author's words, "the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication. It was well received abroad and at home." The chief subjects were, "Commerce, money, interest, the balance of trade, the populousness of ancient nations, the idea of a perfect commonwealth." Sir Josiah Child, Sir William Petty, Hobbes, and Locke, had previously given the glimmerings of more liberal principles on trade and manufacture than those which they saw practised, and hinted at the common prejudices

on the use of money and the value of labour; but Hume was the first to sketch an outline of some branches of the benevolent system of political economy framed by his illustrious friend, Adam Smith. He laid down labour as the only criterion of all value, made a near approach to an ascertainment of the true value of the precious metals, a point not yet fully fixed among economists; discovered the baneful effects of commercial limitations as obliging the nation to trade in a less profitable manner than it would choose to do if unconstrained, and predicted the dangerous consequences of the funding system. The essay on the populousness of ancient nations, was a sceptical analysis of the authorities on that subject, doubting their accuracy, on the principle of political economy that the number of the inhabitants of a nation must have a ratio to its fruitfulness and *their* industry. The essay was elaborately answered by Dr Wallace, in a Dissertation of the Numbers of Mankind, but that gentleman only produced a host of those "authorities," the efficacy of which Mr Hume has doubted on principle. This essay is an extremely useful practical application of the doctrines in the Essay on Miracles. Mr Hume's 'idea of a perfect commonwealth,' has been objected to as an impracticable system. The author probably had the wisdom to make this discovery himself, and might have as soon expected it to be applicable to practice, as a geometrician might dream of his angles, straight lines, and points, being literally accomplished in the measurement of an estate, or the building of a house. The whole represents men without passions or prejudices working like machines; and Hume no doubt admitted, that while passion, prejudice, and habit, forbade the safe attempt of such projects, such abstract structures ought to be held up to the view of the legislator, as the forms into which, so far as he can do it with safety, he ought to stretch the systems under his administration. Plato, More, Harrington, Hobbes, and (according to some accounts,) Berkeley¹⁸ had employed their ingenuity in a similar manner, and Hume seems to have considered it worthy of his attention.

In February, 1752, David Hume succeeded the celebrated Ruddiman, as librarian to the Faculty of Advocates. The salary was at that time very trifling, somewhere we believe about £40, but the duties were probably little more than nominal, and the situation was considered an acquisition to a man of literary habits. It was, with this ample field of authority at his command, that he seems to have finally determined to write a portion of the History of England. In 1757, he relinquished this appointment on his removing to London, when preparing for publication the History of the House of Tudor.

In 1752, appeared the first (published) volume of the History of England, embracing the period from the accession of the house of Stuart, to the death of Charles the First; and passing over intermediate events, we may mention that the next volume, containing a continuation of the series of events to the period of the Revolution, appeared in 1756, and the third, containing the History of the house of Tudor, was published in 1759. "I was, I own," says the author with reference to the first volume, "sanguine in my expectations of the success of this work. I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment; I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scottish, and Irish, whig and tory, churchman and sectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man, who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink

into oblivion." Of the second he says, "This performance happened to give less displeasure to the whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother." Of the History of England it is extremely difficult to give a fair and unbiassed opinion, because, while the author is, in general, one of the most impartial writers on this subject, it is scarcely a paradox to say, that the few partialities in which he has indulged, have done more to warp the mind than the violent prejudices of others. Previous to his history, those who wrote on political subjects ranged themselves in parties, and each man proclaimed with open mouth the side for which he was about to argue, and men heard him as a special pleader. Hume looked over events with the eye of a philosopher; he seemed to be careless of the extent of the good or bad of either party. On neither side did he abuse, on neither did he laud or even justify. The side which he adopted seldom enjoyed approbation or even vindication, and only in apology did he distinguish it from that to which he was inimical. From this peculiarity, the opinions to which he leaned acquired strength from the suffrage of one so apparently impartial and unconcerned. Notwithstanding the prejudices generally attributed however to Hume as an historian, we cannot set him down as an enemy to liberty. No man had grander views of the power of the human mind, and of the higher majesty of intellect, when compared with the external attributes of rank; and the writings of a republican could not exceed in depicting this feeling, the picture he has drawn of the parliament of Charles the First, and of the striking circumstances of the king's condemnation. The instances in which he has shown himself to be inconsistent, may, perhaps, be more attributed to his habits, than to his opinions. His indolent benevolence prompted a sympathy with the oppressed, and he felt a reluctance to justify those who assumed the aspect of active assailants, from whatever cause; while in matters of religion, viewing all persuasions in much the same aspect, unprejudiced himself, he felt a contempt for those who indulged in prejudice, and was more inclined to censure than to vindicate those who acted from religious impulse. With all his partialities, however, let those who study the character of the author while they read his history recollect, that he never made literature bow to rank, that he never flattered a great man to obtain a favour, and that, though long poor, he was always independent. Of the seeming contradiction between his life and opinions, we quote the following applicable remarks from the Edinburgh Review:

"Few things seem more unaccountable, and indeed absurd, than that Hume should have taken part with high church and high monarchy men. The persecutions which he suffered in his youth from the presbyterians, may, perhaps, have influenced his ecclesiastical partialities. But that he should have sided with the Tudors and the Stuarts against the people, seems quite inconsistent with all the great traits of his character. His unrivaled sagacity must have looked with contempt on the preposterous arguments by which the *jus divinum* was maintained. His natural benevolence must have suggested the cruelty of subjecting the enjoyments of thousands to the caprice of one unfeeling individual: and his own practical independence in private life, might have taught him the value of those feelings which he has so mischievously derided. Mr Fox seems to have been struck with some surprise at this strange trait in the character of our philosopher. In a letter to Mr Laing he says, 'He was an excellent man, and of great powers of mind; but his partiality to kings and princes is intolerable. Nay, it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous: and is more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.'"

It would be a vain task to enumerate the controversial attacks on Hume's

History of England. Dr Hurd in his Dialogues on the English Constitution stoutly combated his opinions. Miller brought the force of his strongly thinking mind to a consideration of the subject at great length, but he assumed too much the aspect of a special pleader. Dr Birch and Dr Towers entered on minute examinations of particular portions of the narrative, and the late major Cartwright, with more fancy than reason, almost caricatured the opinions of those who considered that Hume had designedly painted the government of the Tudors in arbitrary colours, to relieve that of the Stuarts. Mr Laing appeared as the champion of the Scottish patriots, and Dr M'Crie as the vindicator of the presbyterians; and within these few past years, two elaborate works have fully examined the statements and representations of Hume,—the British Empire of Mr Brodie, and the extremely impartial Constitutional History of Hallam.

In the interval betwixt the publication of the first and second volumes of the History, Hume produced the "Natural History of Religion." This production is one of those which Warburton delighted to honour. In a pamphlet which Hume attributed to Hurd, he thus politely notices it: "The few excepted out of the whole race of mankind are, we see, our philosopher and his gang, with their pedlars' ware of matter and motion, who penetrate by their disquisitions into the secret structure of vegetable and animal bodies, to extract, like the naturalists in Gulliver, sunbeams out of cucumbers; just as wise a project as this of raising religion out of the intrigues of matter and motion. We see what the man would be at, through all his disguises, and no doubt, he would be much mortified if we did not; though the discovery we make, is only this, that, of all the slanders against revelation, this before us is the truest, the dirtiest, and the most worn in the drudgery of free-thinking, not but it may pass with his friends, and they have my free leave to make their best of it. What I quote it for, is only to show the rancour of heart which possesses this unhappy man, and which could induce him to employ an insinuation against the Christian and the Jewish religions; not only of no weight in itself, but of none, I will venture to say, even in his own opinion."¹⁹ Hume says, he "found by Warburton's railing" that his "books were beginning to be esteemed in good company;" and of the particular attention which the prelate bestowed on the sceptic, such specimens as the following are to be found in the correspondence of the former: "I am strongly tempted too, to have a stroke at Hume in parting. He is the author of a little book, called Philosophical Essays: in one of which he argues against the hope of a God, and in another (very needlessly you will say,) against the possibility of miracles. He has crowned the liberty of the press, and yet he has a considerable post under government. I have a great mind to do justice on his arguments against miracles, which I think might be done in few words. But does he deserve notice? Is he known among you? Pray answer me these questions; for if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory."²⁰

Of the very different manner in which he esteemed a calm, and a scurrilous critic, we have happily been able to obtain an instance, in a copy of a curious letter of Hume, which, although the envelope is unfortunately lost, and the whole is somewhat mutilated, we can perceive from the circumstances, to have been addressed to Dr John Stewart, author of an Essay on the Laws of Motion. It affords a singular instance of the calm and forgiving spirit of the philosopher: "I am so great a lover of peace, that I am resolved to drop this matter altogether, and not to insert a syllable in the preface, which can have a reference to your essay. The truth is, I could take no revenge but such a one as would have

¹⁹ Warburton's works, vii. 851, 868.

²⁰ Letters from a late Rev. Prelate, to one of his Friends, 1808, p. 11.

been a great deal too cruel, and much exceeding the offence; for though most authors think, that a contemptuous manner of treating their writings is but slightly revenged by hurting the personal character and the honour of their antagonists, I am very far from being of that opinion. Besides, as I am as certain as I can be of any thing, (and I am not such a sceptic as you may perhaps imagine,) that your inserting such remarkable alterations in the printed copy proceeded entirely from precipitancy and passion, not from any formed intention of deceiving the society, I would not take advantage of such an incident, to throw a slur on a man of merit, whom I esteem though I might have reason to complain of him. When I am abused by such a fellow as Warburton, whom I neither know nor care for, I can laugh at him. But if Dr Stewart approaches any way towards the same style of writing, I own it vexes me; because I conclude that some unguarded circumstances of my conduct, though contrary to my intention had given occasion to it. As to your situation with regard to lord Kames, I am not so good a judge. I only know, that you had so much the better of the argument that you ought upon that account to have been more reserved in your expressions. All raillery ought to be avoided in philosophical argument, both because (it is) unphilosophical, and because it cannot but be offensive, let it be ever so gentle. What then must we think with regard to so many insinuations of irreligion, to which lord Kames's paper gave not the least occasion? This spirit of the inquisitor is, in you, the effect of passion, and what a cool moment would easily correct. But when it predominates in the character, what ravages has it committed on reason, virtue, truth, sobriety, and every thing that is valuable among mankind!"—We may at this period of his life consider Hume as having reached the age when the mind has entirely ceased to bend to circumstances, and cannot be made to alter its habits. Speaking of him in this advanced period of his life, an author signing himself G. N. and detailing some anecdotes of Hume, with whom he says he was acquainted, states (in the Scots Magazine), that "his great views of being singular, and a vanity to show himself superior to most people, led him to advance many axioms that were dissonant to the opinions of others, and led him into sceptical doctrines, only to show how minute and puzzling they were to other folk; in so far, that I have often seen him (in various companies, according as he saw some enthusiastic person there), combat either their religious or political principles; nay, after he had struck them dumb, take up the argument on their side, with equal good humour, wit, and jocoseness, all to show his pre-eminency." The same person mentions his social feelings, and the natural disposition of his temper to flow with the current of whatever society he was in; and that while he never gambled he had a natural liking to whist playing, and was so accomplished a player as to be the subject of a shameless proposal on the part of a needy man of rank, for bettering their mutual fortunes, which it need not be said was repelled.

But the late lamented Henry M'Kenzie, who has attempted to embody the character of the sceptic in the beautiful fiction of *La Roche*, has drawn, from his intimate knowledge of character, and his great acquaintance with the philosopher, a more pleasing picture. His words are, "The unfortunate nature of his opinions with regard to the theoretical principles of moral and religious truth, never influenced his regard for men who held very opposite sentiments on those subjects, which he never, like some vain shallow sceptics, introduced into social discourse; on the contrary, when at any time the conversation tended that way, he was desirous rather of avoiding any serious discussion on matters which he wished to confine to the graver and less dangerous consideration of cool philosophy. He had, it might be said, in the language which the Grecian historian applies to an illustrious Roman, two minds; one which indulged in the meta-

physical scepticism which his genius could invent, but which it could not always disentangle; another, simple, natural, and playful, which made his conversation delightful to his friends, and even frequently conciliated men whose principles of belief his philosophical doubts, if they had not power to shake, had grieved and offended. During the latter period of his life I was frequently in his company amidst persons of genuine piety, and I never heard him venture a remark at which such men, or ladies—still more susceptible than men—could take offence. His good nature and benevolence prevented such an injury to his hearers; it was unfortunate that he often forgot what injury some of his writings might do to his readers.²¹

Hume was now a man of a very full habit, and somewhat given to indolence in all occupations but that of literature. An account of himself, in a letter to his relation Mrs Dysart may amuse from its calm pleasantry, and good humour: "My compliments to his solicitorship. Unfortunately I have not a horse at present to carry my fat carcass, to pay its respects to his superior obesity. But if he finds travelling requisite either for his health or the captain's, we shall be glad to entertain him here as long as we can do it at another's expense, in hopes that we shall soon be able to do it at our own. Pray, tell the solicitor that I have been reading lately, in an old author called Strabo, that in some cities of ancient Gaul, there was a fixed legal standard established for corpulency, and that the senate kept a measure, beyond which, if any belly presumed to increase, the proprietor of that belly was obliged to pay a fine to the public, proportionable to its rotundity. Ill would it fare with his worship and I (me), if such a law should pass our parliament, for I am afraid we are already got beyond the statute. I wonder, indeed, no harpy of the treasury has ever thought of this method of raising money. Taxes on luxury are always most approved of, and no one will say that the carrying about a portly belly is of any use or necessity. 'Tis a mere superfluous ornament, and is a proof too, that its proprietor enjoys greater plenty than he puts to a good use; and, therefore, 'tis fit to reduce him to a level with his fellow subjects, by taxes and impositions. As the lean people are the most active, unquiet, and ambitious, they every where govern the world, and may certainly oppress their antagonists whenever they please. Heaven forbid that whig and tory should ever be abolished, for then the nation might be split into fat and lean, and our faction I am afraid would be in a piteous taking. The only comfort is, if they oppress us very much we should at last change sides with them. Besides, who knows if a tax were imposed on fatness, but some jealous divine might pretend that the church was in danger. I cannot but bless the memory of Julius Cæsar, for the great esteem he expressed for fat men, and his aversion to lean ones. All the world allows that the emperor was the greatest genius that ever was, and the greatest judge of mankind."

In the year 1756, the philosophical calm of Hume appeared in danger of being disturbed by the fulminations of the church. The outcry against his doubting philosophy became loud, scepticism began to be looked on as synonymous with infidelity, and some of the fiercer spirits endeavoured to urge on the church to invade the sacred precincts of freedom of opinion. The discussion of the subject commenced before the committee of overtures on the 27th of May, and a long debate ensued, in which some were pleased to maintain, that Hume, not being a Christian, was not a fit person to be judged by the venerable court. For a more full narrative of those proceedings, we refer to the life of Henry Home of Kames, who was subjected to the same attempt at persecution. In an analysis of the works of the two authors, published during the session of the assembly, and circulated among the members, the respectable author, with a

²¹ M'Kenzie's Life of Home, p. 20.

laudable anxiety to find an enemy to the religion he professed, laid down the following, as propositions which he would be enabled to prove were the avowed opinions of Mr Hume :—“ 1st, All distinction between virtue and vice is merely imaginary—2nd, Justice has no foundation farther than it contributes to public advantage—3d, Adultery is very lawful, but sometimes not expedient—4th, Religion and its ministers are prejudicial to mankind, and will always be found either to run into the heights of superstition or enthusiasm—5th, Christianity has no evidence of its being a divine revelation—6th, Of all the modes of Christianity, popery is the best, and the reformation from thence was only the work of madmen and enthusiasts.” The overture was rejected by the committee, and the indefatigable vindicators of religion brought the matter under a different shape before the presbytery of Edinburgh, but that body very properly decided on several grounds, among which, not the least applicable was, “ to prevent their entering further into so abstruse and metaphysical a subject,” that it “ would be more for the purposes of edification to dismiss the process.”

In 1759, appeared Dr Robertson's History of Scotland, and the similarity of the subjects in which he and Hume were engaged, produced an interchange of information, and a lasting friendship, honourable to both these great men. Hume was singularly destitute of literary jealousy ; and of the unaffected welcome which he gave to a work treading on his own peculiar path, we could give many instances, did our limits permit. He never withheld a helping hand to any author who might be considered his rival, and, excepting in one instance, never peevishly mentioned a living literary author in his works. The instance we allude to, is a remark on Mr Tytler's vindication of queen Mary, and referring the reader to a copy of it below,²² it is right to remark, that it seems more dictated by contempt of the arguments, than spleen towards the person of the author.

Any account of the literary society in which Hume spent his hours of leisure and conviviality, would involve us in a complete literary history of Scotland during that period, unsuitable to a biographical dictionary. With all the eminent men of that illustrious period of Scottish literature, he was eminently acquainted ; as a philosopher, and as a man of dignified and respected intellect, he stood at the head of the list of great names ; but in the less calm employments in which literary men of all periods occupy themselves, he was somewhat shunned, as a person too lukewarm, indolent, and good-humoured, to support literary warfare. An amusing specimen of his character in this respect, is mentioned by M'Kenzie in his life of Hume. When two numbers of a periodical work, entitled “ The Edinburgh Review,” were published in 1755, the bosom friends of Hume, who were the conductors, concealed it from him, because, “ I have heard,” says M'Kenzie, “ that they were afraid both of his extreme good nature, and his extreme artlessness ; that, from the one, their criticisms would have been weakened, or suppressed, and, from the other, their secret discovered ;” and it was not till Hume had repeated his astonishment that persons in Scotland beyond the

²² “ But there is a person that has written an Inquiry, historical and critical, into the evidence against Mary, queen of Scots ; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a single passage of the narrative, in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering ; and then a single passage from Goodall, in which she boasts simply that she will answer, and he very civilly, and almost directly, calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Inquiry, from beginning to end, is composed of such scandalous articles ; and from this instance, the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the inquirer. There are, indeed, three events in our history, which may be regarded as touchstones of party-men. An English whig, who asserts the reality of the popish plot ; an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre in 1641 ; and a Scottish Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason ; and must be left to their prejudices.”

sphere of the literary circle of Edinburgh, could have produced so able a work, that he was made acquainted with the secret. In whimsical revenge of the want of confidence displayed by his friends, Hume gravely maintained himself to be the author of a humorous work of Adam Ferguson, "The History of Sister Peg," and penned a letter to the publisher, which any person who might peruse it without knowing the circumstances, could not fail to consider a sincere acknowledgment. Hume was a member of the Philosophical Society, which afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and acted as joint secretary along with Dr Munro junior. He was also a member of the illustrious Poker Club, and not an uncongenial one, so long as the members held their unobtrusive discussion in a tavern, over a small quantity of claret; but when this method of managing matters was abolished, and the institution merged into the more consequential denomination of "The Select Society," amidst the exertions of many eloquent and distinguished men, he was only remarkable, along with his friend Adam Smith, for having never opened his mouth.

In 1761, Mr Hume published the two remaining volumes of the History of England, treating of the period previous to the accession of the house of Tudor: he tells us that it was received with "tolerable, and but tolerable success." Whitaker, Hallam, Turner, and others, have examined their respective portions of this period of history with care, and pointed out the inaccuracies of Hume; but the subject did not possess so much political interest as the later periods, and general readers have not been much disposed to discuss the question of his general accuracy. Men such as the first name we have mentioned have attacked him with peevishness on local and obscure matters of antiquarian research, which a historian can hardly be blamed for neglecting: others, however, who seem well-informed, have found serious objections to his accuracy. In an article on the Saxon Chronicle, which appeared in the Retrospective Review, by an apparently well-informed writer, he is charged in these terms: "It would be perfectly startling to popular credulity, should all the instances be quoted in which the text of Hume, in the remoter periods more especially, is at the most positive variance with the authorities he pretends to rest upon. In a series of historical inquiries which the writer of this article had some years since particular occasion to superintend, aberrations of this kind were so frequently detected, that it became necessary to lay it down as a rule never to admit a quotation from that popular historian, when the authorities he pretends to refer to were not accessible for the purpose of previous comparison and confirmation."

Hume, now pretty far advanced in life, had formed the resolution of ending his days in literary retirement in his own country, when in 1763, he was solicited by the earl of Hertford to attend him on his embassy to Paris, and after having declined, on a second invitation he accepted the situation. In the full blaze of a wide-spread reputation, the philosopher was now surrounded by a new world of literary rivals, imitators, and admirers, and he received from a circle of society ever searching for what was new, brilliant, and striking, numberless marks of distinction highly flattering to his literary pride, though not unminged with affectation. In some very amusing letters to his friends written during this period, he shows, that if he was weak enough to feel vain of these distinctions, he had sincerity enough to say so.

The fashionable people of Paris, and especially the ladies, practised on the patient and good-humoured philosopher every torture which their extreme desire to render him and themselves distinguished could dictate. "From what has been already said of him," says lord Charlemont, "it is apparent that his conversation to strangers, and particularly to Frenchmen, could be little delightful, and still more particularly one would suppose, to French women; and

yet no lady's toilette was complete without Hume's attendance. At the opera, his broad unmeaning face was usually seen *entre deux jolis minois*. The ladies in France gave the ton, and the ton was deism." Madame D'Epinaÿ, who terms him "Grand et gros historiographe d'Angleterre," mentions that it was the will of one of his entertainers that he should act the part of a sultan, endeavouring to secure by his eloquence the affection of two beautiful female slaves. The philosopher was accordingly whiskered, turbaned, and blackened, and placed on a sofa betwixt two of the most celebrated beauties of Paris. According to the instructions he had received, he bent his knees, and struck his breast, (or as Madame has it, "le ventre,") but his tongue could not be brought to assist his actions further than by uttering "Eh bien! mes demoiselles—Eh bien! vous voila donc—Eh bien! vous voila—vous voila ici?" exclamations which he repeated until he had exhausted the patience of those he was expected to entertain.²⁵

In 1765, lord Hertford being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, Mr Hume, according to his expectation, was appointed secretary to the embassy, and he officiated as chargé d'affaires, until the arrival of the duke of Richmond. Hume, who had a singular antipathy to England, and who had previously enjoyed himself only in the midst of his social literary circle at Edinburgh, insensibly acquired a relish for the good-humoured politeness and the gayety of the French, and on his return home in 1766, he left behind him a number of regretted friends, among whom were two celebrated females, the marchioness De Barbantane and the countess De Boufflers, who conducted a friendly, and even extremely intimate correspondence with the philosopher to the day of his death.²⁶

In the order of time we come now to the discussion of an incident connected with his residence on the continent, which forms a very remarkable epoch in the life of Hume,—we mean his controversy with Rousseau. Before making any statements, however, it is right to warn our readers, that an account of this memorable transaction, sufficient to give him an acquaintance with all its peculiarities, would exceed our limits, which permit of but a slight glance at the incidents, and that indeed it is quite impossible to form a conception of the grotesqueness of some of the incidents, and the peculiarities of character so vividly displayed, without a perusal of the original documents, which are easily accessible, and will well repay the trouble of perusal.

When in 1762, the parliament of Paris issued an *arret* against Rousseau, on account of his opinions, Hume was applied to by a friend in Paris to discover for him a retreat in England; Hume willingly undertook a task so congenial, but it did not suit the celebrated exile at that time to take advantage of his offer. Rousseau, taking every opportunity to complain of the misfortunes he suffered, the transaction with Hume was again set on foot at the instigation of the marchioness De Verdlin; Hume wrote to Rousseau, offering his services, and the latter returned him an answer overflowing with extravagant gratitude. Rousseau had, it appeared, discovered an ingenious method of making himself interesting: he pretended extreme poverty, and had offers of assistance repeatedly made him, which he publicly and disdainfully refused, while he had in reality as Hume afterwards discovered, resources sufficient to provide for his support. In pure simplicity, Hume formed several designs for imposing on Rousseau's ignorance of the world, and establishing him comfortably in life, without allowing him to know that he was assisted by others; and the plan finally concluded and acted on was, that he should be comfortably boarded in the mansion of Mr

²⁵ *Memoirs et Correspondance de Madame D'Epinaÿ*, iii. 284.

²⁶ *General Correspondence of David Hume*, 4to, 1788, *passim*.

Davenport, at Wooton, in the county of Derby, a gentleman who kindly undertook to lull the suspicions of the irritable philosopher by accepting of a remuneration amounting to £30 a year. Rousseau arrived in London, and appearing in public in his Armenian dress, excited much notice, both from the public in general, and from literary men. Hume, by his interest with the government obtained for him a pension of £100 a year, which it suited those in authority to wish should be kept secret. Rousseau expressed much satisfaction at this condition, but he afterwards declined the grant, hinting at the secrecy as an impediment to his acceptance of it; his zealous friend procured the removal of this impediment, and the pension was again offered, but its publicity afforded a far more gratifying opportunity of refusal. Immediately after he had retired to Wooton, with his housekeeper and his dog, nothing occurred apparently to infringe his amicable intercourse with Hume; but that individual was little aware of the storm in preparation. The foreign philosopher began to discover the interest of his first appearance in Britain subsiding. He was not in a place where he could be followed by crowds of wondering admirers, the press was lukewarm and regardless, and sometimes ventured to bestow on him a sneer, and above all no one sought to persecute him. The feelings which these displeasing circumstances occasioned, appear to have been roused to sudden action by a sarcastic letter in the name of the king of Prussia, of which Rousseau presumed D'Alembert to have been the author, but which was claimed by Herace Walpole, and which made the circle of the European journals: and by an anonymous critique of a somewhat slighting nature, which had issued from a British magazine, but which appears not to have been remarked or much known at the period. Of these two productions it pleased Rousseau to presume David Hume the instigator, and he immediately framed in his mind the idea of a black project for his ruin, countenanced and devised by his benefactor under the mask of friendship. Rousseau then wrote a fierce letter to Hume, charging him in somewhat vague terms with a number of horrible designs, and in the general manner of those who bring accusations of unutterable things, referring him to his own guilty breast for a more full explanation. Hume naturally requested a farther explanation of the meaning of this ominous epistle, and he received in answer a narrative which occupies forty printed pages. It were vain to enumerate the subjects of complaint in this celebrated document. There was an accusation of terrible affectation on the part of Hume, in getting a portrait of the unfortunate exile engraved: he had insulted him by procuring dinners to be sent to his lodgings in London, (a circumstance which Hume accounted for on the ground of there having been no convenient chop house in the neighbourhood.) He had also flattered him (an attention which Hume maintains was not unacceptable at the period,) with a deep laid malignity. Hume had also formed a plan of opening all his letters, and examining his correspondence, (an accusation which Hume denied.) Hume was intimate with the son of an individual who entertained towards Rousseau a mortal hatred. A narrative of the treatment which Rousseau had met with at Neuchâtel, and which he wished to have published in England, was delayed at the press: but we shall give in Rousseau's own words (as translated) the most deadly article of the charge, premising, that the circumstances were occasioned by Hume's having attempted to impose on him a coach hired and payed for, as a return vehicle:—"As we were sitting one evening, after supper, silently by the fire-side, I caught his eye intently fixed on mine, as indeed happened very often: and that in a manner of which it is very difficult to give an idea. At that time he gave me a steadfast, piercing look, mixed with a sneer, which greatly disturbed me. To get rid of the embarrassment I lay under, I endeavoured to look full at him in my

turn; but in fixing my eyes against his, I felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged soon to turn them away. The speech and physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man; but where, great God! did this good man borrow those eyes he fixes so sternly and unaccountably on those of his friends? The impression of this look remained with me, and gave me much uneasiness. My trouble increased even to a degree of fainting; and if I had not been relieved by an effusion of tears I had been suffocated. Presently after this I was seized with the most violent remorse; I even despised myself; till at length, in a transport, which I still remember with delight, I sprang on his neck, embraced him eagerly, while almost choked with sobbing, and bathed in tears, I cried out in broken accents, No, no, David Hume cannot be treacherous. If he be not the best of men, he must be the basest of mankind. David Hume politely returned my embraces, and, gently tapping me on the back, repeated several times, in a good-natured and easy tone, Why, what, my dear sir! nay, my dear sir! Oh, my dear sir! He said nothing more. I felt my heart yearn within me. We went to bed; and I set out the next day for the country."

The charge terminates with accusing Hume of wilful blindness, in not being aware, from the neglect with which Rousseau treated him, that the blackness of his heart had been discovered. Soon after the controversy was terminated, a ludicrous account of its amusing circumstances was given to the public; the extreme wit, and humorous pungency of which will excuse our insertion of it, while we may also mention, that with its air of raillery, it gives an extremely correct abstract of the charge of Rousseau. It is worthy of remark, that the terms made use of show the author to have been colloquially acquainted with the technicalities of *Scottish* law, although it is not likely that a professional person would have introduced terms applicable only to civil transactions, into the model of a criminal indictment. We have found this production in the *Scots Magazine*. Mr Ritchie says it appeared in the *St James's Chronicle*: in which it may have been first published.

HEADS OF AN INDICTMENT LAID BY J. J. ROUSSEAU, PHILOSOPHER, AGAINST
D. HUME, Esq.

1. That the said David Hume, to the great scandal of philosophy, and not having the fitness of things before his eyes, did concert a plan with Messrs Froachin, Voltaire, and D'Alembert, to ruin the said J. J. Rousseau for ever by bringing him over to England, and there settling him to his heart's content.

2. That the said David Hume did, with a malicious and traitorous intent, procure, or cause to be procured, by himself or somebody else, one pension of the yearly value of £100, or thereabouts, to be paid to the said J. J. Rousseau, on account of his being a philosopher, either privately or publicly, as to him the said J. J. Rousseau should seem meet.

3. That the said David Hume did, one night after he left Paris, put the said J. J. Rousseau in bodily fear, by talking in his sleep; although the said J. J. Rousseau doth not know whether the said David Hume was really asleep, or whether he shammed Abraham, or what he meant.

4. That, at another time, as the said David Hume and the said J. J. Rousseau were sitting opposite each other by the fire-side in London, he the said David Hume did look at him, the said J. J. Rousseau, in a manner of which it is difficult to give any idea; that he the said J. J. Rousseau, to get rid of the embarrassment he was under, endeavoured to look full at him, the said David Hume, in return, to try if he could not stare him out of countenance; but in fixing his eyes against his, the said David Hume's, he felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged to turn them away, insomuch that the said J. J. Rousseau doth

in his heart think and believe, as much as he believes anything, that he the said David Hume is a certain composition of a white-witch and a rattle-snake.

5. That the said David Hume on the same evening, after politely returning the embraces of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, and gently tapping him on the back, did repeat several times, in a good-natured, easy tone, the words, "Why, what, my dear sir! Nay, my dear sir! Oh my dear sir!"—From whence the said J. J. Rousseau doth conclude, as he thinks upon solid and sufficient grounds, that he the said David Hume is a traitor; albeit he, the said J. J. Rousseau doth acknowledge, that the physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man, all but those terrible eyes of his, which he must have borrowed; but he the said J. J. Rousseau vows to God he cannot conceive from whom or what.

6. That the said David Hume hath more inquisitiveness about him than becometh a philosopher, and did never let slip an opportunity of being alone with the governante of him the said J. J. Rousseau.

7. That the said David Hume did most atrociously and flagitiously put him the said J. J. Rousseau, philosopher, into a passion; as knowing that then he would be guilty of a number of absurdities.

8. That the said David Hume must have published Mr Walpole's letter in the newspapers, because, at that time, there was neither man, woman, nor child in the island of Great Britain, but the said David Hume, the said J. J. Rousseau, and the printers of the several newspapers aforesaid.

9. That somebody in a certain magazine, and somebody else in a certain newspaper, said something against him the said John James Rousseau, which he, the said J. J. Rousseau, is persuaded, for the reason above mentioned, could be nobody but the said David Hume.

10. That the said J. J. Rousseau knows, that he, the said David Hume, did open and peruse the letters of him the said J. J. Rousseau, because he one day saw the said David Hume go out of the room after his own servant, who had at that time a letter of the said J. J. Rousseau's in his hands; which must have been in order to take it from the servant, open it, and read the contents.

11. That the said David Hume did, at the instigation of the devil, in a most wicked and unnatural manner, send, or cause to be sent, to the lodgings of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, one dish of beef steaks, thereby meaning to insinuate, that he the said J. J. Rousseau was a beggar, and came over to England to ask alms: whereas, be it known to all men by these presents, that he, the said John James Rousseau, brought with him the means of sustenance, and did not come with an empty purse; as he doubts not but he can live upon his labours, with the assistance of his friends; and in short can do better without the said David Hume than with him.

12. That besides all these facts put together, the said J. J. Rousseau did not like a certain appearance of things on the whole.

Rousseau, with his accustomed activity on such occasions, loudly repeated his complaints to the world, and filled the ears of his friends with the villany of his seeming benefactor. The method which Hume felt himself compelled to adopt for his own justification was one which proved a severe punishment to his opponent; he published the correspondence, with a few explanatory observations, and was ever afterwards silent on the subject. Some have thought that he ought to have remained silent from the commencement, and that such was his wish we have ample proof from his correspondence at that period, but to have continued so in the face of the declarations of his enemy, he must have been more than human; and the danger which his fame incurred from the acts of a man who had the means of making what he said respected, will at least *justify* him.

Hume had returned to Edinburgh with the renewed intention of there spending his days in retirement, and in the affluence which his frugality, perseverance, genius, and good conduct had acquired for him; but in 1765, at the solicitation of general Conway, he acted for that gentleman as an under-secretary of state. It is probable that he did not make a better under-secretary than most men of equally diligent habits might have done, and nothing occurs worthy of notice during his tenure of that office, which he resigned in January, 1768, when general Conway resigned his secretaryship.

We have nothing to record from this period till we come to the closing scene of the philosopher's life. In the spring of 1775, he was struck with a disorder of the bowels, which he soon became aware brought with it the sure prognostication of a speedy end. "I now," he says "reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline of my person, never suffered a moment's abatement of my spirits, insomuch, that were I to name the period of my life, which I should most choose to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this latter period. I possess the same ardour as ever in study, and the same gaiety in company. I consider, besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities, and though I see many symptoms of my literary reputation breaking out at last with additional lustre, I know that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present."

The entreaties of his friends prevailed on Hume to make a last effort to regain his health, by drinking the Bath waters, and he left Edinburgh for that purpose in the month of April, after having prepared his will, and written the memoir of himself, so often referred to. As he passed through Morpeth, he met his affectionate friends John Home the poet and Adam Smith, who had come from London for the purpose of attending him on his journey, and who would have passed him had they not seen his servant standing at the inn door. The meeting of these friends must have been melancholy, for they were strongly attached to each other, and the intimacy betwixt the philosopher and the enthusiastic poet Home, seemed to have been strengthened by the striking contrast of their temperaments. The intercourse of the friends on their journey was supported by Hume with cheerfulness, and even with gaiety; and he never morosely alluded to his prospects of dissolution. On one occasion, when Home was officiously preparing his pistols, (for he was usually inspired with a military enthusiasm,) Hume said to him, "you shall have your humour, John, and fight with as many highwaymen as you please, for I have too little of life left to be an object worth saving." Of this journey a journal was found among the papers of Home, in the handwriting of the poet, which has been fortunately given to the world by Mr McKenzie. Regretting that we cannot quote the whole of this interesting document, we give a characteristic extract.

"Newcastle, Wednesday, 24th Aprile.

"Mr Hume not quite so well in the morning; says, that he had set out merely to please his friends; that he would go on to please them; that Ferguson and Andrew Stuart, (about whom we had been talking) were answerable for shortening his life one week a piece; for, says he, you will allow Xenophon to be good authority; and he lays it down, that suppose a man is dying, nobody has a right to kill him. He set out in this vein, and continued all the stage in this cheerful and talking humour. It was a fine day, and we went on to Durham—from that to Darlington, where we passed the night.

"In the evening Mr Hume thinks himself more easy and light than he has

been any time for three months. In the course of our conversation we touched upon the national affairs. He still maintains, that the national debt must be the ruin of Britain, and laments that the two most civilized nations, the British and French, should be on the decline; and the barbarians, the Goths and Vandals of Germany and Russia, should be rising in power and renown. The French king, he says, has ruined the state by recalling the parliaments. Mr Hume thinks that there is only one man in France fit to be minister, (the archbishop of Toulouse,) of the family of Brienne. He told me some curious anecdotes with regard to this prelate, that he composed and corrected without writing; that Mr Hume had heard him repeat an elegant oration of an hour and a quarter in length, which he had never written. Mr Hume talking with the princess Beauvais about French policy, said that he knew but one man in France capable of restoring its greatness; the lady said she knew one too, and wished to hear if it was the same; they accordingly named each their man, and it was this prelate."

The journey had the effect of partly alleviating Mr Hume's disorder, but it returned with renewed virulence. While his strength permitted such an attempt, he called a meeting of his literary friends to partake with him of a farewell dinner. The invitation sent to Dr Blair is extant, and is in these terms: "Mr John Hume, *alias* Home, *alias* the late lord conservator, *alias* the late minister of the gospel at Athelstaneford, has calculated matters so as to arrive infallibly with his friend in St David's Street, on Wednesday evening. He has asked several of Dr Blair's friends to dine with him there on Thursday, being the 4th of July, and begs the favour of the doctor to make one of the number." Subjoined to the card there is this note, in Dr Blair's hand writing, "*Mem.* This the last note received from David Hume. He died on the 25th of August, 1776." This mournful festival, in honour as it were of the departure of the most esteemed and illustrious member of their brilliant circle, was attended by lord Elibank, Adam Smith, Dr Blair, Dr Black, professor Ferguson, and John Home. On Sunday the 26th August, 1776, Mr Hume expired. Of the manner of his death, after the beautiful picture which has been drawn of the event by his friend Adam Smith, we need not enlarge. The calmness of his last moments, unexpected by many, was in every one's mouth at the period, and it is still well known. He was buried on a point of rock overhanging the old town of Edinburgh, now surrounded by buildings, but then bare and wild—the spot he had himself chosen for the purpose. A conflict betwixt a vague horror at his imputed opinions, and respect for the individual who had passed among them a life so irreproachable, created a sensation among the populace of Edinburgh, and a crowd of people attended the body to its grave, which for some time was an object of curiosity. According to his request, Hume's Dialogues on Natural Religion were published after his death, a beautifully classic piece of composition, bringing us back to the days of Cicero. It treats of many of the speculations propounded in his other works.

HUME, PATRICK, first earl of Marchmont, a distinguished patriot and statesman, was born, January 13th, 1641. His original place in society was that of the laird of Polwarth, in Berwickshire, being the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, the representative of an old baronial family, by Christian Hamilton, daughter of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick. The subject of our memoir succeeded his father in 1648, while as yet a mere child; and was accordingly indebted to his excellent mother for the better part of his early education. He appears to have been, by her, brought up in the strictest tenets of the presbyterian religion, which flourished, without any constraint upon its private exercise, during all his early years, till it was discountenanced by govern-

ment after the Restoration. Sir Patrick, however, was not only an admirer of the form of worship enjoined by that religious system, but a zealous maintainer of its pretensions to a divine right, as the only true church of Christ; and this, it is said, was what first inspired him with the feelings of a patriot. Having been sent to parliament in 1665, as representative of the county of Berwick, he soon distinguished himself by the opposition which he gave, along with the duke of Hamilton and others, to the headlong measures of the government. In 1673, the king sent a letter to parliament desiring a levy of soldiers and money to support them, and the duke of Lauderdale moved that it be referred to the lords of the articles, who were always at the beck of government. This proposal, though strictly in accordance with the custom of the Scottish parliament, was opposed by the duke of Hamilton, who asserted that the royal wishes ought to be considered by the whole assembled representatives of the nation. On Sir Patrick Hume expressing his concurrence with the duke, he was openly pointed out to parliament by Lauderdale, as a dangerous person. Hereupon, Sir Patrick said, "he hoped this was a free parliament, and it concerned all the members to be free in what concerned the nation." In the ensuing year, he was one of those who went with the duke of Hamilton to lay the grievances of the nation before the king, whose delusive answer to their application is well known. It was not possible that a person who maintained so free a spirit in such an age could long escape trouble. In 1675, having remonstrated against the measure for establishing garrisons to keep down the people, he was committed by the privy council to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as "a factious person, and one who had done that which might usher in confusion." After suffering confinement for six months in Stirling castle, he was liberated through the intercession of friends, but not long after was again confined, and altogether suffered imprisonment for about two years. The order for his liberation, dated 17th April, 1679, states that "he had been imprisoned for reasons known to his majesty, and tending to secure the public peace;" and adds, "the occasions of suspicion and public jealousy being over, he is ordered to be liberate." To continue our memoir in the words of Mr George Crawford,¹ who had received information from Sir Patrick's own mouth, "Finding after this that the ministers of state were most earnestly set on his destruction, and that he could not live in security at home, he went to England, and entered into a strict friendship with the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Shaftesbury, and the lord Russel, who was his near relation. With them he often met, and had many conferences on the state of Scotland, and what might be done there to secure the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, in the event of a popish successor. But, as his lordship protested to me, there never passed among them the least intimation of any design against the king's life, or the duke of York's; that was what they all had an abhorrence of. But he said, he thought it was lawful for subjects, being under such pressures, to try how they might be relieved from them; and their design never went further."

Notwithstanding the pure intentions of this little band of patriots, the government, as is well known, was able to fasten upon them the charge of having conspired the deaths of the king and his brother; and to this infamous accusation, lord Russell fell a victim in England, and Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, in Scotland. It was on the 24th of December, 1684, that the latter individual suffered; before that time, Sir Patrick Hume, though conscious of innocence, had gone into hiding, being justified in that step by a degree of personal infirmity, which unfitted him for enduring imprisonment. The place selected for his concealment was the sepulchral vault of his family, underneath the parish

¹ Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State in Scotland.

church of Polwarth, about two miles from Redbraes castle, the house in which he generally resided. Here he lived for many weeks of the autumn of 1684, without fire and hardly any light, and surrounded by the ghastly objects which usually furnish forth such a scene. He was enabled, however, by the firmness of his own mind, and the affections of his amiable family, to suffer this dreary self-imprisonment without shrinking. No one knew of his concealment but his family, and one "Jamie Winter," a carpenter, of whose fidelity they had good reason to be assured. Having been provided with a bed through the aid of this humble friend, Sir Patrick depended for food and other necessaries upon the heroic devotedness of his daughter Grizel, who, though only twelve years of age, nightly visited this dismal scene, without manifesting the least agitation either on account of real or imaginary dangers. Supported by such means, Sir Patrick never lost his cheerfulness of temper, but, on the contrary, could laugh heartily at any little incident detailed to him by his daughter. The noble child had no other means of obtaining his food, except by secreting part of what she had upon her own plate at the family meals. Her having one day secured an entire sheep's-head, which her younger brother Alexander thought she had swallowed in a moment, supplied one of those domestic jests with which the fugitive father was entertained. While in this lonely place, Sir Patrick had no other reading than Buchanan's psalms, which he conned so thoroughly, that he ever after had the most of them by heart. As the winter advanced, lady Polwarth contrived a retreat underneath the floor of a low apartment at Redbraes, and thinking that this might serve to conceal her husband in the event of any search taking place, had him removed to his own house, where he accordingly lived for some time, till it was found one morning, that the place designed for concealment, had become half filled with water.

Warned by this incident, and by the execution of his friend Mr Baillie, he resolved to remain no longer in his native country. It was projected that he should leave the house next morning in disguise, attended by his grieve or farm-overseer, John Allan, who was instructed to give out that he was going to attend a horse-market at Morpeth. The party stole away by night, and had proceeded a considerable distance on their way, when Sir Patrick, falling into a reverie, parted company with his attendant, and did not discover the mistake till he found himself on the banks of the Tweed. This, however, was a most fortunate misadventure, for, soon after his parting with Allan, a company of soldiers that had been in search of him at Redbraes, and followed in the expectation of overtaking him, came up, and would have inevitably discovered and seized him, if he had not been upon another track. On learning what had happened, he dismissed his servant, and, leaving the main-road, reached London through bye-ways. On this journey he represented himself as a surgeon, a character which he could have supported effectually, if called upon, as he carried a case of lancets, and was acquainted with their use. From London he found his way to France, and thence after a short stay, walked on foot to Brussels, intending to converse with the duke of Monmouth. Finding the duke had gone to the Hague, he proceeded to Holland, but did not immediately obtain a conference with that ill-fated nobleman. He had an audience, however, of the prince of Orange, who, "looking on him (to use the words of Crawford,) as a confessor for the protestant religion, and the liberties of his country, treated him with a very particular respect."

On the death of Charles II., in February, 1685, and the accession of the duke of York, whose attachment to the catholic faith rendered him, in their eyes, unfit to reign, the British refugees in Holland concerted two distinct but relative expeditions, for the salvation of the protestant religion, and to maintain "the

natural and native rights and liberties of the free people of Britain and Ireland, and all the legal fences of society and property there established." One of these expeditions was to land in England, under the duke of Monmouth, whose prosecution of his own views upon the crown, under the favour of the protestant interest, is well known. The other was to be under the conduct of the earl of Argyle, and was to land in Scotland, where it was expected that an army would be formed in the first place from his lordship's Highland retainers, and speedily enforced by the malcontents of Ayrshire, and other parts of the Lowlands. Sir Patrick Hume has left a memoir respecting the latter enterprise, from which it clearly appears that Monmouth gave distinct pledges (afterwards lamentably broken,) as to the deference of his own personal views to the sense of the party in general,—and also that Argyle acted throughout the whole preparations, and in the expedition itself, with a wilfulness, self-seeking, and want of energy, which were but poorly compensated by the general excellence of his motives, and the many worthier points in his character. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, alike admirable for the purity and steadiness of their political views, were next in command, or at least in the actual conduct of affairs, to the earl. The sword of the former gentleman is still preserved, and bears upon both sides of its blade, the following inscription in German :

“Got bewarr die aufrechte Schotten;”

that is, God preserve the righteous Scots. It was not destined, however, that fortune should smile on this enterprise. The patriots sailed on the 2nd of May, in three small vessels, and on the 6th arrived near Kirkwall in the Orkney islands. The imprudent landing of two gentlemen, who were detained by the bishop, served to alarm the government, so that when the expedition reached the country of Argyle, he found that all his friends, upon whom he depended, had been placed under arrest at the capital. After trifling away several weeks in his own district, and affording time to the government to collect its forces, he formed the resolution of descending upon Glasgow. Meanwhile, Sir Patrick Hume and others were defaulted, their estates confiscated, and a high reward offered for their apprehension. While Argyle was lingering at Rothesay, Sir Patrick conducted the descent of a foraging party upon Greenock, and, though opposed by a party of militia, succeeded in his object. Allowing as largely as could be demanded for the personal feelings of this gentleman, it would really appear from his memoir that the only judgment or vigour displayed in the whole enterprise, resided in himself and Sir John Cochrane. When the earl finally resolved at Kilpatrick to give up the appearance of an army, and let each man shift for himself, these two gentlemen conducted a party of less than a hundred men across the Clyde, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, and were able to protect themselves till they reached Muirdykes. Here they were assailed by a large troop of cavalry, and were compelled each man to fight a number of personal contests in order to save his own life. Yet, by a judicious disposition of their little force, and the most unflinching bravery and perseverance, Hume and Cochrane kept their ground till night, when, apprehending the approach of a larger body of foot, they stole away to an unfrequented part of the country, where they deliberately dispersed.

Sir Patrick Hume found protection for three weeks, in the house of Montgomery of Lainshaw, where, or at Kilwinning, it would appear that he wrote the memoir above alluded to, which was first printed in Mr Rose's observations on Fox's historical work, and latterly in the Marchmont papers, (1831.) The letter to confound the search made for him, a report of his death was circulated by his friends. Having escaped by a vessel from the west coast, he proceeded

by Dublin to Bourdeaux, where we find he was on the 15th of November. He now resumed his surgical character, and passed under the name of Dr Peter Wallace. Early in 1686, he appears to have proceeded by Geneva to Holland, where his family joined him, and they resided together at Utrecht for three years. The picture of this distressed, but pious and cheerful family, is very affectingly given by lady Murray, in the well-known memoirs of her mother, lady Grizel Baillie. They were reduced to such straits through the absence of all regular income, that lady Hume could not keep a servant, and Sir Patrick was obliged—but this must have been a labour of love—to teach his own children. They were frequently compelled to pawn their plate, to provide the necessaries of life until a fresh supply reached them. Yet, even in this distress, their house was ever open to the numerous refugees who shared in their unhappy fate. Not forgetting political objects, Sir Patrick, in 1688, wrote a letter powerful in style and arguments, to put the presbyterian clergy in Scotland on their guard against the insidious toleration which king James proposed for the purpose of effecting the ascendancy of popery. In this document, which has been printed among the Marchmont papers by Sir G. H. Rose, we find him giving an animated picture of the prince of Orange, whom he already contemplated as the future deliverer of his country, and no doubt wished to point in that character to the attention of Scotsmen; “one,” says he, “bred a Calvinist, who, for religious practice, excels most men so high in quality, and is equal to the most part of whatever rank of the sincere and serious in that communion; for virtue and good morals beyond many; those infirmities natural to poor mankind, and consistent with seriousness in religion, breaking out as little, either for degree or frequency, from him, as from most part of good men, and not one habitual to him: one of a mild and courteous temper; of a plain, ingenuous, and honest nature; of a humane, gay, and affable carriage, without any token of pride or disdain; one educated and brought up in a republic as free as any in the world, and inured to the freedom allowed by and possessed in it. His greatest enemy, if he know him, or my greatest enemy, if he read this, must find his own conscience witnessing to his face, that what I have said is truth, and that I am one of more worth than to sully my argument with a flaunting hyperbole even in favour of a prince.” The modern reader, who is acquainted with the picture usually drawn of the same personage by the English historians, will probably be startled at the gayety and affability here attributed to the prince; but, besides the unavoidable prepossession of Sir Patrick for a person who, it would appear, had treated him kindly, and stood in the most endearing relation to all his favourite objects in religion and politics, it must be allowed that, at an age which might be called youth (thirty-eight), and previous to his undertaking the heavy and ungrateful burden of royalty in Britain, William might have been better entitled to such a description than he was in the latter part of his life.

Before this time, the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume, and his future son-in-law Baillie, had obtained commissions in the horse-guards of the prince of Orange, in whose expedition to England all three soon after took a part. These gentlemen were among those who suffered in the storm by which a part of the prince's fleet was disabled; they had to return to port with the loss of all their luggage, which, in the existing state of their affairs, was a very severe misfortune. The little party appears to have speedily refitted and accompanied the prince at his landing in Devonshire, as we find Sir Patrick writing a diary of the progress to London, in which he seems to have been near the prince all the way from Exeter. In the deliberations held at London respecting the settlement of the new government, Sir Patrick bore a conspicuous part; but it was in Scotland that his zeal and judgment found a proper field of display. In the convention parliament,

which sat down at Edinburgh, March 14, 1689, he appeared as representative of the county of Berwick; and, an objection being made on the score of his forfeiture, he was unanimously voted a member by the house. The decision of this assembly in favour of a settlement of the crown upon William and his consort Mary, soon followed.

The career of public service was now opened to the subject of our memoir, at a period of life when his judgment must have been completely matured, and after he had proved, by many years of suffering under a tyrannical government, how worthy he was to obtain honours under one of a liberal complexion. In July, 1690, his attainder was rescinded by act of parliament; he was soon after sworn a member of the privy council; and in December, 1690, he was created a peer by the title of lord Polwarth. The preamble of the patent is a splendid testimony to the eminent virtues he had displayed in asserting the rights and religion of his country. King William at the same time vouchsafed to him an addition to his armorial bearings, "an orange proper ensigned, with an imperial crown, to be placed in a surtout in his coat of arms in all time coming, as a lasting mark of his majesty's royal favour to the family of Polwarth, and in commemoration of his lordship's great affection to his said majesty."

From this period, the life of lord Polwarth is chiefly to be found in the history of his country. He was appointed in 1692, to be principal sheriff of Berwickshire, and in 1693, to be one of the four extraordinary lords of session. Though there is no trace of his having been bred to the law, his conduct in these two employments is said to have been without blemish. His reputation, indeed, for decisions conformable to the laws, for sagacity and soundness of judgment, is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable parts of the brilliant fame which he has left behind him. In 1696, he attained the highest office in Scotland, that of lord chancellor, and in less than a year after, he was promoted in the peerage by the titles, earl of Marchmont, viscount of Blassonberry, lord Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw, to him and to his heirs male whatsoever. He was soon after named one of the commission of the treasury and admiralty; and in 1698 was appointed lord high commissioner to represent the king's person in the parliament which met at Edinburgh in July of that year. To pursue the words of Sir George Rose, who gives a sketch of the life of the earl in his preface to the Marchmont papers, "his correspondence with king William and his ministers, whilst he exercised these high functions, exhibits an earnest and constant desire to act, and to advise, as should best promote at once the honour of his master and benefactor, and the weal of the state; and he had the good fortune to serve a prince, who imposed no duties upon him which brought into conflict his obligations to the sovereign and to his country."

The earl of Marchmont was acting as commissioner at the General Assembly of 1702, when the death of his affectionate sovereign interrupted the proceedings, and plunged him into the deepest grief. He was appointed by queen Anne to continue to preside over the assembly till the conclusion of its proceedings; but the principles of this great man were too rigid to allow of his long continuing in office under the new government. In his letter to queen Anne, written on the death of king William, he was too little of a courtier to disguise the feelings which possessed him as a man, although he must have known that every word he used in admiration or lamentation of her predecessor must have been grating to her ears. In the first session of the parliament after her accession, he presented to it an act for the abjuration of the pretender; and, though it was in conformity to, and in imitation of the English act passed immediately on her ascending the throne, and was read a first time, the high commissioner adjourned the house in order to stop the measure. In a memorial to the queen of the 1st

of July, 1702, (*Marchmont Papers*) will be found a full vindication of his conduct in this matter, and a statement of that held by his friends, and the commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, differing essentially from Lockhart's. He was on this dismissed from his office of chancellor, the place being conferred on the earl of Seafield.

Having thus sacrificed his office to his principles, he pursued the latter in the ensuing parliaments with the consistency and fervour which might have been expected from such a man. The protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and the union of the two divisions of the island under one legislature, were the two objects on which he now centered his attention and energies. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the general temper of the Scottish people was perversely opposed to both of these measures, and that it was only the minority of such consistent whigs as lord Marchmont, who, reposing more upon great abstract principles than narrow views of immediate advantage, saw them in their proper light, and gave them the weight of their influence. An attempt of the earl to introduce an act for the Hanover succession, at a time when his fellow statesmen were chiefly bent on asserting by the act of Security the useless independence of their country, was so ill received that there was even some talk of consigning this noble patriot to the state-prison in Edinburgh castle. Afterwards, however, when the government of queen Anne was obliged to adopt the measure of a union, his lordship had the pleasure of contributing his aid—and most willingly was it rendered—towards what had been the grand object of his political life. The selection of the Scottish commissioners, upon which the whole matter hinged, was effected in obedience to a sagacious advice tendered by lord Marchmont—namely, that they should be “the most considerable men, provided they were whigs, and therefore friends to the Revolution; but such alone, with disregard to their feelings respecting an incorporating union, as hostile to it or not.” The reasonings he employed to enforce this principle of selection are to be found in the *Marchmont Papers*; and we learn from Lockhart to how great an extent they were acted on. Speaking of the commissioners, this gentleman says, that “all were of the court or whig interest except himself,” an ardent Jacobite, an exception only made in the hope of gaining him through his uncle, the whig lord Wharton. It is universally allowed that this principle, though the author of it has not heretofore been very distinctly known, achieved the union.

We are now to advert to a circumstance of a painful nature respecting the earl of Marchmont, but which we have no doubt has taken its rise either from error or from calumny. As a leader of the independent party in the Scots parliament—called the *Squadron Volante*—it is alleged that his lordship was one of those individuals who were brought over to the government views by bribery; and Lockhart actually places the sum of 1104*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* against his name, as his share of the twenty thousand pounds said to have been disbursed by the English exchequer, for the purpose of conciliating the chief opponents of the measure. Sir George H. Rose has made an accurate and laborious investigation into the foundation of these allegations, from which it would not only appear that lord Marchmont has been calumniated, but that a very incorrect notion has hitherto prevailed respecting the application of the money above referred to. We must confess that it has always appeared to us a most improbable story, that, even in the impoverished state of Scotland at that time, noblemen, some of whom were known to entertain liberal and enlightened views, and had previously maintained a pure character, were seduced by such trifling sums as those placed against them in the list given by Lockhart. Sir George Rose has shown, to our entire satisfaction, that the sum given on this occasion to the earl of Marchmont

was a payment of arrears due upon offices and pensions—in other words, the payment of a just debt; and that he is not blameable in the matter, unless it can be shown that receiving the payment of a debt can under *any* circumstances be disgraceful to the creditor. The best proof of his lordship's innocence is to be found in his conduct at the union, and for years before it. It is clear from his letters to the English statesmen, that the union was an object which he constantly had at heart, and that so far from being drawn over by any means whatever to their views, he had in reality urged them into it with all his strength and spirit, and all along acted with them in the negotiations by which it was effected. Money does not appear to have been so abundant on this occasion, as to make it probable that any was spent, except upon opponents.

The earl of Marchmont offered himself as a candidate at the election of the Scots representative peers in 1707, and again on the dissolution of parliament in 1708, but in each case without success. He could scarcely calculate on the countenance of queen Anne's government; for, if he had rendered it eminent services, he had also taught it how uncompromising was his adherence to his principles. Thus his parliamentary life ceased with the union. But his letters written subsequently to it give evidence that his mind was engaged deeply in all the events affecting the weal and honour of his country. Nor was his patriotism deadened by the insult and injury he received from the court, when, at the accession of the tory ministry in 1710, he was deprived of his office of sheriff of Berwickshire, which was conferred on the earl of Home.

In 1703, lord Marchmont had the misfortune to lose his amiable and affectionate spouse, of the family of Ker of Cavers, to whose virtues he has left a very affecting testimony. In 1709, he suffered a hardly less severe calamity in the death of his eldest son lord Polwarth, a colonel of cavalry, who, beginning his service in king William's body-guard, served through his wars and the duke of Marlborough's with reputation, and died childless, though twice married. He was treasurer depute in 1696. His amiable and honourable character fully justified his father's grief. The second brother Robert, also a soldier, died many years before him.

The accession of George I. gave to lord Marchmont what he called the desire of his heart, a protestant king upon the throne. He was immediately re-appointed sheriff of Berwickshire. In 1715, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, acting on the feelings and principles of his youth, he forbade a meeting of the gentlemen of the county, which had been proposed in the professed view of obtaining a redress of hardships, but which would have embarrassed the newly established government; and his lordship took the necessary precautions to render his prohibition effectual. When he saw the protestant succession secure, he gave up all thoughts of active life, and removed to Berwick-upon-Tweed, to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He retained his cheerful disposition to the last. A short time before his death, he was visited by his daughter, lady Grizel Baillie, and his grand-children, who, with a number of his friends, had a dance. Being then very weak in his limbs he was unable to come down stairs, but desired to be carried down to see them; and, as pleasingly recorded by his grand-daughter, lady Murray, he was so much delighted with the happy faces he saw around him, that he remarked, "though he could not dance, he could yet beat time with his foot."

On the 1st of August, 1724, this illustrious patriot breathed his last at Berwick, in the eighty-third year of his age, leaving one of the most irreproachable characters which have come down to us from that time, if not from others of greater general virtue. He had become so reconciled to the prospect of death, that, though no doubt sensible of the solemn change which it was to produce, he

could make it the subject of a gentle mirth. Being observed to smile, he was asked the reason by his grandson, the ingenious lord Binning, to whom he answered, "I am diverted to think what a disappointment the worms will meet with, when they come to me expecting a good meal, and find nothing but bones." Lord Marchmont, he it remarked, though at one time a handsome man, had always been of a spare habit of body, and was now much attenuated. His character has already been sufficiently displayed in his actions, and the slight commentaries we have ventured to make upon them. It is impossible, however, to refrain from adding the testimony of Fox, who, in his historical work, says of him, as Sir Patrick Hume, that "he is proved, by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, to have been uniformly zealous and sincere in the cause of his country."

HUME, ALEXANDER, second earl of Marchmont, the eldest surviving son and successor of the first earl, having maintained the historical lustre of the family, deserves a place in the present work, though only perhaps in a subordinate way. He was born in 1675, and in his boyhood shared the exile and distress of his family. Before his elder brother's death, he was distinguished as Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnock, having married the daughter and heiress of that family. He was brought up as a lawyer, and became a judge of the court of session before he was thirty years of age. He was a privy councillor and a baron of the court of Exchequer, and served in the Scottish parliament, first for Kirkwall, and then for Berwickshire, when the act of union passed. Emulating his father's feelings, he zealously promoted that measure, and took a very active share in the arduous labours that were devolved upon the sub-committee, to which the articles of the union were referred.

But the principal historical transaction in which this nobleman was concerned, was the introduction of the family of Hanover to the British throne. A report having been circulated that the electoral family was indifferent to the honours opened up to them by the act of succession, lord Polwarth, (for he had now attained this designation,) proceeded in 1712, to Hanover, and entered into a correspondence with the august family there resident, which enabled him fully to contradict the rumour. He took a leading part in suppressing the rebellion of 1715, by which that succession was sought to be defeated, and, in 1716, was rewarded for his services, by being appointed ambassador to the court of Denmark.

After acceding to the family honours in 1722, the earl of Marchmont was honoured with several important places of trust under government, till joining the opposition against the excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, he forfeited the favour of the court and his place as a privy councillor, which he then held. "It appears," says Sir George Henry Rose,¹ "that the distinguished members of the Scottish nobility who joined in this act of hostility to the ministers, were less induced so to do by any particular objections to that measure of finance, than by the hope, that their junction with the English who resisted it, might lead to the subversion of lord Hlay's government of Scotland, a rule which they felt to be painful and humiliating. They knew it moreover to be sustained by means, many of which they could not respect, and which they believed to tend to degrade and alienate the nation. That they judged rightly in apprehending that the system adopted by Sir Robert Walpole and his virtual viceroy, for the management of the public affairs in North Britain, was ill calculated to conciliate to the reigning family the affections of the people, was but too sufficiently proved by subsequent events. He sat as one of the sixteen Scots peers in the parliament of 1727; but at the general election in 1754, the hand of

¹ Preface to Marchmont Papers.

power was upon him; and, being excluded, he, together with the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the earl of Stair, and other Scottish noblemen, entered into a concert with the leading English members of the opposition, in order to bring the machinations unsparingly used to control the election of the peers in Scotland, to light, and their authors to punishment. Sir Robert Walpole's better fortune, however, prevailed against it, as it did against a similar project in 1739." The earl of Marchmont died in January, 1740, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Hugh, who was destined to exhibit the extraordinary spectacle of a family, maintaining, in the third generation, the same talent, judgment, and worth which had distinguished the two preceding.

HUME, HUGH CAMPBELL, third and last earl of Marchmont, was born at Edinburgh on the 15th February, 1708, and soon became remarkable for the precocity of his intellect, and the versatility of his genius. His mind was equally directed to the acquisition of scholastic erudition and political knowledge, and on all subjects he was supposed to be excelled by few or none of his time. In 1734, when only twenty-six years of age, he was chosen member for the county of Berwick, and entered the House of Commons as lord Polwarth, at the same time that his younger and twin brother, Mr Hume Campbell, came forward as representative for the burghs of the district. The injustice and neglect which Sir Robert Walpole had shown to lord Marchmont, was speedily avenged by the trouble which these young men gave to his government. The former soon attained the first place in the opposition; and how keenly his attacks were felt by the ministry is shown in a remark made by the latter person, to the effect that "there were few things he more ardently desired than to see that young man at the head of his family," and thus deprived of a seat in the house. This wish was soon gratified, for his father dying in 1740, lord Polwarth succeeded as earl of Marchmont, nor did he again enter the walls of parliament until the year 1750, when a vacancy occurring in the representation of the Scottish peerage, he was almost unanimously elected. From his talents as a speaker, his extensive information, and active business habits, he acquired great influence in the upper house, and was constantly re-chosen at every general election, during the long period of 34 years. He was appointed first lord of police in 1747, and keeper of the great seal of Scotland, in January, 1764, the latter of which he held till his death. The estimation in which his lordship was held by his contemporaries may be judged of by the circumstance of his living on terms of the strictest intimacy with the celebrated lord Cobham, (who gave his bust a place in the Temple of Worthies at Stow,) Sir William Wyndham, lord Bolingbroke, the duchess of Marlborough, Mr Pope, and other eminent persons of that memorable era. The duchess appointed him one of her executors, and bequeathed him a legacy of £2,500 for his trouble, and as a proof of her esteem. Mr Pope likewise appointed him one of his executors, leaving him a large-paper edition of *Thuanus*, and a portrait of lord Bolingbroke, painted by Richardson. The poet likewise immortalized him, by introducing his name into the well-known inscription in the Twickenham grotto:—

"Then the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul!"

His lordship's library contained one of the most curious and valuable collections of books and manuscripts in Great Britain; all of which he bequeathed at his death to his sole executor, the right honourable George Rose.

His lordship was twice married; first, in 1731, to Miss Western of London, by whom he had four children, a son (who died young), and three daughters; the youngest of whom was afterwards married to Walter Scott, Esq. of Harden. Upon the death of his wife, in 1747, he next year married a Miss Elizabeth

Crompton, whose father was a linen draper in Cheapside, by whom he had one son, Alexander, lord Polwarth, who died without issue, in the 31st year of his age. The circumstances attending this second marriage were very peculiar, and his lordship's conduct on the occasion, seems altogether so much at variance with his general character, as well as with one in his rank and circumstances in life, that we reckon them worthy of being recorded here;—and in doing so, we think we cannot do better than adopt the account of them given by the celebrated David Hume, in a familiar epistle to the late Mr Oswald of Dunnikier, and published in the latter gentleman's correspondence. The letter is dated, London, January 29th, 1748:—"Lord Marchmont has had the most extraordinary adventure in the world. About three weeks ago, he was at the play, when he espied in one of the boxes a fair virgin, whose looks, airs, and manners, had such a powerful and wonderful effect upon him, as was visible by every by-stander. His raptures were so undisguised, his looks so expressive of passion, his inquiries so earnest, that every person took notice of it. He soon was told that her name was Crompton, a linen draper's daughter, that had been bankrupt last year, and had not been able to pay above five shillings in the pound. The fair nymph herself was about sixteen or seventeen, and being supported by some relations, appeared in every public place, and had fatigued every eye but that of his lordship, which, being entirely employed in the severer studies, had never till that fatal moment opened upon her charms. Such and so powerful was their effect, as to be able to justify all the Pharamonds and Cyrusses in their utmost extravagancies. He wrote next morning to her father, desiring to visit his daughter on honourable terms: and in a few days she will be the countess of Marchmont. All this is certainly true. They say many small fevers prevent a great one. Heaven be praised that I have always liked the persons and company of the fair sex! for by that means I hope to escape such ridiculous passions. But could you ever suspect the ambitious, the severe, the bustling, the impetuous, the violent Marchmont, of becoming so tender and gentle a swain—an Artamenes—an Oroondates!"

His lordship died at his seat, at Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, on the 10th of January, 1794, and leaving no heirs male, all the titles of the family became extinct; but his estate descended to his three daughters. According to Sir George H. Rose, who, from his family connexion with the earl of Marchmont, had the best means of knowing, this nobleman "was an accomplished and scientific horseman, and a theoretical and practical husbandman and gardener. He pursued his rides and visits to his farm and garden as long as his strength would suffice for the exertion; and some hours of the forenoon, and frequently of the evening, were dedicated to his books. His most favourite studies appear to have been in the civil law, and in the laws of England and Scotland, in the records and history of the European nations, and in ancient history; and the traces of them are very unequivocal. The fruits of his labours in extracts, observations, comparisons, and researches, all made in his own hand-writing, are not more to be admired than wondered at, as the result of the industry of one who was stimulated neither by poverty nor by eagerness for literary celebrity. His Dutch education had given him method, which was the best possible auxiliary to an ardent and powerful mind, such as his was."

In the publication which we have entitled the Marchmont Papers, are many of earl Hugh, of which the most important feature is a diary, which he kept during three different periods of peculiar interest in the reign of George the Second. The first extends from the latter end of July, 1744, to the end of that year, and embraces the events which led to the formation of what was called the Broad Bottom Administration, when lord Carteret, who just then became earl

of Granville, was compelled to retire by the Pelhams, the king consenting thereto very reluctantly, and when the dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, and Dorset, and the earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, came into office. The second period begins in September, 1745, when news had just been received in London that the Pretender was near Edinburgh, and that it would probably be soon in his occupation. It closes in the February following, with the extraordinary events of that month, the resignation of the Pelham ministry, and its re-establishment after the earl of Bath's and the earl of Granville's interregnum of three days. The third period commences in July, 1747, and terminates in March, 1748, soon after the earl of Chesterfield's resignation, and the duke of Bedford's appointment to succeed him as secretary of state.

HUME, PATRICK, is noticed by various writers as the name of an individual who adorned the literature of his country at the close of the seventeenth century. Who or what he was, is not known: it is only probable, from the regularity with which certain first names occur in genealogies in connexion with surnames, that he belonged to the Polwarth branch of the family of Home, or Hume, as in that branch there were six or seven successive barons bearing the name of Patrick. This learned man is only known to have written the notes connected with the sixth edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which was published in folio by Tonson in 1695, and is one of the most elegant productions of the British press that have ever appeared. It has been a matter of just surprise to several writers of Scottish biography, that absolutely nothing should have been handed down respecting this person, seeing that his notes evince a high degree of taste, and most extensive erudition, and are in fact the model of almost all commentaries subsequent to his time. "His notes," says an anonymous writer,¹ "are always curious; his observations on some of the finer passages of the poet, show a mind deeply smit with an admiration for the sublime genius of their author; and there is often a masterly nervousness in his style, which is very remarkable for this age." But the ignorance of subsequent ages respecting the learned commentator is sufficiently accounted for by the way in which his name appears on the title-page, being simply in initials, with the affix *Φιλοσοφίας*, and by the indifference of the age to literary history. It would appear that the commentary, learned and admirable as it is, speedily fell out of public notice, as in 1750, the Messrs Foulis of Glasgow published the first book of the *Paradise Lost*, with notes by Mr Callender of Craighforth, which are shown to be, to a great extent, borrowed from the work of Hume, without the most distant hint of acknowledgment.

HUNTER, (DR) HENRY, a divine highly distinguished in literature, was born at Culross, in the year 1741. His parents, though in humble life, gave him a good education, which was concluded by an attendance at the university of Edinburgh. Here his talents and application attracted the notice of the professors, and at the early age of seventeen he was appointed tutor to Mr Alexander Boswell, who subsequently became a judge of the court of session, under the designation of lord Balmouto. He afterwards accepted the same office in the family of the earl of Dundonald at Culross abbey, and thus had the honour of instructing the late venerable earl, so distinguished by his scientific inquiries and inventions. In 1764, having passed the necessary trials with unusual approbation, he was licensed as a minister of the gospel, and soon excited attention to his pulpit talents. So highly were these in public esteem, that, in 1766, he was ordained one of the ministers of South Leith, which has always been con-

¹ Blackwood's Magazine, iv. 662, where there is a series of extracts from Hume's Commentary, in contrast with similar passages from that published by Mr Callender of Craighforth.

sidered as one of the most respectable appointments in the Scottish church. He had here ingratiated himself in an uncommon degree with his congregation, when a visit to London, in 1769, opened up to his ambition a still wider field of usefulness. The sermons which he happened to deliver on this occasion in several of the Scottish meeting-houses, drew much attention, and the result was an invitation, which reached him soon after his return, to become minister of the chapel in Swallow Street. This he declined; but in 1771, a call from the London Wall congregation tempted him away from his Scottish flock, who manifested the sincerest sorrow at his departure. This translation not only was an advancement in his profession, but it paved the way for a series of literary exertions, upon which his fame was ultimately to rest. Several single sermons first introduced him to the world as an author. These were on the ordination of O. Nicholson, M. A., 1775, 2 Cor. iv. 7, 8; On the study of the Sacred Scriptures, Acts xviii. 11, in the work called the Scottish Preacher, vol. iv.; at the funeral of the Rev. George Turnbull, 1783; On the opening of a meeting-house at Walthamstow, in 1787, Rev. xxi. 3, 4; On the Revolution, 1788; The Believer's Joy, Acts viii. 39; also in the fourth volume of the Scottish Preacher. These sermons, with some miscellaneous pieces, were collected and published, in two volumes, after the author's death. Dr Hunter first appeared as a general writer in 1783, when he published the first volumes of his "Sacred Biography, or the history of the Patriarchs and of Jesus Christ," which was ultimately extended to seven volumes, and has become a standard work, the seventh edition having appeared in 1814. Before this work was completed, the notice attracted by the system of Lavater throughout civilized Europe, tempted him to engage in an English version of the "Physiognomy" of that philosopher, whom he previously visited at his residence in Switzerland, in order to obtain from the conversation of the learned man himself, as perfect an idea as possible of his particular doctrines. It is said that Lavater at first displayed an unexpected coolness on the subject of Dr Hunter's visit, being afraid that an English translation might injure the sale of the French edition, in which he had a pecuniary interest. This, however, seems to have been got over; for Lavater eventually treated his English visitor in a manner highly agreeable. "As their professions were alike," says an anonymous writer, "so their sentiments, their feelings, and their opinions, are altogether alike. A complete acquaintance with the French language enabled Dr Hunter to enjoy Lavater's conversation freely; and he ever afterwards talked with enthusiasm of the simplicity of manners, the unaffected piety, the unbounded benevolence, and the penetrating genius, of this valued friend. The bare mention of that barbarous cruelty which massacred the virtuous Lavater, was sufficient to make him shrink back with horror."—The first number of this work was published in 1789, and it was not completed till nine years after, when it ultimately formed five volumes, in quarto, bearing the title of "Essays on Physiognomy, designed to promote the knowledge and love of mankind, by John Caspar Lavater." Dr Hunter's abilities as a translator were of the first order, and, in this instance, drew forth the entire approbation of the original author. The work was, moreover, embellished in a style, which, at that time, might be considered as unrivaled. It contained above eight hundred engravings, executed by and under the direction of Mr Holloway, and such was altogether the elaborate elegance of the publication, that it could not be sold to the public under thirty pounds per copy. We are only left to regret that so much talent, so much taste, and such a large sum of money as this price would indicate, should have been spent upon an inquiry which the acute and precise sense of the immediately succeeding generation has pronounced to be in a great measure a delusion.

At the time of the French revolution, Dr Hunter republished a treatise by Robert Fleming, whose life, with an account of the work in question, has already been given in this Biographical Dictionary. The pamphlet contained some prophetic intimations, which Dr Hunter supposed to bear a reference to the events in the neighbouring kingdom. It is needless to remark the weakness which alone could dictate such a proceeding in this generally able and enlightened man. Dr Hunter also published a "Sermon preached, February 3, 1793, on the execution of Louis XVI."

In 1795, he attempted a translation from the German, selecting for this purpose Euler's celebrated "Letters to a German princess." This work met with the entire approbation of the public, and has proved a very useful addition to the stock of our native scientific literature. The first edition was in quarto, and a second, in octavo, appeared in 1802. The work has since been reprinted in a smaller size, with notes by Sir David Brewster. The merit of Dr Hunter as a translator was now universally acknowledged, and work accordingly pressed upon him. While still engaged in his version of Lavater, he commenced, in 1796, the publishing of a translation of St Pierre's *Studies of Nature*, which was completed in 1799, in five volumes octavo, afterwards republished in three. "His translation," says the anonymous writer above quoted, "of the beautiful and enthusiastic works of St Pierre, was universally read and admired: here, if in any instance, the translator entered into the spirit of the author, for the glow of benevolence which gives life to every page of '*Les Etudes de la Nature*' was entirely congenial to the feelings of Dr Hunter." Saurius's *Sermons*, and Sonnini's *Travels to Upper and Lower Egypt*, complete the list of Dr Hunter's labours as a translator; and it is but small praise to say, that few men have reached the same degree of excellence in that important branch of literature. During the progress of other labours, Dr Hunter published more than one volume of original sermons, and a volume entitled "*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*," being the completion of a plan begun by the Rev. John Fell. He also commenced the publication, in parts, of a popular "*History of London and its Environs*," which, however, he did not live to complete.

In the year 1790, Dr Hunter was appointed secretary to the corresponding board of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. He was likewise chaplain to the Scots corporation in London, and both these institutions were much benefited by his zealous exertions in their behalf. It must be obvious from the frequent and involved succession of his literary productions, that Dr Hunter spent a most industrious life, and was upon the whole the most busy as he approached that stage of existence when the generality of men begin to find ease not only agreeable but necessary. It is probable that this unceasing exertion, which no doubt was more occasioned by necessity than by choice, tended to break down his constitution, which was further weakened in his latter years by the agitation and distress of mind consequent on the death of three beloved children. Having retired to Bristol wells for the recovery of his health, he died there, of inflammation in the lungs, October 27, 1802, in the sixty-second year of his age.

"If Dr Hunter," says his anonymous biographer,² "was conspicuous as an author, he was still more to be admired as a man. An unbounded flow of benevolence, which made him enjoy and give enjoyment to every society, joined to a warmth of feeling, which made him take an interest in every occurrence, rendered him the delight of all his acquaintance. His social talents were of the highest order. An easy flow of conversation, never loud, never overbearing, and completely free from affectation; an inexhaustible fund of pleasant anecd-

² Obituary of Gentleman's Magazine, lxxii. 1072.

dotes and occasional flashes of wit and humour, made every company he joined pleased with him and with themselves. He was particularly happy in adapting his conversation to those he conversed with; and while to a lady his discourse appeared that of a polished gentleman, the scholar was surprised by his apt quotations from the classics, and the ease with which he turned to any subject that was brought before him. * * His private charities were as numerous as the objects of compassion which occurred to him; nor should his unbounded and cheerful hospitality be forgot among his other virtues." [He is said to have carried this virtue beyond the bounds which a regard to prudence and economy should have prescribed.] "The crowded attendance and the universal regret of his congregation are the best proofs of the effect of his pulpit eloquence. His enlightened and liberal views of religion made his meeting-house the resort of the leading Scotsmen in London; and it was here that the natives of the southern part of the island had an opportunity of observing a specimen of that church which produced a Robertson and a Blair. * * Dr Hunter was of a spare habit of body, and remarkably active; and his usual cheerfulness and flow of good humour continued till within a few weeks of his death." He left a family, consisting of a wife, two sons, and a daughter.

HUNTER, WILLIAM and JOHN, two eminent physicians, fall to be noticed here under one head, in order that we may, without violating alphabetical arrangement, give William that priority to which his seniority and precedence in public life render necessary.

WILLIAM HUNTER was born, May 23, 1718, at Kilbride in the county of Lanark. His great-grandfather, by his father's side, was a younger son of Hunter of Hunterston. His father and mother lived on a small estate in the above county, called Calderwood, which had been some time in the possession of their family. They had ten children, of whom the subject of our present memoir was the seventh, while John was the tenth. One of his sisters married the reverend James Baillie, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, and became the mother of Matthew Baillie, the late celebrated physician, whose labours in morbid anatomy have been of such essential service in promoting the study of pathology. William Hunter was sent to the college of Glasgow at the age of fourteen, where he pursued his studies with diligence, and obtained the esteem of the professors and his fellow students. He was at this time designed for the church;—but hesitated, from conscientious motives to subscribe all the articles of its faith. There is perhaps no position so painful as that of a man whose mind is overshadowed by doubts on doctrinal points of religion, having firmness in himself to investigate narrowly the foundation of the principles he should embrace, and rectitude enough to acknowledge with candour the difficulties by which he is embarrassed. Such was the state of mind of William Hunter when he became acquainted with the eminent Dr Cullen, who was then established in practice at Hamilton. After much deliberation, under his persuasion, he determined to relinquish his theological studies, and devote himself exclusively to the profession of medicine. Accordingly, having obtained the consent of his father, in the year 1737, he went to reside with Dr Cullen; in whose family he lived nearly three years; a period which afterwards, when he was engaged in the anxieties and turmoil that are ever attendant on the life of a medical man, he looked back upon with peculiar pleasure. It was the *oasis* on which, in after years, his memory loved to dwell. Between these two gifted individuals a partnership was now formed, and it was agreed that William Hunter should take charge of the surgical, and Dr Cullen of the medical cases that occurred in their practice. To carry their mutual wishes more efficiently into operation, it was arranged that William Hunter should proceed to Edin-

burgh, and then to London, for the purpose of pursuing his medical studies in each of these cities, after which, that he should return to settle at Hamilton.

In November, 1740, William Hunter went to Edinburgh, where he remained until the following spring, attending the lectures of the medical professors there, among whom he had the advantage of attending Dr Alexander Monro, who was one of the most talented and able professors, who, perhaps, ever adorned that university. In the summer of 1741, he proceeded to London, and resided with Mr afterwards Dr Smellie, then an apothecary in Pall Mall. He took with him a letter of introduction from Mr Foulis, the printer at Glasgow, to Dr James Douglas. At first, Mr Hunter commenced the study of anatomy under the tuition of Dr Frank Nicholls, who was the most eminent teacher of anatomy then in London, and who had formerly professed the science at Oxford. It appears that Dr Douglas had been under some obligation to Mr Foulis, who had collected for him several editions of Horace, and he naturally, therefore, paid attention to young Hunter, whom he at once recognized to be an acute and talented observer. Dr Douglas was at that time intent on a great anatomical work on the bones, which he did not live to complete, and was looking out for a young man of industry and ability whom he might employ as his dissector. He soon perceived that his new acquaintance would be an eligible assistant to him; and after some preliminary conversation invited him into his family, for the double purpose of assisting him with his dissections, and directing the education of his son. The pecuniary resources of young Hunter were at this time very slender, and the situation was to him therefore highly advantageous; but it was with difficulty that he could obtain the consent of his father for him to accept it, who being now old and infirm, awaited with impatience his return to Scotland. Ultimately, however, he was prevailed on to acquiesce in the wishes of his son, which he did with reluctance; he did not, however, long survive, as he died on the 30th of the October following, aged seventy-eight. Mr Hunter's previous arrangements with Dr Cullen formed no obstacle to his new views; for he had no sooner explained his position, than Dr Cullen, anxious for his advancement, readily canceled the articles of agreement, and left his friend to pursue the path which promised to lead him to fame and to fortune. At liberty now to take advantage of all the means of instruction by which he was surrounded, he pursued his studies with assiduity. By the friendly assistance of Dr Douglas he was enabled to enter himself as a surgeon's pupil at St George's hospital, under Mr James Wilkie, and as dissecting pupil under Mr Frank Nicholls. He also attended a course of experimental philosophy, which was delivered by Desauguliers. He soon became very expert as a dissector, insomuch that Dr Douglas went to the expense of having several of his preparations engraved. But he did not enjoy his liberal patronage and aid long, for many months had not elapsed when his kind benefactor died, an event which happened April 1, 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr Douglas left a widow and two children;—but his death made no alteration in respect to Mr Hunter, who continued as before to reside in his family, and perform the same duties which he had previously done.

In the year 1743, the first production from the pen of Mr Hunter was communicated to the Royal Society. It was an "Essay on the Structure and Diseases of Articulating Cartilages," a subject which had not been at that time sufficiently investigated, and on which his observations threw considerable light. His favourite scheme was now to commence as a lecturer on anatomy;—but he did not rashly enter on this undertaking, but passed some years more in acquiring the necessary knowledge, and in making the numerous preparations which are necessary to exhibit in a complete course of anatomy. There is, perhaps,

no branch of medical science which demands more patient and assiduous toil than this; it was more especially so at that period, when there were few aids to anatomical knowledge. He communicated his project to Dr Nicholls, who had declined lecturing, in favour of Dr Lawrence, who gave him little encouragement, and he retired, as many others similarly situated have done, to meditate on his own secret hopes, and to await a fit opportunity for commencing his designs. It thus happens in the lives of many young men, that wiser heads caution them against embarking in schemes they have long cherished, and in which, after all, they are destined to be successful. The ardour and perseverance of youth often accomplish undertakings which appear wild and romantic to the sterner and colder judgment of the aged. To William Hunter the wished-for opportunity soon occurred, whereby he was enabled to put his plans to the test of experience. A society of navy surgeons at that time existed, which occupied rooms in Covent Garden, and to this society Mr Samuel Sharpe had been engaged as a lecturer on the operations of surgery. This course Mr Sharpe continued to repeat, until finding that it interfered too much with his other engagements; he resigned in favour of William Hunter, who gave his first anatomical course in the winter of 1746. It is said that when he first began to speak in public he experienced much solicitude; but the applause he met with inspired him with that confidence which is so essential an element of all good oratory. Indeed, he gradually became so fond of teaching, that some few years before his death, he acknowledged that he was never happier than when engaged in lecturing. The profits of the first two courses were considerable: but having with much generosity contributed to supply the pecuniary wants of his friends, he found himself so reduced on the return of the next season, that he was obliged to postpone his lectures, because he had not money to defray the necessary expenses of advertising. An anecdote is mentioned by his biographer Symmons, very characteristic of the early difficulties which are experienced by many men of genius. Mr Watson, one of his earliest pupils, accompanied him home after his next introductory lecture. He had just received seventy guineas for admission fees, which he carried in a bag under his cloak, and observed to his friend, "that it was a larger sum than he had ever been master of before." His previous experience now taught him more circumspection;—he became more cautious of lending money, and by strict economy amassed that great fortune, which he afterwards so liberally devoted to the interests of science. His success as a lecturer before the society of navy surgeons was so decided, that its members requested him to extend his course to anatomy, and gave him the free use of their room for his lectures. This compliment he could not fail to have duly appreciated, and it may be regarded as the precursory sign of that brilliant career which he was soon afterwards destined to pursue.

In the year 1747, he was admitted a member of the Incorporation of Surgeons, and after the close of his lectures in the spring of the following year, he set out with his pupil, Mr James Douglas, on a tour through Holland and Paris. At Leyden, he visited the illustrious Albinus, whose admirable injections inspired him with the zeal to excel in this useful department of anatomy. Having made this tour, he returned to prepare his winter course of lectures, which he commenced at the usual time.

Mr Hunter at this time practised surgery as well as midwifery; but the former branch of the profession he always disliked. His patron, Dr Douglas, had acquired considerable reputation as an accoucheur, and this probably induced him to direct his views to this line of practice. Besides this, an additional inducement presented itself, in the circumstance of his being elected one of the surgeon accoucheurs to the Middlesex hospital, and afterwards to the

British Lying-in Hospital. The introduction of male practitioners in this department of the profession, according to Astruc, took place on the confinement of madame la Valliere in 1663. She was anxious for concealment, and called in Julian Clement, an eminent surgeon, who was secretly conducted into the house where she lay, covering her face with a hood, and where the king is said to have been hidden behind the curtains. He attended her in her subsequent accouchements, and his success soon brought the class of male practitioners into fashion. Nor was this a matter of minor import, for hereby the mortality among lying-in women has been materially reduced. Mowbray is said to have been the first lecturer on obstetrics in London, and he delivered his course of lectures in the year 1725. To him succeeded the Chamberlains, after whom, Smellie gave a new air of importance and dignity to the science. It is said that the manners of Smellie were by no means prepossessing—indeed they are described to have been unpleasing and rough; therefore, although a man of superior talent, he necessarily found a difficulty in making his way among the refined and the more polished circles of society. Herein, Hunter had a decided advantage, for while he was recognized to be a man of superior abilities, his manners and address were extremely conciliating and engaging. The most lucrative part of the practice of midwifery was at this time divided between Sir Richard Manningham and Dr Sandys;—the former of whom died, and the latter retired into the country just after Mr Hunter became known as an accoucheur.

The field was now in a great measure left open to him, and in proportion as his reputation increased, he became more extensively consulted. His predecessor Dr Sandys, had been formerly professor of anatomy at Cambridge, where he had formed a valuable collection of preparations, which on his death having fallen into the hands of Dr Bloomfield, was now purchased by Mr Hunter for the sum of £200. There can be no doubt that the celebrity of Mr Hunter as an anatomist contributed to increase his practice as an accoucheur, as it was reasonably expected that his minute knowledge of anatomy would give him a correspondingly great command in difficult and dangerous cases. Acting now principally as an accoucheur, he appears to have entirely relinquished the surgical department of his profession; and desirous of practising as a physician, obtained in 1750, the degree of doctor of medicine from the university of Glasgow. The degree of doctor of medicine at that and other universities of Scotland, was at this period granted, on the candidate's paying a certain sum of money and presenting a certificate from other doctors of medicine of his being qualified to practise the healing art—but so much was the facility of obtaining these degrees abused that this method of granting them has been very properly abolished. Shortly after obtaining his diploma, Dr Hunter left the family of Mr Douglas, and went to reside in Jermyn Street, Soho Square.

The following summer he revisited his native country, for which, amidst the professional prosperity of a town life, he continued to entertain a cordial affection. He found on his arrival that his mother was still living at Long Calderwood, which was now become his own property, in consequence of the death of his brother James, who died in the 28th year of his age. It is worthy of notice, that this young man had been a writer to the signet in Edinburgh; but disliking the profession of the law, he went to London, with the intention of studying anatomy under his brother William—so that it would almost appear, that in the family of the Hunters there was an hereditary love for medical science. Ill health, however, which bows down the intellectual power of the strongest of mankind, preyed upon his constitution; so that he could not carry his plans into execution, and he therefore returned to his birth place, where

he died. At this period, Dr Cullen was progressing to that fame which he subsequently attained; and was residing at Glasgow, where Dr Hunter again met him, to take a retrospect over the eventful changes which had signalized the progress of their separate lives. Such a meeting could not, under the peculiar circumstances, fail to be interesting to both; for there scarcely can be any gratification superior to that of meeting in after life, the friend of early youth, pursuing successfully the career which at one time was commenced together, and who is still opening up the paths to new discoveries, in which both sympathize and delight, while, at the same time, the same sentiments of personal friendship remain undiminished in all their original strength and sincerity.

On the return of Dr Hunter to London, he continued corresponding with Dr Cullen on a variety of interesting scientific subjects, and many of the letters have been recently published by Dr Thomson, in his life of this eminent physician, a work which should be familiar to all who take any interest in the history of medical science.

On the return of Dr Hunter to London, on the resignation of Dr Layard, who had officiated as one of the physicians to the British Lying-in Hospital, we find the governors of that institution voting their "thanks to Dr Hunter for the services he had done the hospital, and for his continuance in it as one of the physicians." Accordingly he was established in this office without the usual form of an election. He was admitted in the following year licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and was soon after elected a member of the Medical Society. His history of an aneurism of the aorta appears in the first volume of their "Observations and Enquiries," published in 1757. In 1762, we find him in the "Medical Commentaries," supporting his claim of priority in making numerous anatomical discoveries over that of Dr Monro Secundus, at that time professor of anatomy in the university of Edinburgh. It is not easy to adjust the claims of contemporary discoverers in numerous branches of science; and though, on this occasion, a wordy war of considerable length was waged concerning the real author of the great doctrine of the absorbent action of the lymphatic system, yet the disputants seem to have left the field, each dissatisfied with the conduct of his antagonist, and each equally confident of being entitled to the honour of being regarded as the real discoverer. It is not worth while to rake up the ashes of any such controversy; but it is no more than justice to assert, that Dr Hunter vindicated his claims in a manly and honourable tone, at the same time acknowledging that "the subject was an unpleasant one, and he was therefore seldom in the humour to take it up."

In 1762, when the queen became pregnant, Dr William Hunter was consulted, and two years afterwards had the honour to be appointed physician extraordinary to her majesty. We may now regard him as having attained the highest rank in his profession; and avocations necessarily increasing very considerably, he found himself under the necessity of taking an assistant, to relieve him from the fatigues to which he was now subjected. Accordingly he selected Mr Hewson, an industrious and accomplished young man, to be his assistant, and afterwards took him into partnership with him in his lectures. This connexion subsisted until the year 1770, when, in consequence of some misunderstanding, it was dissolved, and Cruickshank succeeded to the same situation. In the year 1767, Dr William Hunter became a fellow of the Royal Society, to which the following year he communicated his observations on the bones, commonly supposed to be elephants' bones, which were found near the river Ohio in America. At this period the attention of men of science had been directed to the large bones, tusks, and teeth, which had been found on the banks of the above river, and the

French Academicians came to the conclusion that they were, in all probability, the bones of elephants. From the different character of the jaw-bone, and other anatomical signs, Dr William Hunter, however, came to the conclusion that they did not belong to the elephant, but to an animal *incognitum*, probably the same as the mammoth of Siberia.³ Nor was this the only subject of natural history on which Dr Hunter exercised his ingenuity, for in a subsequent volume of the transactions, we find him offering his remarks on some bones found in the rock of Gibraltar, which he proves to have belonged to some quadruped. Further, we find an account published by him of the Nylghau, an Indian animal not before described. Thus, amidst the anxious duties of that department of the profession in which he excelled, we find his active mind leading him into investigations on subjects of natural history, which are eminently interesting to all who delight in examining into the mysteries, and beauties, and past history of the surrounding world.

In the year 1768, Dr William Hunter became fellow of the society of arts, and the same year at the institution of an academy of arts, he was appointed by his majesty professor of anatomy. His talents were now directed into a new sphere of action; in which he engaged with unabated ardour and zeal. He studied the adaptation of the expression of anatomy to sculpture and painting, and his observations are said to have been characterized by much originality and just critical acumen.

In January, 1781, he was unanimously elected successor to Dr John Fothergill, as president of the Royal College of Physicians of London, the interests of which institution he zealously promoted. In 1780, the Royal Medical Society of Paris elected him one of their foreign associates, and in 1782 he received a similar mark of distinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences in that city. Thus, in tracing the life of this eminent physician, we find honour upon honour conferred upon him, in acknowledgment of the essential services which he rendered to the cause of science. But his *chef d'œuvre* yet remains to be noticed; it was consummated in the invaluable "Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus," one of the most splendid medical works of the age in which he lived. It was commenced in 1751, but not completed until 1775, owing to the author's desire to render it as complete as possible. It contains a series of thirty-four folio plates, from superior drawings of subjects and preparations, executed by the first artists, exhibiting all the principal changes which occur during the nine months of pregnancy. Here we find the first representation that was given of the retroverted uterus, and the *membrana decidua reflexa* discovered by himself. He did not live however to complete the anatomical description of the figures, which his nephew the late lamented Dr Baillie did in 1794.⁴ He dedicated this valuable work to the king; and it needs only to be added, in testimony of merit, that notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, it has not been superseded by any rival author. It remains now, and will go down to posterity, as a standard work complete in its designs, and admirable in its execution. But this was not the only service which Dr William Hunter rendered to the profession: it remains for us yet to record the circumstances under which he founded a museum which has justly called forth the admiration of every medical man by whom it has been visited. When Dr William Hunter began to reap the fruits of his professional skill and exertions, he determined on laying aside a fund from which he would derive support, if overtaken by the calamities of sickness, or the infirmities of age. This he very shortly accomplished: and it is said, that on one occasion he stated that having borrowed from this fund a sum to de-

³ Philosophical Transactions, vol 58.

⁴ Anatomical Description of the Gravid Uterus and its contents, 1794

fray some expenses of his museum, he felt very much dissatisfied and uneasy until it was replaced. His competency having been obtained, and his wealth continuing to accumulate, he formed a laudable design of founding a school of medicine, and for this purpose addressed a memorial to Mr Grenville, then minister, in which he requested the grant of a piece of ground in the Mews for the site of an anatomical theatre. He undertook to expend £7000 on the building, and to endow a professorship of anatomy in perpetuity; but the scheme did not meet the reception it deserved, and fell to the ground. It is said that the earl of Shelburne, afterwards in conversation with the learned doctor, expressed his approbation of the design, and desired his name to be put down as a subscriber for £1000. But Dr Hunter had now it would appear determined on other arrangements, having purchased a spot of ground in Great Windmill Street, which he determined to appropriate to the proposed use. He there built accordingly a house and anatomical theatre, and removed from Jermyn Street to these premises in 1770. Medical men engaged in active practice, who have a taste for the study of morbid anatomy, have little difficulty in obtaining specimens; and by his own exertions and those of his pupils, many of whom engaged zealously in the cause, he soon succeeded in bringing together a vast number of morbid preparations, to augment the number of which he purchased numerous collections that were at various times exposed to sale in London. The taste for collecting, which all acquire who commence founding a museum, "increased by what it fed on," and he now, in addition to the anatomical specimens, sought to accumulate fossils, curious books, coins—in short, whatever might interest either the man of letters, the physician, the naturalist, or the antiquary. We are informed that in respect to books he became possessed of "the most magnificent treasure of Greek and Latin books that has been accumulated since the days of Mead;"—furthermore, Mr Combe, a learned friend of the doctor's, published a description of part of the coins in the collection, under the following title:—"Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur, descriptio, figuris illustrata. In the preface to this volume, which is dedicated by Dr William Hunter to her majesty, some account is given of the progress of the collection, which had been accumulating since 1770, at an expense of upwards of £20,000. In 1781, a valuable addition to it was received, consisting of shells, corals, and other curious subjects of natural history, which had been collected by the late Dr Fothergill, who gave directions by his will that his collection should be appraised after his death, and that Dr William Hunter should have the refusal of it at £500. This was accordingly done, and Dr Hunter purchased it eventually for £1200. To complete the history of this museum, we may here add, that on the death of Dr William Hunter, he bequeathed it, under the direction of trustees, for the use of his nephew Dr Matthew Baillie, and in case of his death to Mr Cruickshank, for the term of thirty years, at the expiration of which it was to be transmitted to the university of Glasgow. The sum of £8000 was furthermore left as a fund for the support and augmentation of the collection, and each of the trustees was left £20 per annum for the term of thirty years—that is, during the period that they would be executing the purposes of the will. Before the expiration of the period assigned, Dr Baillie removed the museum to Glasgow, where it at present is visited by all who take an interest in medical or general science.

We have followed Dr William Hunter through the chief and most remarkable events by which his life was characterized, and now pausing to contemplate his having arrived at the summit of his ambition,—honoured by the esteem of his sovereign, complimented by foreign academies, and consulted by persons of all ranks—with an independence of wealth which left

him no desires for further accumulation of riches—we must acknowledge that the cup of human enjoyment, while it mantles to the brim, must still contain some bitter drop—that there is in this world no happiness without alloy. Ill health now preyed, with all its cankering evils, upon his constitution, and he meditated, indeed seriously made up his mind, to retire from the scenes of his former activity to his native country, where he might look back upon the vista of his past life and die in peace. With this view he requested his friends Dr Cullen and Dr Baillie to look out for a pleasant estate for him, which they did, and fixed on a spot in Annandale, which they recommended him to purchase. The bargain was agreed on, at least so it was concluded, but when the title deeds were submitted to examination they were found to be defective—and accordingly the whole project fell to the ground, for although harassed by ill health, Dr Hunter found that the expenses to support the museum were so enormous, that he preferred still remaining in his practice. He was at this time, dreadfully afflicted with gout, which at one time affected his limbs, at another his stomach, but seldom remained in one part many hours. Yet, notwithstanding this, his ardour and activity remained unabated;—but at length he could no longer baffle the destroying power which preyed upon his being. The attacks became more frequent, and on Saturday, March 15, 1783, after having for several days experienced a return of wandering gout, he complained of great headache and nausea, in which state he retired to bed, and felt for many days more pain than usual, both in his stomach and limbs. On the Thursday following, he found himself so much recovered, that he determined to give the introductory lecture to the operations of surgery, and it was to no purpose that his friends urged on him the impropriety of the attempt. Accordingly he delivered the lecture, but towards the conclusion, his strength became so much exhausted that he fainted, and was obliged to be carried by his servants out of the lecture room. We now approach the death-bed scene of this eminent man, and surely there can be no spectacle of deeper or more solemn interest than that presented by the dissolution of a man, who adorned by intellectual energy and power, the path which it was in this life his destiny to tread. The night after the delivery of the above lecture, and the following day, his symptoms became aggravated, and on Saturday morning he informed his medical adviser, Mr Combe, that he had during the night had a paralytic stroke. As neither his speech nor his pulse were affected, and as he was able to raise himself in bed, Mr Combe was in hopes that his patient was mistaken; but the symptoms that supervened indicated that the nerves which arise in the lumbar region had become paralyzed; for the organs to which they are distributed, lost the power of performing their functions. Accordingly he lingered with the symptoms, which in all similar cases exist, until Sunday the 30th March, when he expired. During his last moments he maintained very great fortitude and calmness, and it is reported that shortly before his death, he said, turning round to Mr Combe, “If I had strength enough to hold a pen I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die.” Such a sentiment as this, breathed by one under the immediate dominion of death, strikes us with peculiar wonder and awe, for it is seldom in such an hour that suffering humanity can command such stoical complacency. During the latter part of his illness, his brother John—with whom he had previously been on unfriendly terms—requested permission to attend him, and felt severely the parting scene. His remains were interred on the 5th April, in the rector’s vault of St James’s church, Westminster.

The lives of all eminent men may be viewed in a double relation,—they may be contemplated simply with a reference to their professional and public career—or they may be viewed in connexion with the character they have dis-

played in the retired paths of domestic life. It would appear that Dr Hunter devoted himself exclusively to the pursuits of his profession; nor did he contract any tie of a gentler and more endearing nature to bind him to the world.—His habits were temperate and frugal. When he invited friends to dine with him he seldom regaled them with more than two dishes, and he was often heard to say, that “a man who cannot dine on one dish deserves to have no dinner.” After the repast, the servant handed round a single glass of wine to each of his guests; which trifles show the economical disposition he possessed, and which enabled him to realize £70,000 for the purpose of completing a museum for the benefit of posterity. He was an early riser, and after his professional visits was to be found always occupied in his museum. He was in person “regularly shaped, but of slender make, and rather below the middle stature.” There are several good portraits of him, one of which is an unfinished painting by Toffany, which represents him in the act of giving a lecture on the muscles at the royal academy surrounded by a group of academicians. Another by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and of which a correct and elegant fac-simile is given in connexion with the present work, is preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow.

The professional character of Dr Hunter is deservedly held high in the estimation of all who are acquainted with the history of medicine. His anatomy of the Gravid Uterus is alone a monument of his ability; but, besides this, he made discoveries for which his name deserves the highest possible respect. His claims to being the discoverer of the origin and use of the lymphatic vessels were, it is true, warmly contested; but many who have taken pains to examine the merits of the controversy, among whom we may mention the celebrated Blumenbach, agree in awarding to him the honour of the discovery. He had the merit also of first describing the varicose aneurism, which he did in the *Observations and Inquiries* published by the Medical Society of London. His discovery and delineation of the *membrana decidua reflexa* in the retroverted uterus, deserves also honourable mention; in short, both the sciences of anatomy and midwifery were materially advanced by his labours. He was a good orator, and an able and clear lecturer; indeed the extent of his knowledge, more especially in physiology, enabled him to throw a charm of interest over the dry details of descriptive anatomy. His general knowledge was, as we have seen, very extensive; and his name and talents were respected in every part of Europe. Among the MSS. which he left behind him, were found the commencement of a work on biliary and urinary concretions, and two introductory lectures, one of which contains the history of anatomy from the earliest period down to the time when he wrote; also, considerations on the immediate connexion of that science with the practice of physic and surgery. Among other of his works, which are highly esteemed by the profession, we may notice his “*Essay on the Origin of the Venereal Disease*,” which he communicated to the Royal Society; and also his “*Reflections on the Sympylisis Pubis*.”

By his will Dr Hunter bequeathed an annuity of £100 to his sister, Mrs Baillie, during her life, and the sum of £2000 to each of her daughters. The residue of his estate and effects went to his nephew.

We may conclude our memoir of this eminent physician by relating the following anecdote, which is said to have occurred in his visit to Scotland, before he had acquired the celebrity he so earnestly desired. As he and Dr Cullen were riding one day in a low part of the country, the latter pointed out to him his native place, Long Calderwood, at a considerable distance, and remarked how conspicuous it appeared. “Well,” said he, with some degree of energy, “if I live I shall make it more conspicuous.” We need not add any comment on his having lived to verify fully this prediction. Such are the achievements which

assiduity and perseverance are ever enabled to accomplish. The moral deducible from the lives of all eminent men teaches the same lesson.

JOHN HUNTER, younger brother of the preceding, was one of the most profound anatomists and expert surgeons of the age in which he lived. We have already seen how much his brother did to promote the interests of medical science, and we shall find in the sequel, that the subject of our present memoir accomplished still more, and attained even to a higher and prouder eminence, insomuch that his name is, as it were, consecrated in the history of his profession, and respected and esteemed by all who are in the slightest degree acquainted with the science. The exact date of his birth has been a subject of some dispute:—by Sir Everard Home it is placed in July 14, 1728; and this day has been celebrated as its anniversary by the College of Surgeons of London;—Dr Adams, however, has dated it on the 13th of February, on the authority of the parish register shown to him by the Rev. James French, the minister of the parish. This evidence is sufficiently satisfactory; and we, therefore, consider that the latter is the correct date of his birth. He was, as we have already stated, the youngest of the family, and born when his father had nearly reached the age of seventy. Being the youngest, he was a great favourite with both of his parents; indeed, they allowed him to enjoy without restraint all the pleasures and pastimes which are the delight of early life, without imposing on him those tasks which are essential to an early and good education. Ten years after his birth his mother was left a widow, and he was then the only son at home, one or both of his sisters being now married. Herein, therefore, we may find every apology for the indulgence of his mother, who, doubtless, regarded him with an eye of no ordinary interest and affection. He was, accordingly, not sent to school until he had arrived at the age of seventeen, when he was placed at a grammar school—but not having the patience to apply himself to the cultivation of languages, and furthermore disliking the restraint to which he was subjected, he neglected his studies, and devoted the greater part of his time to country amusements. Numerous are the instances of men of genius, who, like Hunter, neglected their education in youth; but who, subsequently, by assiduous application and diligence, recovered their lost time, and attained to high eminence. Such was the case with Horne Tooke, Dean Swift, and others, whose names are honourably recorded in the history of literature. Care ought to be taken, however, to impress it on the minds of youth, that the general rule is otherwise, and that early application is necessary in by far the majority of cases, to produce respectable attainments in mature life. About this time, Mr Buchanan, who had lately come from London to settle at Glasgow as a cabinet-maker, paid his addresses to Mr Hunter's sister Janet, and having many agreeable qualities she accepted his offer, and contrary to the advice of her relations, was married to him. Mr Buchanan was a man of agreeable and fascinating address, and, besides other pleasing and companionable qualities, displayed the accomplishments of a good singer;—so that his company was continually in request, and he yielded too freely to the pleasures and festivities of society. His business being in consequence neglected, his circumstances became embarrassed, and John Hunter, who was now seventeen, went to Glasgow on a visit to his sister, for whom he had the greatest affection, to comfort her in her distress, and endeavour to assist in extricating her husband from the difficulties in which he was involved. There is a report that Mr Hunter was destined to be a carpenter, and one of his biographers ventures to affirm that “a wheel-wright or carpenter he certainly was;” however, the only ground for such a statement seems to have been, that when orders were pressing he occasionally did assist his brother-in-law, by working with him at his trade. The occupation of a carpenter is, in towns distant from the metropolis, often

combined with that of a cabinet maker;—and thence arose the report to which we have just alluded. His assistance could only have been very slight, and it being eventually impossible for Mr Buchanau to retrieve himself from his difficulties, he relinquished his business, and sought a livelihood by teaching music, besides which, he was appointed clerk to an Episcopal congregation. Thus the marriage of his sister, proved so far, in a worldly sense, unfortunate; and the predictions of her relations were too truly verified. Her brother John soon became tired of witnessing embarrassments he could not relieve, and finding that his sister preferred grieving over her sorrows alone, to allowing him to be the constant witness of her grief, he returned to Long Calderwood, after an absence which had so far had a beneficial effect on him, that it weaned him from home, reconciled his mother to his absence, and in all probability suggested to him reflections and motives for future activity, which never otherwise might have occurred. It is no wonder that the village amusements to which he had been accustomed, now lost their wonted charms;—it is no wonder that he felt restless and anxious to enter on some useful occupation, for already he had witnessed what were the bitter fruits of idleness and dissipation. He had often heard of his brother William's success in London, and he now wrote to him requesting permission to pay him a visit, at the same time offering to assist him in his anatomical labours;—and in case these proposals were not accepted, he expressed a wish to go into the army.

His brother William returned a very kind answer to his letter, and gave him an invitation to visit him immediately, which he cheerfully accepted, and accompanied by a Mr Hamilton who was going there on business, they rode together on horseback, and in September, 1748, he arrived in London. About a fortnight before the winter session of lectures for that year, his brother, anxious to form some opinion of his talents for anatomy, gave him an arm to dissect the muscles, with some necessary instructions for his guidance, and the performance, we are informed, greatly exceeded expectation. William now gave him a dissection of a more difficult nature,—an arm in which all the arteries were injected, and these as well as the muscles were to be exposed and preserved. His execution of this task gave his brother very great satisfaction, nor did he now hesitate to declare that he would soon become a good anatomist, and, furthermore, he promised that he should not want for employment. Here we may observe, that the manipulation in dissecting requires a species of tact, which, like many other acquirements, is best obtained in early life; and now under the instruction of his brother, and his assistant Mr Symonds, he had every opportunity for improvement, as all the dissections carried on in London at this time were confined to that school.

In the summer of 1749, the celebrated Cheselden, at the request of Dr Hunter, permitted John to attend at the Chelsea hospital, where he had ample opportunities for studying by the sick-bed, the progress and modifications of disease. At this time surgical pathology was in a rude state; and, among other absurd doctrines, the progress of ulceration was held to be a solution of the solid parts into pus, or matter. When the mind, however young, enters fresh and vigorous into the field of inquiry, untrammelled by early prejudices, it is apt to observe phenomena in new relations, and to discover glimmerings of paths which lead to the knowledge of unsuspected truths. Such, at this time, we may consider to have been the state of John Hunter's mind;—acute in all its perceptions; discriminate in all its observations; and free to embrace fearlessly whatever new theories his reflections might suggest. Here, therefore, in learning the first rudiments of surgery, he first began to suspect the validity of

the doctrines which were promulgated, which some few years afterwards, it was his good fortune to combat, and overthrow.

In the succeeding season, Mr Hunter was so far advanced in the knowledge of practical anatomy as to relieve his brother from the duty of attending in the dissecting-room. This now became the scene of the younger brother's employment during the winter months, whilst William confined himself to delivering lectures in the theatre. In the summer he resumed his attendance at the Chelsea hospital, and in the following year, 1751, he became a pupil at St Bartholomew's hospital, where he was generally present at the performance of the most remarkable operations. At this time Mr Pott was one of the senior surgeons at the latter institution, and no man operated more expertly, or lectured with better effect than he did; and although his pathological doctrines were subsequently, and with justice, arraigned by his present pupil, his name is nowhere mentioned by him but with the highest respect.

In the year 1753, Mr Hunter entered as a gentleman commoner in St Mary's Hall, Oxford; probably with the view of subsequently becoming a fellow of the College of Physicians. But his matriculation was not afterwards persevered in, and the following year he entered as surgeon's pupil at St George's hospital. His object in taking this step, which might appear to have been superfluous, is obvious. He desired to obtain the appointment of surgeon to some public hospital; and he well knew, that while his chance of success at Chelsea hospital was very remote, he was precluded from competing for the appointment at St Bartholomew's, from the circumstance of his not having served an apprenticeship to any surgeon of that hospital, a qualification expressly required by every candidate for that office. He accordingly calculated that the chances were more in his favour at St George's, where he hoped to obtain sufficient interest among the medical officers to facilitate his wishes. To this hospital he was, in two years afterwards, appointed house-surgeon. This, we may observe, is a temporary office, the person holding which may be regarded as a resident pupil, who resides in the house, and is expected to be always in readiness to attend to any accident that may be brought to the house, or may occur in the vicinity.

In the winter of 1755, he was admitted to a partnership in the lectures of his brother, a certain portion of the course being allotted to him, and he being required to lecture during the occasional absence of his colleague. Probably from the neglect of his early education he was little qualified to compete with his brother as a lecturer, a task he always performed with very great difficulty. For making dissections, and anatomical preparations, he was unrivalled in skill; and this was of no mean importance when we remember, that this art was at that time very little known, and that such exhibitions were of great utility during the public lecture. "Mr Hunter worked for ten years," says Sir Everard Home, "on human anatomy, during which period he made himself master of what was already known, as well as made some addition to that knowledge. He traced the ramifications of the olfactory nerves upon the membranes of the nose, and discovered the course of some of the branches of the fifth pair of nerves. In the gravid uterus, he traced the arteries of the uterus to their termination in the placenta. He was also the first who discovered the existence of the lymphatic vessels in birds." The difficulty of unraveling all the complex parts of the human frame, induced him to extend his inquiries, and examine into the structure of the inferior animals, nature having, as Dr Geoffroy St Hilaire has more recently demonstrated, preserved one type in the organization of all animate beings. He applied to the keeper of the tower, and the men who are the proprietors of the menageries of wild beasts, for the bodies of the animals which

died under their care, besides which he purchased such rare animals as came in his way, and many were presented to him by his friends, which he very judiciously intrusted to the showmen to keep until they died, the better to secure their interest in assisting him in his labours.

Ill health is too often the penalty of unremitting application, and Mr Hunter's health now became so much impaired by excessive attention to his pursuits, that in the year 1760, when he had just completed his thirty-second year, he became affected by symptoms which appeared to threaten consumption, and for which a milder climate was deemed advisable.

In October, 1760, he was appointed by Mr Adair, surgeon on the staff, and the following spring he embarked with the army for Belleisle, leaving Mr Hewson to assist his brother during his absence. Both in Belleisle and Portugal he served as senior surgeon on the staff, until the year 1763, and during this period amassed the materials for his valuable work on gun-shot wounds. Nor is this all; taking advantage of the opportunities presented to him, he examined the bodies of many of the recently killed, with the view of tracing the healthy structures of certain parts, as well as the nature of particular secretions. After the peace in 1763, Mr Hunter returned to England, "which," says one of his biographers, "I have often heard him say he had left long enough to be satisfied, how preferable it is to all other countries."

Mr Hewson had now supplied the place of Mr Hunter in superintending dissections and assisting in the anatomical theatre during the space of two years, and it was scarcely to be expected that he would resume his connexion with his brother. During his absence, the interest he had previously acquired in the profession, naturally became diminished; for it is the fate of all who are either by necessity or choice induced to leave their native country, to find on their return, the friendship of some alienated, and that death, or worldly circumstances have compelled others to leave the circle of their former acquaintance. Here then we find Mr Hunter at the age of thirty-six, with very limited means, and with few friends, settling in London to commence the great professional struggle which all are destined to encounter who enter on this particular path of life, which is generally found to be crowded with competitors whom good fortune has already signalized with success. Scarcely can any situation of greater anxiety be conceived, than that of an able and active-minded man sitting down to practise medicine in a city in which he is comparatively a stranger, and which is already supplied with numerous rival practitioners, on whom the public has already pronounced a favourable verdict. Such at this time was the position of Mr Hunter, as one of his biographers simply but emphatically expresses it, "the practice of surgery now and for a long time afterwards afforded no opening for him; Hawkins, Bunfield, Sharpe, Potter, embraced almost the whole of family practice, whilst Adair and Tomkins carried from him the chief of the practice derived from the army." Disheartening, and indeed gloomy as these prospects now were, he returned with unabated ardour to his scientific pursuits, and laid the foundation of that eminence which he afterwards attained. If the difficulties of this world be met with philosophy, and with a firm resolution to overcome them, they may generally be surmounted, and they then leave the moral victor both the wiser and the happier for the conflict. So was it with John Hunter, who, finding the emoluments from his half-pay and private practice insufficient to support him, determined on teaching practical anatomy and operative surgery. With the pecuniary means which he was thus enabled to raise, he purchased about two miles from London a piece of ground near Brompton, at a place called Earl's Court, and there built a house for the purpose of experiments, which he could not carry on successfully in a large town.

Here, in the course of his inquiries he made several important discoveries. He ascertained the changes which animal and vegetable substances undergo in the stomach, when acted on by the gastric juice; he also, by feeding animals with madder, which tinges growing bones with a red colour, discarded the principles observable in the growth of bones; and, furthermore, succeeded in explaining the process by which a dead piece is separated from the living bone. During his absence from England, his name had in some degree been kept up before the attention of the public, by his brother's essays in the *Medical Commentaries*, where we find several allusions to his experiments and observations. In consequence of these scientific researches, while he was yet, as a practitioner, overlooked by the public, the Royal Society, much to its honour, elected him a fellow, in which title he preceded his brother, who was ten years older, and had been known ten years earlier in the metropolis. The adjudgment of this honour, and the recognition of the merit which it necessarily carried along with it, must in Mr Hunter's circumstances, have been to him peculiarly gratifying. It was to him a proud incentive to further exertion; and a strong inducement to bear up against the difficulties, which, as we have explained, at this time retarded his professional advancement.

The love of science leads us at all times to resources which lie beyond the neglect and injustice of the world, and the mind of Hunter, untutored as it was in early life, now sought relief, occupation, and improvement in the paths which it opened up. Among other instructive amusements, he engaged in watching the peculiar habits and instincts of various animals, for which purpose he kept several, which should have been domiciled in menageries, in his own house. Sir Everard Home relates the following anecdote: "two leopards which were left chained in an out-house, had broken from their confinement and got into the yard among some dogs, which they immediately attacked; the howling this produced alarmed the whole neighbourhood. Mr Hunter ran into the yard to see what was the matter, and found one of them climbing up the wall to make his escape, the other surrounded by the dogs; he immediately laid hold of them both and carried them back to their den. But as soon as they were secured, and he had time to reflect on the risk of his own situation, he was so much agitated that he was in danger of fainting." Incredible as to some this anecdote may appear, we hesitate not to accord our implicit belief, knowing how remarkable a control men have exercised even over the most savage animals, when themselves actuated by great courage and strong power of resolution.

This year, by a strong exertion in dancing, Mr Hunter unfortunately broke the tendo Achillis, (the strong and broad tendon felt at the back of the foot,) in consequence of which he introduced an improvement on the mode of treating this accident, which was superior to that recommended by Dr Alexander Munro, who had himself at a more advanced period of life experienced a similar misfortune.

We have no account from Sir Everard Home of Mr Hunter's town residence until his brother, having completed his house in Windmill Street, assigned over to him the lease of his house in Jermyn Street. It is presumed by one of his biographers, that on his first arrival in London he lodged, for the purpose of being near to his brother's dissecting rooms, in Covent Garden, and another informs us that on his return from abroad he resided in Golden Square. Be this as it may, he appears to have lived in Jermyn Street until the expiration of the lease in 1783, a period of fifteen years. Whatever may have been the slight difference which existed between him and his brother, the latter appears still to have interested himself in his welfare, as we find that, chiefly through his

interest, he was, in 1768, (on the authority of Dr Symmou,.) elected surgeon to St George's hospital. He had now acquired the desired means for giving his talents and industry full scope; for, as fellow of the Royal Society, he gained the earliest notice of every scientific discovery and improvement which might take place in Europe; and as surgeon to this hospital, he had the means of extending his observations, and confirming his pathological doctrines. His whole time was now devoted to the examination of facts, and the patient accumulation of such knowledge as he could gradually attain; nor did he, as many others have done, captivated by love of fame, rush prematurely before the notice of the public. "With the exception," says one of his biographers, "of what was published in his name by his brother William, in the year 1764, there does not appear to be any thing by John up to the year 1772. If there were any publications, they must have terminated like many more by others; they must have experienced the fate of abortions, or at least I know nothing of them." Herein he showed very considerable wisdom, and well would it have been for many authors, had they, like John Hunter, persevered even in obscurity in maturing their knowledge before surrendering themselves to a tribunal, whose verdict will always in the end be found to have been dictated by the severest and most rigid principles of justice.

The surgeons of most of the public hospitals in this country have the privilege of selecting, on their own terms, house-pupils, who reside with them a year or two after the completion of their education. Among many who became pupils of John Hunter, and afterwards acquired celebrity in their profession, we may notice the famous Dr Jenner, who boarded in his house in 1770 and 1771, and lived in habits of intimacy with him until his death. "In every conversation," says a friend of Dr Jenner's, "as well as in a letter I received from him, he spoke with becoming gratitude of his friend and master." Even the slightest recollection, or testimony of esteem, from such a man as Dr Jenner, in favour or illustration of the character of John Hunter must be received with interest. In 1771, Mr Hunter published the first part of his Treatise on the Teeth, a very valuable work, the merit of which has not been surpassed by any later production. It may be observed *en passant*, that this was the only work he sold to the booksellers, all his others being published on his own account, or communicated to miscellaneous collections, chiefly periodicals. Between the appearance of the first and second part of his treatise, Dr Fothergill published his paper on that painful affection of the facial nerve, denominated *Tic Douloureux*.

While thus rising in eminence, Mr Hunter became attached to the daughter of Mr Boyne Home, surgeon of Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, who was also the father of the celebrated Sir Everard Home. The young lady received his addresses favourably; but the feelings of human nature, impassioned as they may be, must succumb to the cold reality of worldly circumstances; wherefore, their marriage was necessarily delayed until he had obtained a sufficient competency to maintain her in that rank of society, which for their mutual happiness was desirable. When the passions are staked on the success of such an attachment, and are in fact concentrated in the welfare of a being so chosen, disappointment annihilates all moral energy, and reduces the prospects of life into painful ruin;—but when hope is allowed to feed itself on encouragement, and the future alliance definitively fixed, there is an object for exertion;—a stimulus to action which will not allow of rest, until the means of gaining the promised end have been accomplished. This John Hunter appears to have duly felt, and his exertions therefore were correspondingly increased; and during this time, when he could suspend his professional and scientific toils, nothing gave him greater

gratification than the pleasure of enjoying her society. "The expenses of his pursuits," says Sir Everard Home, "had been so great, that it was not for some years after his first engagement with this lady, that his affairs could be sufficiently arranged to admit of his marriage. This happy period at length arrived, and he was married to Miss Home in 1771."

"Whilst he was paying," continues Sir Everard, "his addresses to my sister, I was a boy at Westminster school. During the holidays I came home, and Mr Hunter, who was frequently there, always showed me particular kindness; he made my father an offer to bring me up to his profession, a proposal which I readily accepted. I was struck with the novelty and extent of his researches, had the highest respect and admiration for his talents, and was ambitious to tread the paths of science under so able a master."

The year after his marriage, at the request of Sir John Pringle, he read to the Royal Society a communication showing that after death the gastric juice has the power of dissolving the coats of the stomach. This paper he was persuaded to read to the society, before he had entirely completed the investigations which he further meditated;—but it appears that he did not afterwards return to the subject, considering that the fact on which any further inquiries might be formed had been sufficiently demonstrated.

In the winter of 1773, he formed a plan for giving a course of lectures on the theory and principles of surgery, with the view of vindicating his own principles, which he frequently heard misquoted or ascribed to others, and of teaching them systematically. The first two winters, he read his lectures gratis to the pupils of St George's hospital, and the winter following charged the usual terms of other teachers in medicine and surgery. "For this, or for continuing them," says one of his biographers, "there could be no pecuniary motive. As he was under the necessity of hiring a room and lecturing by candle light, his emoluments must have been trifling. The lectures not being considered a part of medical education, his class was usually small; and of the few that heard him, the greater part acknowledged their difficulty in understanding him, which was often proved by their incapacity of keeping up their attention. The task itself was so formidable to him, that he was obliged to take thirty drops of laudanum before he entered the theatre at the beginning of each course. Yet he certainly felt great delight in finding himself understood, always waiting at the close of each lecture to answer any questions; and evincing evident satisfaction when those questions were pertinent, and he perceived that his answers were satisfactory and intelligible." In addition to this, Sir Everard Home, after stating the fact of his having recourse to laudanum—the elixir vitæ of the opium eater—"to take off the effects of uneasiness," adds, "he trusted nothing to memory, and made me draw up a short abstract of each lecture, which he read on the following evening, as a recapitulation to connect the subjects in the minds of the students." Amidst all his avocations, both as a lecturer and practitioner, he still pursued with an unabated zeal and industry his researches into comparative anatomy. No opportunity for extending his knowledge on this interesting department of science did he permit to escape him. In the year 1773, at the request of Mr Walsh, he dissected the torpedo, and laid before the Royal Society an account of its electrical organs. A young elephant which had been presented to the queen by Sir Robert Barker, and died, afforded him an opportunity of examining the structure of that animal; after which two other elephants in the queen's menagerie likewise died, which he also carefully dissected. The year following, 1774, he published in the Philosophical Transactions an account of certain receptacles of air in birds, showing how these communicate with the lungs and are lodged in the fleshy parts, and in the bones of these animals; likewise

a paper on the gillaroo trout, commonly called in Ireland the gizzard trout. In 1775, several animals of the species called the *gymnotus electricus* of Surinam, were brought alive into this country, and by the curious phenomena they exhibited the attention of the scientific world was greatly excited. After making numerous experiments on the living animals, Mr Walsh purchased those which died, and gave his friend Mr Hunter an opportunity of examining them. This he readily accepted, and drew up an account of their electrical organs, which he published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. In the same volume of that valuable work will be found his paper containing experiments respecting the powers of animals and vegetables in producing heat. Thus, in the paths of natural history did he find a recreation from the more serious, and often irksome duties of his profession;—and by his skilful dissections, and acute observations, enriched our knowledge in this interesting and fascinating department of science. While thus engaged, Mr Hunter found a great difficulty in showing to advantage the natural appearances of many parts of animals which he wished to be preserved. In some instances the minute vessels could not be seen when the preparation was immersed in spirits; in others, the natural colour of the parts preserved, and even the character of the surface, faded and underwent a change after being some time immersed in this liquid,—a circumstance which, to this day, diminishes very much the value of almost all the morbid preparations which are preserved in private and public museums. The only method, therefore, of accomplishing the object he had in view, was to have them carefully and correctly drawn at the time of the dissection. The expense of engaging draftsmen, the difficulty of procuring them, and above all their ignorance of the subject to be delineated, were considerable objections to their employment. Accordingly, he engaged a young and talented artist named Bell, to live with him for ten years, during which period it was agreed that he should be employed both as a draftsman and in making anatomical preparations. This young man soon imbibed the spirit of his master; he worked assiduously with his knife, his forceps, and his pencil; he engaged himself during part of his time in copying out Mr Hunter's lectures, and in less than ten years became a skilful anatomist and surgeon. By his labours, Mr Hunter's collection became enriched with many very accurate and spirited drawings; and a variety of curious and delicate anatomical preparations. This skilful artist, by the interest of his friend Sir Joseph Banks, obtained the appointment of assistant surgeon in the honourable East India Company for the settlement of Bencoolen in Sumatra, whither he set out with the view both of improving his fortune, and collecting specimens of natural history. He was in both successful beyond his most sanguine expectations. He sent home some very rare specimens of animals and corals, and two papers which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*,—one giving a description of the double horned rhinoceros, and the other of an uncommonly formed fish. Unfortunately for the cause of science, he died of fever in 1792, being one of the many who have been summoned from this world, amidst early promises of future excellence and success.

In January, 1776, Mr Hunter was appointed surgeon extraordinary to his majesty,—an honour which contributed still farther to advance his professional interests. About this time the attention of the public was much directed to the efforts of the Humane Society. Dr Cogan was the first who introduced the subject from Holland; and after him, Dr Hawes did not suffer it to rest until it experienced the royal patronage. Here again we find Mr Hunter zealously engaged in endeavouring to ascertain the best mode of restoring apparently drowned persons, the consequence of which was the production of a paper which he read to the Royal Society, entitled “Proposals for the Recovery of Persons apparently

Drowned." The able author of this paper draws the distinction between the mere suspension of the functions by which life is supported, and absolute death, which he illustrates by reference to various animals, in whom, under certain conditions, the actions of life are temporarily suspended. It further contains a description of the signs of life and death, which are of vast importance; indeed, notwithstanding the progress that has since been made, both in Germany and Britain, in medical jurisprudence, this paper contains information which has by no means been superseded.

In the autumn of this year, Mr Hunter was taken extremely ill, and the nature of his complaints induced both his friends and himself to apprehend that his life was in imminent danger. However, the anticipated calamity was averted; he rallied, and was restored to his friends and the public, to whom his subsequent services were of such vast importance. When on his sick bed, he reflected on his own worldly affairs, such as he was about to leave them;—he perceived that all his fortune had been expended in his pursuits; that his family had no provision excepting what might arise from the sale of his collection; and he naturally, on this account, suffered much solicitude and anxiety. No sooner did he leave his sick chamber, than he commenced arranging his collection, so that it might, in whatever event, command its value, and with this view he began to make a catalogue of the collection; but the delicacy of his health obliged him to desist from his labours, and persuaded by his friends and relatives, he retired for a time to Bath. During his absence, Mr Everard Home was employed to draw out descriptions of the preparations, leaving blanks for those with which he was unacquainted. His complaints were considerably ameliorated by his residence at Bath; and though he returned to town before he was quite convalescent, he continued to amend, and was soon recovered.

In 1778, he published the second part of his *Treatise on the Teeth*, and also, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, a paper on the heat of animals and vegetables. "I had now," says Sir Everard Home, "lived six years with Mr Hunter and completed my education: his expenses had always exceeded his income. I had therefore no emolument to expect from remaining in his house, which made it necessary for me to take up some line for my own support, and admiral Keppel's action with the French fleet was the means of procuring me a very eligible situation."

Thus Mr Hunter was now deprived of the valuable assistance of his former pupil. And here we may pause to observe, both from the reflections which he made during his late illness, and the statement of Sir E. Home, that his expenditure had always exceeded his income, how slow are the emoluments of men whose scientific labours are nevertheless an advantage and honour to their country. Mr Hunter had now arrived at the age of fifty years, thirty of which had been devoted to his profession; he had been eleven years member of the Royal Society, and nine years an hospital surgeon;—he was respected and esteemed by the most accomplished men of science, and his claims to honourable distinction recognized by the nobility and by royalty itself; but still his pecuniary circumstances were at so low an ebb, that, had he died during his late illness, his wife and children would have been left comparatively destitute. His expenses do not appear to have been great; his family had increased, but only two survived, and these were still of an age to be little expensive; his own personal expenses were not considerable; and yet five years after this period (says one of his biographers), when he purchased a leasehold in Leicester Square, he assured us that he was under the necessity of mortgaging before he could pay for it, and for some time afterwards he used to regret that all he could collect in fees "went to carpenters and bricklayers;

whilst the sum expended was scarcely sufficient to furnish the library of a literary character." But the calamities and poverty of men of genius are so proverbial, that the hand of humanity willingly draws a veil over their sufferings; and yet there is something higher than riches to be obtained in this world, and amidst all the difficulties he has to encounter, happy is he who can command the power of contributing even in the slightest degree to the well-being and happiness of the human race. It is this high hope, this internal moral conviction, which always has, and ever will support genius along the difficult and thorny track which it is its destiny to tread.¹ In 1780, Mr Hunter laid before the Royal Society an account of a woman who had the small pox during pregnancy, and in whom the disease seems to have been communicated to the fetus. The following year he was elected fellow of the Royal Society of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Gottenburg.

During this period, he read before the Royal Society many valuable communications; among which we may notice, a paper on the Organ of Hearing in Fish, and six Croonian lectures on Muscular Motion. In these lectures he collected all the observations that had been made on the muscles, respecting their powers and effects, and the stimuli by which they are excited; and to these he added comparative observations concerning the moving powers of plants; but these lectures were not published in the Philosophical Transactions, as they were not considered by the author to be sufficiently complete dissertations.

Sir Everard Home informs us, that in the year 1783, Mr Hunter was chosen into the Royal Society of Medicine and Royal Academy of Surgery in Paris. In this year, continues the same writer, the lease of his house in Jermyn Street expired, and his collection being now too large to be contained in his dwelling house, he purchased the lease of a large house on the east side of Leicester Square, and the whole lot of ground extending to Castle Street, in which there was another house. In the middle space between the two houses he erected a building for his collection. Upon this building he expended above three thousand pounds, and, unfortunately for his family, the lease did not extend beyond twenty-four years. * * * * * "During the execution of this extensive plan I returned to England from Jamaica, where, at the close of the war, I had been appointed staff surgeon. * * * * * I found Mr Hunter now advanced to a considerable practice, and a still greater share of public confidence. His collection had increased with his income. In this he was materially assisted by his friendship with Sir Joseph Bankes, who not only allowed him to take any of his own specimens, but procured him every curious animal production in his power, and afterwards divided between him and the British Museum all the specimens of animals he had collected in his voyage round the world. Drawing materials from such ample sources, standing alone in this branch of science, and high in the public estimation, he had so much attention paid to him, that no new animal was brought to this country which was not shown to him; many were given to him, and of those which were for sale he had commonly the refusal; under these circumstances his collection made a progress which would otherwise have been impossible. In April, 1785, his new rooms were completed, and I devoted the whole of the summer to the object of assisting him in moving his preparations, and arranging them in their proper order."²

The surgical practice of Mr Hunter now daily increased, and he performed

¹ *Vide* Exposition of the false medium and barrier excluding men of genius from the public. London, Effingham Wilson, 1833.

² Life of John Hunter by Sir Everard Home, prefixed to his Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun shot wounds.

with great skill and judgment numerous operations, which were at that time new in the art of surgery; but whatever may have been the multiplicity of his professional engagements, his mind was still devoted to effecting improvements in medical education, and with this view, assisted by his friend the celebrated Dr Fordyce, he instituted a medical society, called the *Lyceum Medicum Londinense* the meetings of which were held in his own lecture-rooms, and which acquired no inconsiderable reputation, both from the numbers and character of its members. Institutions of this kind have been of eminent importance in fostering and eliciting talents that have done honour to medical science; and this under the patronage it enjoyed did not fail to flourish.

In the year 1786, in consequence of the death of Mr Middleton, Mr Hunter was appointed deputy surgeon general to the army; shortly after which he published his work on the venereal disease, and another entitled "Observations on certain parts of the Animal Economy;" both which works rank high in the estimation of the profession. Sir Everard Home mentions the curious fact, that he chose to have his works printed and published in his own house, but "finding," he adds, "this measure to bear hard upon the booksellers in a way which had not been explained, and which was not intended, the second editions were sold by Mr Johnson in St Paul's Church-yard, and Mr Nicoll, Pall Mall." In the spring of this year he had another very severe illness, which confined him to bed, and rendered him incapable of any kind of business. "In this state," says his biographer, "I was obliged to take upon myself the charge of his patients, as well as of his other affairs; and these were so extensive, that my residence in his house became absolutely necessary. His recovery was very slow, and his health received so severe a shock, that he was never afterwards entirely free from complaint or capable of his usual bodily exertion. After his recovery from this illness, he was subjected to affections of the heart upon every occasion which agitated his mind. In this infirm state he was unable to attend patients upon sudden calls in the night, or to perform operations without assistance; and for these years I continued to live with him until within a year of his death, and then took a house within a few doors, which, in no respects detached me from his pursuits, or prevented me from taking a part in his private practice. The uncertainty of the continuance of life under this affection; the mental agitation, and frequent depression with which it is almost invariably attended, render the victims of such generally anxious and unhappy; the canker worm is felt to be preying within the living frame, and there is no hope of restoration to permanent health. But notwithstanding all this, his energies remained unabated, and he still toiled with his wonted alacrity in the pursuit of knowledge. In the year 1787, he submitted to the Royal Society a paper giving an account of the experiment he had made to determine the effect of extirpating one ovarium, on the number of the young; also another communication, in which he proves the wolf, jackall, and dog to be of the same species; and another on the anatomy of the whale tribe. In return for these labours, having been twelve years a fellow, he received the gold Copleyan medal. Distinctions of this kind, although abstractly no stimulus to men who are actuated by higher motives in pursuit of knowledge, when conferred on men of such eminent abilities, not only do honour to the individual to whom they are presented, but to the institution by which they are awarded; and certainly, on reviewing the labours of John Hunter, there was perhaps no man who ever lived, better entitled to this honour. In the July of this year, he was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society; and the same year, on account of his continued ill health, he applied to the governors of St George's hospital to allow him an assistant surgeon, to which request they readily acceded; and Sir

Everard Home was appointed to the office. In the year 1789, he succeeded Mr Adair as inspector general of hospitals, and surgeon general of the army, and about the same time was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.

In the year 1792, Mr Hunter found that the period which he allotted to lecturing interfered so much with his other avocations, that he gave his materials for the lectures into the hands of Sir Everard Home, who relieved him of this duty. He now therefore began to prepare for the press his "Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot wounds," the data for which he had been collecting for many years. In his dedication to the king, he states that his appointment as surgeon on the staff in the expedition against Belleisle afforded him the opportunities of attending to gun-shot wounds, of seeing the errors and defects in that branch of military surgery, and of studying to remove them. He further adds, that it drew his attention to inflammation in general, and enabled him to make the observations which form the bases of that doctrine, which has since his time excited so much controversy among physiologists. By a series of very interesting experiments, and by a very ingenious mode of reasoning, he came to the conclusion maintained by this doctrine, which holds, that the blood as existing in its fluid state is alive, and that its death causes the changes which are observed to take place when it is abstracted from the body. In the Old Testament we read, "ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh; for the life of all flesh is the blood," (Levit. xvii. 14.) The same doctrine too seems promulgated in the Alcoran—and appears to have been maintained by the celebrated Harvey;—but notwithstanding these facts, there is no reason to presume that the idea was plagiarized by John Hunter: on the contrary, his opinion was with him original, inasmuch as it was elicited by the experiments which he himself performed. This would by no means be an appropriate place to discuss the general merits of this physiological doctrine; but we do not err in stating that it is supported by very plausible evidence, and is maintained by many eminent men of science. The nature and seat of the living principle which raises man above the inanimate beings by which he is surrounded, is manifestly beyond the reach of human investigation; but it must be satisfactory to those who have not time nor inclination even to examine the evidence which has been on either side adduced, to find, that such men as John Hunter and Abernethy recognized the existence of something beyond the mere mechanism of the human frame; that they in their acute reasonings urged the existence of an internal and self-sustaining principle, which modifies the different conditions of matter, and must be therefore superior to its decay.

In the year 1792, Mr Hunter was elected an honorary member of the Chirurgical-Physical Society of Edinburgh, and likewise connected himself with the Veterinary College, then just projected in London. "The origin of this institution," says Dr Adams, "was at Odiham in Hampshire; the Agricultural Society of which had offered a premium for the best account of the glanders. Mr Sergeant Bell was the fortunate candidate, and the society was so well pleased with his piece, that in a little time after, a Veterinary College was projected, over which that gentleman should preside. As soon as the proposal was known to Mr Hunter he eagerly joined it, urging the advantages which might be derived from it, not only to quadrupeds, but to man, by extending our knowledge of physiology and more especially of pathology. In order to forward the plan, several gentlemen, the duke of Bedford at their head, deposited £500 on the chance of its being never returned. Mr Hunter was one of the number. It was proposed that he should examine Mr Sergeant Bell, to which he readily assented. It will easily be conceived by those who are not at all acquainted

with the continental pathology of those days, that the examination proved unsatisfactory. Mr Hunter would have gladly introduced another gentleman; but this did not at all lessen his zeal in promoting the object of the institution." Such was the origin of his connexion with the London Veterinary College, of which he now became one of the vice-presidents.

In the transactions of the Society for improving Medical Knowledge, of which Mr Hunter was one of the original and most zealous members, he published about this period papers on the Treatment of Inflamed Veins, on Introsusception, and on a mode of conveying food into the stomach in cases of paralysis of the œsophagus. He likewise finished his Observations on the Economy of Bees, and presented them to the Royal Society. These observations he finished at Earl's Court, which was his place of retirement from the toils of his profession, but by no means a retreat from those intellectual labours which diversified the whole tenor of his life. "It was there," says Sir Everard Home, "he carried on his experiments on digestion, on exfoliation, on the transplanting of teeth into the combs of cocks, and all his other investigations on the animal economy, as well in health as in disease. The common bee was not alone the subject of his observation, but the wasp, hornet, and the less known kinds of bees were also objects of his attention. It was there he made the series of preparations of the external and internal changes of the silk worm; also a series of the incubation of the egg, with a very valuable set of drawings of the whole series. The growth of vegetables was also a favourite subject of inquiry, and one on which he was always engaged making experiments. In this retreat he had collected many kinds of animals and birds, and it was to him a favourite amusement in his walks to attend to their actions and to their habits, and to make them familiar with him. The fiercer animals were those to which he was most partial, and he had several of the bull kind from all parts of the world. Among these was a beautiful small bull he had received from the queen, with which he used to wrestle in play, and entertain himself with its exertions in its own defence. In one of these contests the bull overpowered him and got him down, and had not one of the servants accidentally come by, and frightened the animal away, his frolic would probably have cost him his life."³ The pleasure which a man of high intellectual endowments, and refined sensibility, takes in watching the habits, and in a manner sympathizing with the feelings exhibited by the lower classes of animals, constitutes one of the most amiable and noble features which his disposition can pourtray, and doubtless must give rise to some of the finest and most generous feelings of which human nature is susceptible. Man is in all cases the representative, or rather the repetition of mere man, and in the sufferings of one of his own species he sees reflected as in a mirror the miseries he himself may possibly have to endure; wherefore the chords of pity are by a latent feeling of self-interest vibrated, and he enters into commiseration with his fellow man; but to extend his thoughts and feelings beyond the possible range of his own experience to the commonly despised, or perhaps maltreated lower animals, manifests a high and generous tone of feeling independent of all such collateral selfishness, and in perfect consonance with the most elevated principles of Christian philosophy. Here then we have before us the instance of a philosopher whose profound knowledge had already, in no trifling degree, contributed to the advancement of science and the benefit of the human race, familiarizing himself, and with child-like simplicity playing, with animals, which, although of a lower order of classification, possess senses as acute, feelings as strong, and necessities as urgent as our own, and which by their complex and equally perfect organization, prove themselves to be as much the subjects of divine care,—and

³ Life of John Hunter, by Sir Everard Home.

in their own spheres as important in carrying out and completing the great scheme of the universe.

We have thus already traced the life of John Hunter from youth to middle age; from obscurity to eminence; from adversity to prosperity; and it remains for us now to notice those accessions of disease which rendered the tenure of his life one of extreme uncertainty. We have already stated that in the spring of 1769, he was confined to bed by a serious illness,—an acute attack of gout, which returned the three following springs, but not the fourth. In the spring of 1773, he became affected with very severe spasmodic symptoms, owing to disease of the heart. His next illness took place in 1776, and this appears to have been occasioned by inflammation in the arteries of the brain, which gave rise to morbid appearances that were recognized after death. It is said that this attack was occasioned by mental anxiety, arising from the circumstance of his being obliged to pay a large sum of money for a friend for whom he had become security, and which his circumstances rendered extremely inconvenient. After, on this occasion, taking certain refreshments, and feeling relieved, he ventured on attempting a journey of eight miles in a post-chaise; but he became so much worse that he was obliged to go to bed, and was afterwards brought home in a post-chaise. The determination of blood to the head in particular, gave rise to many very remarkable symptoms. When he went to bed he felt giddy, and experienced a sensation of being suspended in the air. This latter painful feeling increased. The least motion of his head upon the pillow seemed to be so great that he scarcely dared attempt it. If he but moved his head half round, it appeared to be moving from him with great velocity. The idea he had of his own size was that of being only two feet long; and when he drew up his foot or pushed it down, it seemed to be moving a vast way. His sensations became extremely acute or heightened; he could not bear the least light, a curtain and blanket were obliged to be hung up before it, and the bed curtains closely drawn. He kept his eyes firmly closed, but if a candle was only passed across the room he could not bear it. His hearing was also painfully acute; as was likewise his sense of smell and of taste; every thing he put into his mouth appearing of a higher flavour than natural. After being bled, and subjected to other reducing treatment, he recovered from this severe attack; but his constitution had received a shock, which nothing could surmount. An organic disease lurked within, which every excitement would aggravate, if not lead to direct and suddenly fatal consequences. He had no particular illness, however, from this period until 1785, “although,” says Sir Everard Home, “he appeared much altered in his looks, and gave the idea of being much older than could be accounted for from the number of years which had elapsed.” The physiognomy of death is often impressed on the features of the living, for some time before the fatal event occurs which severs them from their relations with the world. So was it with John Hunter;—but in the beginning of the April of this latter year, he became attacked with a dreadfully severe spasmodic disease, which, like his similar attacks, was induced by mental anxiety. His feet, his hands, and then his chest became successively affected; and in effect the extension of the spasm became so considerable that he repeatedly swooned. “I was with him,” says his accomplished brother-in-law, “during the whole of this attack, and never saw any thing equal to the agonies which he suffered; and when he fainted away I thought him dead, as the pain did not seem to abate, but to carry him off, having first completely exhausted him.” Such were the intense sufferings he endured: nevertheless, he rallied, and partially recovered, nor did any thing of the kind particularly recur until the December of 1789, when at the house of a friend he became afflicted by a total loss of

memory. He did not know in what part of the town he was; nor even the name of the street when told it; nor where his own house was, nor had he any conception of any place existing beyond the room he was in, yet in the midst of all this was he perfectly conscious of the loss of memory. He was sensible of impressions of all kinds from the senses, and therefore looked out of the window, although rather dark, to see if he could be made sensible of the situation of the house; at length this loss of memory gradually went off, and in less than half an hour his memory was perfectly recovered. About a fortnight afterwards when visiting a patient, an attack, somewhat of a similar nature, recurred; and during this illness he was attended by Dr Pitcairn and Dr Baillie. Amidst all the diseases and sufferings to which the living body is subjected, the changes which in an especial manner affect the mind, are interesting to all—whether professional or non-professional. His mental impressions during this attack were lively, indeed, often disagreeably so. His dreams had so much the strength of reality that they often awakened him; but the remembrance of them remained perfect.

“The sensation,” says Sir Everard Home, “which he had in his head was not pain, but rather so unnatural as to give him the idea of having no head. The organs of sense (as in the former illness,) were painfully acute. He could not endure the light; and every thing had a yellow cast. Sounds were louder than natural, and every object had lost its true direction, leaning, as nearly as he could guess, to an angle of fifty or sixty degrees. His recovery from this attack was less perfect than from any other; he never lost the obliquity of vision; and his memory became much impaired. The recurrence too of the spasms became more frequent. The slightest exertion induced them. He never went to bed without their being brought on by the act of undressing himself;—they came on during the middle of the night;—the least excitement in conversation was attended by them; and even operations in surgery, if requiring any nicety, occasioned them. It is remarked by Sir Everard Home, that as his mind was irritated by trifles, these produced the most violent effects on his disease. “His coachman,” says he, “being beyond his time, or a servant not attending to his directions, brought on the spasms, while a real misfortune produced no such effect. He thus continued to drag on a painful and precarious existence, with the grave every moment threatening to open beneath his feet. At length the fatal event so long anticipated by his friends occurred; it was sudden; and occasioned, as his former fits had been, by mental excitement. The circumstances by which this was occasioned, are thus detailed by Dr Adams, who had a personal knowledge of them. “A law,” says he, “concerning the qualifications required for the admission of pupils, had been carried contrary to the wishes of Mr Hunter. At this time he was applied to by a youth ignorant of the new regulation and consequently unprovided with any documents. His former residence was at a great distance, and he was anxious not to lose time during an expensive stay in London, in fitting himself for professional service. Mr Hunter, to relieve himself from the irksomeness of pleading or explaining, requested the case might be drawn up in the form of a letter addressed to himself. This he proposed to bring with him at the meeting of the next board. Notwithstanding this great caution, however, he felt the probability of a contest which he might prove unable to support. On the succeeding day the writer of this, (Dr Adams,) had a very long conversation with him, in which we were insensibly led to his complaint; a subject of all others the most interesting to his friends, and on which he never was backward in conversing. He was willing to hear every argument against the probable existence of an organic infirmity; but it was easy to see that his own opinion remained the same. Nor did he fail

on this occasion, to revert to the effect which it had on his temper. On the following day, I am informed from good authority, he told a baronet, who called on him in the morning, that he was going to the hospital; that he was fearful some unpleasant rencounter would ensue, and if such should be the case, he knew it must be his death." Notwithstanding this presentiment, he chose to hazard the event, for the purpose of defending a youth, against what appeared to him an oppressive and unjust regulation. The generosity of such a motive is the best apology for the indiscretion in attending the meeting, at which such fatal consequences were, even by himself, apprehended. "On the 16th October," says Sir Everard Home, "when in his usual state of health, he went to St George's hospital, and meeting with something which irritated his mind, and not being perfectly master of the circumstances, he withheld his sentiments; in which state of restraint he went into the next room, and turning round to Dr Robinson, one of the physicians to the hospital, he gave a deep groan, and dropped down dead." His body was conveyed from the hospital in a sedan chair, and underwent a careful medical examination, by which it appeared that among other morbid changes that had occurred, the arteries both of the heart and brain had undergone ossification. His funeral was attended by a few of his oldest medical friends, and his remains interred in the vault under the parish church of St Martin's in the Fields. He expired, it may be added, in his sixty-fifth year, the same age, at which his brother Dr William Hunter died.

We have now noticed *seriatim* the principal events which characterized the life of this eminent surgeon, and throughout them we notice the manifestation of great mental energy, combined with considerable powers of originality. His early education had it is true been grievously neglected; but this very fact left him at liberty to explore more freely new and untrodden paths, which men shackled by scholastic dogmas, and bowing with undue reverence to pre-existing authorities, seldom have the courage to attempt. With such men the deviation from established rules is regarded as a species of heterodoxy; and their learning, therefore, chains them down to a fixed and never improving system. Thus it was with the majority of physicians who embraced, and then promulgated *ex cathedra*, the doctrines of Galen, Boerhaave, Stahl, and others; but it was otherwise with John Hunter; he was of no school; he went with an unprejudiced mind to nature, and examined into all her operations with that freedom and independence which can alone advance the true interests of philosophy. He read very little. "I have learned," says one of his biographers, "from a gentleman who was very intimate with him, that when he had made a discovery, it was his custom to relate it to Mr Cruickshanks, who frequently informed him that Haller had made the same observation before." In every department of science, and even in general literature, such coincidences of observation will often occur; and these too frequently have given rise to charges of wilful plagiarism, of which the suspected author was never guilty. John Hunter was a man of truly original observation; and distinguished himself as much by the practical application of his knowledge, as by the ingenious theories which he adopted. As a surgeon, he was a bold but judicious, a quick yet skilful operator; and suggested many improvements in the mode of performing difficult operations. He discovered the method of operating for popliteal aneurism by taking up the femoral artery on the anterior part of the thigh without interfering with the tumour in the ham, by which the pain, and danger, and future sufferings of the patient are materially mitigated. This indeed ranks among the most important of the improvements which have recently been introduced into the practice of surgery. It may be added, that John Hunter always held the showy part of surgery in the lowest estimation. "To perform an

operation," said he, "is to mutilate a patient whom we are unable to cure; it should therefore be considered as an acknowledgment of the imperfection of our art." How different a sentiment is this from that entertained by some eminent surgeons, who, with much surgical skill but little humanity, recommend operations at the risk of the patient's life, and handle the knife, when in the public theatre, rather with the view of exhibiting their own dexterous manipulation, than with that of relieving the condition of the unfortunate being who writhes beneath the torture which is so coolly and ostentatiously inflicted.

In the former part of our memoir we adverted to the difficulties which this eminent surgeon experienced for some years in struggling against those pecuniary adversities, which seem in an especial manner to oppress men of superior mental endowments. But the subsequent tenor of his career teaches a lesson which cannot too strongly be inculcated;—that resolution, industry, and perseverance, will in the end baffle the evil genius which seems at first to throw thorns and impediments around our path. During the first eleven years of his practice, which, it must be admitted, was for him a long and tedious mental probation, his income never amounted to a thousand pounds a year; however, the four succeeding years it exceeded that sum; and for several years previous to his death, it increased to five, and was at that period six thousand pounds a year. Whatever difficulties, therefore, at first beset his progress were eventually surmounted; he attained the highest rank in his profession; he was universally esteemed and extolled as a man of general science; he had as much practice as he could attend to; his emoluments were considerable; and if we raise up the curtain of domestic life, we shall find him cheered by the society of a wife whom he loved; whose superior mental accomplishments rendered her a fit companion even for a man of his elevated scientific rank; besides all which, he was the parent of two children, in whom, it was natural that his best hopes and warmest affections should be centered. "Nor," says Dr Adams, "was he insensible of these blessings; he has often told me, that if he had been allowed to bespeak a pair of children, they should have been those with which providence had favoured him." But the cup of human enjoyment seldom mantles to the brim without containing some drops of alloying bitterness; and there is no doubt but that professional anxieties and ill health rendered his temper irritable and impetuous. He was, says Sir Everard Home, readily provoked, and when irritated not easily soothed. His disposition was candid and free from reserve, even to a fault. He hated deceit, and as he was above every kind of artifice, he detested it in others, and too openly avowed his sentiments. His mind was uncommonly active; it was naturally formed for investigation, and that turn displayed itself on the most trivial occasions, and always with mathematical exactness. What is curious, it fatigued him to be long in mixed company which did not admit of connected conversation, more particularly during the last ten years of his life. He required less relaxation than other men; seldom sleeping more than four hours in the night, but almost always nearly an hour after dinner: this probably arose from the natural turn of his mind being so much adapted to his own occupations, that they were in reality his amusements, and therefore did not fatigue.

We have already seen how much time, even amidst his arduous professional toils and miscellaneous pursuits, he devoted to comparative anatomy, and in collecting preparations to illustrate every department of that interesting science. The museum which he succeeded in founding, remains to this day a monument of his industry, perseverance, and ingenuity. Here we find arranged in a

regular order of progressive classification every species of animate being, or link in the chain of organization, from the lowest vegetable, in which life can be scarcely recognized, up to man; but no account or description, however minute, can do adequate justice to such a collection. By his will he left it, under the discretion of his executors, to be sold for the benefit of his family, in one entire lot, to the government of Great Britain; or in case of refusal, to any other government or state which would offer such a price for it, as all parties might consider reasonable. Six years after his death, it was purchased by the British parliament for fifteen thousand pounds, and given to the College of Surgeons, on condition that twenty-four lectures should be delivered annually to members of the college, and that under certain regulations it should be open to the public. We thus find that, while his elder brother completed a museum which does honour to the university in which it is preserved, the younger, by his industry and perseverance, completed another, which has been pronounced by the most competent judges to be an honour to his country. How practical a lesson does this afford of the prodigious achievements which may be accomplished by the sustained perseverance and labours of a single individual!

In personal appearance, John Hunter was much below the ordinary middle stature; but his body was well formed for muscular exertion, and when in health he was always extremely active. His countenance was open, and although impressed with lines of thought, was by no means habitually severe; on the contrary, its expression soon softened into tenderness, or became lighted up by mirth, according as the impression swept across his mind. When Lavater saw his print, he said "That man thinks for himself," an opinion which the whole tenor of his actions will be seen to have verified. An admirable portrait of him was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of which a spirited engraving was executed by Mr Sharpe. A bust also of him was modeled by a Mr Bacon, in the modeling of which he was assisted by a cast taken during life. He was quick in manner, and "in conversation," says Sir Everard Home, "spoke too freely and harshly of his contemporaries;" but this, we are given to understand, arose rather from his conviction that surgery was still in its infancy, than from any uncharitable motive, or wish to depreciate his contemporaries. From almost the earliest periods in society, medical men have been stigmatized for displaying the "odium medicum;" but the fact is, that men educated to the practice of an art, the principles of which are not cognizable to the public, are apt to treat with intolerance the pretensions of men who, they have reason to know, notwithstanding they may have crept into a certain degree of favour, are ignorant perhaps of the most elementary principles of their profession. The observations of John Hunter, even on casual occasions, were often remarkably pointed, and significant of his very acute and discriminating mental powers. On one occasion, having been heard to express regret that we must all die, a physician present took advantage of the opportunity to inquire whether it was true that his brother had in his last moments expressed how "pleasant a thing it is to die?" to which he immediately replied, "'tis poor work when it comes to that," evidently insinuating a doubt as to the moral correctness of any such sentiments, which, as we have before hinted, we regard as a rash declaration, incompatible with the sufferings, condition, and mysterious, yet infinitely important prospects of any man on the brink of that future world, which, seriously regarded, must suggest reflections of a very different, and far more solemn nature. Few men were more generous than John Hunter, and the only fault which can impugn his memory is, that in executing his designs for the benefit of science, he neglected too much the interests of his wife and children. It is to be regretted that the

ambition of being serviceable to mankind, should hurry any man away from the more immediate consideration of the wants and condition of his own family; for not all the advantages conferred on posterity, nor all the fame that is trumpeted abroad in his honour, can compensate for a single pang of that widowed bosom which, from such neglect, may have to endure the keen and bitter sorrows of unpitied poverty. We say this without disparagement to the many excellent qualities which distinguished the character of John Hunter,—a name which will be ever highly esteemed in the annals of British surgery.

We cannot, however, conclude this memoir without pausing to notice more fully the estimable qualities of the lady to whom it was his good fortune to be united. She possessed personal attractions of the highest order; “into whatever assembly she entered,” says one who appears to have been acquainted with her, “the delicacy of her face, with the commanding grace of her person, gave her a peculiar air of distinction, and seldom failed to attract attention. But she never ascribed to her own merit the notice she received in society; feeling herself the wife of a celebrated man, she was fond of imputing the attention she received to the influence of his character; doing injustice to herself from a generous pride of owing every thing to him; and she never appeared so much gratified by attention as when she supposed it was shown to her for his sake.”⁴ The same competent authority states, that “during her husband’s life they lived in a liberal and hospitable manner. Mr Hunter was too much devoted to science to attend much to his worldly affairs, and too careless of money to be rich. He did not leave his family in affluence, yet so circumstanced that his widow always supported a most respectable appearance, and was visited by the first society.” We repeat that we do not think that any man’s devotion to science affords the slightest apology or ground of excuse for leaving those to whom he should be bound by the most sacred ties of attachment, in neglected circumstances. On the death of her husband, Mrs John Hunter withdrew from society, and spent her life almost entirely in retirement. After a lingering illness, which she bore with much patience and resignation, she died on 7th January, 1821, in the 79th year of her age, leaving behind her a son and daughter, the former a major in the army, and the latter the widow of general Campbell, son of the late Sir James Campbell of Inverneil.

Besides her many amiable domestic qualifications, to which all who knew her bore testimony, she was exceedingly accomplished; and occasionally during her husband’s lifetime, mingled in society with Horace Walpole, Mrs Carter, Mrs Vesey, and other characters well known in the literary world. She sang and played with admirable taste, and had a talent for poetry which she chiefly displayed in the production of songs and poems, which were characterized by much refinement of thought, sensibility of feeling, and delicacy of expression. Among the former, “The Son of Alknomook” and “Queen Mary’s Lament,” became extremely popular; among the latter, her verses “On November, 1784,” a beautiful address to fancy, under the title of “La Douce Chimere,” with several other minor poems, display much feeling and imagination.⁵ We cannot conclude this memoir more appropriately than by transcribing the following little poem of hers, not that we have selected it as a specimen of her general poetical power, but because it was for the first time published in the Scots Magazine for March, 1821, and may not, on that account, be generally known:—

⁴ Register of Deaths, Scots Magazine, 1824.

⁵ She collected her poems and songs and published them in a small volume in the year 1806.

THE LOT OF THOUSANDS.

How many lift the head, look gay, and smile,
Against their consciences?—Young.

When hope lies dead within the heart,
By secret sorrow close concealed,
We shrink, lest looks or words impart
What must not be revealed.

'Tis hard to smile when one could weep,
To speak when one would silent be;
To wake when one should wish to sleep,
And wake to agony.

Yet such the lot by thousands cast,
Who wander in this world of care,
And bend beneath the bitter blast,
To save them from despair.

But nature waits her guests to greet,
Where disappointment cannot come,
And time guides with unerring feet
The weary wanderers home.

HUTTON, (DR) JAMES, an eminent philosophical character, was born in Edinburgh on the 3rd June, 1726. His father was a respectable merchant, who for many years held the office of city treasurer, and was admired by all who knew him, for his sound judgment and strict integrity. He died while James was very young; the care, therefore, of her son's education devolved upon Mrs Hutton, whose great maternal kindness was only exceeded by her desire to give her son a liberal education. She sent him first to the High school of Edinburgh, and afterwards to the university, where he entered as a student of humanity in 1740. Professor McLaurin was then the most celebrated teacher in that seminary, but though Dr Hutton admired his lectures, he did not seem much disposed towards the science which he taught. To professor Stevenson's prelections on logic may be attributed the first direction given to young Hutton's genius, not so much for having made him a logician, but for having accidentally directed his mind towards the science of chemistry. The professor having casually mentioned in one of his lectures, in illustration of some general doctrine, the fact, that gold is dissolved in *aqua regia*, and that two acids, which can each of them singly dissolve any baser metals, must unite their strength before they can attack the most precious; the phenomenon struck so forcibly on the mind of Hutton, that he began to search with avidity after books which might explain its cause, and afford him an opportunity of pursuing a study altogether new. He at first found some embarrassments in his pursuit from the superficial works that came to his hands, and it was from Harris's *Lexicon Techni* that he first derived his knowledge of chemistry, and which by a sort of elective attraction drew his mind all at once to a favourite study, that decided his prospects in life.

Though he pursued his academical studies with closeness and regularity, and evinced a taste and capacity for instruction, his friends did not see much profit likely to arise from scientific pursuits, and accordingly persuaded him to adopt some profession, which, though much against his inclination, he agreed to, and was accordingly placed as an apprentice with Mr George Chalmers, writer to the signet, in 1743. The dry routine of a laborious profession in a less ardent

mind might have checked, if not for ever destroyed, those seeds of genius which were as yet scarce called into life ; but so strong was Mr Hutton's propensity for scientific study, that, instead of copying papers, and making himself acquainted with legal proceedings, he was oftener found amusing himself with his fellow apprentices in chemical experiments ; so that Mr Chalmers was forced to acknowledge that the business of a writer was one in which he had little chance to succeed. With a fatherly kindness, he therefore advised young Hutton to embrace some other employment more suitable to his inclinations, and relieved him at once from the obligations he came under as his apprentice. How much is science indebted to that liberal-minded man ! Having now to fix upon another profession, he selected that of medicine, as being the most nearly allied to chemistry, and began to study under Dr George Young, and at the same time attended the lectures at the university from 1744 to 1747. The schools of medicine in Edinburgh at that time had not arrived at the high perfection for which they are now so justly celebrated, and it was thought indispensably necessary that a physician should finish his education on the continent. Mr Hutton accordingly proceeded to Paris, where he applied himself closely to anatomy and chemistry. After remaining for two years in France, he returned home by the way of the Low Countries, and took the degree of doctor of medicine at Leyden in 1749.

On arriving in London, about the end of that year, he began seriously to reflect upon his prospects in life, and he soon saw, that however much he wished to establish himself in his native city as a physician, there were many obstacles which seemed insurmountable. He was a young man whose merit was unknown, and whose connexions, though respectable, had no power to assist him, the business being then in the hands of a few eminent practitioners who had been long known and established. All this seems to have made a deep impression on his mind, and he expressed himself with much anxiety on the subject in corresponding with his friends in Edinburgh. Amongst these there was one, a young man nearly of his own age, whose habits and pursuits were congenial with his own, and with whom he had tried many novel experiments in chemistry ; amongst the best was one on the nature and properties of sal ammoniac. This friend, whose name was James Davie, had, in Mr Hutton's absence, pushed his inquiries on the subject to a considerable extent ; the result of which afforded him a well-grounded hope of being able to establish a profitable manufactory of that salt from coal-soot. Mr Davie communicated the project to his friend in London, who, with a mind as yet undecided on any fixed pursuit, returned to Edinburgh in 1750, and abandoning entirely his views on the practice of medicine, resolved to apply himself to agriculture. What his motives were for taking this step it is difficult to ascertain. His father had left him a small property in Berwickshire, and being of an independent and unambitious mind, despising avarice and vanity alike, he most probably looked upon the business of a farmer as entitled to a preference above any other. But not being disposed to do any thing in a superficial way, he determined to gain a knowledge of rural economy in the best school of the day. For this purpose he went into Norfolk, and took up his residence in the house of a farmer, from whom he expected to receive sufficient instruction. He appears to have enjoyed his situation very much,—the natural simplicity of his disposition according well with the plain, blunt characters around him.

It has been remarked of Dr Hutton, that to men of an ordinary grade of mind, he appeared to be an ordinary man possessing little more spirit perhaps than is usually to be met with. This circumstance made his residence in Norfolk quite agreeable, as even there he could for a time forget his great acquire-

ments, and mingle with the simple characters around him, in so cordial a manner, as to make them see nothing in the stranger to set them at a distance from him, or induce them to treat him with reserve. In years after, when surrounded by his literary friends, the philosopher loved to describe the happy hours he spent while under the humble roof of honest John Dybold, from whom he had learned so many good practical lessons in husbandry. From his residence in Norfolk, he made many journeys on foot through other parts of England to obtain information in agriculture, and it was in the course of these rambles that, to amuse himself on the road, he first began to study mineralogy and geology. In a letter to Sir John Hall of Douglas, a gentleman possessed of much taste for science, he says, while on his perambulations, "that he was become very fond of studying the surface of the earth, and was looking with anxious curiosity, into every pit, or ditch, or bed of a river, that fell in his way, and that if he did not always avoid the fate of *Thales*, his misfortune was certainly not owing to the same cause." This letter was written from Yarmouth in 1753. With the view of still further increasing his knowledge of agriculture, he set out for Flanders, where good husbandry was well understood, long before it was introduced into Britain, and travelling through Holland, Brabant, Flanders, and Picardy, he returned about the middle of summer, 1754. Notwithstanding all he had seen to admire in the garden culture that prevailed in Holland, and the husbandry in Flanders, he says, in a letter to his friend Sir John Hall, from London, "Had I a doubt of it before I set out, I should have returned fully convinced that they are good husbandmen in Norfolk." Many observations made on that journey, particularly on mineralogy, are to be found in his *Theory of the Earth*. As he was now sufficiently initiated in a knowledge of agriculture, he wished to apply himself to the practice in his own country; and for that purpose, returned to Scotland at the end of summer. He at first hesitated on the choice of a situation where he might best carry his improved plans of farming into effect, and at last fixed upon his own patrimony in Berwickshire. From Norfolk he brought with him a plough and ploughman, who set the first example of good tillage. It was a novel sight for the surrounding farmers to see the plough drawn by two horses, without an accompanying driver. The new system was, however, found to succeed in all its parts, and was quickly adopted, so that Dr Hutton has the credit of introducing the new husbandry into a country where it has, since his time, made more rapid improvements than in any other in Europe. He resided on his farm until the year 1768, occasionally making a tour into the Highlands, with his friend Sir George Clerk, upon geological inquiries, as he was now studying that branch of science with unceasing attention.

While residing on his farm for the last fourteen years, he was also engaged in the sal ammoniac work, which had been actually established on the foundation of the experiments already made by his friend and himself, but the business remained in Mr Davie's name only till 1765, when a copartnership was regularly entered into, and the manufactory carried on in the name of both.

As his farm, from excellent management, progressively improved, it became a more easy task, and to a mind like his, less interesting; so that finding a good opportunity of letting it to advantage, he did so, and became a resident in Edinburgh in the year 1768, from which time he devoted his whole life to scientific pursuits. This change of residence was accompanied with many advantages he seldom enjoyed before;—having the entire command of his own time, he was enabled to mix in a society of friends whose minds were congenial with his own; among whom were Sir George Clerk, his brother Mr Clerk of Eldin, Dr Black, Mr Russel, professor of natural philosophy, professor Adam Ferguson, Dr James Lind, and others. Surrounded by so many eminent

characters, by all of whom he was beloved and respected, from the vast fund of information he possessed, he employed his time in maturing his views and searching into the secrets of nature with unwearied zeal. In one of these experiments he discovered that mineral alkali is contained in zeolite. On boiling the gelatinous substance obtained from combining that fossil with muriatic acid, he found that, after evaporation, the salt was formed. Dr Playfair thinks this to be the first instance of an alkali being discovered in a stony body. The experiments of M. Klaproth and Dr Kennedy have confirmed the conclusion, and led to others of the same kind. With a view of completing his Theory of the Earth, he made many journeys into different parts of England and Wales, and on visiting the salt mines of Cheshire, he made the curious observations of the concentric circles marked on the roofs of these mines, to which he has referred in his Theory, as affording a proof that the salt rock was not formed from mere aqueous deposition.

In 1777, Dr Hutton's first publication was given to the world in the shape of a pamphlet, on the "Nature, Quality, and Distinctions of Coal and Culm." This was occasioned by a question which the board of customs and privy council wished to have settled, in order to fix on the proportion of duty the one should bear with the other when carried coastwise. Dr Hutton's pamphlet was considered so ingenious and satisfactory, that an exemption of the small coal of Scotland from paying duty on such short voyages was the consequence. He took a lively interest in promoting the arts of his native country, and devoted much of his time and attention to the project of an internal navigation between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. He read several papers in the Philosophical Society, before its incorporation with the Royal Society, (none of which were then published, with the exception of one in the second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society,) "on certain natural appearances of the ground on the hill of Arthur's Seat." His zeal for the support of science in Edinburgh induced him to come forward and communicate to the Royal Society a Sketch of a Theory of the Earth, the perfecting of which had occupied his constant attention for a period of thirty years, during which time he had never ceased to study the natural history of the globe, with a view of ascertaining all the changes that have taken place on its surface, and discovering the causes by which they have been produced; and from his great skill as a mineralogist, and having examined the great leading facts of geology with his own eyes, and carefully studied every learned work on the natural history of the earth, it must be acknowledged that few men could enter better prepared on so arduous a task. As this Theory is so well known, and has been the subject of so much controversy, our limits will not permit us to enter upon it here; we therefore refer our readers to the book itself.

Dr Kirwan of Dublin, and others, considered Dr Hutton's Theory both eccentric and paradoxical, and charged him with presumption in speculating on subjects to which the mere human understanding is incompetent to reach, while some gave a preference to the system of Berkeley, as more simple and philosophical; but notwithstanding all the attacks which the new doctrines of Hutton were subjected to, he had the proud satisfaction of being fortified in his opinions by many great and good men, who were bound to him by the closest ties of friendship. Dr Black, Mr Clerk of Eldin, and professor Playfair, as occasion required, were willing and ready to vindicate his hypothesis. But setting aside all these considerations, there existed in the work itself many faults, which contributed not a little to prevent Dr Hutton's system from making a due impression on the world. In the opinion of his greatest defender, professor Playfair, "It was proposed too briefly, and with too little detail of facts for a system which

involved so much that was new and opposite to the opinions generally received. The description which it contains of the phenomena of geology, suppose in the reader too great a knowledge of the things described. The reasoning is sometimes embarrassed by the care taken to render it strictly logical, and the transitions, from the author's peculiar notions of arrangement, are often unexpected and abrupt. These defects, run more or less through all Dr Hutton's writings, and produce a degree of obscurity astonishing to all who knew him, and who heard him every day converse, with no less clearness and precision than animation and force." In the same volume of the Transactions appeared a paper by him, "A Theory of Rain," which he afterwards published in his "Physical Dissertations." Having long studied meteorology with great attention, this ingenious theory attracted almost immediate notice, and was valued for affording a distinct notion of the manner in which cold acts in causing a precipitation of humidity. It met, however, from M. De Luc with a vigorous and determined opposition; Dr Hutton defended it with some warmth, and the controversy was carried on with much sharpness on both sides.

In his observations in meteorology, he is said to be the first who thought of ascertaining the medium temperature of any climate by the temperature of its springs. With this view he made a great number of observations in different parts of Great Britain, and found, by a singular enough coincidence between two arbitrary measures quite independent of each other, that the temperature of springs along the east coast of this island varies a degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer for a degree of latitude. This rate of change, though it cannot be general over the whole globe, is probably not far from the truth for all the northern parts of the temperate zone. In explaining the diminution of temperature as we ascend in the atmosphere, Dr Hutton was much more fortunate than any other of the philosophers who have considered the same subject. It is well known that the condensation of air converts part of the latent into sensible heat, and that the rarefaction of air converts part of the sensible into latent heat; this is evident from the experiment of the air gun, and from many others. If, therefore, we suppose a given quantity of air to be suddenly transported from the surface to any height above, it will expand on account of the diminution of pressure, and a part of its heat becoming latent it will be rendered colder than before. Thus, also, when a quantity of heat ascends by any means whatever from one stratum of air to a superior stratum, a part of it becomes latent, so that an equilibrium of heat can never be established among the strata; but those which are less, must always remain colder than those which are more compressed. This was Dr Hutton's explanation, and it contains no hypothetical principle whatsoever. After those publications already mentioned had appeared, he resolved to undertake journeys into different parts of Scotland, in order to ascertain whether that conjunction of granite and schistus, which his theory supposed, actually took place. His views were first turned towards the Grampians, which the duke of Athol learning, invited him to accompany him during the shooting season into Glentilt, a tract of country situated under these mountains. On arriving there, he discovered in the bed of the river Tilt, which runs through that glen, many veins of red granite traversing the black micaceous schistus, and producing by a contrast of colour an effect that might be striking even to an unskilful observer. So vivid were the emotions he displayed at this spectacle, that his conductors never doubted his having discovered a vein of gold or silver. Dr Hutton has described the appearances at that spot, in the third volume of the Edinburgh Transactions, p. 79, and some excellent drawings of the glen were made by Mr Clark, whose pencil was not less valuable in the sciences than in the arts.

He pursued his observations with unabated ardour, and in the two next years, with his friend Mr Clark, made several excursions into Galloway, the island of Arran, and the neighbourhood of Jedburgh. In all of these he discovered the same conjunction, though not in so complete a manner, as among the Grampians. In 1788, he made some other valuable observations of the same kind. The ridge of the Lammermoor hills in the south of Scotland consists of the Silurian or graywacke formation (then named primary by Hutton, but afterwards found to belong to the transition series), which extends from St Abb's-head south-westward to Portpatrick, and into the north of Ireland. The sea-coast at Eyemouth and St Abb's-head exhibits striking sections of these rocks, which there appear contorted and dislocated in a remarkable manner. The junction of the graywacke with the secondary strata was an object of instructive interest to Hutton. In the same year he accompanied the Duke of Athol to the Isle of Man, with the view of making a survey of that island. He found the main body of the island to consist of what he termed primitive schistus (graywacke), much inclined, and more intersected with quartzose veins than the corresponding rocks in the south and south-east of Scotland. The direction of these strata corresponded with that of the graywacke rocks in Galloway, running nearly from east to west. This is all the general information he obtained from that excursion. It was reserved for later geological researches to determine the true nature and relations of the Silurian or graywacke series, by means of the fossils which they have been found to contain. It was not till after Hutton's day that geologists became palæontological.

Notwithstanding his assiduous attention to geology, Dr Hutton found leisure to speculate on subjects of a different nature. A voluminous work from his pen made its appearance soon after the Physical Dissertations:—"An Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge, and the Progress of Reason, from Sense to Science and Philosophy," in three volumes quarto. In this treatise he formed a general system of physics and metaphysics. His opinions on the former subjects were very singular. He deprives matter of those qualities which are *usually* deemed most *essential*, solidity, impenetrability, and the *vis inertæ*. He conceived it to be merely an assemblage of powers acting variously upon each other, and that external things are no more like the perceptions they give, than wine is similar to intoxication, or opium to the delirium it produces. It would be vain in us to attempt to analyse this singular work, which cannot fail to recall to the mind the opinions of the ingenious Dr Berkeley; the two systems agree in many material points, but differ essentially in others.

In deference to the opinions of so great a man as Dr Hutton, we shall inform our readers of the view taken of the moral tendency of his work by his friend professor Playfair, who no doubt scrutinized very deeply its metaphysical speculations, as he in part, if not altogether, became a convert of the Huttonian system. "Indeed," says he, "Mr Hutton has taken great pains to deduce from his system, in a singular manner, the leading doctrines of morality and natural religion, having dedicated the third volume of his book almost wholly to that object. It is worthy to remark, that while he is thus employed his style assumes a better tone, and a much greater degree of perspicuity than it usually possesses. Many instances might be pointed out, where the warmth of its benevolent and moral feelings, bursts through the clouds that so often veil from us the clearest ideas of his understanding. One, in particular, deserves notice, in which he treats of the importance of the *female character* to society in a state of high civilization. A felicity of expression, and a flow of natural eloquence, inspired by so interesting a subject, make us regret that his pen did not more frequently do justice to his thoughts." Dr Hutton was seized with a severe and dangerous

illness in the summer of 1793, and, although before this time he had enjoyed a long continuance of good health, such was the painful nature of his complaint that he was reduced to great weakness, and confined to his room for many months, where, on his regaining some degree of strength, he amused himself in superintending the publication of the work just mentioned. During his recovery he was roused from his quiet into further exertion by a severe attack made on his *Theory of the Earth*, by Dr Kirwan, in the *Memoirs of the Irish Academy*, rendered formidable by the celebrity of the author. Before this period, Dr Hutton had often been urged to publish the entire work on the *Theory of the Earth*, which he had constantly put off—so much so, that there seemed some danger of its not appearing in his life-time. The very day, however, after Kirwan's paper was put in his hands, he began the revisal of his manuscript and resolved immediately to send it to press. The work was accordingly published in two volumes octavo, in 1795. He next turned his attention to a work on husbandry, on which he had written a great deal, the fruit both of his vast reading and practical experience. He proposed to reduce the whole into a systematic form under the title of "*Elements of Agriculture.*" The time, however, was fast approaching which was to terminate the exertions of a mind of such singular activity and ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. In the course of the winter, 1796, he became gradually weaker, and extremely emaciated from the pain he suffered from a recurrence of his former complaint, though he still retained the full activity and acuteness of his mind. "*Saussure's Voyages aux Alps,*" which had just reached him that winter, was the last study of one eminent geologist, as they were the last work of another. On Saturday the 26th March, 1797, although in great pain, he employed himself in writing and noting down his remarks on some attempts which were then making towards a new mineralogical nomenclature. In the evening he was seized with shivering fits, and as these continued to increase, he sent for his friend Dr Russel. Before he could arrive, all assistance was in vain. Dr Hutton had just strength left to stretch out his hand to the physician, and immediately expired.

Dr Hutton was possessed of an uncommon activity and ardour of mind, upheld in science by whatever was new, beautiful, or sublime; and that those feelings operated with more intense power in early life, may account for the want of stability he displayed, and the difficulty he felt in settling down to any one fixed pursuit. Geology and mineralogy were to him two of the most sublime branches of physical science. The novelty and grandeur offered by the study to the imagination, the simple and uniform order given to the whole natural history of the earth, and above all, the views opened of the wisdom that governs the universe, are things to which hardly any mind could be insensible, but to him they were matters, not of transient delight, but of solid and permanent happiness.

He studied with an indefatigable perseverance, and allowed no professional, and rarely any domestic arrangement, to interrupt his uniform course. He dined early, almost always at home, ate sparingly, and drank no wine. The evening he spent in the society of friends, who were always delighted and instructed by his animated conversation, which, whether serious or gay, was replete with ingenious and original observation. When he sought relaxation from the studies of the day, and joined the evening party, a bright glow of cheerfulness spread itself over every countenance; and the philosopher who had just descended from the sublimest speculations in metaphysics, or risen from the deepest research in geology, seated himself at the tea-table, as much disengaged from thought, and as cheerful and joyous, as the youngest of the company.

Professor Stewart, in his life of Mr Smith, has alluded to a little society that

then flourished in Edinburgh, called the Oyster Club. Of this, Dr Black, Dr Hutton, and Mr Smith were the founders. When time and opportunity admitted, these distinguished men could unbend one to the other, and on such occasions Dr Hutton delighted in blending the witty and ludicrous in his conversation. Round them soon formed a circle of choice spirits, who knew how to value their familiar and social converse; and it would be vain to look for a company more sincerely united, where every thing favourable to good society was more perfectly cultivated, and every thing opposite more strictly excluded.

Dr Hutton was never married, but lived with his sisters, three amiable women, who managed his domestic affairs. Though he cared little for money, he had accumulated considerable wealth, owing to his moderation and unassuming manner of life, as well as from the great ability with which his long-tryed friend, Mr Davie, conducted their joint concern. Miss Isabella Hutton remained to lament her brother's loss, and by her his collection of fossils were given to Dr Black, who presented them to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, under the condition that they should be completely arranged, and kept for ever apart, for the purpose of illustrating the Huttonian Theory of the Earth.

I

INGLIS, or ENGLISH, (SIR) JAMES, an ingenious writer of the early part of the sixteenth century, is chiefly known as the supposed author of the "Complaynt of Scotland," a very curious political and fanciful work, published originally at St Andrews in 1548 or 1549, and the earliest Scottish prose work in existence.

Of this learned person, Mackenzie has given an account in his Lives of Scottish Writers; but it is so obviously made up of a series of mere conjectures stated as facts, that we must reject it entirely. According to more respectable authority, Inglis was a dignified priest (which accounts for the *Sir* attached to his name), and appears from authentic documents to have been, in 1515, secretary to queen Margaret, widow of James IV. Care must be taken to distinguish him from his contemporary John Inglis, who served James IV. as a manager of plays and entertainments, and who is stated to have been present with Sir David Lindsay in the church of Linlithgow, when that sovereign was warned by a supposed apparition against his expedition into England. Sir James Inglis was, nevertheless, a writer of plays, being the subject of the following allusion in Sir David Lindsay's Testament of the Papingo:

"And in the court bin present in thir dayis,
That ballattis brevis lustely, and layis,
Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present,
Quho can say more than Schir James English says,
In ballattis, fareis, and in pleasaunt plaies;
Redd in cumyng, in practeyk rycht prudent;
But Culross hath made his pen impotent."

It will be observed that Inglis is here indirectly spoken of as one of the poets who haunted the court of James V. Even in the preceding reign, however, he appears to have been on an intimate footing at court, as a man of learning. James IV. whose devotion to alchymy is well known, writes a letter (extant in the "Epistolæ Regum Scotorum,") to Mr James Inglis, to the follow-

ing effect: "We have thankfully received your letter, by which you inform us that you are in possession of the abstruse books of the *Sound Philosophy*; which, as certain most deserving persons have begged them of you, you with difficulty preserve for our use, having heard that we are addicted to the study of that art." Of the ballads and plays composed by Inglis, not a vestige now remains, unless a poem attributed to him in the Maitland MS. and as such printed by Hailes and Sibbald, entitled "A General Satire," be held as a specimen of one of those kinds of composition, and be really a production of his pen.

In a charter of 19th February, 1527, Inglis is styled chancellor of the royal chapel of Stirling; and he appears to have been soon after raised to the dignity of abbot of Culross, a promotion which, if we may believe his friend Lindsay, spoiled him as a poet. It was eventually attended with still more fatal effects. Having provoked the wrath of a neighbouring baron, William Blackater of Tulliallan, the abbot of Culross was by that individual cruelly slain, March 1, 1530. The causes of this bloody deed do not appear; but the sensation created by it throughout the community was very great. Sir William Lothian, a priest of the same abbey, who was an accomplice of the principal assassin, was publicly degraded on a scaffold at Edinburgh, in presence of the king and queen, and next day he and the laird of Tulliallan were beheaded.

It would hardly be worth while to advert so minutely to a person, who, whatever was his genius, is not certainly known as the author of any existing composition, if the name were not conspicuous in works of Scottish literary history, and must therefore continue to be inquired for in such compilations as the present. Inglis, if the same individual as this abbot of Culross, could have no pretensions to the honour put upon him by some writers, of having written the "Complaynt of Scotland;" for that curious specimen of our early literature was undeniably written in 1548, eighteen years after the death of the abbot. In the obscurity, however, which prevails regarding the subject of the present notice, we cannot deny that he *may* have been a different person, and *may* have survived even to the date assigned for his death by Mackenzie—1554; in which case he *could* have been the author of the Complaynt. That a Sir James Inglis existed after 1530, and had some connexion with Culross, appears pretty certain from the passage in the Testament of the Papingo, which is understood to have been written in 1538. But, on the other hand, there is no authority for assigning the authorship of the Complaynt to *any* Sir James Inglis, except that of Dr Mackenzie, which rests on no known foundation, and, from the general character of that biographical writer, is not entitled to much respect. Some further inquiries into this subject will be found under the head JAMES WEDDERBURN.

INNES, THOMAS, an historian and critical antiquary, known to the students of early Scottish history by the title of "Father Innes," was a priest of the Scottish college at Paris, during the earlier part of the 18th century. It is not creditable to the literature of our country during the period just mentioned, that the meritorious labours of this highly acute investigator have been so little noticed, and that no one has thought it worth while to leave memorials sufficient to enable posterity to know any thing of his life and character. His labours to discover the true sources of Scottish history proved an ungrateful task; they were unacceptable to the prejudices of the time, and have hardly been appreciated until the memory of the individual who undertook them had quietly sunk into oblivion. In these circumstances any scrap of information which we can procure on the subject is peculiarly valuable. We perceive from a few words in the preface to his Critical Essay, that he received the rudiments of education in Scotland, and that he must have left his native country early in life for a per-

manent residence abroad, probably, if we may judge from slight circumstances, along with the exiled monarch James II. His words are—"Though an honourable gentleman of my own country, and another learned English gentleman, were so kind as to revise the language, and to alter such exotic words or expressions as it was natural should drop from me, I doubt not but the English reader will still meet in this essay with too many marks of my *native language* and *foreign education*." But the most interesting, and indeed the principal notice which we have been able to obtain of this individual, is from the diary of the industrious Wodrow for the year 1724, where we find the laborious antiquary worning his way through libraries in search of materials. It may be remarked, that the work on the Early History of the Church of Scotland, which is mentioned by Wodrow as the subject on which he was engaged, was intended as a second part to the "Critical Essay," but has, unfortunately for our information on a very interesting subject, not been given to the world. The passage we refer to is as follows:—

"There is one father Innes, a priest, brother to father Innes of the Scottish college at Paris, who has been at Edinburgh all this winter, and mostly in the Advocates' library, in the hours when open, looking books and MSS. He is not engaged in politics as far as can be guessed; and is a monkish, bookish person, who meddles with nothing but literature. I saw him at Edinburgh. He is upon a design to write an account of the first settlement of Christianity in Scotland, as Mr Ruddiman informs me, and pretends to show that Scotland was Christianized at first from Rome; and thinks to answer our ordinary arguments against this from the difference between the keeping of easter from the custom of Rome; and pretends to prove that there were many variations as to the day of easter even at Rome, and that the usages in Scotland, pretended to be from the Greek church, are very agreeable to the Romish customs that he thinks were used by the popes, about the time that (he) gives account of our differences as to easter.

"This father Innes, in a conversation with my informer, * * *¹ made an observation which I fear is too true. In conversation with the company, who were all protestants, he said he did not know what to make of those who had departed from the catholic church; that as far as he could observe generally, they were leaving the foundations of Christianity, and scarce deserved the name of Christians. He heard that there were departures and great looseness in Holland. That as he came through England, he found most of the bishops there gone off from their articles, and gone into Doctor Clerk's scheme. That the dissenters were many of them falling much in with the same method, and coming near them. That he was glad to find his countrymen in Scotland not tainted in the great doctrine of the Trinity, and sound."²

From the period when we find him rummaging in the Advocates' library, we know nothing of Innes, until the publication of his essay in 1729, when he appears to have been in London, and makes an apology for verbal inaccuracies, on the ground that he writes "to keep pace with the press." He seems previously to this event to have performed an extensive "bibliographical tour," as the manuscripts he quotes are dispersed through various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the continent.

A running sketch of the state of the knowledge of early Scottish history previously to the appearance of this work, may not be unacceptable to those who have not paid particular attention to that subject, as explanatory of the obstacles which the author had to overcome. It is well known that Scotland had a full

¹ The name is in a secret hand.

² Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS., Ad. Lib. v. 436.

share of the fabulous early history which it is a proud and pleasing task for savages to frame, and which generally protrudes itself into the knowledge possessed by civilized ages, from the unwillingness of mankind to diminish their own claims to consideration, by lessening the glory of their ancestors. The form and consistence of that genealogy which traced the first of Scottish kings to a period some centuries before the Christian era, seems to have been concocted by the Highland senachies, who sang the descent of our monarchs at their coronation. Andrew Wyntoun and John Fordun soberly incorporated the long line thus framed into their chronicle of the Scottish nation from the commencement of the world. Major followed their example with some variations, and Geoffry of Monmouth and Geoffry Keating, respectively incorporated the whole with English and Irish history, the latter much about the same period when Innes wrote, busying himself with tracing the matter to a period anterior to the deluge. The rich and grotesque garb of fable which the whole assumed under Hector Bœce is known to many, if not in the original crabbed Latin, at least in the simple translation of Bellenden. It is discreditable to the memory of Buchanan, that, instead of directing his acute mind to the discovery of truth, he adopted, in many respects, the genealogy just sanctioned, and prepared lives for the monarchs created by fiction, suited as practical comments on his own political views. The fables had now received the sanction of a classical authority—Scotland was called *κατ' εὐχολίαν*, “the ancient kingdom;” and grave Englishmen wondered at the hoary antiquity of our line of monarchs. At length, when the antiquity of the race of England had been curtailed, some thought it unfit that that of Scotland should remain untouched—and several English antiquaries, such as Humphry Lhuyd, bishop Usher, bishop Lloyd, and bishop Nicholson, bestowed some calm hints on its improbability, which were speedily drowned by the fierce replies of the Scottish antiquaries, headed by Sir George M'Kenzie.

Such was the state of historical knowledge in Scotland when Innes wrote; and a Scotsman dared to look the line of ancestry claimed by his monarch calmly in the face, and, after due consideration, to strike from it forty crowned heads. The essay is divided into four parts, in which the author successively treats,—of the progress of the Romans in Scotland—of the history of the Mæats, the Strathelyde Britons or Welsh, who existed in the southern part of Scotland—of that of the Caledonians or Picts, who inhabited the whole of the northern portion previously to the arrival of the Scots from Ireland—and of the Scots, the ancestors of the present Highlanders. Examining the foundation on which Bœce supports his forty supernumerary kings, he shows, by very good negative evidence, that two chroniclers, on which that author lays the burden of much of his extraordinary matter, named Veremund and Campbell, never existed, and shows that the genealogists had, by an ingenious device, made Fergus the first, king of the Scots, Fergus the *second*, and had placed another Fergus sufficiently far behind him in chronology, to admit a complement of kings to be placed betwixt the two. Besides the detection of the fabulous part of our history, this work supplies us with an excellent critical dissertation on the various early inhabitants of the country; and the author has, with much pains and care, added an appendix of original documents, which have been highly useful to inquirers into Scottish history. The language in which the whole is clothed is simple, pleasing, and far more correct than that of most Scotsmen who wrote during the same period; while there is a calm dignity, and a philosophical correctness in the arguments, previously unknown to the subject, and which, it had been well if those who have followed the same track had imitated. Pinkerton, who would allow no man to be prejudiced on the subject of Scotland with impunity except himself, never can mention the work of Innes without some token of respect.

"This work," he says, "forms a grand epoch in our antiquities, and was the first that led the way to rational criticism on them: his industry, coolness, judgment, and general accuracy, recommend him as the best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced."³ While concurring, however, in any praise which we observe to have been elicited by this too much neglected work, we must remark, that it is blemished by a portion of it being evidently prepared with the political view of supporting the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which Innes as a Jacobite probably respected, and as an adherent of the exiled house, felt himself called on to support.⁴ He is probably right in presuming that Buchanan knew well the falsehood of many of the facts he stated, but it was as unnecessary that he should answer the arguments which Buchanan, in the separate treatise, "De Jure Regni apud Scotos," may have been *presumed* to have derived from such facts, as it was for Buchanan to erect so great a mass of fable; while the dissertation he has given us on the fruitful subject of the conduct of queen Mary, is somewhat of an excrescence in a dissertation on the early inhabitants of Scotland.

The political bias of this portion of the work is avowed in the preface, where the author observes that the statements of Buchanan, "far from doing any real honour to our country, or contributing, as all historical accounts ought to do, to the benefit of posterity, and to the mutual happiness of king and people, do rather bring a reproach upon the country, and furnish a handle to turbulent spirits, to disturb the quiet and peace, and by consequence the happiness of the inhabitants;"⁵ yet even this subject is handled with so much calmness that it may rather be termed a defect, than a fault.

Besides the great work which he wrote, Innes is supposed to have been the compiler of a book of considerable interest and importance. It is pretty well known that a manuscript of the life of king James II., written by himself, existed for some time in the Scots college of Paris, where it was carefully concealed from observation. This valuable work is believed, on too certain grounds, to have been reduced to ashes during the French Revolution; but an abstract of it, which was discovered in Italy, was published by Mr Stauyers Clarke in 1806, and is supposed by well informed persons to have been the work of father Innes.⁶ We have been enabled to trace this supposition to no better source than a presumption from the circumstances in which Innes was placed, and to the absence of any other name which can reasonably be assigned. There is, indeed, a document extant, which might afford ground for a contrary supposition. In 1740, Carte, the historian, received an order from James Edgar, secretary to the Pretender, addressed to the Messrs Innes, permitting him to inspect the life writ by Mr Dicconson, in consequence of royal orders, all taken out of and supported by the late king's manuscripts; but it has been urged, on the other hand, that there were at least two copies of the compilation, one of which may have been *transcribed* by Mr Dicconson, while in that published, there are one or two Scotticisms, which point at such a person as Innes. Little can be made of a comparison betwixt the style of this work and that of

³ Pinkerton's Inquiry, Introduction, 55—7.

⁴ We cannot avoid coupling with this feature, the circumstance of our having heard it whispered in the antiquarian world, that a correspondence between Innes and the court of St Germain, lately discovered, shows this to have been the avowed purpose of the author. This we have heard, however, in so vague a manner, that we dare not draw any conclusions against the fair intentions of Innes, farther than as they may be gathered from his own writings.

⁵ Preface, 16.

⁶ In the Edinburgh Review we discover the following note:—"It is the opinion of the present preserver of the narrative, that it was compiled from original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the superiors of the college, and author of a work entitled 'A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland.'—*Art. on Fox's Life of James II. Ed. Rev. xii. 280.*

the essay, without an extremely minute examination, as Innes indulged in few peculiarities; but there is to be found in it a general resemblance, certainly more close than what could be caused by mere identity of period.

We are enabled to give but one other notice bearing on the life of this individual. In the portion of the life of James II., transcribed into the chevalier Ramsay's History of Turenne, there is a certificate by the superiors of the Scots college at Paris, dated 24th December, 1734, signed by "Louis Inesse, late principal, Alexander Whiteford, principal, and Thomas Inesse, sub-principal." The Louis Innes who had acted as principal, must be the brother to the historian mentioned by Wodrow.

IRVINE, CHRISTOPHER, an antiquary, philologist, and physician, lived in the seventeenth century, and was a younger son of the family of Irvine of Bonshaw in Lanarkshire. Like his relation, who rendered himself infamous in the cause of royalty by seizing Donald Cargill, Christopher Irvine was a devoted adherent of the Stuarts and of episcopacy. He was turned out of the college of Edinburgh in 1638 or 1639, in consequence of his resisting the national covenant; and by some connexion, the nature of which is not known, with the Irish troubles, which happened not long after, he lost a plentiful patrimony. Of these circumstances he himself informs us, in the address appended to one of his works, as well as of the facts, that "after his travels, the cruel saints were pleased to mortify him seventeen nights with bread and water;" and even after having recalled an act of banishment which they had formerly passed against him, subjected him to the fate of absolute starvation, with only the dubious alternative of "teaching grammar." Having adopted the latter course, we have ascertained from another source¹ that he was schoolmaster first at Leith, and afterwards at Preston. In the course of his exertions in this capacity, he was led to initiate his pupils in Scottish history; and it was out of the information collected for that purpose, along with some notes he received from Mr Alexander Home and Mr Thomas Crawford, formerly professors of humanity in Edinburgh university, that he compiled his Nomenclature of Scottish History, the work by which he is best known. Some time during the commonwealth, he appears to have resumed the profession to which he was bred, and practised first as a surgeon, and finally as a physician in Edinburgh, at the same time that he held a medical appointment in the army of general Monk, by which Scotland was then garrisoned.

We have not been able to discover any earlier publication of Christopher Irvine than a small and very rare volume, entitled *Bellum Grammaticale*, which appeared at Edinburgh in 1650, but of the nature of which, not having seen it, we cannot speak. His second performance was a small volume, now also very rare, having the following elaborate title: "*Medicina Magnetica; or the rare and wonderful art of curing by sympathy, laid open in aphorisms, proved in conclusions, and digested into an easy method drawn from both; wherein the connexion of the causes and effects of these strange operations, are more fully discovered than heretofore. All cleared and confirmed, by pithy reasons, true experiments, and pleasant relations, preserved and published as a master-piece in this skill, by C. de Iryngio, chirurgo-medicine in the army. Printed in the year 1656.*" The dedication, which is dated from Edinburgh, June 3, 1656, and is signed "C. Irvine," is addressed to general Monk, as "chief captain of those forces among whom for diverse years *I have served and prospered;*" and speaking of the kindness of the commander toward his inferiors, he continues—"This is observed by all; this hath been my experience so oft as I had need of favour and protection." We may from these passages argue, that, at the period

¹ Sibbald's *Bibliotheca Scotica*, MS. Adv. Lib.

when he composed this book, Irvine himself was a man of respectable standing as to years, and had not found it inconsistent with his loyalist principles to take office under Cromwell. The work itself is a true literary curiosity. The monstrous and fanciful doctrines which crowd the pages of Paracelsus and Cardan, and which had begun at that period to sink before the demand for logical proof and practical experience, which more accurate minds had made, are here revived, and even exaggerated; while the imagination of the writer seems to have laboured in all quarters of nature, to discover grotesque absurdities. The book, it will be remarked, is a treatise on animal magnetism. We would give his receipt for the method of manufacturing "an animal magnet," did we dare, but propriety compels us to retain our comments for the less original portion of the work. The principles of the author, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, are laid down in "an hundred aphorisms," which are of such a nature as the following: "Neither souls, nor pure spirits, nor intelligencies can work upon bodies, but by means of the *spirit*; for two extremes cannot be joined together without a mean, therefore," it is justly and conclusively argued, "demons appear not but after sacrifices used."—"He that can join a spirit impregnat with the virtue of one bodie with another, that is now disposed to change, may produce many miracles and monsters."—"He that can by light draw light out of things, or multiply light with light, he knoweth how to adde the universal spirit of life to the particular spirit of life, and by this addition do wonders," &c. Nor is his method of supporting his aphorisms by proof less original and conclusive. The readers of Hudibras will recollect the story taken from Helemont, of the man who, having lost his nose, procured a new one to be cut from the limb of a porter, on whose death the unfortunate nose grew cold and fell off. The reasoning of Mr Christopher Irvine on this matter is peculiarly metaphysical. "Is not," he says, "all our doctrine here confirmed clearer than the light? was not the insititious nose as animated at the first, so still informed with the soul of the porter? Neither had it any from the man whose nose now it was made, but only nourishment; the power of the assimilation which it hath from its proper form, it took it not from him but from the porter, of whom it was yet truly a part; and who dying, the nose became a dead nose, and did immediately tend to corruption. But who doth not here see, most openly and evidently, a concatenation? otherwise, how could the nose of one that was at Bolonia, enform the nose of one that was at Brussels, but by means of a concatenation?" The curiosity of the matter, presenting a specimen of the speculations in which several Scottish philosophers at that period indulged, may excuse these extracts.

The work to which Irvine's name is most frequently attached, is the "*Historiæ Scoticæ Nomenclatura Latino-Vernacula*;" an explanatory dictionary of the Latin proper names made use of in Scottish history, published at Edinburgh in 1682, and re-published in 1819. The editor of the reprint observes, that he "intended, along with the present edition, to have given the public a short sketch of the life of the author; but this intention he has been obliged to relinquish from want of materials. To numerous enquiries, in many directions, no satisfactory answer was procured, and the editor mentions with regret, that he knows nothing more of this eminent literary character, and profound philologist, than can be collected from his address to the reader." The dedication is to the duke of York; and if we had not been furnished with vast specimens of the capacity of royal stomachs at that period for flattery, we might have suspected Mr Christopher of a little quizzing, when he enlarges on the moderation, the generosity, the kindness to friends, the forgiveness to enemies, displayed by the prince, and especially on his having "so firmly on solid grounds established the protestant religion." Among the other eulogiums is one which may be inter-

puted as somewhat apologetical on the part of the author, in as far as respects his own conduct. "The neglected sufferer for loyalty is now taken into care and favour, and they that have *recovered better principles, are not reproached nor passed by; their transgressions are forgot, and time allowed to take off their evil habit.*" The Nomenclature is a brief general biographical and topographical dictionary of Scotland. With a firm adherence to the fabulous early history, the author shows vast general reading; but, like most authors of the age, he seems to have considered Scotland the centre of greatness, and all other transactions in the world as naturally merging into a connexion with it. Thus in juxtaposition with Argyle, we find "Argivi, Argos, and Arii." And the Dee is discussed beside the Danube.

From the address attached to this volume, we learn that its publication was occasioned by his recent dismissal from the king's service. "And now," he says, "being, as it seemeth by a cruel misrepresentation, turned out of my public employment and livelihood, which the defender of the sincere will return, I have at the desire of the printer, in this interval, revised, &c." Taking the dedication in connexion with this circumstance, there can be little doubt as to the particular object of that composition; and from another document it would appear that he was not unsuccessful in his design. An act of parliament, dated three years later than the publication of the Nomenclature, and ratifying an act of privy council, which had reserved to Irvine the privilege of acting as a physician, independent of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh, just established, proceeds upon a statement by the learned man himself, that "he has been bred liberally in these arts and places that fit men for the practice of physick and chirurgery, and has received all the degrees of the schools that give ornament and authority in these professions, and has practised the same the space of thertie years in the eminentest places and among very considerable persons in this island, and has, by vertue of commissions from his royal master, exercised the dutie of churgeon of his guards of horse twenty-eight years together, and has had the charge of chief physician and chirurgeon of his armie."² He then states, that he wishes to practise his profession in peace, in the city of Edinburgh, of which he is a burgess, and hopes the council "would be pleased not to suffer him, by any new gift or patent to be stated under the partial humors or affronts of (a) new incorporation or college of physicians, composed of men that are altogether his juniors (save doctor Hay) in the studies of phylosophie and practise of physick."

J

JACK, or JACHÆUS, GILBERT, an eminent metaphysician and medical writer, and professor of philosophy at Leyden, was born at Aberdeen, as has been asserted, (although there seems but slight ground for fixing the date so precisely,) in the year 1578. Early in life, and apparently before he had commenced a regular series of literary study, he lost his father, and was committed by his mother to the private tuition of a person named Thomas Cargill. He afterwards studied under Robert Howie: and as that individual was made principal of Marischal college, on its erection into a university, in 1593, it is probable that Jack obtained a portion of his university education at Aberdeen, although he is mentioned by Freher as having studied philosophy at St Andrews,

² Acts of the Scottish parliament, viii. 530-531.

where he was under the tuition of Robert Hay, an eminent theologian. By the advice of his tutor, who probably detected in his mind the dawning of high talent, Jack continued his studies in the universities on the continent. He remained for some time at the colleges of Herborn and Helmstadt; when, incited by the high fame of the university of Leyden, he removed thither, and sought employment as a private teacher, in expectation of eventually obtaining a professorship. His ambition was at length gratified, by his appointment, in 1604, to what has been in general terms called the philosophical chair of that celebrated institution. Scotland, which seems to have acquired a permanent celebrity from the numerous persevering and ambitious men it has dispersed through the world, was at no time so fruitful in its supply of eminent men as during the life-time of the subject of our memoir. Adolphus Vorstius, a person known to fame chiefly from his tributes to the memory of some eminent friends, and colleague of Jack in the university of Leyden, in a funeral oration to his memory, from which the materials for a memoir of Jack are chiefly derived, mentions that at the period we allude to, there was scarcely a college in Europe of any celebrity, which did not number a Scotsman among its professors: and whether from the meagre tuition in our own universities, or other causes, most of the Scotsmen celebrated for learning at that period—and they were not a few—began their career of fame abroad. In the works, or correspondence of the continental scholars of the seventeenth century, we frequently meet with names of Scotsmen now forgotten in their native country, and that of Jack frequently occurs, accompanied with many indications of respect. He is said to have been the first who taught *metaphysics* at Leyden, a statement from which we may at least presume, that he opened new branches of inquiry, and was celebrated for the originality of the system he inculcated. During his professorship at Leyden he studied medicine, and took his degree in that science in 1611.

In 1612, appeared his first work, "Institutiones Physicæ, Juventutis Lugdunensis Studii potissimum dicatæ," republished with notes in 1616. This treatise is dedicated to Matthew Overbeguius (Overbeke), and is in the usual manner prefaced by laudatory addresses, which are from the pens of men of celebrity—Daniel Heinsius, Greek professor of Leyden, (who appropriately uses his professional language,) Gaspard Barlæus, the professor of logic at Leyden, and Theodore Schrevelius (probably father to the Lexicographer Cornelius). This work, notwithstanding its title, will be readily understood to be generally metaphysical, and the portion tending to that species of discussion is that from which a modern student will derive most satisfaction. It consists of nine books. The first is introductory, containing definitions, &c., the second is De Natura, the third De Motu, the fourth De Tempore, the fifth De Cælo, the sixth De Corpore Misto, the seventh De Meteoris, the eighth De Anima, and the ninth De Anima Rationali. Apart from the doctrines now called vulgar errors, for an adherence to which the limited bounds of our own knowledge must teach us to excuse our forefathers, this work may be perused with interest and even profit. To have departed from the text of Aristotle might have been considered equal in heresy, to a denial of any of the evident laws of nature; but if Jack was like others, a mere commentator on the great lawgiver of philosophers, he frequently clothes original views in correct, clear, and logical language; his discussions on time and motion might not be ungrateful to a student of Hutcheson or Reid; and though almost unknown to his country, and forgotten in his native city, he is no contemptible member of the class of common-sense philosophers of

¹ Freheri Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum, ii. 1353. Jactis utriusque lingvæ fundamentis, ad academiam Anlrnanam ablegatus, philosophia operam navavit, preceptore usus Roberto Havæo Theologo exifrio.

whom Scotland has boasted. In 1724, Jack published another work, entitled "Institutiones Medicæ," republished in 1631. About this period his celebrity had reached the British isles; and, like his illustrious friend and comrade Vosius, the author of the History of Pelagianism, he was invited to fill the chair of civil history at Oxford, a proffer he declined. This eminent man died on the 17th day of April, 1628, leaving behind him a widow and ten children. He seems to have been on terms of intimate and friendly familiarity with the greatest men of the age. He is said to have been a hard student, to have possessed vast powers of memory, and to have been more attentive to the elegancies of life, and to his personal appearance, than scholars then generally were.

JACK, or JACHEUS, THOMAS, a classical scholar of eminence, and author of the "Onomasticon Poeticum." The period of the birth of this author is unknown: Dr M'Crie has with his usual industry made investigations into his history, but excepting the circumstances to be discovered from the dedication to his work, none but a few barren facts have been found, which must have ill repaid the labours of the search. He was master of the grammar school at Glasgow, but at what period he entered that seminary is unknown. He relinquished the situation in 1574, and became minister of the neighbouring parish of Eastwood, from which, in the manner of the time, he dates his book "*ex sylva vulgo dicta orientali*;" his work is entitled "Onomasticon Poeticum, sive propriorum quibus in suis monumentis usi sunt veteres Poetæ, brevis descriptio Poetica;" it is neatly printed in quarto, by Waldegrave, 1592, and is now very rare. It may be described as a versified topographical dictionary of the localities of classical poetry, expressing in a brief sentence, seldom exceeding a couple of lines, some characteristic, which may remind the student of the subject of his readings. He mentions that he has found the system advantageous by experiment; and most of our readers will be reminded of the repeated attempts to teach the rules of grammar, and other matters necessary to be committed to memory, in a similar manner. The subject did not admit of much elegance, and the chief merit of the author will be acknowledged in the perseverance which has amassed so many references to subjects of classical research. A quotation of the first few lines may not be unacceptable:

"Caucaseus vates Abaris ventura profatur,
 Argivum bis sextus Albas rex, martis in armis
 Acer, Hypermnestra Lynceoque parentibus ortus;
 Hinc et Abantiadum series dat jura Pelasgis.
 Ex nube Ixion Centaurum gignit Abantem.
 Æneas comitem quo nomine clarus habebat
 Ægypti ad fines Abatos jacet Insula dives:
 Quam arcum armavit lino natura tenaci,
 Armiferae Thracis quondam urbs Abdera celebris."

This passage contains the accounts of Abaris, Abantiadæ, Abas, Abatos, and Abdera.

In the dedication, which is addressed to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, commendator of Paisley, a pupil of the author, Jack complacently mentions, that he had been induced to publish by the recommendation of Andrew Melville and Buchanan, and that the latter eminent person had revised the work, and submitted to a counter revision of works of his own. Prefixed to the Onomasticon are encomiastic verses by Robert Pollock, Hercules Pollock, Patrick Sharpe, Andrew Melville, and Sir Thomas Craig. Dr M'Crie has discovered that Thomas Jack, as minister of Rutherglen, was one of those who, in 1582, opposed the election of Ro-

bert Montgomery as archbishop of Glasgow. He appears to have been a member of the General Assembly in 1590; he is mentioned in 1593, as a minister within the bounds of the presbytery of Paisley, and must have died in 1596, as appears from the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of unquhill Mr Thomas Jak, min' at Eastwod."

JAMES I., king of Scots, and illustrious both in political and literary history, was born at Dunfermline in the year 1394. He was the third son of Robert III., king of Scots, (whose father, Robert II., was the first sovereign of the Stuart family,) by his consort Annabella, or Annaple Drummond, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, ancestor of the noble family of Perth. It appears that John Stuart, for such was the real name of Robert III., had married Annaple Drummond at a period antecedent to the year 1358; as in 1357, he and his wife received a charter of the earldom of Athol from David II. The unusual period of thirty-seven years at least, must thus have elapsed between the marriage of the parents and the birth of their distinguished son. Their eldest child, David, born in 1373, and created duke of Rothesay, was starved to death by his uncle the duke of Albany in 1402; a second son, John, died in infancy. The inheritance of the crown was thus opened upon prince James at the age of eight years, but under circumstances which rendered the prospect less agreeable than dangerous. The imbecility of Robert III. had permitted the reins of government to be assumed by his brother the duke of Albany, who meditated a transference of the sovereignty to his own family, and scrupled at no measures which might promise to aid him in his object. There was the greatest reason to apprehend that prince James, as well as his elder brother the duke of Rothesay, would be removed by some foul means, through the machinations of Albany; after which, the existence of the king's female children would present but a trifling obstacle to his assuming the rights of heir presumptive.

The education of prince James was early confided to Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, the learned and excellent prelate, who, in founding the university in his metropolitan city, became the originator of that valuable class of institutions in Scotland. Sinclair, earl of Orkney, and Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, were among the barons who superintended the instruction of the prince in martial and athletic exercises. For the express purpose of saving him from the fangs of his uncle, it was resolved by the king, in 1405, to send him to the court of Charles VI. of France, where he might at once be safer in person, and receive a superior education to what could be obtained in his own country. With this view the young prince was privately conducted to East Lothian, and embarked on board a vessel at the isle of the Bass, along with the earl of Orkney and a small party of friends. It would appear that he thus escaped his uncle by a very narrow chance, as Sir David Fleming, in returning from the place of embarkation, was set upon at Long-Hermandstone by the retainers of that wicked personage, and cruelly slain.

James pursued his voyage towards France, till, cruising along the coast of Norfolk, his vessel was seized by a squadron of armed merchantmen, commanded by John Jolyff, and belonging to the port of Clay. Though this event took place in the time of a truce between the two countries, (April 12, 1405,) Henry IV. of England reconciled his conscience to the detention of the prince, for which, indeed, it is highly probable he had made some arrangements previously with the duke of Albany, his faithful ally, and the imitator of his conduct. When the earl of Orkney presented a remonstrance against such an unjustifiable act, asserting that the education of the prince was the sole object of his voyage to France, he turned it off with a jest, to the effect, that he was as well acquainted with the French language, and could teach it as well as the king of

France,¹ so that the prince would lose nothing by remaining where he was. He soon showed, however, the value which he attached to the possession of the prince's person, by shutting him up in the castle of Pevensey in Sussex. The aged king of Scotland sank under this new calamity; and, dying April 4, 1406, left the nominal sovereignty to his captive son, but the real power of the state to his flagitious brother, the duke of Albany, who assumed the title of governor.

Having no design against the mind of his captive, Henry furnished him in a liberal manner with the means of continuing his education. Sir John Pelham, the constable of Pevensey castle, and one of the most distinguished knights of the age, was appointed his governor; and masters were provided for instructing him in various accomplishments and branches of knowledge. To quote the words of Mr Tytler,² "In all athletic and manly exercises, in the use of his weapons, in his skill in horsemanship, his speed in running, his strength and dexterity as a wrestler, his firm and fair aim as a joister and tourneyer, the young king is allowed by all contemporary writers to have arrived at a pitch of excellence which left most of his own age far behind him; and as he advanced to maturity, his figure, although not so tall as to be majestic or imposing, was, from its make, peculiarly adapted for excellence in such accomplishments. His chest was broad and full, his arms somewhat long and muscular, his flanks thin and spare, and his limbs beautifully formed; so as to combine elegance and lightness with strength. In throwing the hammer, and propelling, or, to use the Scottish phrase, 'putting' the stone, and in skill in archery, we have the testimony of an ancient chronicle, that none in his own dominions could surpass him. * * * To skill in warlike exercises, every youthful candidate for honour and for knighthood was expected to unite a variety of more pacific and elegant accomplishments, which were intended to render him a delightful companion in the hall, as the others were calculated to make him a formidable enemy in the field. The science of music, both instrumental and vocal; the composition and recitation of ballads, roundelays, and other minor pieces of poetry; an acquaintance with the romances and the writings of the popular poets of the times—were all essential branches in the system of education which was then adopted in the castle of any feudal chief; and from Pelham, who had himself been brought up as the squire of the duke of Lancaster, we may be confident that the Scottish king received every advantage which could be conferred by skilful instructors, and by the most ample opportunities of cultivation and improvement. Such lessons and exhibitions, however, might have been thrown away upon many, but James had been born with those natural capacities which fitted him to excel in them. He possessed a fine and correct musical ear; a voice which was rich, flexible, and sufficiently powerful for chamber music; and an enthusiastic delight in the art, which, unless controlled by strong good sense, and a feeling of the higher destinies to which he was called, might have led to a dangerous devotion to it. * * * Cut off for a long and tedious period from his crown and his people, James could afford to spend many hours each day in the cultivation of accomplishments to which, under other circumstances, it would have been criminal to have given up so much of his time. And this will easily account for that high musical excellence to which he undoubtedly attained, and will explain the great variety of instruments upon which he performed. * * * He was acquainted with the Latin language, as far, at least, as was permitted by the rude and barbarous condition in which it existed previous to the revival of letters. In theology, oratory, and grammar—

¹ It will be recollected that French was the common language of the court of England, and of all legal and public business, till the age following that of Henry IV.

² Lives of Scottish Worthies, ii. 263.

in the civil and canon laws, he was instructed by the best masters; and an acquaintance with Norman-French was necessarily acquired at a court where it was still currently spoken and highly cultivated. Devoted, however, as he was to these pursuits, James appears to have given his mind with a still stronger bias to the study of English poetry, choosing Chaucer and Gower for his masters in the art, and entering with the utmost ardour into the great object of the first of these illustrious men—the improvement of the English language, the production of easy and natural rhymes, and the refinement of poetical numbers from the rude compositions which had preceded him.”

Thus passed years of restraint, unmarked by any other incident than removal from one place of captivity to another, till the death of Henry IV. in 1414. On the very day after this event, the “gallant” Henry V. ordered his royal prisoner to be removed to close confinement in the Tower. In general, however, the restraint imposed upon the young king was not inconsistent with his enjoyment of the pleasures of life, among which one of the most agreeable must have been the intercourse which he was allowed to hold with his Scottish friends. It is the opinion of Mr Tytler, that the policy of the English kings in this matter was much regulated by the terror in which they held a mysterious person residing at the Scottish court, under the designation of king Richard, and who was the object of perpetual conspiracies among the enemies of the house of Lancaster. It is at least highly probable that Albany kept up that personage as a kind of bug-bear, to induce the English monarch to keep a close guard over his nephew.

The duke of Albany died in 1419, and was succeeded as governor by his eldest son Murdoch, who was as weak as his father had been energetic and ambitious. About the same time, a large party of Scottish knights and their retainers proceeded, under the command of the earl of Buchan, second son of Albany, to assist the French king in repelling the efforts which Henry V. of England was making to gain the sovereignty of France. In the hope, perhaps, of gaining his deliverance, James was persuaded by king Henry to accompany him to France, and to join with him in taking the opposite side to that which was assumed by this party of his subjects. But of this part of his life no clear account is preserved; only the consideration which he attained with the English king is amply proved by his acting (1422) as chief mourner at his funeral. This, however, was an event which he had little reason to regret, as it opened a prospect of his obtaining his liberty, a circumstance which would scarcely have taken place during the life of Henry; or, at least, while that prince lived, James could not look forward to any definite period for the termination of his captivity.

The duke of Bedford, who was appointed protector of England on the death of Henry, adopting a wiser policy with regard to Scotland than that monarch had pursued, offered to deliver up the Scottish king on payment of a ransom of forty thousand pounds, to be paid within six years by half yearly payments, and that hostages should be given for the faithful liquidation of the debt. The English, disavowing the term ransom as derogatory, in this instance, to the national character and dignity, alleged that the pecuniary consideration was demanded as payment of the king's maintenance while in England; but as Henry V. allowed only £700 a-year for this purpose, and the term of James's captivity was about nineteen years, giving thus an amount of something more than £13,000 altogether, it is pretty evident that they did not intend to be losers by the transaction—though, as the money was never paid, they certainly were not gainers. After a good deal of delay, and much discussion on both sides, the arrangement for the liberation of the king was finally adjusted by the Scottish commissioners, who proceeded to London for that purpose, on the 9th of March,

1423; and amongst other securities for the stipulated sum, tendered that of the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Previously to his leaving England, James married Joanna, daughter of the duchess of Clarence, niece of Richard II. To this lady the Scottish monarch had been long attached. Her beauty had inspired his muse, and was the frequent theme of his song. Amongst the poems attributed to the royal poet, there is one, entitled "A Sang on Absence," beginning "Sen that the eyne that workis my weifair," in which he bewails, in strains breathing the warmest and most ardent attachment, the absence of his mistress; and in the still more elaborate production of the "King's Quair," he thus speaks of her:—

"Of hir array, the form gif I sall write
Toward her goldin haire and rich atyre,
In fret wise couchit with perlis white;
And grete balas lemyng as the fire,
With many ane emerant and saphire;
And on hir hide a chaplet fresh of hewe
Of plumys partit rede, and white, and blue."

In this beautiful poem the enamoured king describes himself as having first fallen in love with his future queen, as she was walking in the gardens under the tower at Windsor in which he was confined.

It is probable that he lost no time in making his fair enslaver aware of the conquest she had made, and it is also likely that her walks under the tower were not rendered less frequent by the discovery. The splendour of Joanna's dress, as described in this poem, is very remarkable. She seems to have been covered with jewels, and to have been altogether arrayed in the utmost magnificence; not improbably, in the consciousness of the eyes that were upon her. The result, at all events, shows that the captive prince must have found means sooner or later of communicating with the fair idol of his affections.

The marriage ceremony was performed at the church of St Mary's Overy in Southwark; the king receiving with his bride as her marriage portion, a discharge for ten thousand pounds of his ransom money!

James was in the thirtieth year of his age when he was restored to his liberty and his kingdom. Proceeding first to Edinburgh, where he celebrated the festival of Easter, he afterwards went on to Scone, accompanied by his queen, where they were both solemnly crowned; Murdoch duke of Albany, as earl of Fife, performing the ceremony of installing the sovereign on the throne.

Immediately after the coronation, James convoked a parliament in Perth, and by the proceedings of that assembly, gave intimation to the kingdom of the commencement of a vigorous reign. Amongst many other wise and judicious ordinances, this national council enacted, that the king's peace should be firmly held, and no private wars allowed, and that no man should travel with a greater number of retainers than he could maintain; that a sufficient administration of law be appointed throughout the realm; and that no extortion from churchmen or farmers in particular be admitted. James had early been impressed with the necessity of arresting with a vigorous and unsparing hand, the progress of that system of fraud and rapine to which the country had been a prey during the regencies that preceded his accession to the throne; a policy which, perhaps, though both necessary and just, there is some reason to believe he carried too far, or at least prosecuted with a mind not tempered by judicious and humane considerations. When first informed, on his arrival in the kingdom, of the lawlessness which prevailed in it, he is said to have exclaimed, "By the help of God, though I should myself lead the life of a dog, I shall make the key keep

the castle, and the bush secure the cow." Than such a resolution as this, nothing could have been wiser or more praiseworthy, and he certainly did all he could, and probably more than he ought, to accomplish the desirable end which the sentiment proposed; but he seems to have been somewhat indiscriminating in his vengeance. This indiscrimination may be only apparent, and may derive its character from the imperfectness of the history of that period; but as we judge of the good by what is upon record, we are bound to judge of the bad by the same rule; and it would be rather a singular mischance, if error and misrepresentation were always and exclusively on the side of the latter. It is, at any rate, certain, that a remarkable humanity, or any remarkable inclination to the side of mercy, were by no means amongst the number of James's good qualities, numerous though these assuredly were. With the best intentions towards the improvement of his kingdom, and the bettering of the condition of his subjects, James had yet the misfortune to excite, at the commencement of his reign, a very general feeling of dissatisfaction with his government.

This, amongst the aristocracy, proceeded from the severity with which he threatened to visit their offences; and amongst the common people, from his having imposed a tax to pay the ransom money stipulated for his release from captivity. This tax was proposed to be levied at the rate of twelve pennies in the pound on all sorts of produce, on farms and annual rents, cattle and grain, and to continue for two years. The tax was with great difficulty collected the first year, but in the second the popular impatience and dissatisfaction became so general and so marked, that the king thought it advisable to abandon it; and the consequence was, as already remarked, that the debt was never discharged. The reluctance of the nation to pay the price of their prince's freedom may appear ungenerous, and as implying an indifference towards him personally; but this is not a necessary, nor is it the only conclusion which may be inferred from the circumstance. It is probable that they may have considered the demand of England unreasonable and unjust, and it certainly was both, seeing that James was no prisoner of war, but had been made captive at a time when the two kingdoms were at peace with each other. To make him prisoner, therefore, and make him pay for it too, seems indeed to have been rather a hard case, and such it was probably esteemed by his subjects. The policy which James proposed to adopt, was not limited to the suppression of existing evils or to the prevention of their recurrence in time to come, but extended to the punishing of offences long since committed, and of which, in many instances, though we are told the results, we are left uninformed of the crime. At the outset of his reign he had ordered the arrest of Walter, eldest son of Murdoch, duke of Albany, the late regent, together with that of Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of the circumstance of a meeting of parliament at Perth, which he had convoked probably for the purpose of bringing them within his reach, he ordered the arrest of Murdoch himself, his second son, Alexander Stewart, the earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, and twenty other gentlemen of note.

The vengeance, however, which gave rise to this proceeding, was followed out only in the case of Albany; at least his punishment only is recorded in the accounts given by our historians of this transaction, while all the others are allowed to drop out of sight without any further notice of them in connexion with that event. Indeed the whole of this period of Scottish history is exceedingly obscure; much of it is confused, inconsistent, and inexplicable, and is therefore indebted almost wholly to conjecture for any interest it possesses, and perhaps no portion of it is more obscure than that which includes the occurrence which has just been alluded to. The king's vengeance is said to have been

exclusively aimed at Albany. Then, wherefore the arrest of the others? Because, it is said they were the friends of the late regent, and might have defeated the ends of justice had they been left at liberty, or at least might have been troublesome in the event of his condemnation. But how is this to be reconciled with the fact, that several of those arrested with Albany were of the jury that found him guilty on his trial, which took place a few weeks afterwards? All that we certainly know of this matter, is, that Murdoch was committed a close prisoner to Carlsruoc castle, while his duchess, Isabella, shared a similar fate in Tantallon, and that the king immediately after seized upon, and took possession of his castles of Falkland in Fife, and Downe in Menteith; that soon afterwards, Albany, with his two sons, Walter and Alexander, together with the aged earl of Lennox, were brought to trial, condemned to death, and beheaded. The principal offence, so far as is known, for on this point also, there is much obscurity, charged against those unfortunate persons, was their having dilapidated the royal revenues while the king was captive in England. The fate of the two sons of the regent, who were remarkably stout and handsome young men, excited a good deal of commiseration. The moment their sentence was pronounced, they were led out to execution. Their father and Lennox were beheaded on the following day. The scene of this tragedy was a rising ground immediately adjoining Stirling castle.

It is not improbable, that circumstances unknown to us may have warranted this instance of sanguinary severity on the part of the king; but it is unfortunate for his memory, that these circumstances, if they did exist, should be unknown; for as it now stands, he cannot be acquitted of cruelty in this case, as well as some others, otherwise than by alleging, that he was incapable of inflicting an unmerited punishment,—a defence more generous than satisfactory. The parliaments, however, which James convoked, continued remarkable for the wisdom of their decrees, for the number of salutary laws which they enacted, and for the anxiety generally which they discovered for the prosperity of the kingdom. Amongst the most curious of their laws is one which forbids any man who has accused another, from being of the jury on his trial! It is not easy to conceive what were the notions of jurisprudence which permitted the existence of the practice which this statute is meant to put an end to. The allowing the accuser to be one of the jury on the trial of the person he has accused, seems an absurdity and impropriety too palpable and gross to be apologized for, even by the rudeness and barbarity of the times. Another curious statute of this period enacts, that no traveller shall lodge with his friends, but at the common inn. The object of this was to encourage these institutions, only about this time first established in Scotland. They seem, however, very soon to have become popular, as it was shortly afterwards enjoined by act of parliament, that no one should remain in taverns after nine o'clock at night. This of course was meant only to apply to those who resided near the spot, and not to travellers at a distance from their homes.

The subjugation of the Highlands and Isles next occupied the attention of the stern and active monarch. These districts were in the most lawless state, and neither acknowledged the authority of the parliament nor the king. With the view of introducing a better order of things into these savage provinces, and of bringing to condign punishment some of the most turbulent chieftains, James assembled a parliament at Inverness, and specially summoned the heads of the clans to attend it. The summons was obeyed, and about fifty chieftains of various degrees of note and power arrived at Inverness at the appointed time, and were all made prisoners; amongst the rest, Alexander, lord of the Isles. Several of them were instantly beheaded after a summary trial, the others were

distributed throughout the different prisons of the kingdom, or kept in ward at the castles of the nobility. The greater part of them were afterwards put to death, and the remainder finally restored to liberty. With a degree of cruelty which the case does not seem to warrant, the countess of Ross, the mother of the lord of the Isles, was made a prisoner along with her son, and was long detained in captivity in the island of Inch Combe in the Firth of Forth. Alexander, after a year's confinement, was allowed to return to his own country, on condition that he would in future refrain from all acts of violence; his mother in the mean time being held a hostage for his good conduct.

Equally regardless, however, of his promises and the predicament of his parent, he, soon after regaining his liberty, with a large body of followers attacked and burned the town of Inverness. James, to revenge this outrage, instantly collected an army and marched against the perpetrator, whom he overtook in the neighbourhood of Lochaber. A battle ensued, in which the lord of the Isles, who is said to have had an army of ten thousand men under him, was totally defeated. Humbled by this misfortune, Alexander soon after made an attempt to procure a reconciliation with the king, but failing in this, he finally resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the sovereign. With this view he came privately to Edinburgh, and attired only in his shirt and drawers, he placed himself before the high altar of Holyrood church, and on his knees, in presence of the queen and a number of nobles, presented his naked sword to the king. For this act of humiliation and humble submission, his life was spared; but he was ordered into close confinement in the castle of Tantallon. Some curious and interesting considerations naturally present themselves when contemplating the transactions just spoken of. Amongst these a wonder is excited to find the summons of the king to the fierce, lawless chieftains of the Highlands so readily obeyed. To see them walk so tamely into the trap which was laid for them, when they must have known, from the previous character of the king, that if they once placed themselves within his reach, they might be assured of being subjected to punishment. Supposing, again, that they were deceived as to his intentions, and had no idea that he meant them any personal violence, but were inveigled within his power by faithless assurances; it then becomes matter of astonishment, that in the very midst of their clans, in the heart of their own country, and in the immediate neighbourhood of their inaccessible retreats, the king should have been able, without meeting with any resistance, to take into custody and carry away as prisoners, no fewer than fifty powerful chieftains, and even to put some of them to death upon the spot. This wonder is not lessened by finding that the lord of the Isles himself could bring into the field ten thousand men, while the greater part of the others could muster from five hundred to five thousand each; and it might be thought that, however great was their enmity to each other, they would have made common cause in such a case as this, and have all united in rescuing their chiefs from the hands of him who must have appeared their common enemy; but no such effort was made, and the whole Highlands as it were looked quietly on and permitted their chief men to be carried away into captivity. In the midst of these somewhat inexplicable considerations, however, there is one very evident and remarkable circumstance; this is the great power of the king, which could thus enable him to enforce so sweeping an act of justice in so remote and barbarous a part of his kingdom; and perhaps a more striking instance of the existence of that extraordinary power, and of terror inspired by the royal name, is not to be found in the pages of Scottish history.

The parliament of James, directed evidently by the spirit of the monarch, continued from time to time to enact the most salutary laws. In 1427, it was

decreed, that a fine of ten pounds should be imposed upon burgesses who, being summoned, should refuse to attend parliament, without showing satisfactory cause for their absence; and in the same year several acts were passed for the punishment of murder and felony. The first of these acts, however, was repealed in the following year, by introducing a new feature into the legislature of the kingdom. The attendance of small barons or freeholders in parliament was dispensed with, on condition that each shire sent two commissioners, whose expenses were to be paid by the freeholders. Another singular decree was also passed this year, enjoining the successors and heirs of prelates and barons to take an oath of fidelity to the queen. This was an unusual proceeding, but not an unwise one, as it was evidently a provision for the event of the king's death, should it happen during the minority of his heir and successor. It did so happen; and though history is silent on the subject, there is reason to believe that the queen enjoyed the advantage which the act intended to secure to her.

In the year 1428, James wisely strengthened the Scottish alliance with France, by betrothing his eldest daughter, Margaret, but yet in her infancy, to the dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., also at this time a mere child. This contract, however, was not carried into effect until the year 1436, when the dauphin had attained his thirteenth year, and his bride her twelfth. The marriage eventually proved an exceedingly unhappy one. The husband of the Scottish princess was a man of the worst dispositions, and unfortunately there were others about him no less remarkable for their bad qualities. One of these, Jamet de Villy, impressed him, by tales which were afterwards proven to be false, with a suspicion of the dauphiness's fidelity. Though innocent, the unhappy princess was so deeply affected by the infamous accusations which were brought against her, that she took to bed, and soon after died of a broken heart, exclaiming before she expired, "Ah! Jamet, Jamet, you have gained your purpose:" such mild but affecting expressions being all that her hard fate and the malice of her enemies could elicit from the dying princess. Jamet was afterwards proven, in a legal investigation which took place into the cause of the death of Margaret, to be a "scoundrel" and "common liar." The death of this princess took place nine years after the marriage, and seven after the death of her father; who, had he been alive, would not, it is probable, have permitted the treatment of his daughter to have passed without some token of his resentment.

The short remaining portion of James's life, either from the defectiveness of the records of that period, or because they really did not occur, presents us with few events of any great importance. Amongst those worthy of any notice, are, a commercial league of one hundred years, entered into between Scotland and Flanders; the passing of a sumptuary law, forbidding any one but lords and knights, their eldest sons and heirs, from wearing silks and furs; a decree declaring all Scotsmen traitors who travel into England without the king's leave. Another enjoined all barons and lords having lands on the western or northern seas, particularly those opposite to the islands, to furnish a certain number of galleys, according to their tenures: an injunction which was but little attended to. In 1431, James renewed the treaty of peace with England, then just expiring, for five years. In this year also, a desperate encounter took place at Inverlochy, between Donald Balloch, and the earls of Mar and Caithness, in which the former was victorious. The earl of Caithness, with sixteen squires of his family, fell in this sanguinary engagement. Another conflict, still more deadly, took place about the same time in Strathnavern, between Angus Duŕ, chief of the Mackays of that district, and Angus Moray. There were twelve hundred men on either side, and it is said, that on the termination of the fight there were scarcely nine left alive.

James, in the mean time, proceeded with his system of hostility to the nobles, availing himself of every opportunity which presented itself of humbling them, and of lessening their power. He threw into prison his own nephews, the earl of Douglas, and Sir John Kennedy, and procured the forfeiture of the estates of the earl of March. The reasons for the first act of severity are now unknown. That for the second was, that the earl of March's father had been engaged in rebellion against the kingdom during the regency of Albany. The policy of James in arraying himself against his nobles, and maintaining an attitude of hostility towards them during his reign, seems of very questionable propriety, to say nothing of the apparent character of unmerited severity which it assumes in many instances. He no doubt found on his arrival in the kingdom, many crimes to punish amongst that class, and much feudal tyranny to suppress; but it is not very evident that his success would have been less, or the object which he aimed at less surely accomplished, had he done this with a more lenient hand. By making the nobles his friends in place of his enemies, he would assuredly have established and maintained the peace of the kingdom still more effectually than he did. They were men, rude as they were, who would have yielded a submission to a personal affection for their prince, which they would, and did refuse to his authority as a ruler. James erred in aiming at governing by fear, when he should have governed by love. A splendid proof of his error in this particular is presented in the conduct of his great grand-son, James IV. who pursued a directly opposite course with regard to his nobles, and with results infinitely more favourable to the best interests of the kingdom. Only one event now of any moment occurs until the premature death of James; this is the siege of Roxburgh. To revenge an attempt which had been made by the English to intercept his daughter on her way to France, he raised an army of, it has been computed, two hundred thousand men, and marching into England, besieged the castle of Roxburgh; but after spending fifteen days before that stronghold, and expending nearly all the missive arms in the kingdom, he was compelled to abandon the siege, and to return with his army without having effected any thing at all commensurate with the extent of his preparations, or the prodigious force which accompanied him. The melancholy catastrophe in which his existence terminated was now fast approaching,—the result of his own harsh conduct and unforgiving disposition.

The nobles, wearied out with his oppressions, seem latterly to have been restrained only by a want of unanimity amongst themselves from revenging the injuries they had sustained at his hands, or by a want of individual resolution to strike the fatal blow. At length one appeared who possessed the courage necessary for the performance of this desperate deed. This person was Sir Robert Graham, uncle to the earl of Strathern. He also had been imprisoned by James, and was therefore his enemy on personal as well as general grounds.

At this crisis of the dissatisfaction of the nobles, Graham offered, in a meeting of the latter, to state their grievances to the king, and to demand the redress of these grievances, provided those who then heard him would second him in so doing. The lords accepted his offer, and pledged themselves to support him. Accordingly, in the very next parliament Graham rose up, and having advanced to where the king was seated, laid his hand upon his shoulder, and said "I arrest you in the name of all the three estates of your realm here assembled in parliament, for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you constrained by an equal oath to govern by law, and not to wrong your subjects, but in justice to maintain and defend them." Then turning round to the assembled lords, "Is it not thus as I say?" he exclaimed;—but the appeal remained unanswered. Either awed by the royal presence, or thinking that Graham had gone

too far, the lords meanly declined to afford him the support which they had promised him. That Graham had done a rash thing, and had said more than his colleagues meant he should have said, is scarcely an apology for their deserting him as they did in the hour of trial. They ought at least to have afforded him some countenance, and to have acknowledged so much of his reproof as they were willing should have been administered; and there is little doubt that a very large portion of its spirit was theirs also, although they seem to have lacked the courage to avow it. Graham was instantly ordered into confinement, and was soon after deprived of all his possessions and estates, and banished the kingdom. Brooding over his misfortunes, and breathing vengeance against him who was the cause of them, the daring exile retired to the remotest parts of the Highlands, and there arranged and perfected his plans of revenge. He first wrote letters to the king, renouncing his allegiance and defying his wrath, upbraiding him with being the ruin of himself, his wife, and his children, and concluded with declaring that he would put him to death with his own hand, if opportunity should offer. The answer to these threats and defiances was a proclamation which the king immediately issued, promising three thousand deniers of gold, of the value of half an English noble each, to any one who should bring in Graham dead or alive.

The king's proclamation, however, was attended with no effect. The object of it not only remained in safety in his retreat, but proceeded to mature the schemes of vengeance which he meditated against his sovereign. He opened a correspondence with several of the nobility, in which he unfolded the treason which he designed, and offered to assassinate the king with his own hand.

The general dislike which was entertained for James, and which was by no means confined to the aristocracy, for his exactions had rendered his government obnoxious also to the common people, soon procured for Graham a powerful co-operation; and the result was, that a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, and which included even some of the king's most familiar domestics, was speedily formed. In the mean time, the king, unconscious of the fate which was about to overtake him, had removed with his court to Perth to celebrate the festival of Christmas. While on his way thither, according to popular tradition, he was accosted by a soothsayer, who forewarned him of the disaster which was to happen him. "My lord king," she said, for it was a prophetess who spoke, "if ye pass this water," (the Forth) "ye shall never return again alive." The king is said to have been much struck by the oracular intimation, and not the less so that he had read in some prophecy a short while before, that in that year a king of Scotland should be slain. The monarch, however, did not himself deign on this occasion to interrogate the soothsayer as to what she meant, but deputed the task to one of the knights, whom he desired to turn aside and hold some conversation with her. This gentleman soon after rejoined the king, and representing the prophetess as a foolish inebriated woman, recommended to his majesty to pay no attention to what she had said. Accordingly no further notice seems to have been taken of the circumstance. The royal party crossed the water and arrived in safety at Perth; the king, with his family and domestics, taking up his residence at the Dominicans' or Blackfriars' monastery. The conspirators, in the mean time, fully informed of his motions, had so far completed their arrangements as to have fixed the night on which he should be assassinated. This was, according to some authorities, the night of the second Wednesday of lent, or the 27th day of February; by others, the first Wednesday of lent, or between the twentieth or twenty-first of that month, in the year 1437; and the latter is deemed the more accurate date. James spent the earlier

part of the evening in playing chess with one of his knights, whom, for his remarkable devotion to the fair sex he humorously nicknamed the King of Love. The king was in high spirits during the progress of the game, and indulged in a number of jokes at the expense of his brother king; but the dark hints which he had had of his fate, seemed, as it were in spite of himself, to have made an impression upon him, and were always present to him even in his merriest moods, and it was evidently under this feeling that he said—more in earnest than in joke, though he endeavoured to give it the latter character—to his antagonist in the game, “Sir King of Love, it is not long since I read a prophecy which foretold that in this year a king should be slain in this land, and ye know well, sir, that there are no kings in this realm but you and I. I therefore advise you to look carefully to your own safety, for I give you warning that I shall see that mine is sufficiently provided for.” Shortly after this a number of lords and knights thronged into the king’s chamber, and the mirth, pastime, and joke went on with increased vigour. In the midst of the revelry, however, the king received another warning of his approaching fate. “My lord,” said one of his favourite squires, tempted probably by the light tone of the conversation which was going forward, “I have dreamed that Sir Robert Graham should have slain you.” The earl of Orkney, who was present, rebuked the squire for the impropriety of his speech, but the king, differently affected, said that he himself had dreamed a terrible dream on the very night of which his attendant spoke.

In the mean time, the night wore on, and all still remained quiet in and around the monastery; but at this very moment, Graham, with three hundred fierce Highlanders, was lurking in the neighbourhood, waiting the midnight hour to break in upon the ill-fated monarch. The mirth and pastime in the king’s chamber continued until supper was served, probably about nine o’clock at night. As the hour of this repast approached, however, all retired excepting the earl of Athol and Robert Stuart, the king’s nephew, and one of his greatest favourites,—considerations which could not bind him to the unfortunate monarch, for he too was one of the conspirators, and did more than any one of them to facilitate the murderous intentions of his colleagues, by destroying the fastenings of the king’s chamber door. After supper the amusements of the previous part of the evening were resumed, and chess, music, singing, and the reading of romances, wiled away the next two or three hours. On this fatal evening another circumstance occurred, which might have aroused the suspicions of the king, if he had not been most unaccountably insensible to the frequent hints and indirect intimations which he had received of some imminent peril hanging over him. The same woman who had accosted him before crossing the firth again appeared, and knocking at his chamber door at a late hour of the night, sought to be admitted to the presence of the king. “Tell him,” she said to the usher who came forth from the apartment when she knocked, “that I am the same woman who not long ago desired to speak with him when he was about to cross the sea, and that I have something to say to him.” The usher immediately conveyed the message to the king, but he being wholly engrossed by the game in which he was at the instant engaged, merely ordered her to return on the morrow. “Well,” replied the disappointed soothsayer, as she at the first interview affected to be, “ye shall all of you repent that I was not permitted just now to speak to the king.” The usher laughing at what he conceived to be the expressions of a fool, ordered the woman to begone, and she obeyed. The night was now wearing late, and the king, having put an end to the evening’s amusements, called for the parting cup. This drunk, the party broke up, and James retired to his bed-chamber, where he found the queen and her ladies amusing themselves with cheerful conversation. The king, now in his

night-gown and slippers, placed himself before the fire, and joined in the badinage which was going forward. At this moment the king was suddenly startled by a great noise at the outside of his chamber door, or rather in the passage which led to it. The sounds were those of a crowd of armed men pressing hurriedly forward. There was a loud clattering and jingling of arms and armour, accompanied by the gleaming of torches. The king seems to have instantly apprehended danger, a feeling which either he had communicated to the ladies in the apartment, or they had of themselves conceived, for they immediately rushed to the door with the view of securing it, but they found all the fastenings destroyed, and a bar which should have been there removed.

This being intimated to the king, he called out to the ladies to hold fast the door as well as they could, until he could find something wherewith to defend himself; and he flew to the window of the apartment and endeavoured to wrench away one of the iron staunchions for this purpose, but the bar resisted all his efforts. In this moment of horror and despair, the unhappy monarch next seized the tongs, which lay by the fireside, and by their means, and with some desperate efforts of personal strength, he tore up a portion of the floor, and instantly descending through the aperture into a mean receptacle which was underneath the chamber, drew the boards down after him to their original position. In the mean time the ladies had contrived to keep out the conspirators, and, in this effort, it is said, Catharine Douglas had one of her arms broken, by having thrust it into the wall in place of the bar which had been removed. The assassins, however, at length forced their way into the apartment; and here a piteous scene now ensued. The queen stood in the middle of the floor, bereft of speech and of all power of motion by her terror, while her ladies, several of whom were severely hurt and wounded, filled the apartment with the most lamentable cries and shrieks.

One of the ruffians on entering inflicted a severe wound on the queen, and would have killed her outright, but for the interference of one of the sons of Sir Robert Graham, who, perceiving the dastard about to repeat the blow, exclaimed "What would ye do to the queen? for shame of yourself, she is but a woman; let us go and seek the king." The conspirators, who were all armed with swords, daggers, axes, and other weapons, now proceeded to search for the king. They examined all the beds, presses, and other probable places of concealment, overturned forms and chairs, but to no purpose; the king could not be found, nor could they conceive how he had escaped them. The conspirators, baulked in their pursuit, dispersed themselves throughout the different apartments to extend their search. This creating a silence in the apartment immediately above the king, the unfortunate monarch conceived the conspirators had entirely withdrawn, and in his impatience to get out of his disagreeable situation, called out to the ladies to bring him sheets for that purpose. In the attempt which immediately followed to raise him up by these means, Elizabeth Douglas, another of the queen's waiting-maids, fell into the hole in which the king was concealed. At this moment, Thomas Chambers, one of the assassins, and who was also one of the king's domestics, entered the apartment, and perceiving the opening in the floor, he immediately proceeded towards it, and looking down into the cellar, with the assistance of his torch discovered the king.

On describing the object of his search, Chambers exultingly called out to his companions, "Sirs, the bride is found for whom we sought, and for whom we have caroled here all night." The joyful tidings instantly brought a crowd of the conspirators to the spot, and amongst the rest, Sir John Hall, who, with a large knife in his hand, hastily descended to the king's hiding-place. The latter, however, who was a man of great personal strength, instantly seized the assassin and threw him down at his feet; and his brother, who followed, shared

the same treatment—the king holding them both by their throats, and with such a powerful grasp, that they bore marks of the violence for a month afterwards. The unfortunate monarch now endeavoured to wrest their knives from the assassins, and in the attempt had his hands severely cut and mangled.

Sir Robert Graham, who had hitherto been merely looking on, now seeing that the Halls could not accomplish the murder of the king, also descended, and with a drawn sword in his hand. Unable to cope with them all, and exhausted with the fearful struggle which he had maintained with the two assassins, weaponless and disabled in his hands, the king implored Graham for mercy. "Cruel tyrant," replied the regicide, "thou hadst never mercy on thy kindred nor on others who fell within thy power, and therefore, thou shalt have no mercy from me." "Then I beseech thee, for the salvation of my soul, that thou wilt permit me to have a confessor," said the miserable prince. "Thou shalt have no confessor but the sword," replied Graham, thrusting his victim through the body with his weapon. The king fell, but the stroke was not instantly fatal. He continued in the most piteous tones to supplicate mercy from his murderer, offering him half his kingdom if he would but spare his life. The heart-rending appeals of the hapless monarch shook even Graham's resolution, and he was about to desist from doing him further injury, when his intentions being perceived by the conspirators from above, they called out to him that if he did not complete the deed, he should himself suffer death at their hands. Urged on by this threat, the three assassins again attacked the king, and finally despatched him, having inflicted sixteen deadly wounds on his chest, besides others on different parts of his body. As if every circumstance which could facilitate his death had conspired to secure that event, it happened that the king, some days before he was murdered, had directed that an aperture in the place where he had concealed himself, and by which he might have escaped, should be built up, as the balls with which he played at tennis in the court yard were apt to be lost in it. After completing the murder of the king, the assassins sought for the queen, whom, dreading her vengeance, they proposed to put also to death; but she had escaped. A rumour of the tragical scene that was enacting at the monastery having spread through the town, great numbers of the citizens and of the king's servants, with arms and torches hastened to the spot, but too late, to the assistance of the murdered monarch. The conspirators, however, all escaped for the time, excepting one, who was killed by Sir David Dunbar, who had himself three fingers cut off in the contest. This brave knight had alone attacked the flying conspirators, but was overpowered and left disabled.

In less than a month, such was the activity of the queen's vengeance, all the principal actors in this appalling tragedy were in custody, and were afterwards put to the most horrible deaths. Stuart and Chambers, who were the first taken, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, having been previously lacerated all over with sharp instruments. Graham was carried through the streets of Edinburgh in a cart, in a state of perfect nudity, with his right hand nailed to an upright post, and surrounded with men, who, with sharp hooks and knives, and red hot irons, kept constantly tearing at and burning his miserable body, until he was completely covered with wounds. Having undergone this, he was again thrown into prison, and on the following day brought out to execution. The wretched man had, when released from his tortures, wrapped himself in a coarse woollen Scottish plaid, which adhering to his wounds, caused him much pain in the removal. When this operation was performed, and it was done with no gentle hand, the miserable sufferer fainted, and fell to the ground with the agony. On recovering, which he did not do for nearly a quarter of an hour, he said to those around him, that the rude manner in which the mantle had

been removed, had given him greater pain than any he had yet suffered. To increase the horrors of his situation, his son was disembowelled alive before his face.

James I. perished in the forty-fourth year of his age, after an actual reign of thirteen years. His progeny were, a son, his successor, and five daughters. These were, Margaret, married to the dauphin; Isabella, to Francis, duke of Bretagne; Eleanor, to Sigismund, archduke of Austria; Mary, to the count de Boucquan; and Jean, to the earl of Angus, afterwards earl of Morton.

JAMES IV., king of Scots, was the eldest son of James III. by Margaret, daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark; and was born in the month of March, 1472. Of the manner of his education no record has been preserved; but it was probably good, as his father, whatever might be his faults, appears to have been a monarch of considerable taste and refinement. In the year 1488, a large party of nobles rebelled against James III. on account of various arbitrary proceedings with which they were displeased; and the king, on going to the north to raise an army for their suppression, left his son, the subject of the present memoir, in the keeping of Shaw of Sauchie, governor of Stirling castle. While the king was absent, the confederate nobles prevailed on Shaw to surrender his charge; and the prince was then set up as their nominal, but, it would appear, involuntary leader. The parties met, July 11, at Sauchie, near Stirling; and the king fell a victim to the resentment of his subjects. The subject of the present memoir then mounted the throne, in the sixteenth year of his age.

Neither the precise objects of this rebellion, nor the real nature of the prince's concern in its progress and event, are distinctly known. It is certain, however, that James IV. always considered himself as liable to the vengeance of heaven for his share, voluntary or involuntary, in his father's death; and accordingly wore a penitential chain round his body, to which he added new weight every year; and even contemplated a still more conspicuous expiation of his supposed offence, by undertaking a new crusade. Whatever might be the guilt of the prince, the nation had certainly no cause to regret the death of James III., except the manner in which it was accomplished, while they had every thing to hope from the generous young monarch who was his successor.

James possessed in an eminent degree every quality necessary to render a sovereign beloved by his subjects; and perhaps no prince ever enjoyed so large a portion of personal regard, of intense affection, as did James IV. of Scotland. His manner was gentle and affable to all who came in contact with him, whatever might be their rank or degree. He was just and impartial in his decrees, yet never inflicted punishment without strong and visible reluctance. He listened willingly and readily to admonition, and never discovered either impatience or resentment while his errors were placed before him. He took every thing in good part, and endeavoured to amend the faults pointed out by his advisers. He was generous, even to a fault; magnificent and princely in all his habits, pursuits, and amusements. His mind was acute, and dignified, and noble. He excelled in all warlike exercises and manly accomplishments; in music, horsemanship, and the use of sword and spear. Nor was his personal appearance at variance with this elevated character. His form, which was of the middle size, was exceedingly handsome, yet stout and muscular, and his countenance had an expression of mildness and dignity that instantly predisposed all who looked upon it to a strong attachment to its possessor.

His bravery, like his generosity, was also in the extreme: it was romantic. Altogether, he was unquestionably the most chivalrous prince of his day in Europe. A contemporary poet bears testimony to this part of his character:—

“ And ye Christian princes, whosoever ye be,
 If ye be destitute of a noble captayne,
 Take James of Scotland for his audacitie
 And proved manhood, if ye will laude attayne;
 Let him have the forwarde, have ye no dislayne,
 Nor indignation; for never king was borne
 That of ought of warr can shewe the unicorne.

For if that he take once his speare in hand,
 Against these Turkes strongly with it to ride,
 None shall be able his stroke for to withstaunde
 Nor before his face so hardy to abide;
 Yet this his manhood increaseth not his pride,
 But ever sheweth be meknes and humilitie,
 In word or dede, to hye and lowe degree.”

A neglected education left him almost totally ignorant of letters, but not without a high relish for their beauties. He delighted in poetry, and possessed a mind attuned to all its finer sympathies.

The design of the rebel lords in taking arms against their sovereign, James III., being merely to free themselves from his weak and tyrannical government, without prejudice to his heirs, his son James IV. was, immediately after the death of his father, proclaimed king, and was formally invested with that dignity at Scone. However violent and unlawful were the proceedings which thus prematurely elevated James to the throne, the nation soon felt a benefit from the change which these proceedings effected, that could scarcely have been looked for from an administration originating in rebellion and regicide. The several parliaments which met after the accession of the young king, passed a number of wise and salutary laws, encouraging trade, putting down turbulence and faction, and enjoining the strict execution of justice throughout the kingdom.

The prince and his nobles placed the most implicit confidence in each other, and the people in both. This good understanding with the former, the king encouraged and promoted, by inviting them to frequent tournaments and other amusements, and warlike exercises, in accordance with his own chivalrous spirit, and adapted to their rude tastes and habits. These tournaments were exceedingly splendid, and were invested with all the romance of the brightest days of chivalry. Ladies, lords, and knights, in the most gorgeous attire crowded round the lists, or from draped balconies, witnessed the combats that took place within them. James himself always presided on these occasions, and often exhibited his own prowess in the lists; and there were few who could successfully compete with him with spear, sword, or battle axe. Stranger knights from distant countries, attracted by the chivalric fame of the Scottish court, frequently attended and took part in these tournaments, but, it is said, did not in many instances prove themselves better men at their weapons than the Scottish knights. One of the rules of these encounters was, that the victor should be put in possession of his opponent's weapon; but when this was a spear, a purse of gold, a gift from the king, was attached to the point of it. These trophies were delivered to the conqueror by the monarch himself. The people were delighted with these magnificent and warlike exhibitions, and with their generous and chivalrous author. Nor were the actors themselves, the nobles, less gratified with them, or less affected by the high and princely spirit whence they emanated. They brought them into frequent and familiar contact with their sovereign, and nothing more was necessary in the case of James to attach them warmly and devotedly to his person. His kind and affable manner accomplished the rest.

By such means he was not only without a single enemy amongst the aristocracy, but all of them would have shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, and a day came when nearly all of them did so. In short, the wisest policy could not have done more in uniting the affections of prince and peers, than was accomplished by those warlike pastimes, aided as they were by the amiable manners of the monarch.

Not satisfied with discharging his duty to his subjects, from his high place on the throne, James frequently descended, and disguising his person—a practice to which his successor was also much addicted—roamed through the country unarmed and unattended, inquiring into his own reputation amongst the common people, and endeavouring to learn what faults himself or his government were charged with. On these occasions he lodged in the meanest hovels, and encouraged the inmates to speak their minds freely regarding their king; and there is little doubt, that, as his conduct certainly merited it, so he must have been frequently gratified by their replies. The young monarch, however, was charged with stepping aside occasionally in his rambles from this laudable though somewhat romantic pursuit, and paying visits to any of his fair acquaintances whose residence happened to be in his way; and it is alleged that he contrived they should very often be so situated.

Unfortunately for his courtiers, James conceived that he possessed, and not improbably actually did possess considerable skill in surgery and medicine, but there is reason to believe, that the royal surgeon's interference in cases of ailment was oftener dreaded than desired, although Lindsay says, that "their was none of that profession (the medical) if they had any dangerous cure in hand but would have craved his adwyse." Compliments, however, to a king's excellence in any art or science are always suspicious, and this of Lindsay's is not associated with any circumstances which should give it a claim to exemption from such a feeling.

One of the greatest faults of the young monarch was a rashness and impetuosity of temper. This frequently led him into ill-timed and ill-judged hostilities with the neighbouring kingdom, and, conjoined with a better quality, his generosity, induced him to second the pretensions of the impostor Perkin Warbeck to the crown of England. That adventurer arrived at James's court (1496), attended by a numerous train of followers, all attired in magnificent habits, and sought the assistance of the Scottish king to enable him to recover what he represented as his birth-right. Prepossessed by the elegant manner and noble bearing of the impostor, and readily believing the story of his misfortunes, which was supported by plausible evidence, the generous monarch at once received him to his arms, and not only entertained him for some time at his court, but, much against the will of his nobles, mustered an army, and, with Warbeck in his company, marched at the head of it into England, to reinstate his protégé in what he believed to be his right, at the point of the sword,—a project much more indicative of a warm and generous heart, than of a prudent head. The enterprise, as might have been expected, was unsuccessful. James had counted on a rising in England in behalf of the pretender, but being disappointed in this, he was compelled to abandon the attempt and to return to Holyrood. The king of England did not retaliate on James this invasion of his kingdom; but he demanded from him the person of the impostor. With this request, however, the Scottish king was much too magnanimous to comply; and he not only refused to accede to it, but furnished Warbeck with vessels and necessaries to carry him to Ireland, whither he now proceeded. James is fully relieved from the charge of credulity which might appear to lie against him for so readily confiding in Warbeck's representations, by the extreme

plausibility which was attached to them, and by the strongly corroborative circumstances by which they were attended. He is also as entirely relieved from the imputation of conniving in the imposture—an accusation which has been insinuated against him—by the circumstance of his having given a near relation of his own, Catharine Gordon, a daughter of lord Huntly's, in marriage to the impostor, which it cannot for a moment be believed he would have done had he known the real character of Warbeck.

The species of roving life which the young monarch led, was now about to be circumscribed, if not wholly terminated, by his entering into the married state. This he avoided as long as he possibly could, and contrived to escape from it till he had attained the thirtieth year of his age. Henry of England, however, who had always been more desirous of James's friendship than his hostility, and had long entertained views of securing the former by a matrimonial connexion with his family, at length succeeded in procuring James's consent to marry his daughter Margaret, an event which took place in 1503.

Whatever reluctance the monarch might have had to resign his liberty, he was not wanting in gallantry to his fair partner when she came to claim it. He first waited upon her at Newbattle, where he entertained her with his own performance on the clarichords and lute, listened to specimens of her own skill in the same art on bended knee, and altogether conducted himself like a true and faithful knight. He also exhibited a care and elegance in his dress on this occasion, sufficiently indicative of his desire to please. He was arrayed in a black velvet jacket, bordered with crimson velvet, and furred with white; and when he afterwards conducted his bride from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, which he did, strange to tell, seated on horseback behind him, he appeared in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet, furred with black, a doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, the collar of his shirt studded with precious stones and pearls, with long gilt spurs projecting from the heels of his boots.

By the terms of the marriage contract, the young queen, who was only in her fourteenth year when she was wedded to James, was to be conducted to Scotland at the expense of her father, and to be delivered to her husband or to persons appointed by him, at Lamberton kirk. The latter was to receive with her a dowry of thirty thousand pieces of gold; ten thousand to be paid at Edinburgh eight days after the marriage, other ten thousand at Coldingham a year afterwards, and the last ten thousand at the expiry of the year following. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost splendour and pomp. Feasting, tourneyings, and exhibitions of shows and plays, succeeded each other in one continued and uninterrupted round for many days, James himself appearing in the lists at the tournaments in the character of the "Savage Knight." But there is no part of the details of the various entertainments got up on this occasion that intimates so forcibly the barbarity of the times, as the information that real encounters between a party of Highlanders and Borderers, in which the combatants killed and mangled each other with their weapons, were exhibited for the amusement of the spectators.

A more grateful and more lasting memorial of the happy event of James's marriage than any of these, is to be found in Dunbar's beautiful allegorical poem, the "Thistle and the Rose," composed on that occasion, and thus aptly and emblematically entitled from the union being one between a Scottish king and English princess. In this poem, Dunbar, who then resided at the court, hints at the monarch's character of being a somewhat too general admirer of the fair sex, by recommending him to reserve all his affections for his queen.

"Nor hauld no other flower in sic denty
As the fresche rose, of cullor reid and white;

For gif thou dois, hurt is thine honesty,
 Considering that no flower is so perfyt."

It is said to have been at the rude but magnificent court of this monarch, that the character of a Scottish courtier first appeared; this class, so numerous at all the other courts of Europe, having been hitherto unknown in Scotland. These raw courtiers, however, made rapid progress in all the acquirements necessary to their profession, and began to cultivate all their winning ways, and to pay all that attention to their exterior appearance, on which so much of the hopes of the courtier rests. A finely and largely ruffled shirt, the especial boast and delight of the ancient Scottish courtier, a flat little bonnet, russet hose, perfumed gloves, embroidered slippers that glittered in the sun or with candle light, a handkerchief also perfumed and adorned with a golden tassel at each corner, with garters knotted into a huge rose at the knee—were amongst the most remarkable parts of the dress of the hangers-on at the court of James IV. In one important particular, however, these gentlemen seemed to have wonderfully resembled the courtier of the present day. "Na Kindness at Court without Siller," is the title of a poem by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who had every opportunity of knowing personally what was the character of that of his native sovereign.

One of the stipulations of the marriage treaty between the king and the daughter of Henry the VII., having secured an inviolable peace between the two monarchs and their subjects, the nation enjoyed for several years after that event the most profound tranquillity. This leisure James employed in improving the civil polity of his kingdom; in making efforts to introduce civilization, and an obedience to the laws, into the Highlands and Isles, by establishing courts of justice at Inverness, Dingwall, and various other places throughout these remote districts; in enlarging and improving his navy, and, in short, in doing every thing that a wise prince could do to promote the prosperity of his kingdom. In all these judicious proceedings, James was cordially supported by his parliament, a department of the legislature in which he was perhaps more fortunate than any of his predecessors had ever been, and certainly more than were any of his immediate successors. The acts of the parliament of James are distinguished by the most consummate wisdom, and by a constant aiming at the improvement and prosperity of the kingdom, whether by suppressing violence, establishing rules for the dispensation of justice, or in encouraging commerce; and they are no less remarkable for a spirit of cordiality towards the sovereign, amounting to a direct and personal affection, which breathes throughout the whole. How much of this good feeling, and of this happy co-operation in good works, depended upon the king, and how much upon the parliaments themselves, it would not be easy to determine, but it is certain, that much of the merit which attaches to it must be awarded to the sovereign.

This peaceful and prosperous state of the kingdom, however, after enduring for upwards of nine years, at length drew to a close, and finally terminated in one of the most disastrous events recorded in the pages of her history. Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by Henry VIII. Besides the change which this occurrence effected in the relationship between the sovereigns of England and Scotland, the feelings and policy of the new monarch towards the latter kingdom were totally dissimilar to those of his predecessor. He seems, indeed, to have brought with him to the throne a feeling of hostility towards Scotland; and this feeling, the sensitive, warm tempered, and impetuous monarch, against whom it was entertained, was not long in discovering. The consequence was, that, after some slight mutual offences, which, under any other circumstances, might have been easily atoned for, war was proclaimed between the two king-

doms, and both made the most formidable preparations for deciding their differences on the field of battle. James summoned the whole array of his kingdom, including all the western isles and the most remote parts of the Highlands, to assemble on the Burrow muir within twenty days, each, as was usual on such occasions, to come provided with forty days' provisions. Though the impending war was deprecated by James's council, and was by all considered imprudent, yet such was his popularity, such the general affection for the high-spirited and generous monarch, that no less than one hundred thousand men appeared in arms at the place of muster; disapproving, indeed, of the object for which they were brought together, but determined to shed the last drop of their blood in their sovereign's quarrel—because it was his, and because he had determined on bringing it to the issue of the sword. Deeply imbued with the superstition of the period, James spent much of his time, immediately before setting out with his army, in the performance of religious rites and observances. On one of these occasions, and within a few days of his marching on his expedition, a circumstance occurred which the credulity of the times has represented as supernatural, but in which it is not difficult to detect a design to work on the superstitious fears of the king, to deter him from proceeding on his intended enterprise. While at his devotions in the church of Linlithgow, a figure, clothed in a blue gown secured by a linen girdle and wearing sandals, suddenly appeared in the church, and calling loudly for the king, passed through the crowd of nobles, by whom he was surrounded, and finally approached the desk at which his majesty was seated at his devotions. Without making any sign of reverence or respect for the royal presence, the mysterious visitor now stood full before the king, and delivered a commission as if from the other world. He told him that his expedition would terminate disastrously, advised him not to proceed with it, and cautioned him against the indulgence of illicit amours. The king was about to reply, but the spectre had disappeared, and no one could tell how. The figure is represented as having been that of an elderly grave-looking man, with a bald uncovered head, and straggling grey locks resting on his shoulders. There is little doubt that it was a stratagem of the queen's, and that the lords who surrounded the king's person were in the plot. Some other attempts of a similar kind were made to alarm the monarch, and to deter him from his purpose, but in vain. Neither superstition nor the ties of natural affection could dissuade him from taking the field. Resisting all persuasion, and even the tears and entreaties of his queen, who, amongst the other arguments which her grief for the probable fate of her husband suggested, urged that of the helpless state of their infant son; the gallant but infatuated monarch took his place at the head of his army, put the vast array in marching order, and proceeded on that expedition from which he was never to return. The Scottish army having passed the Tweed began hostilities by taking some petty forts and castles, and amongst the latter that of Ford; here the monarch found a Mrs Heron, a lady of remarkable beauty, and whose husband was at that time a prisoner in Scotland. Captivated by this lady's attractions—while his natural son, the archbishop of St Andrews, who accompanied him, acknowledged those of her daughter—James spent in her society that time which he should have employed in active service with his army. The consequence of this inconceivable folly was, that his soldiers, left unemployed, and disheartened by a tedious delay, gradually withdrew from his camp and returned to their homes, until his army was at length reduced to little more than thirty thousand men. A sense of honour, however, still detained in his ranks all the noblemen and gentlemen who had first joined them, and thus a disproportionate number of the aristocracy remained to fall in the fatal field which was soon afterwards fought. In the mean time the earl of Surrey, lieutenant-

general of the northern counties of England, advanced towards the position occupied by James's forces, with an army of thirty-one thousand men.

On the 7th of September, 1513, the latter encamped at Woolerhaugh, within five miles of Flodden hill, the ground on which the Scottish army was encamped. On the day following they advanced to Bannore wood, distant about two miles from the Scottish position, and on the 9th presented themselves in battle array at the foot of Flodden hill. The Scottish nobles endeavoured to prevail upon the king not to expose his person in the impending encounter, but he rejected the proposal with disdain, saying, that to outlive so many of his brave countrymen would be more terrible to him than death itself. Finding they could not dissuade him from his purpose of sharing in the dangers of the approaching fight, they had recourse to an expedient to lessen the chances of a fatal result. Selecting several persons who bore a resemblance to him in figure and stature, they clothed them in a dress exactly similar to that worn by the monarch, and dispersed them throughout the ranks of the army. The English army, when it presented itself to the Scots, was drawn up in three large divisions; Surrey commanding that in the centre, Sir Edward Stanley and Sir Edmund Howard those on the right and left, while a large body of cavalry, commanded by Dacre, was posted in the rear. The array of the Scots was made to correspond to this disposition, the king himself leading on in person the division opposed to that commanded by Surrey, while the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Crawford, Montrose, Huntly, and Home, jointly commanded those on his right and left. A body of cavalry, corresponding to that of Dacre's, under Bothwell, was posted immediately behind the king's division. Having completed their dispositions, the Scots, with their long spears levelled for the coming strife, descended from the hill, and were soon closed with the enemy. The divisions commanded by Huntly and Home, on the side of the Scots, and by Howard on the side of the English, first met, but in a few minutes more all the opposing divisions came in contact with each other, and the battle became general.

The gallant but imprudent monarch himself, with his sword in his hand, and surrounded by a band of his no less gallant nobles, was seen fighting desperately in the front of his men, and in the very midst of a host of English bill-men. After various turns of fortune, the day finally terminated in favour of the English, though not so decisively as to assure them of their success, for it was not till the following day, that Surrey, by finding the field abandoned by the Scots, ascertained that he had gained the battle. In this sanguinary conflict, which lasted for three hours, having commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon and continued till seven, there perished twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of peers, about fifty gentlemen of rank and family, several dignitaries of the church, and about ten thousand common men. Amongst the churchmen who fell, were the king's natural son, the archbishop of St Andrews, Hepburn, bishop of the Isles, and the abbots of Kilwinning and Inchaffray. James himself fell amidst a heap of his slaughtered nobles, mortally wounded in the head by an English bill, and pierced in the body with an arrow. It was long believed by the common people that the unfortunate monarch had escaped from the field, and that he had gone on a pilgrimage to Palestine, where tradition represented him to have ended his days in prayer and penitence for his sins, and especially for that of his having borne arms against his father. This belief was strengthened by a rumour that he had been seen between Kelso and Duns after the battle was fought. That he actually fell at Flodden, however, has been long since put beyond all doubt, and the fate of his body is singular. It appears to have been carried to London, and to have been embalmed there, but by whom or by whose orders is unknown. In the reign of Elizabeth, some

sixty or seventy years afterwards, the shell in which the body was deposited, and still containing it, was found in a garret amongst a quantity of lumber by a slater while repairing the roof of a house. The body was still perfectly entire, and emitted a pleasant fragrance from the strong aromas which had been employed in its preservation. Looking on it as a great curiosity, though unaware whose remains it was, the slater chopped off the head, carried it home with him, and kept it for several years. Such was the fate of the mortal part of the noble-minded, the high-souled monarch, James IV. of Scotland. He was in the forty-first year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his reign, when he fell on Flodden field.

At this distance of time, every thing relating to that celebrated, but calamitous contest—the most calamitous recorded in the pages of Scottish history—possesses a deep and peculiar interest; but of all the memorials which have reached us of that fatal event, there is not one perhaps so striking and impressive as the proclamation of the authorities of Edinburgh. The provost and magistrates were in the ranks of the king's army, and had left the management of the town's affairs in the hands of deputies. On the day after the battle was fought, a rumour had reached the city that the Scottish army had met with a disaster, and the following proclamation—the one alluded to—was in consequence issued. The hopes, fears, and doubts which it expresses, now that all such feelings regarding the event to which it refers have long since passed away, cannot be contemplated without a feeling of deep and melancholy interest. “The 10th day of September the year above written, (1513) we do zow to witt. Forasmeikle as thair is ane grait rumour now laillie rysin within this toun, touching oure soverane lord and his army, of the quhillk we understand thair is cum in na veritie as yet. Quhairfore we charge straitely, and commandis in oure said soverane lord the kingis name, and the presidentis for the provost and bailies within this burgh, that all manner of personis, nyctbours within the samyn, have riddye thair fensabill geir and wappenis for weir, and compeir thairwith to the said presidentis at jowing of the commonn bell, for the keiping and defense of the toun aganis thame that wald invaid the samin. And als chairgis that all women, and especiallie vagaboundis, that thair pass to thair labouris and be nocht sene upon the gait clamorand and cryand, under the pane of banising of thair personis, but favouris, and that the uther women of gude repute pass to the kirk and pray quhaue tyme requiris for our soverane lord, and his army and nyctbours being thairat, and hald thame at thair previe labouris of the gait within thair housis as effëris.”

James left behind him only one legitimate child, James V. His natural issue were, Alexander, born eight months after his father's death, and who died in the second year of his age; Alexander, archbishop of St Andrews; Catharine, wedded to the earl of Morton; James, earl of Murray; Margaret, wedded to the heir of Huntly; and Jean, married to Malcolm, lord Fleming.

JAMES V. of Scotland, son of James IV., and of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., king of England, was born at Linlithgow in the month of April, 1512. This prince, on the death of his father, was not more than a year and a half old. The nation had, therefore, to look forward to a long minority, and to dread all the evils which in these turbulent times were certain to attend a protracted regency.

Scarcely any event could have been more disastrous to Scotland, than the premature death of James IV. The loss of the battle of Flodden, the immense number of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen who fell in that fatal field, were calamities of no ordinary magnitude; but the death of James himself was more fatal to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom than all. By the latter event,

Scotland was thrown open to foreign influence and intrigue, and left to the ferocious feuds of its own turbulent and warlike chieftains, who did not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity which the death of the monarch afforded them, of bringing their various private quarrels to the decision of the sword. It might have been expected, that the overwhelming disaster of Flodden field, which brought grief and mourning into almost every house of note in the land by the loss of some member of its family, would have extinguished, for a time at least, all personal animosities between them, and that a common sympathy would have prevented the few that were left from drawing their swords upon each other; but it had no such effect. Sanguinary contests and atrocious murders daily occurred throughout the whole country. They invaded each other's territories with fire and sword, burned with indiscriminating vengeance the cottage as well as the castle; despoiled the lands of corn and cattle; and retired only when driven back by a superior force, or when there was nothing more left to destroy or carry away. For us, who live in so totally different and so much happier times, it is not easy to conceive the dreadful and extraordinary state of matters which prevailed in Scotland during such periods as that of the minority of James V., when there was no ruler in the land to curb the turbulence and ambition of its nobles. In their migrations from one place to another, these proud chieftains were constantly attended by large bodies of armed followers, whom they kept in regular pay, besides supplying them with arms and armour. Thus troops of armed men, their retainers being generally on horseback, were constantly traversing the country in all directions, headed by some stern chieftain clad in complete armour, and bent on some lawless expedition of revenge or aggression; but he came thus prepared as well to the feast as to the fray, for he did not know how soon the former might be converted into the latter. There existed always a mutual distrust of each other, which kept them in a constant dread of treachery, and no outward signs of friendship could throw them for a moment off their guard. Thus they were compelled to have frequent recourse to stratagem to destroy an enemy; and numerous instances of the basest and most cowardly assassinations, accomplished by such means, occur in the pages of Scottish history. The number of armed retainers by which the chieftain was attended, was proportioned to his means. The Douglasses are said to have seldom gone abroad with fewer than fifteen hundred men at arms behind them; and Robertson of Strowan, a chief of no great note, in the year 1504, was attended by a band of no less than eight hundred followers when he went to ravage the lands of Athol. The earl of Angus on one occasion entered Edinburgh with five hundred men in his train, all "well accompanied and arrayed with jack and spear," for which they found sufficient employment before they left the city. Angus had come to Edinburgh with this formidable force to prevent the success of an attempt which the earl of Arran, then also in the town, was at that instant making to deprive the queen dowager of the regency. So soon as Arran got notice that Angus was in the city, he ordered the gates to be shut to secure him, but unaware, that he had also shut up with him five hundred well-armed followers. In the morning some of Angus's friends waited upon him, and informed him of the measures which Arran had taken for his apprehension, they also told him that if he did not instantly appear on the open street where he might defend himself, he would be taken prisoner.

Angus lost no time in buckling on his armour, and summoning his followers around him. He then formed in battle array, immediately above the Netherbow, and after a fruitless attempt on the part of Gavin Douglas, archbishop of St Andrews, to prevent bloodshed, the retainers of the two hostile noblemen encountered each other; and after a sanguinary conflict of long continuance,

on the public street, in which great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides, Arran's party gave way, and he himself with difficulty escaped through the North Loch. This encounter was afterwards distinguished by the name of Cleanse the Causey, from its having been fought upon the street or causey. Such was the condition of Scotland during nearly the whole period of the minority of James; and by merely substituting one noble name for another, and shifting from time to time the scene of their endless squabbles and skirmishes, adding an interminable and scarcely intelligible story of intrigues, duplicity, and deception, we have the history of the kingdom for the fifteen years immediately succeeding the battle of Floddenfield. During this period, we occasionally find the queen and her second husband, the earl of Angus, and sometimes the duke of Albany, cousin of the late king, in possession of the nominal regency. At length the young monarch comes upon the stage; and it is not until that event occurs, that the interest of the story is resumed. It then becomes a connected and intelligible tale, and is at once relieved of the cumbrous and fatiguing narration of occurrences, digressive, episodic, and parenthetical, with which it was previously disfigured and obscured.

In the mean time, the young monarch, unconscious of the storm that was raging without, was pursuing his studies in the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been placed for safety, under the tuition of Gavin Dunbar. The apartments appropriated to the youthful sovereign in this ancient fortress, seem to have been in but a very indifferent condition; his master, Dunbar, though afterwards refunded, having been obliged to repair, at his own cost, in the first instance, the chamber in which the king received his lessons, one particular room having been set apart for that purpose. Indeed, during the whole of Albany's regency, the wants of the young monarch seem to have been very little attended to: even his personal comfort was so much neglected, that it was with great difficulty he could procure a new doublet or a new pair of hose; and he at one time must have gone without even them, but for the kindness of his natural sister, the countess of Morton, who, from time to time, supplied him with articles of wearing apparel. The treasurer, too, frequently refused to pay the tailor for the making of his clothes, when the material instead of the dress happened to be sent him. Though placed in the castle for security, this consideration does not seem to have precluded the indulgence of going abroad occasionally. A mule was kept for him, on which he rode out during the intervals of his study, and when the town and surrounding country were reckoned sufficiently quiet and peaceful to admit of his doing so with safety. The appearance, character, and temper of the young monarch during his nonage, are spoken of in warm terms by his contemporaries. In personal appearance he is said to have borne a strong resemblance to his uncle Henry VIII. of England; who, tyrant though he was, had certainly a very noble and kingly presence. James's countenance was oval, of a mild and sweet expression; his eyes blue, and beaming at once with gentleness and intelligence without effeminacy; a head of yellow hair completes the picture. He was of an exceedingly affectionate disposition, and of a generous though somewhat hasty temper. "There is not in the world," says the queen his mother, in a letter to Surrey, "a wiser child, or a better-hearted, or a more able." This is the language of a parent indeed; but, when corroborated as it is by other evidence, there is no occasion to suspect it of partiality. James was about this time in the eleventh or twelfth year of his age. With his other good qualities he discovered a shrewdness and sagacity superior to his years. Surrey, speaking of him to Wolsey, says, "he speaks *sure*, for so young a thing." The young monarch was much addicted to all manly sports and exercises, and in all excelled. He rode gracefully, was passionately fond of the

chase, and took much delight in hawks, hounds, and all the other appurtenances belonging to that amusement. He also sang and danced well, and even in his boyish years felt much of that "stern joy" which noble minds feel in possessing and handling implements of war. He was delighted with arms and armour; and could draw a sword a yard long before the hilt, when buckled to his side, as well as a full grown man. His own weapon was of this length when he was only twelve years of age. James was altogether at this period of his life a noble and princely boy. His amusements were all of a manly character. His mind was generous and elevated, his mein and carriage gallant and dignified. In short, imagination cannot conceive a more striking image of a youthful monarch in a rude and warlike age, than is presented to us in the person and character of James the V. of Scotland. There is some reason, however, to believe, that the royal colt was a little wild, and that he was fully as fond of tilting with the spear, or making the forest of Ettrick ring with his bugle notes, as of studying his humanities, for his Latinity was found to be sadly defective.

He seems to have kept Stirling castle, the place where he last resided before assuming the reins of government, in something like an uproar while he lived in it, with his sports and amusements. He was generally joined in these by his domestics; and as they were pretty numerous, we may readily conceive what a noise and turmoil they would create, led on in their wild and obstreperous frolics by their bold and lively young leader. Pelting each other with eggs is known to have been a favourite pastime, and it is one certainly, which must have given rise to many of the most ludicrous scenes. Although the estates of the kingdom had fixed the eighteenth year of his age as that which should terminate the minority of James, and put him in full and uncontrolled possession of the sovereignty of the kingdom, he was called upon to take his seat on the throne at a much earlier period of life.

The lords themselves, whose feuds and quarrels had filled the country with slaughter and rapine, saw no other way of terminating the frightful scene but by calling on the king, young as he was, to assume the royal dignity. The ambition of his mother, who hoped to possess herself of the real power and authority, also contributed to facilitate the event; and, accordingly, the boy king, for he was only twelve years of age, was brought, escorted by a numerous train of nobles, from Stirling castle to Holyrood house. On first learning the resolution which the lords had come to of investing him with the royal character, he expressed much delight, and seemed filled with the most joyful anticipations. "He was weill content," says Lindsay, "to leive correctioun at the scooles, and pas to his lordis at libertie."

Amongst the first things which the young monarch did on arriving at Holyrood, was to change all the officers of the royal household, from the treasurer down to the carvers. Three noblemen, the earl of Lennox, the lords Hamilton and Angus, and archbishop Beatoun, were appointed as his guardians and advisers. For a year after his arrival in Edinburgh and assumption of the royal dignity, the king and his guardians lived happily, and Lindsay says, merrily together; but at the end of that period, a "benefice vaiket," a temptation came in the way, and destroyed the harmony of the association; each claimed it from the king, and each thought he had a better right to it than his fellow. Angus said, that he was always scarce of hay and horse corn when he came to Edinburgh, and that therefore it should be given to him. The vacant benefice was attached to Holyrood house. Whether it was the force of this appeal, or the superior influence of Angus over the royal mind that decided the point, is left unexplained; but that nobleman carried off the prize, to the great disappointment and displeasure of the other three, who shortly after retired in disgust

from the court. Lennox, who had got nothing at all, returned, in despair of gaining any thing by the royal favour, to his own country; and Hamilton, though he had procured the abbacy of Paisley for his son, thinking that he had not got enough, followed his example. Beatoun, who lived then in a house of his own in the Friar's Wynd, refrained afterwards from going near the court, but when expressly sent for.

Although James was now placed upon the throne, and surrounded with all the insignia of royalty, he neither of himself assumed nor was permitted to assume the functions of the royal state. He was much too young to be capable of holding the reins of government, and there were those around him who were not desirous that he should. Nor does it appear that the young monarch cared much about the matter, so long as he was permitted to enjoy himself; and there is no reason to believe that the defection of his grave guardians sank very deep into his mind. As the king advanced in years, however, this indifference to the power and authority of his elevated station gradually gave way to the natural ambition of enjoying them; and he at length determined to rid himself of the thralldom under which he was kept by the earl of Angus, who had for several years exercised the royal authority in his name. The house of Douglas, however, was too powerful, and their influence too extensive, to admit of his effecting his emancipation by any open effort, he therefore determined to have recourse to secret measures in the first instance.

The young king was now in the seventeenth year of his age, and when he carried his design into execution, was residing at Falkland, a favourite hunting place of the kings of Scotland. Here he was attended as usual by the earl of Angus and several of his kindred, all of whom were united in the design of keeping the king as it were to themselves. A Douglas was captain of his guard; a Douglas was treasurer; and a Douglas was guardian and adviser. Great numbers of that name, besides, filled subordinate situations in the royal household, and the king's guard, consisting of a hundred gentlemen, were all in the interest of the earl of Angus and his family. Thus encompassed, the young monarch had no other resource than to endeavour to elude their vigilance. He was under no personal restraint, nor was he debarred from any enjoyment or amusement with which he chose to occupy himself. On the contrary, they all led an exceedingly merry and joyous life together; were almost daily out hunting and hawking and feasting with the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, and amongst the rest with the archbishop of St Andrews, who entertained the king and his attendants with great "mirrines" for several days together; but it was necessary that a Douglas should always be present on these occasions. Hunting, hawking, or feasting, still a Douglas must be there. An opportunity such as the young monarch had long and anxiously looked for of escaping from this annoying surveillance at length presented itself, and he availed himself of it. The earl of Angus left Falkland for a few days, to transact some private business of his own in the Lothians, leaving the king in charge of his uncle, Archibald Douglas, and his brother George. These two, however, availing themselves probably of the earl's absence, also left the palace on different errands; the former, it is hinted, to visit a mistress in Dundee, and the latter to arrange some business with the archbishop of St Andrews. There was still, however, a fourth left, whom it was necessary the king should dispose of before he could effect his escape; this was James Douglas of Parkhead, the captain of the guard, to whom the absentees in the last resort had confided the safe keeping of the young monarch. In order to get rid of him, the king gave out that he intended to go a-hunting early on the following morning, and having sent for James Douglas to his bed-room, he called for liquor, and drinking to his guest, re-

marked that he should see good hunting on the morrow. Douglas, little dreaming of the equivoque, saw the king safely to bed, and retired to his own by the advice of his master, much earlier than usual, that he might be up betimes in the morning, the king having ordered dejeuner to be served at four o'clock. It is not improbable that his majesty, moreover, had made him take an extra cup before they parted. As soon as all was quiet in the palace, the king got up, disguised himself by putting on the dress of one of his own grooms, and descended to the stables, where "Jockie Hart," a yeoman of the stable, with another trusty servant, also in the secret, were ready prepared with saddled horses for the intended flight.

They all three instantly mounted, and escaping all notice from the wardens, took the road for Stirling at full gallop. On reaching the castle, which he did by break of day, the king ordered the gates to be shut, and that no one should be permitted to enter without his special order. This done, he retired to bed, much fatigued with his long and rapid ride. His escape from Falkland was not discovered until the following morning. George Douglas had returned to the palace at eleven o'clock at night, about an hour after the king's departure, but having learned from the porters that his majesty was asleep in his own apartment, he, without further inquiry, retired to bed; and it was not until he was roused at an early hour of the morning, by Patrick Carnichael, baillie of Abernethy, who had recognized the king in his flight, and who came with all manner of despatch to inform him of it, that he knew any thing at all about the matter. He would not at first believe it, but rushed in great alarm to the king's chamber, which he found locked, and it was only when he had burst up the door and found the apartment unoccupied, that he felt assured of the dreadful truth. The king must have already acquired some little reputation for that gallantry amongst the ladies which afterwards so much distinguished him, for on this occasion he was at first suspected to have gone off on a nocturnal visit to a lady at Bambrigh, some miles distant from Falkland.

Immediately after his arrival in Stirling, the king summoned a great number of his lords to join him there, to assist him with their advice and counsel. The summons was readily obeyed, both from personal attachment to the king, and a jealousy and dislike of his late guardian the earl of Angus. In a few days, James was surrounded with nearly a score of the noblest names in the land, all ready to perish in his defence, and to assert and maintain his rights at the point of the sword.

He seems to have resented highly the restraint in which he had been kept by Angus and his kindred, for it was now, he said, addressing the assembled lords, "I avow that Scotland shall not hold us both till I be revenged on him and his." The earl of Angus and all his immediate friends were now put to the horn, and the former deprived of all his public offices. It is therefore at this period that the actual reign of James commences, and not before. He was now freed from the influence of the Douglasses, surrounded by his nobles, who paid him a ready and willing homage, and was in every respect an independent and absolute sovereign, capable and at liberty to judge and to act for himself.

James's appearance and character were as interesting as his situation at this period of his life. He was now, as stated before, in the seventeenth year of his age, of a robust constitution, which enabled him to encounter any bodily fatigue. His speech and demeanour were mild and conciliating. His stature was of middling height, but handsomely formed, and "the fient a pride, nae pride had he." He spoke at all times affably to the meanest of his subjects, and would partake of the humblest repast of the humblest peasant in his dominions, with a glee and satisfaction which evinced the most amiable kindness

of disposition. These qualities rendered him exceedingly beloved by the common people, of whom he was always besides so steady and effective a friend, as procured for him the enviable title of King of the Poor.

Amongst the first cares of James, after his becoming possessed of the actual sovereignty of the kingdom, was to subdue the border thieves and marauders, who were carrying matters with a high hand, and had so extended their business during the lawless period of his minority, and so systematized their proceedings, that Armstrong of Kilnockie—the celebrated Johnnie Armstrong of the well-known old ballad—one of the most noted leaders of these predatory bands, never travelled abroad, even on peaceful purposes, without a train of six and twenty gentlemen well mounted, well armed, and always handsomely dressed in the gayest and most chivalrous garb of the times. As James, however, knew that he would have little chance of laying hold of these desperadoes if he sought them with openly hostile intentions, their predatory habits and intimate knowledge of the localities of the country rendering it easy for them to evade any such attempt, he had recourse to stratagem. He gave out that he intended to have a great hunting match on the borders, and really did combine both sport and business in the expedition which followed. As was usual with the Scottish kings on hunting occasions, he summoned all the noblemen and gentlemen in the country, who could find it convenient, to attend him with their dogs on a certain day at Edinburgh, and, what was not so customary, to bring each a month's victuals along with him. Such a provision was always required when an army of common men were called together, but not in the case of convocations of men above that rank. The expedition in this case, however, was to be both warlike and sportive; and the former might prevent the latter from affording them a sufficiency of game for their subsistence. The summons of the king for the border hunting was so willingly obeyed, that a host amounting to twelve thousand assembled in Edinburgh against the appointed time; and amongst these, some chieftains from very distant parts of the country, such as Huntly, Argyle, and Athol, all of whom brought their large, fierce Highland deer dogs along with them to assist in the chase. It was in the month of June, 1529, that this prodigious host of sportsmen, headed by the king in person, set out towards the borders. The greater part of them were well armed, and were thus prepared for any thing that might occur. On all such occasions pavilions, tents, bedding, &c. for the accommodation of the sportsmen, were despatched some days previous to the ground selected for the first day's amusement, and were afterwards moved from place to place as the scene of action was shifted. The king's pavilion was very splendid, and might readily be distinguished from all others by its superior richness and elegance. His dogs, too, were elevated above all the dogs of meaner men, as well by their extrinsic ornaments as by their intrinsic merits. Their collars were gilt, or were of purple velvet adorned with golden studs, while the royal hawks were provided with collars and bells of the same metal. The cavalcade having reached Meggotland, on the southern border of Peeblesshire, a favourite hunting place of James's, and which was always reserved exclusively for the king's hunting—the sport began, and in a few days no less than three hundred and sixty deer were slain. Soon after this, Armstrong of Kilnockie, little dreaming of the fate that awaited him, made his appearance among the sportsmen, at a place called Caerlanrig, it is said by invitation, but whether it was so or not he seems to have calculated on at least a civil, if not a cordial reception from the king, being in total ignorance of the real object of the king's visit to the borders. Armstrong was not altogether unreasonable in such an expectation, for his robberies had always been confined to England, and he was rather looked upon as a protector than otherwise by his

own countrymen, none of whose property he was ever known to have meddled with. He always "quartered upon the enemy," and thought that by doing so he did good service to the state; but not being consulted in the various treaties of peace which occasionally took place between the sovereigns of the two kingdoms, he did not always feel himself called upon to recognize them, and accordingly continued to levy his black-mail from the borders, all the way, it is said, unto Newcastle. Though the king had made peace with England, Johnnie Armstrong had not; and he therefore continued to carry on the war in defiance of all those treaties and truces to which he was not a party. On this occasion the daring borderer, expecting a gracious reception from the king, and desirous of appearing before his sovereign in a manner becoming what he conceived to be his own rank, presented himself and his retainers, all magnificently appareled, before his majesty. The king, who did not know him personally, at first mistook him for some powerful nobleman, and returned his salute; but on learning his name, he instantly ordered him and all his followers to be taken into custody and hanged upon the spot. "What wants that knave that a king should have," exclaimed James, indignantly struck with the splendour of Armstrong's and his followers' equipments, and, at the same time, turning round from them on his heel as he spoke. The freebooter at first pled hard for his life, and endeavoured to bribe the king to spare him. He offered his own services and that of forty men at any time, when the king should require it, free of all expense to his majesty. He further offered to bring to him any subject of England—duke, earl, lord, or baron, against any given day, either dead or alive, whom his majesty might desire either to destroy or to have as a captive. Finding that all he could say and all he could offer had no effect in moving the king from his determination, the bold borderer, seeing the die was cast, and his fate sealed, instantly resumed the natural intrepidity of his character,— "I am but a fool," he said, raising himself proudly up, "to look for grace in a graceless face. But had I known, sir, that you would have taken my life this day, I should have lived upon the borders in despite of both king Henry and you; and I know that the king of England would down-weigh my best horse with gold to be assured that I was to die this day." No further colloquy took place; Armstrong and all his followers were led off to instant execution. A popular tradition of the borders, where his death was much regretted, says, that the tree on which Armstrong was executed, though it continued to vegetate, never again put forth leaves. After subjecting several other notorious offenders to a similar fate, the king returned to Edinburgh on the 24th of July. In the following summer, he set out upon a similar expedition to the north, with that which he had conducted to the south, and for similar purposes—at once to enjoy the pleasures of the chase and to bring to justice the numerous and daring thieves and robbers with which the country was infested.

This practice of converting the amusement of hunting into a means of dispensing justice throughout the kingdom, was one to which James had often recourse, for on these occasions he took care always to be attended with an armed force, sufficiently strong to enforce the laws against the most powerful infringer; and he did not spare them when within his reach. For thieves and robbers he had no compassion; common doom awaited them all, whatever might be their rank or pretensions. In this particular he was stern and inflexible to the last degree; and the times required it. There was no part of his policy more beneficial to the kingdom than the resolute, incessant, and relentless war which he waged against all marauders and plunderers.

On the expedition which he now undertook to the north, he was accompanied by the queen mother, and the papal ambassador, then at the Scottish court. The

earl of Athol, to whose country the royal party proposed first proceeding, having received intelligence of the visit which he might expect, made the most splendid preparation for their reception. On the arrival of the illustrious visitors, they found a magnificent palace, constructed of boughs of trees, and fitted with glass windows, standing in the midst of a smooth level park or meadow. At each of the four corners of this curious structure, there was a regularly formed tower or block-house; and the whole was joisted and floored to the height of three stories. A large gate between two towers, with a formidable portcullis, all of green wood, defended the entrance; while the whole was surrounded with a ditch sixteen feet deep and thirty feet wide, filled with water, and stocked with various kinds of fish, and crossed in front of the palace by a commodious draw-bridge. The walls of all the apartments were hung with the most splendid tapestry, and the floors so thickly strewn with flowers, that no man would have known, says Lindsay, but he had been in "ane greine gardeine." The feasting which followed was in keeping with this elaborate and costly preparation. Every delicacy which the season and the country could supply was furnished in prodigious quantities to the royal retinue. The choicest wines, fruits, and confections, were also placed before them with unsparring liberality; and the vessels, linen, beds, &c., with which this fairy mansion was supplied for the occasion, were all of the finest and most costly description. The royal party remained here for three days, at an expense to their noble host of as many thousand pounds. Of all the party there was not one so surprised, and so much gratified with this unexpected display of magnificence and abundance of good living, as his reverence the pope's ambassador. The holy man was absolutely overwhelmed with astonishment and delight to find so many good things in the heart of a wild, uncivilized, and barbarous country. But his astonishment was greatly increased when, on the eve of their departure, he saw a party of Highlanders busily employed in setting fire to that structure, within which he had fared so well and been so comfortably lodged, and which had cost so much time, labour, and expense in its erection. "I marvel, sir," he said, addressing the king, "that ye should suffer your fair palace to be burned, that your grace has been so well entertained in." "It is the custom of our Highlandmen," replied James, smiling, "that be they never so well lodged at night they will burn the house in the morning." The king and his retinue now proceeded to Dunkeld, where they remained all night. From thence they went next day to Perth, afterwards to Dundee and St Andrews, in all of which places they were sumptuously entertained—and finally returned to Edinburgh.

James, who had now passed his twentieth year, was in the very midst of that singular career of frolic and adventure in which he delighted to indulge, and which forms so conspicuous a feature in his character. Attended only by a single friend or two, and his person disguised by the garb of a gentleman of ordinary rank, and sometimes, if traditionary tales tell truth, by that of a person of a much lower grade, he rode through the country in search of adventures, or on visits to distant mistresses; often on these occasions passing whole days and nights on horseback, and putting up contentedly with the coarsest and scantiest fare which chance might throw in the way. Sleeping in barns on "clean pease strae," and partaking of the "gude wife's" sheep head, her oaten cakes, and ale, or whatever else she might have to offer, was no uncommon occurrence in the life of James. Such visits, however, were not always prompted by the most innocent motives. A fair maiden would at any time induce the monarch to ride a score of miles out of his way, and to pass half the night exposed to all its inclemency for an hour's interview.

James was no niggard in his gallantries: where money was required, he gave

it freely and liberally; where it was not, his munificence took the shape of presents,—such as rings, chains, &c. of gold and other descriptions of jewellery. In one month he gave away in this way to the value of upwards of four hundred pounds. The roving monarch, however, made even his vagrancies subservient to his great object of extirpating thieves and robbers. During his wanderings he frequently fell in with numerous bands of them, or sought them out; and on such occasions never hesitated to attack them, however formidable they might be, and however few his own followers.

As the roving propensities of the king thus frequently put his life in jeopardy, and as his dying without lawful issue would have left the country in all probability a prey to civil war, the nation became extremely anxious for his marriage, an event which, after many delays, arising from political objections to the various connexions from time to time proposed, at length took place. The Scottish ambassadors in France concluded, by James's authority, a marriage treaty with Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome. On the final settlement of this treaty, the young monarch proceeded to Vendome, to claim in person his affianced bride; but here his usual gallantry failed him, for on seeing the lady he rejected her, and annulled the treaty.

Whether it was the result of chance, or that James had determined not to return home without a wife, this occurrence did not doom him, for any length of time, to a single life. From Vendome he proceeded to Paris, was graciously received by Francis I., and finally, after a month or two's residence at that monarch's court, married his daughter Magdalene. The ceremony, which took place in the church of Notre Dame, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The whole city rang with rejoicings, and the court with sounds of revelry and merriment. The marriage was succeeded by four months of continued feasting, sporting, and merry making. At the end of that period James and his young bride, who was of an exceedingly sweet and amiable disposition, returned to Scotland; the former loaded with costly presents from his father-in-law, and the latter with a dowry of a hundred thousand crowns, besides an annual pension of thirty thousand livres during her life.

The royal pair arrived at Leith on Whitsun-eve, at ten o'clock at night. On first touching Scottish ground, the pious and kind-hearted young queen dropped on her knees, kissed the land of her adoption, and after thanking God for the safe arrival of her husband and herself, prayed for happiness to the country and the people. The rejoicings which the royal pair had left in France were now resumed in Scotland. Magdalene was every where received by the people with the strongest proofs of welcome and regard, and this as much from her own gentle and affable demeanour as from her being the consort of their sovereign.

Never queen made such rapid progress in the affections of a nation, and few ever acquired during any period so large a proportion of personal attachment as did this amiable lady. The object, however, of all this love, was not destined long to enjoy it. She was in a bad state of health at the time of her marriage, and all the happiness which that event brought along with it could not retard the progress of the disease which was consuming her. She daily became worse after her arrival in Scotland, and finally expired within forty days of her landing. James was for a long time inconsolable for her loss, and for a time buried himself in retirement, to indulge in the sorrow which he could not restrain.

Policy required, however, that the place of the departed queen should, as soon as propriety would admit, be supplied by another; and James fixed upon Mary of Guise, daughter of the duke of that name, and widow of the duke of Longueville, to be the successor of Magdalene. An embassy having been despatched to France to settle preliminaries, and to bring the queen consort to

Scotland, she arrived in the latter kingdom in June, 1538. Mary landed at Balcomie in Fife, where she was received by the king, surrounded by a great number of his nobles. From thence the royal party proceeded to Dundee, St Andrews, then to Stirling; from that to Linlithgow; and lastly to Edinburgh. In all of these places the royal pair were received with every demonstration of popular joy, and were sumptuously entertained by the magistrates and other authorities of the different towns. James, by a long and steady perseverance in the administration of justice, without regard to the wealth or rank of the culprits, and by the wholesome restraint under which he held the turbulent nobles, had now secured a degree of peace and prosperity to the country which it had not enjoyed for many years before. His power was acknowledged and felt in the most remote parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, and even a great part of the Highlands. But the western isles, and the most northern extremity of the kingdom, places then difficult of access, and comparatively but little known, were still made the scenes of the most lawless and atrocious deeds by the fierce and restless chieftains, and their clans, by whom they were inhabited. James, however, resolved to carry and establish his authority even there. He resolved to "beard the lion in his den;" to bring these desperadoes to justice in the midst of their barbarous hordes; and this bold design he determined to execute in person. He ordered twelve ships, well provided with artillery, to be ready against the fourteenth day of May. The personal preparations of the king, and those made for his accommodation in the ship in which he was himself to embark on this expedition, were extensive and multifarious. His cabin was hung with green cloth, and his bed with black damask. Large quantities of silver plate, and culinary utensils, with stores for cooking, were put on board; and also a vast number of tents and pavilions, for the accommodation of his suite, when they should land in the isles. The monarch himself was equipped in a suit of red velvet, ornamented with gold embroidery, and the ship in which he sailed was adorned with splendid flags, and numerous streamers of red and yellow serge.

The expedition, which had been delayed for fourteen days beyond the time appointed, by the advanced state of the queen's pregnancy, finally set sail for its various destinations in the beginning of June.

The royal squadron, on reaching the western shores, proceeded deliberately from island to island, and from point to point of the mainland, the king landing on each, and summoning the various chieftains to his presence. Some of these he executed on the spot, others he carried away with him as hostages for the future peaceful conduct of their kinsmen and followers; and thus, after making the terror of his name and the sternness of his justice felt in every glen in the Highlands, he bent his way again homewards. James himself landed at Dumbarton, but the greater part of his ships, including those on board of which were the captured chieftains, were sent round to Leith.

Having now reduced the whole country to such a state of tranquillity, and so effectually accomplished the security of private property every where, that it is boasted, that, at this period of his reign, flocks of sheep were as safe in Ettrick forest as in the province of Fife, he betook himself to the improvement of his kingdom by peaceful pursuits. He imported superior breeds of horses to improve the native race of that animal. He promoted the fisheries, and invited artisans and mechanics of all descriptions to settle in the country, encouraging them by the offer of liberal wages, and, in many cases, by bestowing small annual pensions. With every promise of a long and happy reign, and in the midst of exertions which entitled him to expect the latter, the cup was suddenly dashed from his lips. Misfortune on misfortune crowded on the ill-starred

monarch, and hurried him to a premature grave. Two princes who were born to him by Mary of Guise, died in their infancy within a few days of each other, a calamity which sank deep in the heart of their royal parent. His uncle, the king of England, with whom he had hitherto been on a friendly footing, for reasons now not very well known, invaded his dominions with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of the duke of Norfolk. James gave orders to assemble an army of thirty thousand men on the Burrow muir, and with this force he marched to oppose them. The hostile armies met at Solway moss, but with little disposition on the part of the leaders of the Scottish army to maintain the credit of their sovereign by their arms. James had never been friendly to the aristocracy, and they now retaliated upon him by a lukewarmness in his cause in the hour of need. The unfortunate monarch himself increased this spirit of defection at this critical juncture by appointing Oliver Sinclair a mean favourite, and a man of no ability, to the command of his army. The intelligence of this appointment excited the utmost indignation in the Scottish army. All declared that they would rather submit to be taken prisoners by the English than be commanded by such a general; and the whole army was thrown into such a state of commotion by this infatuated proceeding of their sovereign, that the English general perceived the disorder, and taking advantage of it, attacked the Scottish army with a few hundred light horse. The former making no resistance were instantly put to flight. James was at Carlaverock, about twelve miles distant, when this disaster took place. When informed of the disgraceful flight of his army, he sank into a state of dejection and melancholy from which nothing could rouse him. His proud spirit could not brook the disgrace which had befallen his arms, and the conduct of his nobles excited a degree of irritation which soon threw him into a violent fever. In this state of dependency he retired to Falkland. Here he took to bed and refused all sustenance. While in this condition intelligence was brought him that the queen, then at Linlithgow, was delivered of a girl. "It came with a lass and it will go with a lass," said the dying monarch, reckoning it another misfortune, that it was not a male heir that had been given to him.

A little before his death, which was now fast approaching, he was heard uttering the words "Solway moss," the scene of that disaster which was now hurrying him to the grave. On the day of his death, which happened previous to the 13th of December, 1542, but within two or three days of it, although the precise day is not known, he turned round to the lords who surrounded his bed, and with a faint but benignant smile, held out his hand to them to kiss, and in a few minutes thereafter expired. James died in the 31st year of his age, leaving the unfortunate Mary, then an infant, to succeed to his dignities and to more than his misfortunes. Besides Mary, his only surviving legitimate child, James left six natural children. These were—James, abbot of Kelso and Melrose; the regent Murray; Robert, prior of Holyroodhouse; John, prior of Coldingham; Janet, wife of the earl of Angus; and Adam, prior of the Chartraux at Perth.

JAMES VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. He was the son of the reigning sovereign Mary, by her husband, Henry, lord Darnley, who was nominally associated with her in the government, and was the eldest son of the existing earl of Lennox. Both by his father and mother, James was the great-grandson of Henry VII. of England, and, failing queen Elizabeth and his own mother, stood nearest to the throne of that kingdom, at the same time that he was heir-apparent to the Scottish crown. The character of his parents and their previous history are so well known, that it is unnecessary to touch upon them here. It may only be mentioned, that

while the royal infant brought with him into the world pretensions the most brilliant that could have befallen a mortal creature, he also carried in his constitution a weakness of the most lamentable nature, affecting both his body and his mind. About three months before his birth, his father headed a band of conspirators, who broke violently into the privacy of his mother's chamber, and in her presence slew her favourite counsellor, David Riccio. The agitation of the mother on that occasion, took effect upon the child, who, though intended apparently to be alike strong in mental and bodily constitution, showed through life many deficiencies in both respects, though, perhaps, to a less extent than has been represented by popular history.

It is well known that a confederation of the Scottish nobles dethroned Mary about a year after the birth of her son. While this ill-fated princess was condemned to imprisonment in Lochleven castle, her son was taken to Stirling, and there crowned at the age of thirteen months and ten days. The real government was successively administered by the regents Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, under the secret direction of the English queen, by whom, in time, her rival Mary was put to death. James, after a weakly infancy, was placed under the care of the celebrated Buchanan, whose religious principles and distinguished scholarship seemed to qualify him peculiarly for the task of educating a protestant prince. It would appear that the young king received at the hands of his master a great deal more learning, classical and theological, than he was able to digest, and thus became liable to as much of the fault of pedantry, as consists in a hoarding of literature for its own sake, or for purposes of ostentation, accompanied by an inability to turn it to its only true use in the ordinary purposes of life. A pliability of temper, subject alike to evil and to good influences; a sly acuteness in penetrating the motives of men, without the power to make it of any practical advantage; and a proneness to listen to the flattering counsellors who told him he was a king, and ought to have the power of one, were other characteristics of this juvenile monarch; whose situation, it must at the same time be acknowledged, was one of such difficulty, as to render a fair development of the best faculties of the mind, and the best tendencies of the heart, hardly to be expected.

Though made and upheld as a king, in consequence of a successful rebellion against the monarchical principle, James was early inspired with a high sense of his royal powers and privileges, probably by some of those individuals who are never wanting around the persons of young princes, let their education be ever so carefully conducted. Even before attaining the age of twelve, he had become the centre of a little knot of courtiers, who clustered about him at his residence in Stirling castle, and plotted schemes for transferring the reins of government into his own hands. Morton permitted himself to be surprised in 1578 by this party, who for some time conducted the affairs of state in the name of the king, as if he had been in full possession of his birth-right. Morton, however, soon after regained nearly all his wonted ascendancy, and it was not till two or three years later that the king became completely emancipated from this powerful agent of the English queen. A young scion of nobility, named captain Stuart, from his commanding the king's guards, and Esme, earl of Lennox, the king's cousin, were his chief instruments in obtaining the sovereign power, and in raising that prosecution against Morton, which ended in his execution, June 2, 1581. The former is represented as a profligate adventurer, who studied only how, by flattering the king and enforcing his despotic views, to promote his own interest. Lennox was a gentler and worthier person, but was obnoxious to popular odium, on account of his professing the catholic faith. The protestant and English interest soon rallied, and, in August, 1582, took

place the celebrated Raid of Ruthven, by which a few presbyterian nobles, headed by the earl of Gowrie, were enabled to take possession of the royal person, and use his authority for some time in behalf of liberal government and their own religious principles, while Stuart and Lennox were forbidden his presence.

It was not till June, 1583, that James emancipated himself from a control which, however well he appeared to bear it, was far from agreeable to him. Lennox had now been banished to France, where he died of a broken heart; Stuart was created earl of Arran on the ruins of the Hamilton family, and became almost sole counsellor to the young monarch. The nobles who had seized the king at Ruthven, were pardoned; but Gowrie, having soon after made a second and unsuccessful attempt, was beheaded at Stirling. During the interval between June, 1583, and November, 1585, the government was of a decidedly anti-popular and anti-presbyterian character,—Arran being permitted to act entirely as he pleased. The presbyterian nobles, however, who had fled into England, were, at the latter period, enabled by Elizabeth to invade their own country, with such a force as overturned the power of the unworthy favourite, and re-established a system agreeable to the clergy and people, and more closely respondent to the wishes of Elizabeth. In this way James grew up to man's estate.

In 1584, when eighteen years of age, he made his first appearance as an author, by publishing a small thin quarto, entitled "Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie, with the Rewlis and Cauteles to be pursued and avoided." This work consists of a mixture of poetry and prose; the poems being chiefly a series of sonnets, which bear very much the appearance of school exercises; while the prose consists of a code of laws for the construction of verse according to the ideas of that age. There is little in the king's style or his ideas to please the present age; yet, compared with the efforts of contemporary authors, these poems may be said to bear a respectable appearance.

The main effect of the late revolution was to re-establish the English influence, which had been deranged by the ascendancy of captain Stuart. In June, 1586, James entered into an arrangement with Elizabeth, by which, in consideration of a pension of five thousand pounds, rendered necessary by his penurious circumstances, he engaged to support England against the machinations of the catholic powers of Europe. It was also part of this treaty, that a correspondence which he had entered into with his mother, should be broken off; and he even submitted so far to the desires of his new superior, as to write a disrespectful letter to that unhappy princess, who replied in an eloquent epistle, threatening to denounce him as a usurper, and load him with a parent's curse. James, in reality, during the whole of his occupancy of the Scottish throne, was a mere tool in the hands of one party or another; and had no personal influence or independence whatever till the advanced age of Elizabeth gave him near hopes of the English crown. Great care is therefore to be taken in judging of his actions, lest that be attributed to his own vicious will, which was only the dictate of a political system, of which he was the apparent head, but the real slave. In the winter of 1586-7, he had to endure the painful reflection, that his mother was threatened with, and ultimately brought to the scaffold, without his being able to make the least movement in her favour. It is but justice to him to say, that so far from his manifesting the levity on this subject attributed to him by several writers, he appears from documents of respectable authority,¹ to have manifested the highest indignation, and a degree of grief hardly to be expected from him,

¹ See the Life of James I., forming two volumes of Constable's Miscellany, by the editor of the present work.

considering that he was not conscious of having ever seen his parent. Mary, in her last prayer in the hall of Fotheringay, while stretched before the block, entreated the favour of God towards her son; which shows that she had not ultimately found proper cause for putting her threat into execution.

In 1588, while the shores of England were threatened with the Spanish armada, James fulfilled, as far as he could, the treaty into which he had entered with Elizabeth, by using his best exertions to suppress the movements of a powerful catholic party among his own subjects, in support of the invasion. In return for this, Elizabeth permitted him to take a wife; and his choice ultimately fell upon the princess Anne of Denmark, second daughter of the deceased Frederick the second. He was married by proxy in August, 1589; but the princess having been delayed in Norway by a storm, which threatened to detain her for the winter, he gallantly crossed the seas to Upslo, in order to consummate the match. After spending some months at the Danish court, he returned to Scotland in May, 1590; when the reception vouchsafed to the royal pair was fully such as to justify an expression used by James in one of his letters, that "a king with a new married wyfe did not come lame every day."

The king had an illegitimate cousin, Francis, earl of Bothwell, who now for some years embittered his life by a series of plots and assaults for which there is no parallel even in Scottish history. Bothwell had been spared by the king's goodness in 1589, from the result of a sentence for treason, passed on account of his concern in a catholic conspiracy. Soon after James returned from Denmark, it was discovered that he had tampered with professing witches to take away the king's life by necromancy. He at first proposed to stand a trial for this alleged offence, but subsequently found it necessary to make his escape. His former sentence was then permitted to take effect, and he became, in the language of the times, a broken man. Repeatedly, however, did this bold adventurer approach the walls of Edinburgh, and even assail the king in his palace; nor could the limited powers of the sovereign either accomplish his seizure, or frighten him out of the kingdom. He even contrived at one time to regain his place in the king's council, and remained for several months in the enjoyment of all his former honours, till once more expelled by a party of his enemies. The king appears to have purposely been kept in a state of powerlessness by his subjects; even the strength necessary to execute the law upon the paltriest occasions was denied to him; and his clergy took every opportunity of decrying his government, and diminishing the respect of his people,—lest, in becoming stronger or more generally revered, he should have used his increased force against the liberal interest, and the presbyterian religion. If he could have been depended upon as a thorough adherent of these abstractions, there can be no doubt that his Scottish reign would have been less disgraced by the non-execution of the laws. But then, was his first position under the regents and the protestant nobles of a kind calculated to attach him sincerely to that party? or can it be decidedly affirmed that the zeal of the clergy of those rough and difficult times, was sufficiently tempered with human kindness, to make a young prince prefer their peculiar system to one which addressed him in a more courteous manner, and was more favourable to that regal power, the feebleness of which had hitherto seemed the cause of all his distresses and all his humiliation?

In 1585, while under the control of Arran, he had written a paraphrase and commentary on the Revelation of St John, which, however, was not completed or published for some years after. In 1591, he produced a second volume of verse, entitled "Poetical Exercises;" in the preface to which he informs the reader, as an apology for inaccuracies, that "scarcelie but at stolen moments had

he leisure to blink upon any paper, and yet nocht that with free unvexed spirit." He also appears to have at this time proceeded some length with his translation of the Psalms into Scottish verse. It is curious that, while the king manifested, in his literary studies, both the pure sensibilities of the poet and the devout aspirations of the saint, his personal manners were coarse, his amusements of no refined character, and his speech rendered odious by common swearing.

It is hardly our duty to enter into a minute detail of the oscillations of the Scottish church, during this reign, between presbytery and episcopacy. In proportion as the king was weak, the former system prevailed; and in proportion as he gained strength from the prospect of the English succession, and other causes, the episcopal polity was re-imposed. We are also disposed to overlook the troubles of the catholic nobles—Huntly, Errol, and Angus, who, for some obscure plot in concert with Spain, were persecuted to as great an extent as the personal favour of the king, and his fear of displeasing the English papists, would permit. The leniency shown by the king to these grandees procured him the wrath of the church, and led to the celebrated tumult of the 17th of December, 1596, in which the clergy permitted themselves to make so unguarded an appearance, as to furnish their sovereign with the means of checking their power, without offending the people.

In February, 1594, a son, afterwards the celebrated prince Henry, was born to the king at Stirling castle; this was followed some years after by the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth, whose fate, as the queen of Bohemia, and ancestress of the present royal family of Britain, gives rise to so many varied reflections. James wrote a treatise of counsel for his son, under the title of "Basili-con Dorou," which, though containing some passages offensive to the clergy, is a work of much good sense, and conveys, upon the whole, a respectable impression at once of the author's abilities, and of his moral temperament. It was published in 1599, and is said to have gained him a great accession of esteem among the English, for whose favour, of course, he was anxiously solicitous.

Few incidents of note occurred in the latter part of the king's Scottish reign. The principal was the famous conspiracy of the earl of Gowrie and his brother, sons of the earl beheaded in 1584, which was developed—if we may speak of it in such a manner—on the 5th of August, 1600. This affair has of late been considerably elucidated by Robert Pitcairn, Esq., in his laborious work, the "Criminal Trials of Scotland," though it is still left in some measure as a question open to dispute. The events, so far as ascertained, were as follows.

Early on the morning of the 5th of August, 1600, Alexander, Master of Ruthven, with only two followers, Andrew Henderson and Andrew Ruthven, rode from Perth to Falkland, where king James was at that time residing. He arrived there about seven o'clock, and stopping at a house in the vicinity of the palace, sent Henderson forward to learn the motions of the king. His messenger returned quickly with the intelligence, that his majesty was just departing for the chase. Ruthven proceeded immediately to the palace, where he met James in front of the stables. They spoke together for about a quarter of an hour. None of the attendants overheard the discourse, but it was evident from the king's laying his hand on the master's shoulder, and clapping his back, that the matter of it pleased him. The hunt rode on, and Ruthven joined the train; first, however, despatching Henderson to inform his brother that his majesty was coming to Perth with a few attendants, and to desire him to cause dinner to be prepared. A buck was slain about ten o'clock, when the king desired the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar to accompany him to Perth, to speak with the

earl of Gowrie. The master of Ruthven now despatched his other attendant to give the earl notice of the king's approach; and immediately afterwards James and he set off at a rate that threw behind the royal attendants, who lost some time in changing horses. When the duke of Lennox overtook them, the king, with great glee, told him that he was riding to Perth to get a *posse* (treasure). He then asked the duke's opinion of Alexander Ruthven, which proving favourable, he proceeded to repeat the story which that young man had told him, of his having the previous evening surprised a man with a large sum of money on his person. The duke expressed his opinion of the improbability of the tale, and some suspicion of Ruthven's purpose; upon which the king desired him to follow when he and Ruthven should leave the hall—an order which he repeated after his arrival in the earl of Gowrie's house.

Meantime, Henderson, on his arrival at Perth, found the elder Ruthven in his chamber, speaking upon business with two gentlemen. Gowrie drew him aside the moment he entered, and asked whether he brought any letter or message from his brother. On learning that the king was coming, he took the messenger into his cabinet, and inquired anxiously in what manner the master had been received, and what persons were in attendance upon his majesty. Returning to the chamber, he made an apology to the two gentlemen, and dismissed them. Henderson then went to his own house. When he returned, in about an hour, the earl desired him to arm himself, as he had to apprehend a Highlander in the Shoe-gate. The master of the household being unwell, the duty of carrying up the earl's dinner devolved upon Henderson. He performed this service about half past twelve; and afterwards waited upon the earl and some friends who were dining with him. They had just sat down when Andrew Ruthven entered, and whispered something in the earl's ear, who, however, seemed to give no heed. As the second course was about to be set upon the table, the master of Ruthven, who had left the king about a mile from Perth, and rode on before, entered and announced his majesty's approach. This was the first intelligence given the inhabitants of Gowrie house of the king's visit, for Gowrie had kept not only his coming, but also the master's visit to Falkland, a profound secret. The earl and his visitors, with their attendants, and some of the citizens among whom the news had spread, went out to meet the king.

The street in which Gowrie house formerly stood runs north and south, and parallel to the Tay. The house was on the side next the river, built so as to form three sides of a square, the fourth side, that which abutted on the street, being formed by a wall, through which the entry into the interior court, or close, was by a gate. The scene of the subsequent events was the south side of the square. The interior of this part of the edifice contained, in the first story, a dining-room, looking out upon the river, a hall in the centre, and a room at the further end looking out upon the street, each of them occupying the whole breadth of the building, and opening into each other. The second story consisted of a gallery occupying the space of the dining-room and hall below, and at the street end of this gallery, a chamber, in the north-west corner of which was a circular closet, formed by a turret which overhung the outer wall, in which were two long narrow windows, the one looking towards the spy-tower, (a strong tower built over one of the city-gates.) the other looking out upon the court, but visible from the street before the gate. The access to the hall and gallery was by a large turnpike stair in the south-east corner of the court. The hall likewise communicated with the garden, which lay between the house and the river, by a door opposite to that which opened from the turnpike, and an outward stair. The access to the chamber in which was the round closet, was either

through the gallery, or by means of a smaller turnpike (called the black turnpike) which stood half-way betwixt the principal one and the street.

The unexpected arrival of the king caused a considerable commotion in Gowrie's establishment. Craigingelt, the master of the household, was obliged to leave his sick bed, and bestir himself. Messengers were despatched through Perth to seek, not for meat, for of that there seems to have been plenty, but for some delicacy fit to be set upon the royal table. The baillies and other dignitaries of Perth, as also some noblemen who were resident in the town, came pouring in,—some to pay their respects to his majesty, others to stare at the courtiers. Amid all this confusion, somewhat more than an hour elapsed before the repast was ready. To judge by the king's narrative, and the eloquent orations of Mr Patrick Galloway, this neglect on the part of the earl seems to have been regarded as not the least criminal part of his conduct: and with justice; for his royal highness had been riding hard since seven o'clock, and it was past two before he could get a morsel, which, when it did come, bore evident marks of being hastily prepared.

As soon as the king was set down to dinner, the earl sent for Andrew Henderson, whom he conducted up to the gallery, where the master was waiting for them. After some short conversation, during which Gowrie told Henderson to do any thing his brother bade him, the younger Ruthven locked this attendant into the little round closet within the gallery chamber, and left him there. Henderson began now, according to his own account, to suspect that something wrong was in agitation, and set himself to pray, in great perturbation of mind. Meanwhile, the earl of Gowrie returned to take his place behind the chair or his royal guest. When the king had dined, and Lennox, Mar, and the other noblemen in waiting, had retired from the dining-room to the hall to dine in their turn, Alexander Ruthven came and whispered to the king, to find some means of getting rid of his brother the earl, from whom he had all along pretended great anxiety to keep the story of the found treasure a secret. The king filled a bumper, and, drinking it off, desired Gowrie to carry his pledge to the noblemen in the hall. While they were busy returning the health, the king and the master passed quietly through the hall, and ascended the great stair which led to the gallery. They did not, however, pass altogether unobserved, and some of the royal train made an attempt to follow them, but were repelled by Ruthven, who alleged the king's wish to be alone. From the gallery they passed into the chamber at the end of it, and the door of this room Ruthven appears to have locked behind him.

When the noblemen had dined, they inquired after their master, but were informed by Gowrie that he had retired, and wished to be private. The earl immediately called for the keys of the garden, whither he was followed by Lennox and part of the royal train; whilst Mar, with the rest, remained in the house. John Ramsay, a favourite page of the king, says in his deposition, that, on rising from table, he had agreed to take charge of a hawk for one of the servants, in order to allow the man to go to dinner. He seems, while thus engaged, to have missed Gowrie's explanation of the king's absence, for he sought his majesty in the dining-room, in the garden, and afterwards in the gallery. He had never before seen this gallery, which is said—we know not upon what authority—to have been richly adorned with paintings by the earl's father, and he staid some time admiring it. On coming down stairs, he found the whole of the king's attendants hurrying towards the outer gate, and was told by Thomas Cranstone, one of the earl's servants, that the king had rode on before. Ramsay, on hearing this, ran to the stable where his horse was. Lennox and Mar, who had also heard the report of the king's departure, asked the

porter, as they were passing the gate, whether the king were indeed forth. The man replied in the negative. Gowrie checked him with considerable harshness, and affirmed that the king had passed out by the back gate. "That is impossible, my lord," answered the porter, "for it is locked, and the key is in my pocket." Gowrie, somewhat confused, said he would return and learn the truth of the matter. He came back almost instantly, affirming positively that the king had ridden out by the back gate. The greater part of the company were now assembled on the High Street, in front of the house, waiting for their horses, and discussing how they were to seek the king. At this moment, the king's voice was heard, crying—"I am murdered! Treason! My lord of Mar, help! help!" Lennox and Mar, with their attendants, rushed through the gateway into the court, and up the principal stair. Sir Thomas Erskine and his brother James, seized the earl of Gowrie, exclaiming, "Traitor! this is thy deed!" Some of the earl's servants rescued their master, who was, however, thrown down in the scuffle, and refused admittance to the inner court. On recovering his feet, he retired a short way; then drawing his sword and dagger, he cried, "I will be in my own house, or die by the way."

During these proceedings, the king had found himself rather critically circumstanced. Alexander Ruthven, having locked the door of the gallery chamber, led the way to the round closet. James was not a little astonished when, instead of the captive he expected, he saw a man armed at all points except his head. He was more astonished when the master, putting on his hat, drew the man's dagger, and presented it to his breast, saying, "Sir, you must be my prisoner! remember my father's death!" James attempted to remonstrate, but was interrupted with "Hold your tongue, sir, or by Christ you shall die!" But here Henderson wrenched the dagger from Ruthven's hand, and the king, then resuming his remonstrances, was answered that his life was not what was sought. The master even took off his hat when the king, who, amid all his perturbation, forgot not his princely demeanour, reminded him of the impropriety of wearing it in his presence. He then requested James to give him his word not to open the window, nor call for assistance, whilst he went to bring his brother, the earl, who was to determine what farther should be done. Ruthven then left the closet, locking the door behind him; but, according to Henderson's belief, went no farther than the next room. This is more than probable; for, by the nearest calculation, Ramsay must have been at that time still in the gallery. The master re-entered, therefore, almost instantly, and telling the king there was now but one course left, produced a garter, with which he attempted to bind his majesty's hands. James freed his left with a violent exertion, exclaiming, "I am a free prince, man! I will not be bound!" Ruthven, without answering, seized him by the throat with one hand, while he thrust the other into his mouth, to prevent his crying. In the struggle which ensued, the king was driven against the window which overlooked the court, and, at that moment, Henderson thrust his arm over the master's shoulder and pushed up the window, which afforded the king an opportunity of calling for assistance. The master, thereupon, said to Henderson, "Is there no help in thee? Thou wilt cause us all to die:" and tremblingly, between excitement and exertion, he attempted to draw his sword. The king, perceiving his intent, laid hold of his hand; and thus clasped in a death-wrestle, they reeled out of the closet into the chamber. The king had got Ruthven's head under his arm; whilst Ruthven, finding himself held down almost upon his knees, was pressing upwards with his hand against the king's face, when, at this critical moment, John Ramsay, the page, who had heard from the street the king's cry for help, and who had got before Mar and Lennox, by running up the black turnpike formerly mentioned, while

they took the principal staircase, rushed against the door of the chamber and burst it open. The king panted out, when he saw his page, "Fy! strike him low! he has secret armour on." At which Ramsay, casting from him the hawk which still sat upon his hand, drew his dagger and stabbed the master. The next moment, the king, exerting all his strength, threw him from him down stairs. Ramsay ran to a window, and called upon Sir Thomas Erskine, and one or two who were with him, to come up the turnpike. Erskine was first, and as Ruthven staggered past him on the stair, wounded and bleeding, he desired those who followed to strike the traitor. This was done, and the young man fell, crying, "Alas! I had not the wyte of it."

The king was safe for the mean time, but there was still cause for alarm. Only four of his attendants had reached him; and he was uncertain whether the incessant attempts of Mar and Lennox's party to break open the door by which the chamber communicated with the gallery, were made by friend or foe. At this moment the alarm bell rang out, and the din of the gathering citizens, who were as likely, for any thing the king knew, to side with their provost, Gowrie, as with himself, was heard from the town. There was, besides, a still more immediate danger.

Gowrie, whom we left attempting to force his way into the house, was met at the gate by the news that his brother had fallen. Violet Ruthven, and other women belonging to the family, were already wailing his death, screaming their curses up to the king's party in the chamber, and mixing their shrill execrations with the fierce din which shook the city. The earl, seconded by Cranstone, one of his attendants, forced his way to the foot of the black turnpike, at which spot lay the master's body. "Whom have we here?" said the retainer, for the face was turned downwards. "Up the stair!" was Gowrie's brief and stern reply. Cranstone, going up before his master, found, on rushing into the chamber, the swords of Sir Thomas Erskine, and Herries, the king's physician, drawn against him. They were holding a parley in this threatening attitude, when Gowrie entered, and was instantly attacked by Ramsay. The earl fell after a smart contest. Ramsay immediately turned upon Cranstone, who had proved fully a match for the other two, and having wounded him severely, forced him finally to retreat.

All this time they who were with the duke of Lennox had kept battering at the gallery-door of the chamber with hammers, but in vain. The partition was constructed of boards, and as the whole wall gave way equally before the blows, the door could not be forced. The party with the king, on the other hand, were afraid to open, lest they should thus give admission to enemies. A servant was at last despatched round by the turnpike, who assured his majesty that it was the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar who were so clamorous for admission. The hammers were then handed through below the door, and the bolts speedily displaced. When these noblemen were admitted, they found the king unharmed, amid his brave deliverers. The door, however, which entered from the turnpike, had been closed upon a body of Gowrie's retainers, who were calling for their master, and striking through below the door with their pikes and halberds. The clamour from the town continued, and the voices from the court were divided,—part calling for the king, part for their provost, the earl of Gowrie. Affairs, however, soon took a more decided turn. They who assaulted the door grew tired of their ineffectual efforts, and withdrew; and almost at the same moment the voices of baillies Ray and Young were heard from the street, calling to know if the king were safe, and announcing that they were there, with the loyal burgesses of Perth, for his defence. The king gratified them by showing himself at the window, requesting them to still the tumult. At the

command of the magistrates the crowd became silent, and gradually dispersed. In the course of a few hours, peace was so completely re-established, that the king and his company were able to take horse for Falkland.

This bird's-eye view of the occurrences of the fifth of August, will be found correct in the main. Although some details have been necessarily omitted, they are sufficient to establish a preconcerted scheme between the brothers against the king, but of what nature, and to what purpose, it would be difficult, without further evidence, to say. Of all the people that day assembled in Gowrie's house, not one seems to have been in the secret. Henderson, to whom an important share in the execution of the attempt had been assigned, was kept in ignorance to the last moment, and then he counteracted, instead of furthering their views. Even with regard to Cranstone, the most busy propagator of the rumour of the king's departure, it is uncertain whether he may not have spread the report in consequence of the asseverations of his master; and we have his solemn declaration, at a time when he thought himself upon his death-bed, that he had no previous knowledge of the plot. The two Ruthvens of Freeland, Eviot, and Hugh Moncrieff, who took the most active share in endeavouring to stir the citizens up to mutiny to revenge the earl and his brother, may have been actuated, for any evidence we have to the contrary, solely by the feelings of reckless and devoted retainers, upon seeing their master's fall in an affray whose origin and cause they knew not. To this evidence, partly negative, and partly positive, may be added the deposition of William Rynd, who said, when examined at Falkland, that he had heard the earl declare,—“He was not a wise man, who, having intended the execution of a high and dangerous purpose, should communicate the same to any but himself; because, keeping it to himself, it could not be discovered nor disappointed.” Moreover, it does not sufficiently appear, from the deportment of the master, that they aimed at the king's life. He spoke only of making him prisoner, and grasped his sword only when the king had made his attendants aware of his situation. At the same time, it was nowhere discovered that any measures had been taken for removing the royal prisoner to a place of security; and to keep him in a place so open to observation as Gowrie-house, was out of the question. Without some other evidence, therefore, than that to which we have as yet been turning our attention, we can scarcely look upon these transactions otherwise than as a fantastic dream, which is incoherent in all its parts, and the absurdity of which is only apparent when we reflect how irreconcilable it is with the waking world around us.

The letters of Logan of Restalrig, which were not discovered till eight years afterwards, throw some further light upon the subject, though not so much as could be wished. Of their authenticity little doubt can be entertained, when we consider the number and respectability of the witnesses who swore positively to their being in Logan's handwriting. It appears from these letters that Gowrie and Logan had agreed in some plot against the king. It appears, also, that Logan was in correspondence with some third person who had assented to the enterprise. It would almost seem, from Logan's third letter, that this person resided at Falkland: “If I can nocht win to Falkland the first nycht, I sall be tymelie in St Johnestoun on the morne.” And it is almost certain from the fifth letter, that he was so situated as to have oral communication with Gowrie, the master of Ruthven: “Pray let his Jo. be quik, and bid M. A. remember on the sport he tald me.” It does not appear, however, that any definite plan had been resolved upon. The sea excursion, which Mr Lawson, in his History of the Gowrie Conspiracy, supposes to have been contemplated with the design of conveying James to Fast castle, was only meant to afford facilities for a meeting of the conspirators with a view to deliberation-

Logan's fifth letter is dated as late as the last of July, and yet it does not appear that the writer knew at that time of the Perth project. Taking these facts in conjunction with the hair-brained character of Gowrie's attempt, it seems highly probable, that although some scheme might be in agitation with Logan, and perhaps some other conspirators, the outrage of the fifth of August was the rash and premature undertaking of two hot-blooded fantastical young men, who probably wished to distinguish themselves above the rest of their associates in the plot.

The very scanty information that we possess respecting the character and previous habits of these two brothers, is quite in accordance with this view of the matter, and goes a good way to corroborate it. They are allowed, on all hands, to have been men of graceful exterior, of winning manners, well advanced in the studies of the times, brave, and masters of their weapons. It is not necessary surely to prove at this time of day, how compatible all these qualifications are with a rash and headlong temper, completely subject to the control of the imagination—a turn of mind bordering upon frenzy. A man of quick perception, warm feeling, and ungoverned fancy, is, of all others, the most fascinating, when the world goes smoothly; but he is of all others the most liable, having no guiding reason, to err most extravagantly in the serious business of life: being “unstable as water,” he is easily irritated and lashed into madness by adverse circumstances. How much Gowrie was the dupe of his imagination, is evident from the fondness with which he clung to the delusions of the cabala, natural magic, and astrology. Armed (according to his own belief) with powers beyond the common race of man, doomed by his stars to achieve greatness, he laughed at danger, and was ready to neglect the calculations of worldly prudence alike in his aims, and the means by which he sought their attainment. The true state of his brother's mind is pourtrayed, incidentally, by Logan, in his first letter:—“Bot incase ye and M. A. R. forgader, because he is somqhat consety, for Godis saik be very var with his rakelese toyis of Padoa; for he tald me aue of the strangest taillis of aue nobill man of Padoa that ever I hard in my lyf, resembling the lyk purpose.” This suggests at once the very picture of a young and hot-blooded man, whose brain had been distracted, during his residence in Italy, with that country's numerous legends of wild vengeance. Two such characters, brooding conjointly over real or fancied wrongs, were capable of projecting schemes, against which the most daring would remonstrate; and irritated by the coldness of their friends, were, no doubt, induced to undertake the execution alone, and almost unassisted.

It only remains to inquire what was the object which Gowrie proposed to himself, in his mad and treasonable attempt, and upon whose seconding he was to depend, suppose his design had succeeded? These two inquiries are inseparably connected, and have been rendered more interesting, by a late attempt to implicate the presbyterian party in the earl's guilt. We are not a little astonished that such an attempt should have been made at this late period, when we recollect, that notwithstanding all the ill odour in which the presbyterian clergymen stood at court, not one of the thousand idle rumours to which Gowrie's enterprise gave birth, tried to direct suspicion towards them. The sole grounds upon which such an accusation can rest for support, are the facts,—that Gowrie's father was a leader among the presbyterians, and his son strictly educated in that faith; that shortly after his arrival in Italy, he wrote one letter to a presbyterian minister; and that some of the Edinburgh clergymen manifested considerable obstinacy in throwing discredit upon the reality of the conspiracy. The two former are of themselves so weak, that we pass them over the more willingly, that we shall immediately point out the motives from which

Gowrie acted, and the sort of assistance upon which he really relied. The conduct of the clergymen admits of an easy explanation. James, whose perception was nearly as acute as his character was weak, was fully sensible of the ridicule to which he had exposed himself, by allowing his desire of money to lead him into so shallow a device as Ruthven's. In addition to this, he wished, upon all occasions, to appear as much of the hero as possible. The consequence was, that his edition of the story was so dressed up, as to render it inconsistent; first, with his well-known character; secondly, with the most distant possibility of his having been deceived with the master's pretences; and, thirdly, with the depositions of the witnesses. Inconsistencies so startling were sufficient to justify some preliminary scepticism; and if ever there was an occasion, where it was allowable openly to call a king's word in question, it was when James demanded, not merely that his party should hypocritically profess a belief which they did not entertain, but that they should, daringly and blasphemously, mix up this falsehood in the solemn services of devotion. A short time, however, was sufficient to convince the most incredulous of the truth of the conspiracy, stripped of the adventitious circumstances which the king linked with it; and the obstinate recusancy of Bruce the clergyman is sufficiently accounted for, by James's insisting upon prescribing the manner in which he was to treat the matter, and by that individual's overstrained notions of the guilt incurred by a minister, who allowed any one to dictate to him concerning the mode in which he was to conduct public worship.

But Gowrie relied upon the support of no faction, religious or political. His sole motive seems to have been a fantastic idea of the duty incumbent upon him to revenge his father's death. He is reported, on one occasion, when some one directed his attention to a person who had been employed as an agent against his father, to have said, "*Aquila non captat muscas.*" Ruthven also expressly declared to the king, when he held him prisoner in the closet, that his only object was to obtain revenge for the death of his father. The letters of Logan (except in one solitary instance, where a scheme of aggrandisement is darkly hinted at, and that as something quite irrelevant to the purpose they had on hand) harp on this string alone, proving that Gowrie and his friends seek only "for the revenge of that cause." The only members of the conspiracy who are known to us, are men likely enough to engage in such a cause, but most unlikely to be either leaders or followers in a union, where the parties were bound together by an attachment to certain political principles. The three conspirators are, the earl and his brother, such as we have already described them, and Logan of Restalrig, a broken man—a retainer and partisan of Bothwell—a maintainer of thieves and sorners—a man who expressly objects to communicating their project to one who he fears "vill dissuade us fra our purpose y' ressones of religion, *quhilk I can never abyd.*" And if any more evidence were required to show how little Gowrie relied upon the presbyterians, we might allude to his anxiety that Logan should sound his brother, lord Home—a catholic.

In short, every thing leads us to the opinion we have already announced, that the Ruthvens were instigated to their enterprise by feelings of private revenge alone, and that they did not seek to make any political party subservient to their purposes. It is to this isolated nature of their undertaking—its utter want of connexion with the political movements of the period—that we attribute the circumstance of its history having so long remained unknown, and are satisfied that much of that history must ever remain a riddle. It is with it, as with the adventures of the Iron Mask, and that whole class of events which seem political, merely because they befall persons who rank high in the state. They

generally appear more mysterious than they really are; because, if no chance unveils them at the time, they stand too far apart from all other transactions, to receive any reflected light from them.¹

On the 9th of November, 1600, was born Charles, James's second son, afterwards Charles I. of England. With that country the king now carried on a close correspondence; first, with the earl of Essex, whom, on hearing of his imprisonment, he besought Elizabeth to spare, and afterwards, with the earl of Northumberland, Sir Robert Cecil, and other influential men, on the subject of his title to the English succession, which was generally acknowledged by the distinguished men connected with the English court.

On the 28th of March, 1603, Elizabeth expired, having named James as her successor, who was accordingly proclaimed king of England. His claim to the succession arose from his relationship to Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., who married James IV. of Scotland, great-grandfather of James VI. Immediately after Elizabeth's decease, Sir Robert Carey, who had formerly been kindly entertained by James, set off on a private expedition to Scotland, to convey to the new sovereign the message. Leaving London on Thursday morning, and stopping at his estate of Witherington on the way, from which he issued orders for proclaiming James at several places in the north of England, he reached Edinburgh on Saturday night, when the king had gone to bed, but, gaining admission, saluted him as king of England. Next morning Carey was created gentleman of the bed-chamber, and was at last elevated by Charles I. to the title of earl of Monmouth. The regular messengers to James, announcing his succession, soon arrived. One of the attendants, called Davis, the king recognized as the author of a poem on the immortality of the soul, which seems to have given him high satisfaction, and promised him his patronage, which he afterwards faithfully bestowed. Indeed, James, as a patron of literary merit, is entitled to respectful observation. He had already acted a munificent part in the foundation of the university of Edinburgh.

On the Sunday after his accession, the king attended at the High church, and, after sermon, addressed the audience on his affection for his Scottish subjects; and after committing his children to the care of trusty nobles, and making arrangements for the management of Scottish business, he set off, with a small number of attendants, from his ancient kingdom, over which he had reigned for thirty-five years. The reception he met with on the way was very magnificent, especially at Sir Robert Cecil's, Sir Anthony Mildmay's, and Mr Oliver Cromwell's.² In his progress, many petitions were presented and granted—volumes of poems were laid before him by the university of Cambridge, and the honour of knighthood was conferred on no fewer than two hundred and thirty-seven individuals. Even in these circumstances, however, he displayed his notions of royal prerogative, by ordering the recorder of Newark to execute a cut-purse, apprehended on the way. On reaching London, he added to the privy council six Scottish favourites, and also lord Montjoy, and lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the son and brother of the late duke of Norfolk; and, on the 20th of May, created several peers. Numerous congratulations flowed in upon the king. The marquis de Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, arrived on the 15th of June. The following sketch of James as he appeared on this occasion to the marquis, is strong and striking:—"He was upright and conscientious; he had eloquence and even erudition—but less of these than of penetra-

¹ In this account of the conspiracy and summary of the evidence, we use a masterly condensation of the matter of Mr Pitcairn's documents which appeared in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*.

² Uncle of the Protector.

tion and of the show of learning. He loved to hear discourses on matters of state, and to have great enterprises proposed to him, which he discussed in a spirit of system and method, but without any idea of carrying them into effect—for he naturally hated war, and still more to be personally engaged in it—was indolent in all his actions, except hunting, and remiss in affairs,—all indications of a soft and timid nature, formed to be governed.” The king entertained the marquis and his attendants at dinner; when he spoke with contempt of Elizabeth—a circumstance which probably arose from the control which he was conscious she had exercised over him, and especially the idea, which he expresses in one of the documents in the negotiations on an alliance with Spain, that she was concerned in the attempts of his Scottish enemies against him—and also of a double marriage he desired, between the French and English royal families.

The queen followed James a few weeks after his arrival, having on the eve of her departure quarreled with the earl of Mar, to whom James had committed the care of prince Henry, and whose letter to her, advising her not to treat him with disrespect, excited the passion of that high-spirited woman. She was crowned, along with her husband, on the 25th of July, by archbishop Whitgift, with all the ancient solemnity of that imposing ceremony. He soon after, by proclamation, called upon his subjects to solemnize the 5th of August in honour of his escape from the Gowrie conspiracy.

At the commencement of the following year was held the famous Hampton-conference. On the first day, a few select individuals only were admitted to the king; on the following, four puritan ministers, chosen by the king himself, appeared—and his majesty presided as moderator. He conversed in Latin, and engaged in dispute with Dr Reynolds. In answer to an objection against the Apocrypha started by that learned divine, the king interpreted one of the chapters of Ecclesiasticus, according to his own ideas. He also pronounced an unmeasured attack on presbytery, which he said, “agreed as well with monarchy as God and the devil.”—“Stay,” he added, “I pray, for one seven years, before you demand; and then, if you find me grown puffy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough.” On this occasion, Bancroft, bishop of London, flattered him as “such a king, as, since Christ’s time, the like had not been,”—and Whitgift professed to believe that his majesty spoke under the special influence of the Holy Spirit. With such flattery, is it to be greatly wondered at, that the king esteemed himself an accomplished theological disputant? Indeed, the whole conference seems to have been managed in a most unreasonable manner. It was followed by a proclamation enforcing conformity, and a number of puritans, both clergy and laity, severely suffered.

In March, 1604, the king, the queen, and the prince, rode in splendid procession from the Tower to Whitehall; and, at the meeting of parliament, a few days after, James delivered his first speech to that assembly. One part of it excited general disapprobation—that in which he expressed himself willing to favour the Roman catholics—a feeling on his part which probably arose from the prospects afforded him of friendship with countries so powerful as France and Spain, and also, perhaps, from some degree of attachment to the Romish faith, as that of his royal ancestors. At this meeting of parliament, the king also brought forward his favourite proposal of a union betwixt England and Scotland, the result of which was the appointment of a committee for drawing up articles of union; one of the most zealous members of which was Sir Francis Bacon. To this great man James showed strong attachment; and, even if Sir Francis had not proved himself to be devoted with peculiar ardour to the king, it may be supposed that he would have been regarded by the latter with peculiar

pride, from that splendid series of publications which he had already begun to publish, and of which "The Advancement of Learning," with a very flattering dedication to the king, came forth in 1605.

A great part of the summer following the meeting of parliament, the king devoted to his favourite sport of hunting—his attachment to which continued through life, even when corpulence, arising from excess in drinking, which was a noted fault of James, had unfitted him for every active exercise. About this time, we find him engaged in arranging a marriage between Sir Philip Herbert and lady Susan Vere; writing from Royston to the council, that hunting was the only means to maintain his health, desiring them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he should not be interrupted nor troubled with too much business; and inquiring into the case of Haddock, called the *sleeping preacher*, from his being said to deliver excellent sermons, and speak excellent Greek and Hebrew in the midst of sleep, although very stupid when awake, who was brought by the king to confess that the whole was an imposture. But James was soon placed in a more serious situation, by the celebrated Gunpowder Plot, which was discovered on the 5th of November, for which day parliament had been summoned. A letter was found, supposed to have been written by the sister of lord Monteaigle, who, though approving of the conspiracy, and the wife of one of the conspirators, wished to preserve her brother from the meditated ruin. On examination, barrels of gunpowder were found deposited below the place where parliament was just about to meet, and the very train and match for the discharge of their contents were in readiness. The conspirators were, with considerable difficulty, discovered, and were found to comprehend some Jesuits; and to have been united by their common attachment to the Roman catholic religion, which in England had been lately treated with increased severity. Indeed there is much reason to believe that the plot in some degree depended on Spanish influence. At the meeting of parliament, a few days afterwards, James expatiated at great length on this terrible conspiracy; but still expressed himself indulgent to the English catholics. Shortly after appeared "A Discourse on the Gunpowder Plot," which is supposed to have been the composition of the king. The conspirators were condemned, and acts against the catholics were passed in parliament; but James continued to discover his unwillingness to treat them with severity.

In July, 1606, he received a visit from the king of Denmark, who was welcomed with imposing splendour. Prince Vandemont, a French relative of James, also paid a visit about this time to his royal kinsman. In November, the king again supported, before the parliament, his favourite scheme of a union between his Scottish and English kingdoms. The following passages give a curious example of his mode of conversation. The circumstances are given by Harrington, as having occurred about this time:—"He engaged much of learning, and showed me his own in such a sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and introduced profound sentences of Aristotle, and such-like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand."—"The prince did now press my reading to him part of a canto in Ariosto, praised my utterance, and said he had been informed of many as to my learning, in the time of the queen. He asked me what I thought pure wit was made of, and when it did best become; whether a king should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom. His majesty did next press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matters of witchcraft, and asked me with much gravity, if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient

women than others." His majesty asked much concerning my opinion of the new weed tobacco, and said it would, by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden. After discoursing on religion, at length he said "I pray you, do me justice in your report, and in good season I will not fail to add to your understanding, in such points as I may find you lack amendment." Before this time the king had published not only his "Demonology," but also "A Counterblast to Tobacco."

In 1607, he published an answer to a work by Tyrone, and soon after his "Triplici nodo triplex Cuneus,"—a defence of an oath which was imposed on foreigners by an act of parliament, after the Gunpowder Plot. In 1609, he re-published it, with a dedication to all Christian kings and princes, answers having been previously made to it by Bellarmine, and other writers. This has been considered as among the best of the king's productions, and is characterized by a late historian of his court, as "a learned defence of protestant principles, an acute exposure of the false statements and false reasonings of Bellarmine, and a vigorous but not intemperate manifesto against papal usurpation and tyranny; yet a vain and useless ostentation of parts and knowledge: and a truer judgment, by admonishing the royal author of the incompatibility of the polemical character with the policy and dignity of a sovereign, would have spared him the numerous mortifications and inconveniences which ensued."¹

One great cause of the king's unpopularity was his excessive favour for a Scotsman of the name of Carr. In February, 1610, at the meeting of parliament, he did not appear in person, but he had the mortification soon after, of having his plan of a union disapproved by parliament, and a supply to himself refused. They were accordingly summoned to meet the king at Whitehall, where he explained to them his singular views of royal prerogative. The same year, Henry was appointed prince of Wales, on which occasion the ceremonies were continued for three days.

In 1611, James, when on a hunting expedition, received a book on the Nature and Attributes of God, by Conrad Vorstius. The king selected several doctrines which he considered heresies, and wrote to the Dutch government, signifying his disapprobation—Vorstius having lately received a professorship of divinity at Leyden, as successor of Arminius. He also ordered the book to be burned in London. Soon after, Bartholomew Legate was brought into his presence, accused of professing Arianism in the capital, after which he continued for some time in Newgate, and was then burned at Smithfield. About the same time a similar example of barbarous intolerance occurred. But it was in the same year that our English translation of the Bible was published—an undertaking which the king had set on foot, at the suggestion of Dr Reynolds, in 1604, which had been executed by forty-seven divines, whom James furnished with instructions for the work; and the fulfilment of which has been justly remarked as an event of very high importance in the history of the language, as well as of the religion of Great Britain. About the end of this year, the king founded a college at Chelsea, for controversial theology, with a view to answer the papists and puritans. His own wants, however, now led him to create the title of baronet, which was sold for £1000; and a man might purchase the rank of baron for £5000, of viscount for £10,000, and of an earl for £20,000. He also suffered about this time, by the death of the earl of Salisbury, whom he visited in his illness. But a domestic loss awaited him—which, however, it is said, occasioned him slighter suffering than might have been expected, although the nation felt it as a painful stroke. During preparations for the marriage of the

¹ Aiken's Court of James.

princess, the king's daughter, to the elector palatine, who arrived in England for the purpose on the 16th of October, 1612, prince Henry was cut off by death, on the 6th of November, having been taken ill the very day before the elector's arrival. This young prince was eminently distinguished by piety and honour, amiable manners and literary habits. His death-bed was cheered by the practice and consolations of the religion to which, amidst the seductions of a court, he had adhered in life, and he died, lamented by his family and country, in the nineteenth year of his age.

In February, 1613, the princess Elizabeth was married to the elector palatine—not, it is said, without the dissatisfaction of her father. The preparations, however, were of the most splendid kind; so that means were again adopted to supply the royal wants, as also in the following year.

In 1615, James paid a visit to the university of Cambridge, where he resided in Trinity college, and was received with many literary exhibitions, in the form of disputations, sermons, plays, and orations. In this year he wrote his "Remonstrance for the right of kings, and the independence of their crowns," in answer to a speech delivered at Paris in January by cardinal Perron, who sent it to James. This year also occurred the celebrated trials for the murder of Overbury, in the examinations previous to which James personally engaged. He had now lost his enthusiastic attachment to Carr, the person chiefly accused of this foul deed, whom he had created earl of Somerset, and who had lately been replaced in his affections by Villiers, the royal cup-bearer, whom he knighted, and appointed a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and whom he gradually advanced, until he was created duke of Buckingham.

In 1617, after some changes in the court, James paid a visit to Scotland, leaving Bacon as principal administrator in his absence. On this occasion literary exhibitions were presented to him by the universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews, and he also amused himself with his favourite sport. But he soon proceeded to enforce the customs of the English hierarchy on the Scottish people—a measure which, notwithstanding considerable encouragement from a General Assembly, which had been convoked with a view to the proposed alterations, the nation in general deemed an infringement of a promise he had made many years before, and which they succeeded, to a considerable degree, in resisting.

The following year was marked by another act of cruelty. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been confined in the Tower for twelve years, on the charge of having been engaged in a Spanish conspiracy, but had at last obtained release from his imprisonment, was condemned and executed, in consequence of his marked misconduct in an expedition to explore a mine in Guiana, which he had represented to the king as well fitted to enrich his exchequer. His execution, it will scarcely be doubted, was owing to the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and enemy of Raleigh at the English court, in prospect of a marriage between prince Charles and the Spanish infanta. Soon after the queen died,—a woman who seems to have been by no means destitute of estimable qualities, but still more remarkable for the splendour of her entertainments, to which Ben Jonson and other writers contributed largely of their wit. Indeed that eminent dramatist seems to have been a person of considerable consequence at the English court. At this time James's own literary character was exhibited to the world in a folio edition of his works, edited, with a preface well seasoned with flattery, by the bishop of Winchester. Soon after, on an application from prince Maurice for the appointment of some English divines, as members of a council for the settlement of the controversy between the Arminians and Gomarists, which was held at Dort in November, 1618, five learned men were nominated on

that commission, directed by James to recommend to the contending parties the avoidance, in public instruction, of the controverted topics. His favour to the church of England was manifested about the same time by his treatment of the celebrated Selden, who had written a work on "the history of tithes," in which he held the injustice of considering the alienation of what had once been churchlands to any other than ecclesiastical purposes, to be in every case an act of sacrilege. For this work the king required an explanation, and it was shortly afterwards prohibited by the high commission court. The nation in general was displeased with the rigour of the king's administration; with the plan, which he had not yet abandoned, of a marriage between his son and the infanta of Spain; and with the favouritism which he manifested, especially towards Villiers, whose connexions called on him for bountiful provisions, which the king, at his request, with gross facility, conceded.

In 1620, the circumstances of his son-in-law, the elector palatine, began to occupy the particular attention of the king. That prince, after having been chosen king by the Bohemians, who had thrown off the Austrian sway, and received support from various states of Germany, being at last in a very perilous condition, and on the 8th November, 1620, defeated at the battle of Prague. After much delay, in which he carried on a diplomatic interference, James at last agreed to send a supply of chosen men. But he soon resigned this active interference in his behalf; he called in vain for a benevolence from his wealthy subjects, to enable him, as he said, to give him a vigorous support, in the event of future urgency; and, finally, summoned a parliament, which had not met for many years, to deliberate on the subject. It met in January, 1621,—a parliament memorable for the investigation it made into the conduct of lord Bacon, and the sentence it pronounced on that distinguished man, who had published only a short time before, the second part of his immortal "Novum Organum." The king, however, had previously promised him either freedom from such a sentence, or pardon after it, and Bacon accordingly was soon released from imprisonment, and, in three years after, fully pardoned by the king. This parliament also granted supplies to James, but in the same year refused farther supplies to the cause of the palatine. James adjourned it in spite of the remonstrance of the house of commons; and on the same day occurred a well-known conversation of the king and the bishops Neale and Andrews: "My lords," said the king, "cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" "God forbid, sir," said Neale, "but you should—you are the breath of our nostrils."—"Well, my lord," rejoined his majesty to Andrews, "and what say you?" He excused himself on the ground of ignorance in parliamentary matters. "No put-off, my lord," said James, "answer me presently." "Then, sir," said the excellent prelate, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it." The king, however, had himself recommended to this parliament the investigation of abuses, and especially inveighed against corruption and bribery in courts of law. In this year he conferred the seals, which Bacon had resigned, upon Williams, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, who induced him to deliver the earl of Northumberland from imprisonment; and soon after, he very creditably interfered for the continuance of archbishop Abbot in his office, after he had involuntarily committed an act of homicide.

Parliament meeting again in February, 1622, the commons prepared a remonstrance to the king on the dissatisfaction which was generally felt with the position of affairs, both at home and abroad, and calling on him to resist the measures of the king of Spain—to enforce the laws against popery—marry his son to a protestant—support protestantism abroad, and give his sanction to the

bills which they should pass with a view to the interest of the nation. On hearing of this proceeding, the king addressed an intemperate letter to the speaker, asserting as usual, the interest of his "prerogative-royal." It was answered by the commons in a manly and loyal address, to which the king replied in a letter still more intemperate than the former. The commons, notwithstanding, drew up and recorded a protest, claiming the right of delivering their sentiments, and of deciding freely, without exposure to impeachment from their speeches in parliamentary debate, and proposing that, should there be objection made to any thing said by a member in the house, it should be officially reported to the king, before he should receive as true any private statement on the subject. This protest the king tore out of the journal of the house, ordered the deed to be registered, and imprisoned several of the individuals concerned, who, however, were soon afterwards liberated. But James still maintained his own authority; he strictly prohibited the general discussion of political subjects, and enjoined on the clergy a variety of rules, guarding them against preaching on several subjects, some of which must be regarded as important parts of the system which it is the duty of the clergy to proclaim.

On the 17th of February, 1623, prince Charles and the marquis of Buckingham set off on a visit to Spain, with a view to the marriage of the former with the infanta—although the king had resisted the proposal of this journey, which had been urgently made by the prince and Buckingham. On the circumstance being known in England, the favourite was loudly blamed, and the prince suspected of an attachment to popery. The travellers proceeded in disguise, visited Paris for a single day, and reached Madrid on the 6th of March. The earl of Bristol, the English ambassador, met them with surprise. James corresponded with them in a very characteristic manner, and sent a large supply of jewels and other ornaments, as a present for the infanta. The Spaniards were generally anxious for the consummation of the marriage. But the pope, unwilling to grant a dispensation, addressed to Charles a letter entreating him to embrace the Roman catholic religion, to which the prince replied in terms expressive of respect for the Romish church.

Accordingly, all was prepared for the marriage, which was appointed to take place on the 29th of August. But before the day arrived, pope Gregory had died—a circumstance which destroyed the force of the matrimonial articles; and the prince left Spain in the midst of general demonstrations of attachment to his person, and inclination towards the intended marriage. On his way to England, however, he discovered a coldness towards the measure, and shortly after his arrival in October, the king acceding to the proposal of the favourite, who was displeas'd at his reception in Spain, a letter was sent to the earl of Bristol, ordering him not to grant the proxy which was required according to the treaty, after the papal dispensation was obtained, before security should be given by Spain for the restoration of the Palatine. But even after the king of Spain had agreed to this proposal, James, persuaded by the favourite, expressed a wish that the matter should be broken off. But the low state of pecuniary resources into which these negotiations had reduced the English king, induced him to call a parliament, which met February, 1624, to which he submitted the matters about which he was now particularly interested. It offered supplies to the king for a war with Spain. War was declared, and the favourite of the king became the favourite of a large proportion of the nation. About the same time, an accusation of Buckingham, for his conduct in regard to Spain and Bohemia, was presented secretly to the king by the marquis Inojoso. It threw his majesty into excessive agitation; and on setting out for Windsor, he repuls'd the duke, as he offered to enter the royal carriage. The duke inquired, with

tears, in what respect he had transgressed, but received only tears and reproaches in return. On receiving an answer by Williams, to the charges against the duke, he again received him into favour, and soon after broke off all friendly negotiations with Spain. He resisted, however—though not successfully—the proposal of Buckingham and Charles, that he should impeach the lord treasurer, on the ground of corruption in office. He also resisted—with much better reason—the petition of Buckingham, that the earl of Bristol should be forced to submit, exclaiming “I were to be accounted a tyrant to engage an innocent man to confess faults of which he was not guilty.” The earl, however, was prevented from appearing in the presence of the king, who also cautioned the parliament against seeking out grievances to remedy, although they might apply a cure to obviously existing ones.

June, 1624, was occupied by the king and Buckingham in carrying on measures for a marriage between prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. and daughter of Henry IV. ; and on the 10th of November, a dispensation having been with some difficulty obtained from the pope, the nuptial articles were signed at Paris. But in the spring of 1625, the king, whose constitution had previously suffered severely, was seized with ague, of which he died at Theobald's on the 27th of March, in the 59th year of his age. He was buried in Westminster abbey, and the funeral sermon was preached by Williams.

On the character of James, so palpable and generally known, it is not necessary to offer many observations. Much of his conduct is to be attributed in a great measure to his political advisers, who were often neither wise nor faithful. His own character embraced many combinations of what may be almost denominated inconsistencies. He was peculiarly subject to the influence of favourites, and yet exceedingly disposed to interfere with the course of political affairs. Indeed, to his warm and exclusive attachments, combined with his extravagant ideas of his own office and authority, may be traced the principal errors of his reign. He was, accordingly, irresolute, and yet often too ready to comply ; sensible to feeling, and yet addicted to severity ; undignified in manner, and yet tyrannical in government. Erring as was his judgment, his learning cannot be denied, though the use he often made of it, and especially the modes in which he showed it in the course of conversation, have been, with reason, the subjects of amusement. His superstition was great, but perhaps not excessive for the age in which he lived ; and it is said, that in his later days he put no faith in witchcraft. His religion was probably in some degree sincere, though neither settled nor commanding. Neither his writings nor his political courses, it is to be feared, have done much directly to advance the interests of liberal and prudent policy ; but in both there are pleasing specimens of wisdom, and both may teach us a useful lesson, by furnishing a melancholy view of the nature and tendency of tyranny, even when in some degree controlled by the checks of parliamentary influence and popular opinion.

JAMESONE, GEORGE, the first eminent painter produced by Britain, was born at Aberdeen towards the end of the 16th century. The year 1586 has been given as the precise era of his birth, but this we can disprove by an extract which has been furnished to us from the burgh records of his native town, and which shows that the eldest child of his parents (a daughter) was born at such a period of this year, as rendered it impossible that he could have been born within some months of it.¹ It is alone certain that the date of the painter's birth was

¹ The marriage of the parents of Jamesone is thus entered in these burgh records:

“Thair is promess of marriage betwix
And^o Jamesone }
Marjore Andersone } in 17th August. 1585.”

posterior to 1586. Of the private life of this distinguished man few particulars are known; and of these few a portion rest on rather doubtful authority. Previously to his appearance, no man had so far succeeded in attracting the national attention of Scotland to productions in painting, as to render an artist a person whose appearance in the country was to be greatly marked: at that period of our history, too, men had other matters to occupy their minds; and it may well be believed, that, in passing through the fiery ordeal of the times, many men who in peace and prosperity might have had their minds attracted to the ornamental arts, were absorbed in feelings of a very different order, which hardly allowed them an opportunity of knowing, far less of indulging in the elegant occupations of peace. The father of Jamesone was Andrew Jamesone, Burgess of guild of Aberdeen, and his mother was Marjory Anderson, daughter of David Anderson, one of the magistrates of that city. What should have prompted the parents of the young painter to adopt the very unusual measure of sending their son from a quiet fireside in Aberdeen, to study under Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp, must remain a mystery. The father is said to have been an architect, and it is probable that he had knowledge enough of art to remark the rising genius of his child, and was liberal enough to perceive the height to which the best foreign education might raise the possessor of that genius. If a certain Flemish building projecting into one of the narrow streets of Aberdeen, and known by the name of "Jamesone's house," be the production of the architectural talents of the elder Jamesone, as the period of the style may render not unlikely, he must have been a man of taste and judgment. Under Rubens, Jamesone had for his fellow scholar Sir Anthony Vandyke, and the early intercourse of these two artists had the effect of making the portraits of each be mistaken for those of the other. In 1620, Jamesone returned to Aberdeen, and established himself as a portrait-painter. He there, on the 12th of November, 1624, married Miss Isobel Tosh,² a lady with whom he seems to have enjoyed much matrimonial felicity, and who, if we may judge by her husband's representation of her in one of his best pictures,³ must have been a person of very considerable attractions; he had by her several children, of whom the sons seem to have all met early deaths, a daughter being the only child he left behind him.⁴

Soon after the above entry, there occurs one regarding the baptism of their eldest child, the sister of the painter, in these terms:

"The penult day July, 1586. Ando. Jamesone, Marjore Andersone, dochtar in mareage, callit Elspett; James Robertson, Edward Donaldson, Elspatt Cuttes, Elspatt Mydilton, witnesses."

² The marriage is thus entered in the burgh records: "12th November, 1624, George Jamesone, Isobell Tosche."

³ This picture represents the painter himself, and his wife and daughter. The grouping is very neat, and the attitudes of the hands as free from stiffness as those of almost any picture of the age. The daughter is a fine round-cheeked spirited-looking girl, apparently about 12 years old. Walpole says this picture was painted in 1623. From the date of Jamesone's marriage, this must be a mistake. This picture was engraved by Alexander Jamesone, a descendant of the painter, in 1728, and a very neat line engraving of it is to be found in Dallaway's edition of Walpole's Anecdotes.

⁴ The following entry in the council records of Aberdeen relates to the birth of one of Jamesone's children: "1629 yeires—George Jamesone and ————Toche, aue sone, baptized be Mr Robert Baron the 27th day of July, callit William; Mr Patrick Done, Robert Alexander, Andrew Meldrum, William Gordone, god-fathers." The next notice of him which we find in the same authority shows, that on the 2d January 1630, he was present at the baptism of a child of "James Tosche," probably a relation of his wife, at which, it may be mentioned, William Forbes, bishop of Edinburgh, officiated. In October of the same year we find him again demanding a similar duty for his own family: "October, 1630 yeires, George Jamesone and Isobell Toshe, aue sone, baptized the 27th day, callit Paull; Paull Menzies of Kinmundie, provest, Mr Alexander Jaffray, bailzie, Mr David Wedderburne, Mr Robert Patrie, Patrick Jack, Patrick Fergusson, Andrew Strachan, godfathers." This

A curious evidence of the locality of Jamesone's residence in Aberdeen is to be found in an epigram on that city, by the painter's intimate friend Arthur Johnstone, author of the Latin version of the Psalms. It is interesting, as proving that Jamesone possessed what was then seldom to be found in Scotland, a habitation, which added to the mere protection from the inclemency of the seasons, some attempt to acquire the additions of comfort and taste. The epigram proceeds thus —

Hanc quoque Lanaris mons ornat, amœnior illis,
Hinc ferrugineis Spada colorat aquis :
Inde suburbanum Jamesoni despicias hortum
Quem domini pictum suspicior esse manu.

In "A Succinct Survey of the famous city of Aberdeen, by Philopoliteius," the passage is thus "done" into what the author is pleased to term "English:"

"The Woolman hill, which all the rest outvies
In pleasantness, this city beautifies ;
There is the well of Spa, that healthful font,
Whose yrne-hewed water coloureth the mount ;
Not far from thence a garden's to be seen
Which unto Jamesone did appertain :
Wherein a little pleasant house doth stand,
Painted as I guess with its master's hand."⁵

Jamesone appears to have been in Edinburgh during the visit of king Charles the First in the year 1633. To gratify the taste of that prince he was employed by the magistrates to paint portraits, as nearly resembling probable likenesses as he could devise, of some of the real or supposed early kings of Scotland. These productions had the good fortune to give satisfaction, and the unhappy king, who had soon far different matters to occupy his attention, sat for his portrait, and rewarded the artist with a diamond ring from his own finger. It is alleged that the painter was on this occasion indulged with a permission to remain covered in the presence of majesty, a circumstance which is made to account for his having always represented himself (and he was not sparing in

is a curious evidence of Jamesone's respectability as a citizen. Paul, afterwards Sir Paul Menzies, a man of considerable note in Aberdeenshire, and provost of the city, appears to have been name-father, and Alexander Jaffrey, another of the sponsors, was himself afterwards provost. The extractor of these entries remarks, that the chief magistrate appears to have acted as sponsor only at the baptisms of the children of very influential citizens.

⁵ With farther reference to this piece of pleasure ground, and an anxiety to collect every scrap of matter which concerns Jamesone, we give the following entry, regarding a petition, of date the 15th of January, 1645, given in to the town council of Aberdeen by "Mr John Alexander, advocate in Edinburgh, makand mention that where that piece of ground callit the play-field besyd y^e Wolman-hill (quhilk was set to umquhill George Jamesone, painter, burges of Edinburgh in liferent, and buildet be him in a garden) is now unprofitable, and that the said John Alexander, sone in law to the said umquhill George Jamesone, is desirous to have the same peice of ground set to him in few heritable to be houlden of the provest, bailzies, and of the burghe of Aberdene, for payment of a reasonable few duilie yeirlie theirfor;" praying the magistrates to set to him in feu tack the foresaid piece of ground: the request is granted by the magistrates, and farther official mention is made of the transaction of date the 10th November, 1646, where the "marches" of the garden are set forth in full. This piece of ground was the ancient "Play-field" of the burgh, which remained disused, after the Reformation had terminated the pageants and mysteries there performed. Persons connected with Aberdeen will know the spot when they are informed, that it is the piece of flat ground extending from the well of Spa to Jack's brae, bounded on the east by the Woolman hill, and the burn running at its foot; on the south by the Denburn, and the ridge of ground on which Skene street now stands; on the west by Jack's brae, and on the north by the declivity occupied by the Gilcomston brewery. The appropriation of the spot to the garden of the painter is still noted by the name of a fountain, called "The Garden Neuk Well."—*Council Record of Aberdeen*, liii. p. 37, 98.

portraits of himself,) with his hat on : neither is the permission characteristic of the monarch, nor its adoption by the artist ; and the peculiarity may be better attributed to a slavish imitation of his master Rubens, in a practice which had been sanctioned by the choice of Carracci and Guido.

It is probable that the patronage and notice of the monarch were the circumstances which introduced the paintings of Jamesone to the notice of the nobility. He appears, soon after the period we have alluded to, to have commenced a laborious course of portrait-painting, then, as now, the most lucrative branch of the art ; and the many portraits of their ancestors, still in possession of families dispersed through various parts of Scotland, attest the extent of his industry. The Campbells of Glenorchy, then an opulent and powerful family, distinguished themselves by their patronage of Jamesone. What countenance he may have obtained from other quarters we do not know, and the almost utter silence regarding so great a man on the part of contemporaries, makes a document which Walpole has rescued from oblivion, relative to his labours for the family of Glenorchy, highly interesting. From a MS. on vellum, containing the genealogy of the house of Glenorchy, begun in 1598, are taken the following extracts, written in 1635, page 52 :—“ Item, the said Sir Coline Campbell, (eighth laird of Glenorchy,) gave unto George Jamesone, painter in Edinburgh, for king Robert and king David Bruysse, kings of Scotland, and Charles I., king of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, and his majesties queen, and for nine more of the queins of Scotland, their portraits, quhilks are set up in the hall of Balloch (now Taymouth), the sum of twa hundreth thrie scor pounds.”—“ Mair the said Sir Coline gave to the said George Jamesone for the knight of Lochow's lady, and the first countess of Argyll, and six of the ladys of Glenurquhay, their portraits, and the said Sir Coline his own portrait, quhilks are set up in the chalmers of deas of Balloch, ane hundreth four scoire pounds.” There is a further memorandum, intimating that in 1635, Jamesone painted the family tree of the house of Glenorchy, eight feet long by five broad. What may have become of the portraits of Robert and David Bruce, and of the nine queens, which must have taxed the inventive talents of the artist, we do not know. Their loss may be, however, of little consequence, as we can easily argue from the general effect of Jamesone's productions, that his talent consisted in giving life and expression to the features before him, and not in design. The other paintings have, however, been carefully preserved by the family into whose hands they fell. They consist of portraits of Sir Duncan Campbell, the earl of Airth, John earl of Rothes, James marquis of Hamilton, Archibald lord Napier, William earl of Marischal, chancellor Loudoun, lord Binning, the earl of Mar, Sir Robert Campbell, Sir John Campbell, and the genealogical tree mentioned in the memorandum. All these are, we believe, still to be seen in good preservation in Taymouth castle, where in 1769 they were visited by Pennant, who thus describes the genealogical tree : “ That singular performance of his, the genealogical picture, is in good preservation. The chief of the Argyll family is placed recumbent at the foot of a tree, with a branch ; on the right is a single head of his eldest son, Sir Duncan Campbell, laird of Lochow ; but on the various ramifications are the names of his descendants, and along the body of the tree are nine small heads, in oval frames, with the names on the margins, all done with great neatness : the second son was first of the house of Breadalbane, which branched from the other above four hundred years ago. In a corner is inscribed ‘ The Geneologie of the House of Glenorchy, quhair of is descendit sundrie nobil and worthie houses. *Jameson faciebat*, 1635.’ ”⁷

⁶ Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, i. 21.

⁷ Tour, 1769, p. 87.

After a life which must have been spent in great industry, and enjoying independence, and even wealth, Jamesone died at Edinburgh in 1644, and was buried without a monument in the Grey Friars' church there.

Walpole, who obtained his information from a relation of the painter, says, "By his will, written with his own hand in July, 1641, and breathing a spirit of much piety and benevolence, he provides kindly for his wife and children, and leaves many legacies to his relations and friends, particularly to lord Rothes the king's picture from head to foot, and Mary with Martha in one piece: to William Murray he gives the medals in his coffer; makes a handsome provision for his natural daughter; and bestows liberally on the poor. That he should be in a condition to do all this, seems extraordinary, his prices having been so moderate; for, enumerating the debts due to him, he charges lady Haddington for a whole length of her husband, and lady Seton, of the same dimensions, frames and all, but three hundred marks: and lord Maxwell for his own picture and his lady's to their knees, one hundred marks, both sums of Scots money."⁸ The average remuneration which Jamesone received for his portraits is calculated at twenty pounds Scots, or one pound thirteen shillings and four pence sterling. People have wondered at the extreme smallness of the sum paid to so great an artist; but, measured by its true standard, the price of necessary provisions, it was in reality pretty considerable, and may easily be supposed to have enabled an industrious man to amass a comfortable fortune. Walpole continues, "Mr Jamesone (the relation from whom the facts of the account were received), has likewise a memorandum written and signed by this painter, mentioning a MS. in his possession, 'containing two hundred leaves of parchment of excellent write, adorned with diverse histories of our Saviour' curiously limned,' which he values at two hundred pounds sterling, a very large sum at that time! What is become of that curious book is not known." It is probable that the term "sterling" affixed to the sum, is a mistake. It was seldom if ever used in Scotland at the period when Jamesone lived. We are not given to understand that the "limning" was of the painter's own work, and we are not to presume he was in possession of a volume, superior in value to the produce of many years labour in his profession. The manuscript, though mentioned with an estimation so disproportionate to that of the works of its proprietor, was probably some worthless volume of monkish illuminations, of which it would waste time to trace the ownership. The description might apply to a manuscript "Mirror of the Life of Christ," extant in the Advocates' Library.

We have already mentioned a considerable number of the portraits by Jamesone as extant in Taymouth castle. An almost equal number is in the possession of the Alva family; and others are dispersed in smaller numbers. Carnegie of Southesk possesses portraits of some of his ancestors, by Jamesone, who was connected with the family. Mr Carnegie, town clerk of Aberdeen, possesses several of his pictures in very good preservation, and among them is the original of the portrait of the artist himself, which has been engraved for this work. Another individual in Aberdeen possesses a highly curious portrait by Jamesone of the artist's uncle, David Anderson of Pinzeau, merchant-burgess of Aberdeen, an eccentric character, the variety of whose occupations and studies procured him the epithet of "Davie do' thing." Some of Jamesone's portraits hang in the hall of Marischal college in a state of wretched preservation. Sir Paul Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, presents us with a striking cast of countenance boldly executed; but in general these are among the inferior productions of Jamesone. They are on board, the material on which he painted his earlier productions (and which he afterwards changed for fine canvas), and are remark-

⁸ Anecdotes, i. 250.

able for the stiffness of the hands, and the awkward arrangement of the dress; two defects, which, especially in the case of the former, he afterwards overcame. There is in the same room a portrait of Charles I. of some merit, which the exhibitor of the curiosities in the university generally attributes to Vandyke. It is probably the work of Jamesone, but it may be observed, that there is more calm dignity in the attitude, and much less expression, than that artist generally exhibits. Walpole and others mention as extant in the King's college of Aberdeen, a picture called the "Sibyls," partly executed by Jamesone, and copied from living beauties in Aberdeen: if this curious production still exists in the same situation, we are unaware of its being generally exhibited to strangers. There is a picture in King's college *attributed* to Jamesone, which we would fain bestow on some less celebrated hand. It is a view of King's college as originally erected, the same from which the engraving prefixed to Oreni's account of the cathedral church of Old Aberdeen, is copied. It represents an aspect much the same as that which Slezer has given in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, and, like the works of that artist, who could exhibit both sides of a building at once, it sets all perspective at defiance, and most unreasonably contorts the human figure. In characterizing the manner of Jamesone, Walpole observes that "his excellence is said to consist in delicacy and softness, with a clear and beautiful colouring; his shades not charged, but helped by varnish, with little appearance of the pencil." This account is by one who has not seen any of the artist's paintings, and is very unsatisfactory.

It is indeed not without reason, that the portraits of Jamesone have frequently been mistaken for those of Vandyke. Both excelled in painting the human countenance,—in making the flesh and blood project from the surface of the canvas, and animating it with a soul within. That the Scottish artist may have derived advantage from his association with the more eminent foreigner it were absurd to deny; but as they were fellow students, candour will admit, that the advantage may have been at least partly repaid, and that the noble style in which both excelled, may have been formed by the common labour of both. It can scarcely be said that on any occasion Jamesone rises to the high dignity of mental expression represented by Vandyke, nor does he exhibit an equal grace, in the adjustment of a breast plate, or the hanging of a mantle. His pictures generally represent hard and characteristic features, seldom with much physical grace, and representing minds within, which have more of the fierce or austere than of the lofty or elegant; and in such a spirit has he presented before us the almost breathing forms of those turbulent and austere men connected with the dark troubles of the times. The face thus represented seems generally to have commanded the whole mind of the artist. The background presents nothing to attract attention, and the outlines of the hard features generally start from a ground of dingy dark brown, or deep grey. The dress, frequently of a sombre hue, often fades away into the back ground, and the attitude, though frequently easy, is seldom studied to impose. The features alone, with their knotty brows, deep expressive eyes, and the shadow of the nose falling on the lip—a very picturesque arrangement followed by Vandyke—alone demand the attention of the spectator. Yet he could sometimes represent a majestic form and attitude, as the well-known picture of Sir Thomas Hope testifies. We shall notice one more picture by Jamesone, as it is probably one of the latest which came from his brush, and exhibits peculiarities of style not to be met with in others. This portrait is in the possession of Mr Skene of Rubislaw, and represents his ancestor Sir George Skene of Fintray, who was born in 1619. The portrait is of a young man past twenty; and it will be remarked, that the subject was only twenty-five years of age when the artist died. The picture is

authenticated from the circumstance of a letter being extant from the laird of Skene to Sir George Skene, requesting a copy of his portrait "by Jamesone," and in accordance with a fulfilment of this request, a copy of the portrait we allude to is in the family collection at Skene. Jamesone has here indulged in more fullness and brilliancy of colouring than is his general custom: the young man has a calm aspect; his head is covered with one of the monstrous wigs then just introduced; he is in a painter's attitude, even to the hand, which is beautifully drawn, and far more graceful than those of Jamesone generally are. On the whole, this portrait has more of the characteristics of Sir Peter Lely, than of Vandyke.

Jamesone has been termed the "Vandyke of Scotland," but he may with equal right claim the title of the Vandyke of Britain. Towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, Hilliard and Oliver had become somewhat distinguished as painters in miniature, and they commanded some respect, more from the inferiority of others, than from their own excellence; but the first inhabitant of Great Britain, the works of whose brush could stand comparison with foreign painters, was Jamesone.

A Latin elegy was addressed to the memory of Jamesone by David Wedderburn; and his friend and fellow townsman Arthur Johnston, (whose portrait had been painted by Jamesone), has left, in one of his numerous epigrams, a beautiful poetical tribute to his memory. After his death, the art he had done so much to support, languished in Scotland. His daughter, who may have inherited some portion of plastic genius, has left behind fruits of her industry in a huge mass of tapestry, which still dangles from the gallery of the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen. This lady's second husband was Gregory, the mathematician. A descendant of the same name as the painter has already been alluded to, as an engraver in the earlier part of the 18th century, and John Alexander, another descendant, who returned from his studies in Italy in 1720, acquired celebrity as an inventor of portraits of queen Mary.

JARDINE, GEORGE, A.M., for many years professor of logic in the university of Glasgow, was born in the year 1742, at Wandal, in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, where his predecessors had resided for nearly two hundred years. The barony of Wandal formerly belonged to the Jardines of Applegirth: a younger son of whom appears to have settled there about the end of the sixteenth century, and to have also been vicar of the parish during the time of episcopacy. The barony having passed from the Applegirth to the Douglas family, Mr Jardine's forefathers continued for several generations as tenants in the lands of Wandal, under that new race of landlords. His mother was a daughter of Weir of Birkwood in the parish of Lesmahagow.

After receiving his elementary education at the parish school, he, in October, 1760, repaired to Glasgow college, and entered as a member of a society, where, with very little interruption, he was destined to spend the whole of his life. After going through the preliminary classes, where his abilities and diligence attracted the attention and acquired for him the friendship of several of the professors, he entered the divinity hall under Dr Trail, then professor of theology, and in due time obtained license as a preacher from the presbytery of Linlithgow. He did not, however, follow out that profession, having, from the good wishes of several of the professors of Glasgow college, reason to hope that he might eventually be admitted to a chair, which was the great object of his ambition.

In 1771, he was employed by baron Mure of Caldwell, to accompany his two sons to France, and to superintend their education at an academy in Paris. The baron, who was at that time one of the most influential men in Scotland,

and who lived much in the literary circle of Edinburgh, obtained from his friend David Hume, letters of introduction to several of the French philosophers of that day; by means of which Mr Jardine had the advantage of being acquainted with Helvetius and with D'Alembert, who were then in the zenith of their fame, and whose manners he used to describe as presenting a striking contrast,—Helvetius having all the style and appearance of a French nobleman of the first fashion, while D'Alembert preserved a primitive simplicity of dress and manner, at that time quite unusual in Paris. During his residence there, he lived a good deal in the society of Dr Gemm, the uncle of Mr Huskisson, who was then settled as a physician in Paris, and noted not only for his eminence in his profession, but for his talents as a philosopher. Dr Gemm was an ardent friend to liberty, and at that time did not scruple to anticipate, to those with whom he was intimate, the fall of the French monarchy as an event at no great distance.

Soon after his return from France, in July, 1773, a vacancy occurred in the humanity chair of Glasgow, by the death of Mr Muirhead; for which a very keen competition arose between him and Mr Richardson, the result of which was doubtful until the very morning of the election, when, notwithstanding every exertion made in behalf of Mr Jardine, by lord Frederic Campbell, the lord rector, Mr Richardson carried the election by a majority of one vote. Upon this occasion, Mr Clow, the professor of logic, who had always befriended Mr Jardine, though, from a prior engagement, he, on this occasion, felt himself obliged to support the other candidate, told him not to be discouraged, for that there might ere long be an opportunity of his being admitted into their society. The expectations which Mr Clow thus kindly threw out, he very soon realized, for, towards the end of the following session, he intimated to the college, that, from his advanced age, he required to be relieved from the labour of teaching, and expressed a wish that Mr Jardine might be associated with him in the professorship. About this time, too, Dr Moor, professor of Greek, gave in his resignation; and in June, 1774, upon the same day, the faculty of Glasgow college elected Mr Young to the Greek chair, and appointed the subject of this memoir assistant and successor to Mr Clow.

By this arrangement, the charge of the three junior classes of Glasgow college came, at the same time, to devolve upon three men in the vigour of life, who all entered most zealously into the business of their respective departments, in which they soon introduced very material improvements:—in particular, they contrived to infuse a spirit of emulation among their pupils by the institution of prizes publicly distributed at the end of each session, to those who had distinguished themselves during the course—an institution which was gradually extended to other classes at Glasgow, and which has now been generally introduced into the other universities. These prizes have been increased during recent years, by the munificence of several of the Lords Rectors, and the generosity of public-spirited individuals. There are prizes bearing the names of James Watt, Lord Jeffrey, Mr James Ewing, the Marquis of Breadalbane, &c., arising from large sums of money permanently invested for that purpose.

The business of the logic class had hitherto consisted in an explanation of the *Dialectics* of Aristotle, followed up, towards the end of the course, by an exposition of the most abstruse doctrines of metaphysics and ontology, embracing the general attributes of being, existence, essence, unity, necessity, &c., and other similar abstract conceptions of pure intellect. For the first year or two, the new professor followed the same track; but he soon discovered, from the examination of his students, that by far the greater number of them comprehended very little of the doctrines explained; that a few only of superior abilities could give any account of

them at all, and that the most of the young men remembered only a few peculiar phrases or technical expressions which they delivered by rote, unaccompanied by any distinct notion of their meaning. Besides, even when these abstract doctrines were understood, intelligent persons who sent their sons to the logic class, could not fail to observe, that the subjects to which their attention was directed had no relation to any profession or employment whatever, and that little could be derived from prelections on such topics, which was likely either to adorn conversation, or to qualify the student for the concerns of active life. Mr Jardine soon perceived, therefore, the necessity of a thorough and radical change on the subjects of his lectures, and after a simple analysis of the different powers of the understanding, with the means of their improvement, accompanied with a short account of Aristotle's logic, he devoted by far the greater part of the course to the original progress of language; the principles of general grammar; the elements of taste and criticism; and to the rules of composition, with a view to the promotion of a correct style, illustrated by examples. His course of lectures was, accordingly, entirely new-modelled, and he soon found that a great proportion of the students entered with awakened interest upon the consideration of these subjects, instead of the listless inattention which had been bestowed on the abstract doctrines of metaphysics.

But the greatest improvement which he introduced into the mode of conducting the business of the class, was a regular system of examinations and exercises. He was of opinion with Dr Barrow, "that communication of truth is only one half of the business of education, and is not even the most important half. The most important part is the habit of employing, to some good purpose, the acquisitions of memory by the exercise of the understanding; and till this be acquired, the acquisition will not be found of much use." The mere delivery of a lecture, especially to very young persons, he held of very little advantage, unless they were placed in the situation of those who were bound to give an account of it; and the exposition of the rules of composition to be of little avail, unless accompanied by the application of those rules by the student himself. Accordingly, at a separate hour in the forenoon, the students were examined each day on the lecture of the morning, and written essays were required from time to time on subjects more or less connected with those embraced in the lectures. These were regularly criticised by the professor in the presence of the class; and after the principles of criticism had been explained, they were, towards the end of the session, distributed among the students themselves, who were required to subjoin a written criticism upon each other's performances, under the superintendance of the professor; and prizes were bestowed at the end of the session, according to the determination of the students, to those who excelled in these daily examinations and exercises. This system of practical instruction is explained in all its details in a work published by Mr Jardine before he relinquished the charge of the logic class, entitled "Outlines of Philosophical Education," in which is to be found a full exposition of a system of academical discipline, which was pursued in the logic class of Glasgow, during the period of fifty years it was under his direction, and which was found by experience to be attended with the most beneficial effects.

The details of this system were, of course, attended with no small additional labour to the professor; for, besides two and occasionally three hours each day of public teaching, he had every evening to examine and correct the essays of the students, which were in such numbers as to occupy a large portion of his time. He was reconciled, however, to this tedious and laborious occupation by a thorough conviction of its great practical utility, which each year's additional experience tended more and more to confirm. He had the satisfaction, too, of

knowing that his labours were not without success, both from his students themselves, many of whom did not hesitate to ascribe their advancement in after-life to the active and industrious habits acquired in the logic class, and also from the opinion of the public at large, which was very clearly evinced by the progressive increase of the number of students; the average of which, when he entered upon the office, in the public class was about fifty, but which increased to nearly two hundred. This was, no doubt, partly owing to general causes, applicable to the times, but to a certain extent it was assuredly to be attributed to the great estimation in which this class was held by the public at large. Few teachers have ever enjoyed so large a portion of the respect and affection of their pupils. This was owing not a little to the warm interest which they could not fail to perceive he took in their progress,—to his strict impartiality, which admitted of no preference or distinction of any sort except that of talents and industry,—and to a kindly, affectionate, and almost paternal regard, which marked the whole of his demeanour to his students—who, dispersed, as they afterwards came to be, into all quarters of the globe, have very generally concurred in expressions of cordial esteem to their old preceptor. With such a hold upon the regard and affection of his class, he scarcely ever required to have recourse to the ordinary means of enforcing academical discipline.

From 1774, when he first entered upon his office, till 1824, when he gave up teaching, the business was systematically carried on in the way here described, with such improvements from time to time as were suggested by his experience; and he possessed such an excellent constitution, aided by a temper remarkably cheerful, that during the whole fifty years he was scarcely a single day absent from his class on account of indisposition. His predecessor, Mr Clow, survived till 1788, having the year before his death resigned to his successor the whole privileges of the office, with his seat in the faculty; and, notwithstanding the very laborious duties which he had imposed on himself by his mode of teaching, he still contrived to devote a portion of his time to the extrication of the patrimonial affairs of the college, and the arrangement of their accounts, which his business habits enabled him to undertake without much difficulty, and which, chiefly by his exertions, were brought from a state of comparative confusion into a very satisfactory arrangement. In 1792, likewise, when the royal infirmary was erected at Glasgow, he bestowed very great labour in promoting the undertaking, and for more than twenty years afterwards officiated as secretary, taking on himself the chief management of the affairs of the institution, from which he only retired a short time before his death, when he received the thanks of the managers for the unwearied attention he had bestowed on their business for nearly thirty years.

The private life of Mr Jardine did not present any great variety of incident. During the session he lived in college in terms of great friendship with several of his colleagues, particularly with the late professors Millar and Young, whose views in college affairs generally coincided with his own; and in summer he resided at a small property which he purchased in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, which he took great delight in adorning, and entered with much relish upon the employments of a country life, which formed an excellent relaxation after his winter labours. His residence in that quarter naturally occasioned a connexion with the presbytery of Hamilton, who, for upwards of thirty years, returned him as their representative to the General Assembly, which he regularly attended, taking a considerable share in the business, and generally coinciding in opinion with the late Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, with whom he lived for a great many years in habits of the most unreserved friendship. One of the last public appearances which he made was in May, 1825, upon the question of

pluralities, to which he had, on all occasions, been a determined adversary; when he opened the second day's debate by a forcible speech on the impolicy of uniting professorships with church livings; which, considering his great age, was viewed at the time as a very remarkable effort, and was listened to with profound attention.

In 1824, after having taught for fully half a century, he thought himself fairly entitled to retire from his labours. Those who attended the class during that last session did not perceive any abatement either of his zeal or energy; and during that winter he was not absent from his class a single hour. But he foresaw that the time could not be far distant when these exertions must cease, and he preferred retiring before he was actually compelled to do so by the infirmities of age. At the end of that session, he accordingly requested his colleagues to select a person to fill his place; declaring that he left the arrangement entirely to them, and that he would not interfere either directly or indirectly in the appointment, farther than by expressing an earnest wish that they might select one who would take a zealous interest in the prosperity of the class, and would continue the same system of active employment on the part of the students which had been found to be attended with so much benefit. Their choice fell upon the Rev. Robert Buchanan, minister of Peebles, who had himself carried off the first honour at this class, whose literary attainments are of a high order, and who zealously continues to follow out the same system of daily examinations and regular exercises, which was introduced by his predecessor.

Upon the occasion of his retirement from public teaching, a number of those who had been his pupils determined to show their respect by giving him a public dinner in the town hall of Glasgow, which was attended by upwards of two hundred gentlemen, many of whom came from a great distance to evince their respect for their venerable instructor. Mr Mure of Caldwell, his earliest pupil, was in the chair, and the present Marquis of Breadalbane, who had been peculiarly under his charge at Glasgow college, and to whom he was very much attached, came from a great distance to officiate as croupier.

Mr Jardine survived about three years after his retirement from public duties; during which time he resided as usual during winter in college, and continued to take an active interest in the affairs of the society. While attending the General Assembly in May, 1826, he was seized with a bilious attack—almost the first illness he ever experienced—from which he never completely recovered, and he sank under the infirmities of age on the 27th of January, 1827, having just completed his 85th year; contemplating his dissolution with the composure of a Christian, and expressing his gratitude to the author of his being for the many blessings which had fallen to his lot; of which he did not consider as the least the numerous marks of esteem and regard evinced by his old pupils, with whom he was ever delighted to renew a kindly intercourse. His death was deeply regretted by the society of which he had been so long a member, and by the inhabitants of Glasgow, where he was very generally respected and esteemed.

In 1776, Mr Jardine married Miss Lindsay of Glasgow, whom he survived about twelve years, and by whom he had one son, John Jardine, advocate, who held the office of sheriff of Ross and Cromarty, and died in 1850.

JOHNSTON, (SIR) ARCHIBALD, of Warriston, (a judge by the designation of lord Warriston,) an eminent lawyer and statesman, was the son of James Johnston of Beirholm in Annandale, a descendant of the family of Johnston in Aberdeenshire, and who for some time followed a commercial life in Edinburgh, being mentioned in a charter of 1608, as "the king's merchant." The mother of the subject of our memoir was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, the first great lawyer produced by Scotland, and whose life has already been given in the

present work. Of the date of the birth of Archibald Johnston, and the circumstances of his education, no memorial has been preserved: he entered as advocate in 1633. In the great national disturbances which commenced in 1637, Johnston took an early and distinguished part; acting, apparently, as only second to Sir Thomas Hope in giving legal advice to the covenanters. The second or general supplication of the nation to Charles I. for relief from his episcopal innovations was prepared by the earl of Rothes and Archibald Johnston; the former being preferred on account of his distinction as an active and influential partisan, and the latter from the general character given of him by his friends, as singularly well acquainted with the history and constitution of the genuine presbyterian church of Scotland. This document, which was presented to the privy council on the 24th of September, 1637, in the presence of a band of the supporters of its principles, which made the act more solemn than a regal pageant, leaves for the politicians of all ages a fine specimen of that calmness in reasoning and statement which men of judgment and principle know to be necessary for the preservation of order in a state, when they are representing grievances, however deep, to a governor, however unreasonable; and of that firmness of position, which, when supported by a hold of popular opinion, must either be allowed to prevail, or leave to him who obstructs it the odium of the confusion which may follow. After the supplicants, who had increased to a vast body of men, spreading over the whole of the southern part of Scotland, had united themselves under a representative constitution, termed "the Tables," a renewal of the national covenant was judged a useful measure for a combination of effort, and the insurance of a general union and purpose. Johnston and the celebrated Alexander Henderson were employed to suit the revered obligation to which their ancestors had sworn, to the new purpose for which it was applied, by including the protestations against the liturgy of the episcopal church, under the general declarations which it previously bore against the doctrine of the church of Rome, and adducing authorities in support of the new application. The obligation was signed in March, 1638, under circumstances too well known to be recapitulated.¹

Johnston, although from his secondary rank, he did not then assume the authority of a leader, was, from his knowledge and perseverance, more trusted to in the labours of the opposition than any other man, and his name continually recurs as the agent in every active measure. To the unyielding and exasperating proclamation, which was read at the market-cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of February, 1638, he prepared and read aloud, on a scaffold erected for the purpose, the celebrated protestation in name of the Tables, while the dense crowd who stood around prevented the issuers of the proclamation from departing before they heard the answer to their challenge. On the 8th of July, the king issued another proclamation, which, though termed "A proclamation of favour and grace," and though it promised a maintenance of the religion *presently professed within the kingdom* without innovation, an interim suspension of the service book, a rectification of the high commission, and the loudly called for general assembly and parliament, was, with reason, deemed more dangerous than a defiance. Johnston had a protestation prepared for the delicacy of this trying occasion, which, with the decorum from which he seems on no occasion to have departed, he, "in all humility, with submissive reverence," presented in presence of the multitude.² When, on the 22nd of September, the parliament and

¹ For such matters connected with this period as are here, to prevent repetition, but slightly alluded to, vide the memoirs of Henderson; of Montrose; and of the first duke of Hamilton, in this collection.

² Balfour's Annals, ii. 276.

general assembly were proclaimed, he prepared another protestation in a similar tone to the former, which he read in his own name, and in that of the earl of Montrose, for the nobles; Gibson younger of Durie for the barons; George Porterfield, merchant in Glasgow, for the burghs; and Henry Pollock, minister of Edinburgh, for the clergy. It will be easily conjectured that, at the period when he was thus publicly employed, Johnston was privately acting as a partisan of the covenant, and an enemy of prelacy and arbitrary power, by all the means which a political agent invariably uses. At such a period the more we can trace the private proceedings and feelings of the public man, the better can we hold him up as a biographical example. As the only curious document connected with our subject at this period of his existence, we give the following somewhat mutilated letter to Johnston, from a person who did not choose to sign his name; it is characteristic of the feeling of the party, and of the occupation of the subject of our memoir; and if to a speculative politician it may breathe an illiberal spirit, let him remember that there never existed a party, however pure, which did not wish to suppress the opposite party, and that not having power and numbers on their side, the opponents of the covenant were in the situation of disturbers of society, in as far as they wished to impose rules on the whole kingdom.

“For Mr Archibald Johnston of Warriston, advocate.

“Dear Christian brother and courageous Protestant,—Upon some rumour of the Prelate of St Andrews, his coming over the water, and finding it altogether inconvenient that he or any of that kynd should show themselves peaceably in publicke, some course was taken how hee might be enterteyned in such places as he should come unto: we are now informed that hee (will) not come, but that Broughen is in Edinburgh or thereabout; it is the advyce of your friends here, that in a private way some course may be taken for his terror and disgrace if he offer to show himself in publick. Think upon the best r . . . by the advyce of your friends there. I fear that their publick appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudiciall to our cause. We are going to take order (with) his cheefe supporters there, Glaidstaines, Skrymgoor, and Hallyburton . . . Wishing you both protection and direction from your maister, I continue, youre owne whome you know. G.”

“28th October, 1638.”³

Such was the feeling in which the leaders of the Covenant prepared themselves for the renowned General Assembly held at Glasgow in November and December, 1638. On that occasion Johnston was, by a unanimous vote, chosen clerk of the assembly. On its being discovered that his precursor had been enabled to procure only two of the seven volumes of minutes of the general assemblies held since the Reformation, the moderator, probably in pursuance of a preconceived measure, called upon all those who were aware of the existence of any others, to give information on the subject to the assembly. Johnston hereupon produced the other five volumes—how obtained by him we know not—by which service he greatly increased the confidence previously placed in him. On the day before the session terminated, the assembly elected him procurator for the church, and, as was afterwards ratified by act of parliament, he received for the former of these offices 500, and for the latter 1000 merks yearly.⁴

Johnston was one of the commissioners appointed by the Scots to conduct the treaty at Berwick. The General Assembly, which was the consequence of that pacification, passes over, and the unsatisfactory parliament which followed, is commenced, ere we again observe Johnston's name connected with any public affairs, beyond the usual routine of his duties. The parliament commenced its

³ Wodrow's Collection, Advoc. Lib., vol. lxxvi. No. 53

⁴ Balf. An. ii. 301, 313; Scots Worthies, 271; Act. Parl. v. 316.

sittings on the 31st of August, 1639. On the 14th of November, Sir Thomas Hope, in his official capacity as lord advocate, produced a warrant from the king addressed to the commissioners, which, on the ground that the royal prerogative was interested in the proceedings, ordered a prorogation to the 2nd of June, 1640. The warrant was read by Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, one of the clerks of session, on which the lord advocate took the usual protest, calling on the clerk actually to dissolve the meeting. On this, the clerk, who was performing an unpleasing office, answered, "that he had already read the said warrant containing the said prorogacion, and was readie to read the same as oft as he should be commanded, but could not otherways prorogat the parliament." The earl of Rothes added to his embarrassment, by challenging him to "do nothing but as he would be answerable to the parliament, upon payne of his life." And the junior clerk, Mr William Scott, being called on to dissolve the meeting, sagaciously declined officiating in the presence of his senior. Johnston then came forward, and, in name of the three estates, read a declaration, purporting that his majesty, having, in compliance with the wish of his faithful subjects, called a free assembly and parliament, and submitted matters ecclesiastical to the former, and matters civil to the latter; the commissioner had (it was presumed) without the full permission of the king, attempted to dissolve the parliament—a measure which, the estates maintained, could not be constitutionally taken, without the consent of the parliament itself. With that respect for the person of the king which, as the advocates of peaceful measures, the covenanters at that period always professed to maintain, the document proceeds to state that the estates are constrained to the measure they adopt by "our zeal to acquit ourselves according to our place, both to the king's majesty, whose honour at all tymes, but especially conveyed in parliament, we ought to have in high estimation, and to the kingdom which we represent, and whose liberties sall never be prostituted or vilified by us." Having denounced the prorogation as unconstitutional, this remarkable state-paper thus proceeds—"But becaus we know that the eyes of the world ar upon us, that declarations have been made and published against us, and malice is prompted for hir obloquies, and wateth on with opin mouth to snatch at the smallest shadow of disobedience, disservice, or disrespect to his majesty's commandments, that our proceedings may be made odious to such as know not the way how thes commandments are procured from his majesty, nor how they are made knowin and intimat to us, and doe also little consider that we are not now private subjects bot a sitting parliament, quhat national prejudices we have susnit in tyme past by misinformation, and quhat is the present state of the kingdom;" so arguing, the presenters of the declaration, that they may put far from them "all shaw or appearance of what may give his majesty the least discontent," resolve, in the mean time, merely to vindicate their rights by their declaration, and, voluntarily adjourning, resolve to elect some of each estate, as a permanent committee, endowed with the full powers of a parliamentary committee, to "await his majesty's gracious answer to our humble and just demands, and farther to remonstrat our humble desires to his majesty upon all occasions; that hereby it may be made most manifest, against all contradiction, that it was never our intention to denie his majesty any parte of the civill and temporal obedience which is due to all kings from their subjects, and from us to our dread soverane after a special maner, bot meerlie to preserve our religion, and the liberties of the kingdome, without which religion cannot continue long in safetie."—"And if it sall happen," continues this prophetic declaration, "(which God forbid) that, efter we have made our remonstrances, and to the uttermost of our power and duetie used all lawfull meanes for his majesty's information, that our mali-

cious enemies, who are not considerable, sall, by their suggestions and lyes, prevail against the informations and general declarations of a whole kingdom, we tak God and men to witness, that we are free of the outrages and insolencies that may be committed in the mean tyme, and that it sall be to us no imputation, that we are constrained to tak such course as may best secure the kirk and kingdome from the extremitie of confusion and miserie."

It is to be remarked, that this act of the covenanters did not assume the authority of a protest; it was a statement of grievances to which, for a short time, they would submit, supplicating a remedy. The assertion that the crown had not the sole power of proroguing parliament, may be said to be an infringement of prerogative; but this very convenient term must owe its application to practice, and it appears that the royal power on this point had not been accurately fixed by the constitution of the Scottish parliament. The choice of the lords of articles by the commissioner—a step so far a breach of "privilege" (the opposite term to prerogative), that it rendered a parliament useless as an independent body—was likewise remonstrated against, along with the application of supplies without consent of parliament.

The earls of Dunfermline and Loudon were sent as commissioners to represent the declaration to the king. "They behaved themselves," says Clarendon, "in all respects, with the confidence of men employed by a foreign state, refused to give any account but to the king himself; and even to the king himself gave no other reason for what was done, but the authority of the doers, and the necessity that required it; that is, that they thought it necessary: but then they polished their sturdy behaviour with all the professions of submission and duty which their language could afford."

As connected with this mission, some historians have alluded to, and others have narrated, a dark intrigue, of which Johnston was the negative instrument; a matter which has never been cleared up. We shall give it in the words of Burnet, the nephew of Johnston, and who had therefore some reason to know the facts. "After the first pacification, upon the new disputes that arose, when the earls of Loudoun and Dumfermling were sent up with the petition from the covenanters, the lord Saville came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they saw the king was highly irritated against them. He took great pains to persuade them to come with their army into England. They very unwillingly hearkened to that proposition, and looked on it as a design from the court to ensnare them, making the Scots invade England, by which this nation might have been provoked to assist the king to conquer Scotland. It is true, he hated the earl of Strafford so much, that they saw no cause to suspect him; so they entered into a treaty with him about it. The lord Saville assured them, he spoke to them in the name of the most considerable men in England, and he showed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into England, and refuse any treaty but what should be confirmed by a parliament of England. They desired leave to send this paper into Scotland, to which, after much seeming difficulty, he consented: so a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one Frost, afterwards secretary to the committee of both kingdoms, was sent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three persons—the earls of Rothes and Argyle, and to Warriston, the three chief confidants of the covenanters. * * * * * To these three only this paper was to be showed, upon an oath of secrecy: and it was to be deposited in Warriston's hands. They were only allowed to publish to the nation that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which, though it was to be kept secret, would appear in due time. This they published; and it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the nation: but it was

afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of lord Saville's, who had forged all those subscriptions. * * * The lord Saville's forgery came to be discovered. The king knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to trust him, and to advance him to be earl of Sussex. The king pressed my uncle (Johnston) to deliver him the letter, who excused himself upon his oath: and not knowing what use might be made of it, he cut out every subscription, and sent it to the person for whom it was forged. The imitation was so exact, that every man, as soon as he saw his hand simply by itself, acknowledged that he could not have denied it."⁵ Burnet had certainly the best opportunities for both a public and private acquaintance with such an event, and the circumstance has been at least hinted at by others; but Mr Laing justly remarks that "in their conferences with these noblemen, and with Pym and Hambden, the Scottish commissioners during their residence in London must have received such secret assurances of support, that, without this forged invitation, the committee of Estates would have chosen to transfer the war into England."⁶

At the parliament which met on the 2nd of June, 1640, the representative of majesty in that body choosing to absent himself, or dreading the danger of a journey to Scotland, the Estates proceeded to reduce themselves to a formal and deliberative body, by the choice of a president. To this convention Johnston produced a petition from the General Assembly, which had been ratified by the privy council, praying for a legislative ratification of the covenant, and an order that it should be enforced on the inhabitants of the country with all civil pains,⁷—a requisition which the convention was not in a disposition to refuse. On the 11th of June, by the 34th act of this parliament, the celebrated committee of forty, having, in absence of the superior body which called it into existence, the full legislative power of a republican congress, was elected, and the members were divided betwixt the camp and Edinburgh. Our surprise that so influential and laborious a man as Johnston was not chosen a member of this body, is relieved by the place of higher, though somewhat anomalous trust to which we find him appointed, as general agent and adviser to the body—a sort of leader, without being a constituent member. "And because," says the act, "there will fall out in the camp a necessitie either of treaties, consultations, or public declarations, to schaw the reasons of the demands and proceedings in the assemble and parliament, and the prejudices agains either of them, the Estates ordaynes Mr Archibald Johnston, procurator for the kirk, as best acquaint with these reasons and prejudices, to attend his excellence (the general) and to be present at all occasions with the said committee, for their farther information, and clearing thairanent."⁸ Johnston was one of the eight individuals appointed to treat with the English commissioners at Rippon, by an act of the great committee of management, dated the 30th of September, 1640.⁹ When this treaty was transferred to London, Johnston was chosen a member of the committee, along with Henderson, as supernumeraries to those appointed from the Estates, and probably with the peculiar duty of watching over the interests of the church, "because many things may occurre concerning the church and assemblies thereof."¹⁰

The proceedings and achievements of this body are so well known, that, in an article which aims at giving such memorials of its subject, as are not to be readily met with in the popular histories, they need not be repeated. On the 25th day of September, 1641, Johnston produced in parliament a petition that he might be exonerated from all responsibility as to the public measures with which he had for the previous four years been connected, mentioning the

⁵ Burnet, 37, 39. 41.

⁶ Act. Par., v. 311.

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⁷ Laing, iii. 194.

⁹ Balfour's An., ii. 408.

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⁷ Act. Parl., v. 293.

¹⁰ Balf. An., ii. 416.

important office which he held as adviser to the commissioners attending on the motions at the camp, and the duties he was called on to perform at the treaty of Rippon and London; and observing, that it has been considered necessary that others so employed should have their conduct publicly examined in parliament, he craves that all requisite inquiry may immediately be made as to his own proceedings; that, if he has done any thing "contrair to their instructions, or prejudiciall to the publick, he may undergoe that censure which the wrongers of the countrey and abusers of such great trust deserves;" but if it has been found that he has done his duty, "then," he says, "doe I in all humility begg, that, seing by God's assistance and blessing the treatie of peace is closed, and seeing my employment in thir publick business is now at an end, that before I returne to my private affaires and calling, from the which these four yeires I have been continually distracted, I may obtaine from his gracious majesty and your lordships, an exoneration of that charge, and an approbation of my former carriage." The exoneration was granted, and the act ratifying it stated, that after due examination, the Estates found that Johnston had "faithfullie, diligientlie, and carefullie behaved himself in the foresaid chaire, employments, and trust put upon him, in all the passages thair of, as he justly deserves thair treu testimonie of his approven fidelitie and diligence."¹¹

In 1641, when the king paid his pacificatory visit to Scotland, Johnston obtained, among others, a liberal peace-offering. He had fixed his eyes on the office of lord register, probably as bearing an affinity to his previous occupations; but the superior influence of Gibson of Durie prevailed in competition for that situation: he received, however, the commission of an ordinary lord of session, along with a liberal pension, and the honours of knighthood. During the sitting of the parliament we find him appointed as a commissioner, to treat with the king on the supplementary matters which were not concluded at the treaty of Rippon, and to obtain the royal consent to the acts passed during the session. Much about the same period, he was appointed, along with others, to make search among the records contained in the castle, for points of accusation against the "incendiaries;" the persons whom he and his colleagues had just displaced in the offices of state and judicature. It may be sufficient, and will save repetition, to mention, that we find him appointed in the same capacity which we have already mentioned, in the recommissions of the committee of Estates, and in the other committees, chosen to negotiate with the king, similar to those we have already described, among which may be noticed the somewhat menacing committee of 1641, appointed to treat as to commerce, the naturalization of subjects, the demands as to war with foreigners, the Irish rebellion, and particularly as to "the brotherlie supplie and assistance" of the English parliament to the Scottish army.¹²

In the parliament of 1643, Sir Archibald Johnston represented the county of Edinburgh, and was appointed to the novel situation of speaker to the barons, as a separate estate. In this capacity, on the 7th of June, 1644, he moved the house to take order concerning the "unnatural rebellion" of Montrose,¹³ and somewhat in the manner of an impeachment, he moved a remonstrance against the earl of Carnwath, followed by a commission to make trial of his conduct, along with that of Traquair, of which Johnston was a member.¹⁴ During the period when, as a matter of policy, the Scots in general suspended their judgment between the contending parties in England, Warriston seems early to have felt, and not to have concealed, a predilection for the cause of the parliament,

¹¹ Act Parl., v. 414.

¹³ Balfour's Anecdotes, iii. 177.

¹² Act. Par., v. 357, 371, 372, 489, &c.

¹⁴ Act Parl., vi. 6. S.

and was the person who moved that the general assembly should throw the weight of their opinion in that scale.¹⁵

Johnston had been named as one of the commissioners, chosen on the 9th August, 1643, for the alleged purpose of mediating betwixt Charles I. and his parliament; but Charles, viewing him as a dangerous opponent, objected to providing him with a safe conduct, and he appears to have remained in Edinburgh. He, however, conducted a correspondence with the commissioners who repaired to London, as a portion of which, the subjoined letter to him from the earl of Loudon, which throws some light on the policy of the Scots at that juncture, may be interesting.¹⁶

¹⁵ A curious evidence of his opinions, and the motives of his political conduct at this period, exists, in the form of some remarks on the aspect of the times, which appear to have been addressed to his friend lord Loudon. The manuscript is in scroll, very irregularly written, and with numerous corrections; circumstances which will account for any unintelligibility in the portion we extract. It bears date the 21st of June, 1642. "Seeing thir kingdoms most stand and fall together, and that at the first design in all thir late troubles, so the last effort of this evil counsels prevailing still to the suppression of religion and liberty and the erection of poperye and arbitrary power, it is earnestlye desyrd by good Christians and patriots that the question of the warr be right stated, as a warr for religion and libertie, against papists and prelates, and their abackers and adherents; and that now, in thair straits and difficulties, they might enter in a covenant with God and amongst themselves, for the reformation of the churche, abolishing of popery and prelacy out of England and Scotland, and preservation of the roule and peace of thir kyngdoms, q^t without diminution of his majesty's authorities, might not only free them of fears from this, bot also fill them with hopes or thir bearing alongst with thir proceedings the hearts and confidence of thir kingdoms. Pitmaylie may remember weal what of this kynd was motioned at Rippon, and spoken of agayne, when the English armye was reported to be comyng up."—*Wodrow's Papers*, Ad. Lib. vol. lxxvi.

¹⁶ "My lord,—The sending of commissioners from the parliament here to the parliament of Scotland at this tyme, was upon the sudden moved in the House of Commons (before we wer acquainted therof) by the solicitor, and seconded by some who profes to be o^r freinds as a greater testimonie of respect than the sending of a letter alone, and was in that sens approved by the whole hous, who, I believe, does it for no other end, neither is ther any other instructions given by the house than these, wherof the copy is sent to you, which ar only generall for a good correspondence betwixt the two kingdomes. Bot I cannot forbear to tell you my apprehensions, that the intention and designs of some particular persons in sending down at this tyme, and in such a juncture of affaires (when ther is so great rumor of division and factions in Scotland), is by them to learne the posture of business ther in the parl^t, assemblies, and kingdom, that they may receive privat information from them, and make thir applications and uses thereof accordinglie. That which confirms this opinion to me the more, is, that the sending of these persones to Scotland was moved and seconded by such as profes themselves to be o^r freinds w^out giving us any notice thereof till it was done; and the day before it was motioned, they and yo^r old friend Sir Henry Vaine younger, wer at a consultation together, and yo^r lo^r: knowes how much power Sir Henrie Vaine hes with Sir W^m Armyne and Mr Bowlls.* Sir William Armyne is a very honest gentlemen, but Mr Bowlls is very deserving, and doubtless is sent (thoghe not of intention o^f the parl^t) as a spy to give privat intelligence to some who are jealous and curious to understand how all affairs goe in Scotland. Thomsone I hear is a Independent, and (if he goe not away before I can meitt with some freinds) I shall e^tryve that there may be a suare laid in his gaitt to stay his journey; they wold be used with all civillie when they come, bot yo^r lo^r: and others wold be verie warie and circumspect in all yo^r proceedings and deallings w^t them; seeing the hous of parl^t and all such heir as desyres a happie and weell-grounded peace, or a short and prosperous warre, ar desyrous that the Scottish armie advance southward (although I dare not presume to give any positive judgment without presyse knowledge of the condition and posture o^f o^un kingdom), I cannot see any human means so probable and lyklye to setle religion and peace, and make o^r nation the more considerable, as the advancing of o^r armie southward if the turbulent comotions and rud distractions of Scotland may permitt, nor is it possible that so great an armie can be longer entertained by the northern counties, so barren and much waisted with armies; nor can it be expected that the parl^t of England can be at so great charge as the entertainment of that armie (if they did reallie intertain them), unless they be more useful for the caus and publick service of both kingdomes than to ye still in the northern counties, being now reduced, and the king to vexe the south with forces equal to theirs; bot there needs not arguments to prove this point, unless that base crew of Irish rebels and their perfidious confederates, and the unnatural factions of o^r countrymen for-

* The English commissioners were—the earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Van, (younger), Thomas Thatcher, and Henry Darnly.

We find Johnston sent to London, on the 4th of July, 1644, and it is probable that, before that time, he had managed to visit England without the ceremonial of a safe-guard from the falling monarch; and on the 9th of January, 1645, we find him along with Mr Robert Barclay, "two of our commissioners lattle returned from London," reporting the progress of their proceedings to the house.¹⁷ The proceedings of this commission, and of the assembly of divines at Westminster, with which Warriston had a distinguished connexion, may be passed over as matters of general history. Warned, probably, by the cautious intimations of the letter we have just quoted, Johnston was the constant attendant of the English commissioners on their progress to Scotland, and was the person who moved their business in the house.¹⁸ On the death of Sir Thomas Hope, in 1646, Johnston had the influence to succeed him as lord advocate, an office for which he seems to have seasoned himself by his numerous motions against malignants. With a firm adherence to his previous political conduct, Johnston refused accession to the well-known engagement which the duke of Hamilton conducted as a last effort in behalf of the unfortunate monarch.

On the 10th of January, 1649, the marquis of Argyle delivered a speech, "wich he called the brecking of the malignants' teith, and that he quho was to speake after him, (viz. Warriston) wolde brecke ther jawes." Argyle found the teeth to be five, which he smashed one by one:—"His first was against the ingagers being statesmen, and intrusted with great places, quho had broken their trust. II. Against the engagers' committeemen, quho by ther tyranny had opprest the subjects. III. Against declared malignants, formerlye fyned in parliament, or remitted, and now agayne relapsed. IV. Against thesse that ver enger promotters of the laitt ingagement with England. V. Against suche as had petitioned for the advancement of the levey." After these were demolished, Johnston commenced his attack on the toothless jaws; he "read a speache two houres in lenthe, off his papers, being ane explanatioune of Argyle's five heads, or teith, as he named them; with the anssuering of such objects he thought the pryme ingagers wolde make in their awen defence against the housse now convened, wich they did not aenouledge to be a lawfull parliament."¹⁹

On the 6th of January, the imminent danger of the king prompted the choosing a committee to act for his safety under instructions. The instructions were fourteen; and the most remarkable and essential, was, that a protest should be taken against any sentence pronounced against the king: "That this kingdome may be free of all the dessolatione, misery, and bloodshed, that incertablie will follow thereupone, without offering in your ressonne, that princes ar eximed from triall of justice."²⁰ This was by no means in opposition to the principles which Johnston had previously professed, but his mind appears to have been finally settled into a deep opposition to all monarchy. Along with Argyle he distinguished himself in opposing the instructions, by a method not honourable to their memory—a proposition that the measure should be delayed for a few days, to permit a fast to be held in the interim. One of the last of his ministerial

getting or covenant, ar grown to such a hight of mischeef and misery, as to make such a rent at home as to disable us to assist or freinds, and prosecute that cause which I am confident God will carrie one and perfyte against all oppositione; and in confidence thereof I shall encourage myselfe, and rejoyce under hope, althoghe I should never sie the end of itt. I beseeche you to haist back this bearer, and let me know with him the condition of affairs in Scotland; how or good freinds are, and how soon we may expect yo^r returne hither, or if I must come to you befoir ye come to us. I referr the marquiss of Argyle and my lord Balmerinoch, and other freinds to you for intelligence, to spair paines and supply the want of leasure; and will say noe more at this tyme, bot that I am your most affectionate and faithfull friend, LORDOUNE."—*Wodrow's MS. Collection*, vol. lxxi. The letter is dated from Worcester house, January 6, 1644.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* An. iii. 204, 248.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 262.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 377.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 381.

acts as lord advocate, was the proclamation of Charles II. on the 5th of February, 1649; and he was on the 10th of March, in the same year, appointed to his long-looked-for post of lord register, in place of Gibson of Durie, superseded by the act of classes. At the battle of Dunbar, in 1650, he was one of the committee of the estates appointed to superintend the military motions of Leslie, and was urgent in pressing the measure which is reputed to have lost the day to the Scots. He was naturally accused of treachery, but the charge has not been supported. "Waristoun," says Burnet, "was too hot, and Lesley was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done;"²¹ and the mistake may be attributed to the obstinacy of those, who, great in the cabinet and conventicle, thought they must be equally great in war.

Warriston was among the few persons who in the committee of estates refused to accede to the treaty of Charles II. at Breda; an act of stubborn consistency, which, joined to others of a like nature, sealed his doom in the royal heart. After the battle of Dunbar, the repeal of the act of classes, which was found necessary as a means of re-constructing the army, again called forth his jaw-breaking powers. He wrote "a most solid letter" on the subject to the meeting held at St Andrews, July 18, 1651, which appears never to have been read, but which has been preserved by the careful Wodrow²² for the benefit of posterity. He wrote several short treatises on "the sinfulness of joining malignants," destroying their jaws in a very considerate and logical manner. One of these is extant, and lays down its aim as follows:

"The first question concerning the sinfulness of the publick resolutions, hath bene handled in a former tractat. The other question remaines, anent y^e sinfulness and unlawfulness of the concurrence of particular persons." The question is proposed in the following terms:—"viz^t. when God's covenanted people intrusts God's covenanted interest to the power of God's anti-covenanted enemies, though upon pretence to fight against ane other anti-covenanted enemy—whether a consciencious covenanter can lawfullie concurre with such a partie in such a cause, or may lawfullie abstane, and rather give testimonie by suffering against both parties and causes, as sinfull and prejudiciall to God's honour and interest. It is presupposed a dutie to oppose the common enemy. The question is anent the meanes of resisting the unjust invader."

"Three things premitted. I. The clearing of terms. II. Some distinctions. III. Some conjunctions handled."²³ The postulates are, perhaps, rather too sweeping for general opinion, but, presuming them to be granted, the reasonings of this lay divine are certainly sufficiently logical within their narrow space, and may have appeared as mathematical demonstrations to those who admitted the deep sin of accepting assistance from opponents in religious opinion. This resistance appears, however, to have been of a negative nature, and not to have extended to the full extremity of the remonstrance of the west; at least when called on for an explanation by the committee of Estates, he declined owning connexion with it: "Warreston did grant that he did see it, was at the voting of it, but refused to give his votte therin. He denyed that he wes accessory to the contriving of it at first."²⁴

After this period he appears to have been for some time sick of the fierce politics in which he had been so long engaged, and to have retired himself into the bosom of a large family. He is accused by a contemporary—of much credit—of peculation, in having accepted sums of money for the disposal of offices under him; and the same person in the same page states the improbable circumstance of his having restored the money so gained, on all the offices

²¹ Burnet, 83.

²² Wodrow's Collection, Ad. Lib. xxxii. 5, 15.

²³ *Ibid*, 16.

²⁴ Balf. An. iv. 169. Scots Worthies, 275.

being abolished by Cromwell, and that he was not affluent, having "conquest no lands but Warriston,"²⁵ of the avail of 1000 merks Scots a-year, where he now lives freed of trouble of state or country."²⁶

He was a member of the committee of protestors, who in 1657, proceeded to London to lay their complaints before the government. Cromwell knew the value of the man he had before him, and persuaded him to try the path of ambition under the new government. Wodrow and others have found it convenient to palliate his departure from the adherence to royalty, as an act for which it was necessary to find apologies in strong calls of interest, and facility of temper. It will, however, almost require a belief in all the mysteries of divine right, to discover why *Warriston* should have adhered to royalty without power, and how the opinions he always professed should have made him prefer a factious support of an absent prince to the service of a powerful leader, his early friend and co-adjutor in opposing hereditary loyalty.

On the 9th of July, 1657, he was re-appointed clerk register, and on the 3rd of November in the same year, he was named as one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland.²⁷ Cromwell created Johnston a peer, and he sat in the protector's upper house, with the title of lord Warriston, occupying a station more brilliant, but not so exalted as those he had previously filled. After the death of Cromwell, Warriston displayed his strong opposition to the return of royalty, by acting as president of the committee of safety under Richard Cromwell. Knowing himself to be marked out for destruction, he fled at the Restoration to France. It is painful, after viewing a life spent with honour and courage, in the highest trusts, to trace this great man's life to an end which casts a blot on the times, and on the human race. He was charged to appear before the Estates; and having been outlawed in the usual form, on the 10th October, 1661, a reward of 5000 merks was offered for his apprehension. By a fiction of law, the most horrible which a weak government ever invented for protection against powerful subjects, but which, it must be acknowledged, was put in force by Warriston and his confederates against Montrose, an act of forfeiture in absence passed against him, and he was condemned to death on the 15th of May, 1661. The principal and avowed articles of accusation against him were, his official prosecution of the royalists, and particularly of Gordon of Newton, his connexion with the Remonstrance, his sitting in parliament as a peer of England, and his accepting office under Cromwell.

It was necessary that the victim of judicial vengeance should be accused of acts which the law knows as crimes; and acts to which the best protectors of Charles the Second's throne were necessary, were urged against this man. For the hidden causes of his prosecution we must however look in his ambition, the influence of his worth and talents, and the unbending consistency of his political principles; causes to which Wodrow has added his too ungracious censure of regal vice.

In the mean time, Johnston had been lurking in Germany and the Low Countries, from which, unfortunately for himself, he proceeded to France. A confidant termed "major Johnston," is supposed to have discovered his retreat; and a spy of the name of Alexander Murray, commonly called "crooked Murray," was employed to hunt him out. This individual, narrowly watching the motions of lady Warriston, discovered his dwelling in Rouen, and with consent of the council of France, he was brought prisoner to England, and lodged in the Tower on the 8th of June, 1663; thence he was brought to Edinburgh, not

²⁵ A small estate so near Edinburgh as to be now encroached upon by its suburbs.

²⁶ Scot of Scotstarvet's Stag. State, 127.

²⁷ Haig and Brunton's Hist. College of Justice, 303.

for the purpose of being tried, but to suffer execution of the sentence passed on him in absence. When presented to parliament to receive sentence, it was apparent that age, hardship, and danger, had done their work effectually on his iron nerves; and the intrepid advocate of the covenant exhibited the mental imbecility of an idiot. His friends accused Dr Bates of having administered to him deleterious drugs, and weakened him by bleeding; an improbable act, which would have only raised unnecessary indignation against those who already had him sufficiently in their power. The apostate Sharpe, and his other enemies, are said to have ridiculed the sick lion; but there were at least a few of his opponents not too hardened to pity the wreck of a great intellect before them.²³

Probably affected by the circumstances of his situation, some of the members showed an anxiety for a little delay; but Lauderdale, who had received imperative instructions regarding him, fiercely opposed the proposition. He was sentenced to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of July, his head being to be severed from his body, and placed beside that of his departed brother in the cause, Guthrie. Of the mournful pageant we extract the following characteristic account from Wodrow:

“The day of his execution, a high gallows or gibbet was set up at the cross, and a scaffold made by it. About two o’clock he was taken from prison; many of his friends attended him in mourning. When he came out, he was full of holy cheerfulness and courage, and as in perfect serenity and composure of mind as ever he was. Upon the scaffold he acknowledged his compliance with the English, and cleared himself of the least share of the king’s death. He read his speech with an audible voice, first at the north side and then at the south side of the scaffold: he prayed next, with the greatest liberty, fervour, and sense of his own unworthiness, frequently using the foresaid expression. After he had taken his leave of his friends, he prayed again in a perfect rapture; being now near the end of that sweet work he had been so much employed about through his life, and felt so much sweetness in. Then the napkin being tied upon his head, he tried how it would fit him, and come down and cover his face, and directed to the method how it should be brought down when he gave the sign. When he was got to the top of the ladder, to which he was helped, because of bodily weakness, he cried with a loud voice, ‘I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scar [be scared] at sufferings for the interests of Christ, or stumble at any thing of this kind falling out in those days; but be encouraged to suffer for him; for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges.’ This he repeated again with great fervour, while the rope was tying about his neck, adding, ‘The Lord hath graciously comforted me.’ Then he asked the executioner if he was ready to do his office, who answering he was, he bid him

²³ One of these was M^r Kenzie, who, with uncharitable and improbable inferences, draws the following graphic picture of the scene:—“He was brought up the street discovered [uncovered]; and being brought into the council house of Edinburgh, where the chancellor and others waited to examine him, he fell upon his face roaring, and with tears entreated they would pity a poor creature who had forgot all that was in his bible. This moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy; and the chancellor, reflecting upon the man’s former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind. At his examination he pretended that he had lost so much blood by the unskillfulness of his chirurgeons, that he lost his memory with his blood; and I really believe that his courage had indeed been drawn out with it. Within a few days he was brought before the parliament, where he discovered nothing but much weakness, running up and down upon his knees begging mercy. But the parliament ordained his former sentence to be put into execution, and accordingly he was executed at the cross of Edinburgh. At his execution he showed more composure than formerly, which his friends ascribed to God’s miraculous kindness for him, but others thought that he had only formerly put on this disguise of madness to escape death in it, and that, finding the mask useless, he had returned, not to his wit, which he had lost, but from his madness, which he had counterfeited.”—*Sir G. M^r Kenzie’s Annals*, 134.

do it, and, crying out, 'O, pray, pray! praise, praise!' was turned over, and died almost without a struggle, with his hands lift up to heaven."²⁹

The same partial hand has thus drawn his character: "My lord Warriston was a man of great learning and eloquence; of very much wisdom, and extraordinary zeal for the public cause of religion and reformation, in which he was a chief actor; but above all, he was extraordinary in piety and devotion, as to which he had scarce any equal in the age he lived in. One who was his intimate acquaintance says, he spent more time, notwithstanding the great throng of public business upon his hand, in prayer, meditation, and close observation of providences, and self-examination, than ever he knew or heard of: and as he was very diligent in making observations on the Lord's way, so he was visited with extraordinary discoveries of the Lord's mind, and very remarkable providences. He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations; an invaluable treasure of Christian experiences and observations; and, as I am told by one who had the happiness to see some part of it, there is mixed in sometimes matters of fact very little known now, which would bring a great deal of light to the history of Scots affairs, in that period wherein he lived."³⁰

But his nephew Burnet, has in his usual characteristic manner, drawn a more happy picture of the stubborn statesman and hardy zealot, too vivid to be neglected: "Warristoun was my own uncle; he was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty-four: he had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought, with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a-day: he would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during these effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, though he had thirteen children; but prosperity was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in public assemblies; and he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients."

JOHNSTON, (DR) ARTHUR, a poet and physician, was born in the year 1587, at Caskieben, the seat of his family, a few miles from Aberdeen. He was the fifth son of George Johnston of that ilk and of Caskieben, the chief of the family of Johnston, by Christian Forbes, daughter of William, seventh baron Forbes. He appears to have been named after his uncle the honourable William Forbes of Logie, who was killed at Paris in the year 1574.¹ This poet, whose chief characteristic was the elegance with which he expressed his own simple feelings as a poet, in the language appropriate to the customs and feelings of a past nation, has left in his *Epigrammata* an address to his native spot; and, although Caskieben is a piece of very ordinary Scottish scenery, it is surprising how much he has made of it, by the mere force of his own early associations. With the minuteness of an enthusiast, he does not omit the circumstance, that the hill of Benochie, a conical elevation about eight miles distant, casts its shadow over Caskieben at the periods of the equinox. As we shall be able, by giving this epigram, to unite a specimen of the happiest original efforts of the author's genius, with circumstances personally connected with his history, we beg leave to extract it:—

²⁹ Wodrow, i. 385.

³⁰ Wodrow, i. 361. Much search has lately been made for this interesting document, but has proved vain.

¹ Johnston's History of the Family of Johnston, 36.

Æmula Thessaliæ en hic Jonstonia Tempe,
Hospes! hyperboreo fusa sub axe vides.
Mille per ambages nitidis argenteus undis,
Hic trepidat latos Urius inter agros.
Explicat hic seras ingens Bennachius umbras,
Nox ubi libratur lance diesque pari.
Gemmiter est annis, radiat mons ipse lapillis,
Quæis nihil Eous purius orbis habet.
Hic pandij natura sinum, nativæque surgens
Purpura felicem sub pede ditat humum.
Aera per liquidum volucres, in flumine pisces,
Adspicis in pratis luxuriare pecus.
Hic seges est, hic poma rubent, onerantur aristas
Arva, suas ægre sustinet arbor opes.
Propter aquas arx est, ipsi contermina cælo,
Auctoris menti non tamen æqua sui.
Imperat hæc arvis et vectigalibus undis,
Et famula stadiis distat ab urbe tribus.
Hæc mihi terra parens: gens has Jonstonia lymphas,
Arvaque per centum missa tuetur avos.
Clara Maronæis evasit Mantua cunis;
Me mea natalis nobilitabit humus.

TRANSLATION.

Here, traveller, a vale behold
 As fair as Tempe, famed of old,
 Beneath the northern sky!
 Here Urie, with her silver waves,
 Her banks, in verdure smiling, laves,
 And winding wimples by.

Here, towering high, Bennachie spreads
 Around on all his evening shades,
 When twilight grey comes on:
 With sparkling gems the river glows;
 As precious stones the mountain shows
 As in the East are known.

Here nature spreads a bosom sweet,
 And native dyes beneath the feet
 Bedeck the joyous ground:
 Sport in the liquid air the birds,
 And fishes in the stream; the herds
 In meadows wanton round.

Here ample barn-yards still are stored
 With relics of last autumn's hoard
 And firstlings of this year;
 There waving fields of yellow corn,
 And ruddy apples, that adorn
 The bending boughs, appear.

Beside the stream, a castle proud
 Rises amid the passing cloud,
 And rules a wide domain,
 (Unequal to its lord's desert:)
 A village near, with lowlier art,
 Is built upon the plain.

Here was I born; o'er all the land
 Around, the Johnstons bear command,
 Of high and ancient line:
 Mantua acquired a noted name
 As Virgil's birthplace; I my fame
 Inherit shall from mine.

In a similar spirit he has left an epigram on the small burgh of Inverury, in the neighbourhood of Caskieben, in which he does not omit the circumstance, that the fuel of the inhabitants (*volgo*, the peats) comes from the land in which he was born. A similar epigram to another neighbouring burgh, the *royal* burgh of Kintore, now holding the rank of a very small village, informs us that at the grammar school of that place he commenced the classical studies, which afterwards acquired for him so much eminence :

“ Hic ego sum memini musarum factus alumnus,
Et tiro didici verba Latina loqui.”

After leaving this humble seat of learning, he is said to have studied at Marshal college in Aberdeen ; a circumstance extremely probable, but which seems to have no other direct foundation than the conjecture of Benson, from the vicinity of his paternal estate to that institution, and his having been afterwards elected rector of the university, an honour generally bestowed on illustrious alumni.²

Johnston, intending to study medicine, a science which it would have been in vain at that period to have attempted in Scotland, proceeded to Rome, and afterwards to Padua, where he seems to have acquired some celebrity for the beauty of his earlier Latin poems, and took the degree of doctor in medicine.³ He afterwards travelled through Germany, Holland, and Denmark, and finally fixed his abode in France. If he remained for a considerable period at Padua, he must have early finished his curriculum of study at Aberdeen, as he is said by Sir Thomas Urquhart, to have been laureated a poet in Paris at the age of twenty-three.

He remained for twenty years in France, a period during which he was twice married, to ladies whose names are unknown, but who bore him thirteen children, to transmit his name to posterity. On his return to Britain about the year 1632, probably at the recommendation of Laud, who was his friend, and had commenced the career of court influence, Johnston was appointed physician to Charles I., a circumstance which must have preceded or immediately followed his arrival, as he styles himself in the first edition of his *Parerga* and *Epigrammata*, published at Aberdeen in 1632, “*Medicus Regius.*” The *Parerga* consists, as its name may designate, of a variety of small pieces of poetry, which cannot be conveniently classed under a more distinct name. A few are satirical, but the lyrical (if they may be said to come correctly under that designation) form the most interesting portion. Johnston seldom indulges in the metaphoric brilliancy which characterized the native writers in the language which he chose to use ; but he has a considerable portion of their elegance, while much of the poetry is founded on association and domestic feeling, of which he has some exquisitely beautiful traits, which would have been extremely pleasing had he used his vernacular tongue. He is said to have wished to imitate Virgil ; but those who have elevated Buchanan to the title of “the Scottish Virgil,” have designated Johnston the “Scottish Ovid ;” a characteristic which may apply to the versification of his *Psalms*, but is far from giving a correct idea of the spirit of his original pieces. It may not be displeasing to the reader who is unacquainted with the works of this neglected author, to give an extract from one of the *Parerga*, addressed to his early friend and school companion Wedder-

² Benson's *Life*, prefixed to Johnston's *Psalms*, vi.

³ “*Quod ex carmine manuscripto in Advocatorum Bibliotheca, Edinburgi servato, intelligimus.*” The circumstance is mentioned in Sir Robert Sibbald's *Bibliographia Scotica*, which though not a “*carmen*,” may be the MS. referred to.

burn,—a piece strikingly depictive of the author's affectionate feelings, and probably detailing the effects of excessive study and anxiety :

“ Cernis ut obrepens mihi, Wedderburne, senecta
 Sparsert indignus per caput omne nives.
 Debile fit corpus, pulsus melioribus annis,
 Nec vigor ingenii, qui fuit ante, mihi est.
 Tempore mutato, mores mutantur et ipsi,
 Nec capior studiis, quæ placuere prius.
 Ante leves risus, et erant jocularia cordi,
 Nunc me morosum, difficilemque vides.
 Prona fit in rixas mens, et proclivis in iras,
 Et senio pejor cura senilis edit.
 His ego, quæ possum, quæro medicamina morbis,
 Et mala, qua fas est, pellere nitor ope.
 Sæpe quod exegi pridem, juvenile revolvo
 Tempus, et in mentem tu mihi sæpe redis.
 Par, memini, cum noster amor se prodidit, ætas,
 Par genius nobis, ingeniumque fuit.
 Unus et ardor erat, Phœbi conscendere collem,
 Inque jugo summo sistere posse pedem,” &c.⁴

Benson mentions, that Johnston was a litigant in the court of session in Edinburgh, at the period of his return to Britain ; and probably the issue of his suit may account for a rather unceremonious attack in the *Parerga*, on advocates and agents, unblushingly addressed “ Ad duos rabulas forenses, Advocatum et Procuratorem,” of whom, without any respect for the college of Justice, the author says,

“ Magna minorque feræ, quarum paris altera lites ;
 Altera dispensas, utraque digna mori,” &c.

On approaching the period when Johnston published his translation of the Psalms of David, we cannot help being struck with the circumstances under which he appears to have formed the design. Dr Englesham had, in the year 1620, published a criticism of considerable length, for the purpose of proving that the public voice had erred in the merit it allowed to Buchanan's version of the Psalms, and modestly displaying a translation of the 104th psalm, of his own workmanship, between which and the psalms of Buchanan he challenged a comparison.⁵ Dr William Barclay penned a critical answer to this challenge,⁶ and Johnston made a fierce stroke at the offender, in a satirical article in the *Parerga*, which he calls “ *Consilium Collegii Medici Parisiensis de Mania Hypermori Medicastri*,” commencing

“ Quæ Buchananæis medicaster crimina musis
 Objicit, et quo se jactat inane melos ;
 Vidimus: et quotquot tractamus Pæonis artes,
 Hic vates, uno diximus ore, furit,” &c.

Johnston, however, did not consider himself incapacitated to perform a work in which another had failed, and he probably, at that period, formed the resolution of writing a version of the psalms, which he afterwards produced, under

⁴ Mr George Chalmers has stated that Wedderburn was the master of Johnston. Dr Irving aptly considers that the verses we have quoted above disprove the statement.

⁵ *Eglisemii certamen cum Georgio Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ. London, 1620.*

⁶ *Barclaii Judicium de certamine Eglisemii cum Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*

the auspices, and with the advice of his friend Laud, which he published at London and Aberdeen, in 1637. No man ever committed a more imprudent act for his own fame; as he was doomed by the nature of his task, not only to equal, but to excel, one of the greatest poets in the world. His fame was not increased by the proceedings of his eccentric countryman Lauder, who many years afterwards endeavoured with a curious pertinacity to raise the fame of Johnston's version far above that of Buchanan. Mr auditor Benson, a man better known for his benevolence than his acuteness, was made the trumpet of Johnston's fame. This gentleman published three editions of Johnston's psalms; one of which, printed in 1741, and dedicated to prince George, afterwards George III., is ornamented with a very fine portrait of the poet by Vertue after Jameson, and is amply illustrated with notes. The zealous editor received as his reward from the literary world, a couplet in the *Dunciad*, in which, in allusion to his having procured the erection of the monument to the memory of Milton in Westminster abbey, it is said

“ On two unequal crutches prupt he came,
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name.”

Benson has received much ridicule for the direction of his labours; but if the life of Johnston prefixed to the edition of the psalms is from his pen, it does credit to his erudition. Many controversial pamphlets were the consequence of this attempt,—Mr Love answering Lauder, while Benson had to stand a more steady attack from the critical pen of Ruddiman. It would tire our readers here to trace a controversy which we may have occasion to treat in another place. The zeal of these individuals has not furthered the fame of Johnston: and, indeed, the height to which they attempted to raise his merit, has naturally rendered the world blind to its real extent. It cannot be said that the version of Buchanan is so eminently superior as to exclude all comparison; and, indeed, we believe the schools in Holland give Johnston the preference, with almost as much decision, as we grant it to Buchanan. The merit of the two, is, indeed, of a different sort, and we can fortunately allow that each is excellent, without bringing them to a too minute comparison. Johnston has been universally allowed to have been the more accurate translator, and few exceptions can be found to the purity of his language, while he certainly has not displayed either the richness, or the majesty of Buchanan. Johnston is considered as having been unfortunate in his method: while Buchanan has luxuriated in an amazing variety of measure, *he* has adhered to the elegiac couplet of hexameter and pentameter, excepting in the 119th psalm, in which he has indulged in all the varieties of lyrical arrangement which the Latin language admits: an inapt choice, as Hebrew scholars pronounce that psalm to be the most prosaic of the sacred poems.⁷

⁷ An esteemed correspondent supplies us with the following note:—“ It may be enough to prove the elegance and accuracy of Arthur Johnston's Latinity, to say, that his version of the 104th psalm has frequently been compared with that of Buchanan, and that scholars are not unanimous in adjudging it to be inferior. As an original poet, he does not aspire to the same high companionship, though his compositions are pleasing, and not without spirit. One curious particular concerning these two authors has been remarked by Dr Johnson, from which, it would appear, that modern literature owed to the more distinguished of them a device very convenient for those whose powers of description were limited. When a rhymist protested his mistress resembled Venus, he, in fact, acknowledged his own incapacity to celebrate her charms, and gave instead a sort of catchword, by means of which, referring back to the ancients, a general idea of female perfections might be obtained. This conventional language was introduced by Buchanan; ‘ who,’ says the critic just named, ‘ was the first who complimented a lady, by ascribing to her the different perfections of the heathen goddesses; but Johnston,’ he adds, ‘ improved upon this, by making his mistress at the same time, free from their defects!’ ”

A writer in the Scots Magazine for the year 1741, has noticed one excellence in the psalms of Dr Johnston, distinct from those which have been so amply heaped on him by Lauder; and as we agree with the author in his opinion of the quality, we shall quote his words: "There is one perfection in the doctor's version, which is not sufficiently illustrated; and that is, the admirable talent he has of expressing things which are peculiar to the sacred writings, and never to be met with in classic authors, in the most pure and elegant Latin. This the reader will perceive if he looks into the 83rd and 108th psalms: and still more so upon perusing the Te Deum and the apostles' creed. 'To thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein; To thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.'" ⁵

" Grex sacer auratis qui pervolat æthera pennis
Imperio nutuque tuo; supremaque mundi
Templa, tua cœlata manu; cœlique potestas
Omnis; et igne micans acies; et lucidus ordo,
Agminis aligeri principes, tibi, maxime rerum," &c.

How poetically are the angels described by

Grex sacer auratis qui pervolat æthera pennis.

And in like manner the cherubim and seraphim, who are mentioned with the powers of heaven,⁶

" Cœlique potestas," &c.

A late writer, considerably versed in classical and biblical criticism—Mr Tenant—whose opinion coincides to a certain extent with that which we have just quoted, finds, that even after the luxuriant fervidness of Buchanan, there is much to admire in the calm tastefulness and religious feeling of Johnston, and that the work of the latter is not only a more faithful translation, but given in a manner better suited (in his opinion,) to the strains of the holy minstrel, than that followed by the fiery genius of Buchanan, when restricted to translation. "He is not," remarks this author, "tempted like Buchanan, by his luxuriance of phraseology, and by the necessity of filling up, by some means or other, metrical stanzas of prescribed and inexorable length, to expatiate from the psalmist's simplicity, and weaken, by circumlocution, what he must needs beat out and expand. His diction is, therefore, more firm and nervous, and, though not absolutely Hebrew, makes a nearer approach to the unadorned energy of Jewry. Accordingly, all the sublime passages are read with more touching effect in his, than in Buchanan's translation: he has many beautiful and even powerful lines, such as can scarce be matched by his more popular competitor; the style of Johnston possessing somewhat of Ovidian ease, accompanied with strength and simplicity, while the tragic pomp and worldly parade of Seneca and Prudentius are more affected by Buchanan."⁷

Let us conclude this subject with remarking the peculiar circumstance, that while Scotland has produced two Latin versions of the psalms, rivals in excellence, the talent of the whole nation has been unable to produce any English version which can be considered as their equal in point of versification. In 1641, Johnston died at Oxford, where he had gone on a visit to a daughter married to a divine of the church of England. Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote *Musæ Aulicæ*, addressed to his eminent contemporaries, translated Solomon's Song, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and edited the *Delitiæ Poetarum*

⁵ Scot. Mag. iii. 255.

⁷ Ed. Lit. Journal, iii. 289.

Scotorum, in which he introduced not a few of his own productions. His works were published at Middleburg, in 1642, by his friend Scott of Scotstarvet. The present representatives of his family are, Sir William Johnston of Hilton, in Aberdeenshire, and Mr Johnston of Viewfield in the same county.

The brother of the poet was a man of some local celebrity; he was Dr William Johnston, professor of mathematics in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. "He was," says Wodrow, "ane learned and experienced physitian. He wrote on the mathematics. His skill in the Latin was truly Ciceronian."¹⁰

JOHNSTONE, JAMES, a physician of some eminence, was born at Annan in the year 1730. He was the fourth son of John Johnstone, Esq. of Galabank, one of the oldest branches of the family of that name. He received the rudiments of his classical education from Dr Henry, the well known author of the History of Great Britain. The science of medicine he studied first in Edinburgh and afterwards in Paris; and such was his progress in these studies, that he took the degree of doctor of medicine before he had completed his twenty-first year. On this occasion he published a thesis, "De Aeris Factitii Imperio in Corpore Humano," which discovered an ability that procured him many valuable friends. On completing his education, Dr Johnstone commenced practice at Kidderminster, in Worcestershire, where he quickly acquired a great degree of celebrity by the successful manner in which he treated a peculiar epidemic, called, from its remarkable virulence in that locality, the Kidderminster fever. Of this fever, and his mode of treating it, he published an account in 1758, an exceedingly important treatise, from the circumstance of its pointing out the power of minerals and vapours to correct or destroy putrid febrile contagion. This discovery, now so frequently and successfully employed in arresting the progress of infection, and in purifying infected places, though since claimed by others, belongs beyond all doubt to Dr Johnstone; who pointed out also the simple process by which it was to be effected—viz, by pouring a little vitriolic acid on common salt.

Dr Johnstone was well known in the learned world by several interesting publications on subjects connected with his profession, and by several important additions which he made to the general stock of medical knowledge. Amongst these was the discovery of a cure for the ganglion of the nerves, and of the lymphatic glands.

From Kidderminster he removed to Worcester, where he continued to practise till within a few days of his death, which happened in 1802, in the seventy-third year of his age. His death was much regretted, and it was then considered that the medical science had by that event lost one of its brightest ornaments. Dr Johnstone acquires no small degree of additional celebrity from his having been the intimate friend of the amiable George Lord Lyttleton, and from his being the author of the affecting account of that nobleman's death, inserted by Dr Johnson in his Lives of the Poets.

In a letter which he addressed to the editor of Doddridge's Letters, he says— "Lord Bacon reckons it a great deficiency in biography that it is for the most part confined to the actions of kings and princes, and a few persons of high rank, while the memory of men distinguished for worth and goodness in the lower ranks of life has been only preserved by tradition." The latter character was Dr Johnstone's, and the deficiency would indeed have been great had his name been omitted in the list of those who have deserved well of their country and of posterity. His general character and conduct are spoken of in terms of high admiration by all his contemporaries and biographers; and the serenity of his death, the cheerful and resigned spirit in which he contemplated and awaited

¹⁰ Catalogues of Scottish Writers, published by Mr Maidment, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 114.

that event, is made a conspicuous feature in the history of his useful but unobtrusive life.

His celebrity as a medical practitioner was very great, and his professional skill was fortunately associated with a singular degree of kindness and amenity of manner—qualities to which the Rev. Job Orton, a man himself celebrated for piety and talent, thus bears testimony: "I left Shrewsbury and came to Kidderminster, that I might have the advice of a very able and skilful physician, Dr Johnstone, who hath always proved himself a faithful and tender friend, to whose care as a physician I, under God, owe my life, and to whose friendship I am indebted for some of the greatest comforts of it."

Several of Dr Johnstone's physiological inquiries were published in the Philosophical Transactions, and are to be found in the 54th, 57th, and 60th volumes of that work. They were afterwards enlarged and printed separately.

JOHNSTON, JOHN, a Latin poet and classical scholar of considerable eminence in the earlier part of the 17th century. Though this individual is one of the ornaments of a very distinguished age of Scottish literature, the date of his birth is not accurately ascertained, but it must have been previous to the year 1570, as in 1587 he began to be known to the world. He styles himself "Abredonensis;" and as he was a member of the house of Crimond, he was probably born at the family seat near Aberdeen. Dr M'Crie, whose minute labours have thrown so much light on the literary history of this period, has, among other facts connected with Johnston, (which we shall here carefully recapitulate,) discovered the name of his master, from the last will of the poet, in which he affectionately leaves to that individual his white cup with the silver foot.¹ The same instrument appoints, as one of his executors, "Mr Robert Johnston of Creimond," probably his brother, a person who appears to have been in 1635 elected provost of Aberdeen.² Johnston studied at King's college in Aberdeen, whence, after the usual custom of the age, he made a studious peregrination among the continental universities, which he continued during a period of eight years. In 1587, we find him at the university of Helmstadt, whence he transmitted a manuscript copy of Buchanan's Sphæra, to be re-edited by Pincier, along with two epigrams of his own.³ In 1587, he was at the university of Rostock, where he enjoyed the intimacy and correspondence of the elegantly learned but fanciful Justus Lipsius. An epistle from this veteran in classical criticism to his younger associate, is preserved in the published correspondence of the former, and may interest from the paternal kindness of its spirit, and the acknowledgment it displays of the promising genius of the young Scottish poet.

"You love me, my dear Johnston, and you praise my constancy. I heartily second the former statement, but as to the latter, I am afraid I must receive it with some diffidence, for I fear I have not achieved the praiseworthy excellence in that quality which your affectionate feelings have chosen to assign to me. I am, however, not a little flattered by the circumstance that David Chytræus (by the way, who is that man?) is, as you say, of the same opinion with yourself in this matter, whether by mistake or otherwise. Whatever may be in this, I love—indeed I do—that constancy which has secured me so many friends; in the number of which, my dear Johnston, I not only ask, but command you to consider yourself as henceforth enrolled. Should God again grant to me to stand on and behold the soil of Germany, (and such an event may perhaps happen

¹ Item—I leave to Mr Robert Merser, Person of Banquhorie, (Banchorie, near Aberdeen,) my auld kynd maister, in token of my thankful dewtie, my quhyt cope with the silver fit."—*M'Crie's Melville*, i. 351.

² History of the Family of Johnston, 29.

³ *M'Crie's Melville*, i. 331.

sooner than we wish, as matters are now moving,) I shall see thee, and we shall shake hands as a token of truth and affection. For your verses I return you thanks, which shall be doubly increased, if you will frequently favour me with your letters, in which I perceive evident marks of your wonted elegance and erudition.—*Leyden, the 20th March, 1588.*"

Johnston appears to have early embraced the doctrines of the presbyterian church of Scotland, and to have retained them with the characteristic firmness of the body. He was the intimate friend of its accomplished supporter Andrew Melville, whose influence probably procured him the appointment to the professorship of divinity in the new college of St Andrews, as successor to John Robertson,—an advancement which he obtained previously to the year 1594, as he is discovered, under the term "maister in the new college," to have been elected one of the elders of St Andrews, on the 28th November, 1593. Johnston was a useful assistant to his illustrious friend, in the opposition to the harassing efforts of king James to introduce episcopacy. He must have been included in the interdict of the visitation of the university commission, by which the professors of theology and philosophy, not being pastors of the church, were prohibited from sitting in church courts, except through an election regulated by the council of the visitation: and in the General Assembly which met at Dundee in 1595, whither both had resorted to oppose the too great tenderness of James for the church, in proposing to admit its representation in parliament, Melville and Johnston were charged to quit the city, with the usual formality of the pain of rebellion in case of refusal. In 1603, these friends again appear acting in concert, in a correspondence with Du Plessis, on the subject of the synod of Gap in France having censured certain peculiar opinions on the doctrine of justification. "They did not presume to judge of the justice of the synod of Gap, but begged leave to express their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that a farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them that both parties held the protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They, therefore, in the name of their brethren, entreated Du Plessis to employ the authority which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity had given him in the Gallican church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy." Without inquiring into the minutia of the controversy, the knowledge that it was a theological one is sufficient to make us appreciate the advice as exceedingly sound; and we have the satisfaction to know, as a rare instance, that it produced the desired effect. During the previous year Johnston had published at Amsterdam his first complete poetical

"Joanni Johnstono, Scoto.

"Quod et me amas, et constantiam meam laudas, mi Jonstone: alterum valde amplector et approbo, alterum timide, quia scio reipsa non attingere me culmen hoc laudis, in quo collocat me tuus affectus. Etsi tamen nonnihil blanditur, quod David Chytraeus (quis ille vir!) pariter tecum, ut ais, sive iudicat, sive errat. Quidquid hujus est, amo, jam amo constantiam meam que tam multos mihi conciliat amicos. In quo numero ut fidenter te deinceps censeas, mi Jonstone, jubeo, non solum rogo. Quod si Deus mihi tangere et videre Germaniæ solum iterum dederit (fiet fortasse voto citius, ut res hic fluunt) te videbo, et dexteram jungam, tesseram fidei et amoris. De carmine gratiam tibi habeo, magis inagisque habiturus, si crebro me epistolis tuis salutaveris, in quibus notas claras video elegantię præcæ et doctrine. Lugd. Batav., xi Kalend., April. 1588."—*Lipsii Opera*, ii. 29. *Letter xxxviii.*

David Chytraeus, whom Lipsius singularly does not appear to have known, was a man of much eminence; he was professor of divinity at Rostock, and died pretty much advanced in years about the year 1600. He wrote several works, among which his continuation of Albert Crantz's History of the Saxons and Vandals, and his "Histoire De la Confession d'Auxbourg," were published previously to the date of this epistle. Lipsius had every reason to be modest on the subject of his "constancy."

² M'Crie's Melville, ii. 101.

work, entitled "*Inscriptiones Historiæ Regum Scotorum, continuata annorum serie a Fergusio I. ad Jacobum VI. Præfixus est Cathelus, sive de gentis origine, Fragmentum Andree Melvini. Additæ sunt icones omnium regum nobilis Familiæ Stuartorum,*" 4to; and in 1603, he published at Leyden, "*Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica Lectissimi,*" 4to. Both these productions have been preserved in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, by the author's relative, Arthur Johnston. The former is a series of epigrammatic addresses to the Scottish monarchs, commencing with Fergus I., and duly passing through the extended list, to the reigning monarch James VI; regarding whom it is worthy of commendatory remark, that the author is more lavish of commendations on the good fortune which Providence had bestowed on him, than on his talents or kingly qualities. The "*Heroes*" is a tissue of similar epigrams, addressed to the heroes who distinguish the reigns of the same line of kings, commencing with Ferchard, the great commander-in-chief of king Reuther. Of course, both works laud the virtues of many men who never drew breath. The merits of Johnston as a poet cannot be said to rise beyond those of the mere epigrammatist: to the classical elegance of his Latinity, we believe few objections can be found, but he displays more of the neatness of illustration, and precise aptness of association, which may be taught, than of the inborn poetic fire; and his works are perhaps more pleasing in the restrictions of a classical tongue, than they might have been had he allowed himself to range in the freedom of his vernacular language. When treating those who never existed, or of whom little is known, the absence of all interest from the subject adds to the coldness of the epigram, and leaves room for the mere conceit to stand alone; but in treating of interesting or remarkable events, Johnston could sometimes be lofty, and strike a chord of feeling. We might instance, as favourable specimens, the epigram to the family of the Frasers, massacred by the Clanranald in 1544, and that to Robert the Bruce. In 1609, Johnston published at Leyden, "*Consolatio Christiana sub Cruce, et Iambi de Felicitate Hominis Deo reconciliati,*" 8vo; in 1611, he published "*Iambi Sacri;*" and in 1612, "*Tetrasticha et Lemmata Sacra—Item Cantica Sacra—Item Icones Regum Judææ et Israelis.*" Lugd. Bat.⁶

Johnston died in the month of October, 1612; the last scene of his life is drawn by James Melville in a letter to his uncle, dated the 25th of November ensuing; of which we cannot avoid giving the terms, as translated by Dr M'Crie. "Your colleague John Johnston closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the lately erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you, for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial, he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books. His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows, and exhausted our tears."⁷

We learn that he had married Catharine Melville of the family of Carrabee—

⁶ Maitland's Catalogues of Scots Writers, 14—Sibbald's Bibliotheca Scottica, MS., 49. There is some difference in the names, as recorded by these two writers, and never having seen the works themselves, we take what appear to be the more correct titles.

⁷ M'Crie's Melville, iii: 281.

but at what period seems not to be known—and he has left behind him epitaphs on her and their two children. It appears that in 1600, he had been solicited to become “second minister” of Haddington. Besides the works already mentioned, there exist, or did exist by him in MS. in the Advocates’ Library, *Περί Στεφανων* sive de coronis Martyrum in Scotia Liber Unus,—*De coronis Martyrum in Anglia Libellus alter*,—and *Peculium Ecclesiæ Scotticane, et alia quedam Poemata*.” He wrote epigrams on the chief towns of Scotland, which have been appropriately inserted in Camden’s *Britannia*; and some of his letters are to be found in the correspondence of that eminent antiquary. Andrew Melville says, “Mr Johne Davidsone left sum nots behind of our tyme, and so did Mr Johne Johnstoun:” what has become of these we know not.

JOHNSTON, ROBERT, an historian, existed in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The works of this individual are well known, but he has not achieved personal eminence; and we neither know when he was born, nor the station which he occupied in life. At Amsterdam was printed in 1655, his “*Historia Rerum Britannicarum, ut et multarum Gallicarum, Belgicarum, et Germanicarum, tam politicarum, quam ecclesiasticarum, ab anno 1572, ad 1628.*”

This work was intended as a continuation of Buchanan; and bishop Nicholson, no bestower of heedless praise, appears to think that it nearly equals in style the work which it imitated.¹ The late lord Woodhouselee, a less scrupulous critic where a Scotsman was concerned, calls it “A work of great merit, whether we consider the judicious structure of the narrative, the sagacity of the reflections, the acute discernment of characters, or the classical tincture of the style. In those passages of his history,” says this writer, “where there is room for a display of eloquence, he is often singularly happy in touching those characteristic circumstances which present the picture strongly to the mind of the reader, without a vain parade of words, or artificial refinement of sentiment. We may cite as an example, his description of the death of Mary, queen of Scots, lib. iv. *sub anno*, 1586: and the circumstances attending the death of Essex, with the author’s reflections on that event, lib. ix. *sub anno*, 1641.” The same author farther mentions that Robert Johnston was one of the executors of George Heriot, the founder of the hospital.² Johnston, besides this extensive work, wrote “*The History of Scotland during the minority of James VI.*,” published at London in 1646. Wodrow mentions an “*Epitome Historiæ Rerum Britannicarum*,” published, according to his account, in 12mo, in 1642, some time previously to the appearance of the larger work.³ Sir Robert Sibbald seems to find nothing more remarkable to tell us about Johnston, than that he was on intimate terms with Bruce, baron of Kinloss. “*Robertus Jonstonus baroni Killosensi Brusio dum viveret, charus: vir varie lectionis, egregiæ eruditionis, limati judicii.*” He mentions that Johnston is *said* to have died in 1630, and gives us an epigram on his history from the pen of Joannes Owen.⁴ There is in the Advocates’ Library a ponderous manuscript History of Scotland, by a person of the name of Johnston, and generally understood to be at least partly written by the subject of our memoir. The manuscript has belonged to lord Fairfax, and at the commencement is the following note in his handwriting:

“Of the gift of Mr David Johnston, burges of Edinburgh, itt beinge the labour of his late father and grandfather, (the first draught.) A transcript

¹ Nicholson’s Scottish Historical Library, 121.

² Tytler’s *Kames*, i. Ap. i.

³ Wodrow’s *Catalogues of Scottish Writers*, 14.

⁴ Sibbaldi *Biblioth. Scot. MS.*, 221.

whereof he reserves to himself, (but is not all printed,) nor is ther any copy therof, but onlye this, beinge for the most part a translation of Bucquhanan, but with very many additions not thought fit to publish. FAIRFAX.—20th October, 1655."

JONES, PAUL, (originally John Paul,) a nautical genius of no ordinary character and endowments, was born at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, and stewardry of Kirkcudbright, in the month of July, 1747. He was the reputed son of John Paul, who acted as gardener to Mr Craik of Arbigland, by his wife, who had been cook to the same gentleman. It was generally believed, however, that Mr Craik was the real father of this extraordinary adventurer. The education of Paul Jones—to use the name which he assumed in after life—was in no respect different from that usually given in Scotland to boys of his rank; and it is not recorded that he showed any symptoms, while at school, of that capacity by which he was undoubtedly distinguished in advanced life. From his earliest years he manifested a decided predilection for a seafaring life, and at the age of twelve, was apprenticed as a mariner to a Mr Young, a respectable merchant in Whitehaven, whence he made his first voyage in 1760, in the ship *Friendship* of that port, under the care of a captain Benson, for the Rappahannoc, Virginia. Living on the shore of the Solway, all the amusements and ideas of young Paul seem to have been from his very cradle maritime. While yet a mere child he hoisted his mimic flag, rendezvoused his tiny fleet, and gave forth his orders to his imaginary captains, with all the consequence of a veteran commander. The town of Dumfries was at this period deeply engaged in American trade, particularly in importing tobacco, and the Nith being too shallow to float the larger vessels up to the town, their cargoes were discharged at Carse-thorn, on the Galloway coast, where the subject of this memoir was a daily observer of their operations, and not unfrequently ventured to challenge the modes of procedure followed by experienced seamen. Here, too, he had early and abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the colonists engaged in that traffic, whose bold and liberal sentiments seem, at a very early period of his life, to have made the New World, as he afterwards expressed himself, "the country of his fond election." These early impressions were doubtless aided by the circumstance of an elder brother having settled there, and being in the full enjoyment of the peace and the plenty with which, so long as the states were submissive colonies of Great Britain, it was universally admitted the inhabitants were generally blessed. With this brother he made his abode during the time his ship was in the Rappahannoc on his first voyage, and most probably on his subsequent voyages; which could not fail in some degree to have attached him to the country, though he had been devoid of any prepossessions in its favour. The early indications of genius, which we have noticed above, were fully supported in his new station. His singular intelligence and propriety of conduct excited the wonder, and, in some degree, the respect of his ship-mates, at the same time that they gained him the esteem and the confidence of his employer, who promised to give him the proof of his approbation by appointing him to the command of one of his ships. Unfortunately for both parties, untoward circumstances prevented the master from having it in his power to pay this substantial tribute of respect to the merits of his faithful apprentice, whose time having expired, he entered to the command of a slave ship, and made several voyages to the coast of Africa in prosecution of that disgraceful traffic. How long he continued in this trade his biographers have not told us; but to his honour they have stated that he felt disgusted with the employment, and at length "confined his services to the command of vessels engaged in a more reputable and legitimate commerce." In the year 1773, the death of his brother in Virginia, without

having left any children, called him over to that country to look after the settlement of his affairs, on which occasion, all his transatlantic predilections being revived, he resolved to withdraw from the dangers and the vicissitudes of a seafaring life, to settle in the colony, and to devote the remainder of his days to the peaceful pursuits of rural industry and philosophic retirement.

There is nothing more curious in the history of the human mind than that satiety and languor which so frequently come over the most active spirits. Cowley often had thoughts of burying himself in the woods of America, where he fancied he would be happy, in seclusion from all intercourse with the busy and bustling portions of society: Cromwell, with all his unconquerable daring and unquenchable activity—and Hamden, one of the brightest, the boldest, and the most disinterested spirits that have adorned any age or country, despairing of the state of political affairs in their native land, sought to escape their uneasy sensations, and to secure religious peace and happiness, by the same expedient. Akin, perhaps, to these cases was that of Paul Jones, whose mind seems from the first to have been replete with lofty aspirations, fitting him for greatness, while his connexions in his own country were of a nature to prevent his ever gratifying them. We can easily conceive this bold and enthusiastic man sensible of the superiority of his powers above those of most other men, but fretting at the cold obstructions which were put before him, by the rules and habits of society in his own country, and also perhaps at the notoriety of his ignoble origin; and therefore preferring to lose himself in an American forest, where, if he did not gain any distinction, he would not at least be esteemed as lower than his personal merit warranted. Had the colonies been in a state of tranquillity, Jones would probably have spent the remainder of his days as a simple colonist, or perhaps gone back to sea, to escape the monotony of a life but little suited to his faculties. The country, however, was now in a state of high effervescence, which was every day increasing, and which called forth the energies, such as they were, of every individual among them, either on the one side or the other. Great dissatisfaction had for a long period been prevalent respecting the measures of the British government in reference to the colonies, and in the speculations of the colonists with regard to the steps necessary to be taken for counteracting these measures, Jones found the tedium of his retirement wonderfully relieved. Open resistance was no sooner proposed, than he found that he had mistaken the natural bent of his genius, which was much more turned towards action than solitary speculation; and when Congress, in the close of the year 1775, began to equip a naval force to assist in asserting American independence, he stepped boldly forward to offer his service. He was at once appointed to be first lieutenant aboard the *Alfred*, one of the only two ships belonging to the Congress; and in that capacity hoisted with his own hands for the first time the flag of independent America. In the course of a few months, by his activity and success, he gained the entire confidence of the marine committee, and from the hands of the president received a captain's commission. In the end of the year 1777, he was sent to France, in command of the *Ranger*, a new sloop of war, with despatches containing an account of the victory obtained by the colonists at Saratoga. As a reward for the important services he had already rendered to the Americans, it was ordered that he should be promoted to the command of the *Indian*, a fine frigate built for the Congress at Amsterdam, the *Ranger*, at the same time, acting under his orders; but the American commissioners at Paris, from motives of policy, assigned the *Indian* over to the king of France. Captain Jones, of course, remained in command of the *Ranger*, with which he convoyed a fleet of merchant-men to Quiberon Bay, and there, from the French commandant, received the first salute that had ever been given

to the American flag. Highly indignant at the resolution taken by the British government, to treat every colonist who supported Congress in their aims at independence as traitors, and envious of the exploits of some British seamen on the American coast, Jones soon after entered the Irish channel, and on the night of the 22nd of April came to anchor in the Solway firth, almost in sight of the trees which sheltered his native cottage. The place must have awakened many strange associations; but they were of no friendly import. With thirty-one volunteers, he sailed in two row boats for the English side of the firth, with intent to burn the shipping (upwards of two hundred sail) in the harbour of Whitehaven. This bold and hazardous project he had certainly executed, if the receding tide had not retarded his progress so much, that the day began to dawn before he reached the shore; as it was, he could scarcely have failed had he been seconded by his followers. The smaller of the boats he sent to the north of the port, to set fire to the ships, whilst he himself passed southwards to secure the fort. The morning was cold, and the sentinels, suspecting nothing less than the approach of an enemy, were in the guard-room; a circumstance of which Jones knew well how to take advantage. Climbing up by the shoulders of one of his men, he crept through one of the embrasures, and was promptly followed by all his company. Making fast the door of the guard-room, he spiked every gun on the fort, thirty-six in number, and, without having hurt a single individual, proceeded to join the party who had it in charge to burn the ships. A false alarm had deterred this party from executing their orders. Jones, however, proceeded to fire the ships within his reach; but the inhabitants were by this time alarmed, and hastening to the protection of the port; and he was compelled with his small party to retreat, after having set fire to three ships, one of which only was totally destroyed. This achievement cannot be denied the praise of singular daring; yet there is something so unnatural in making war upon one's native land, and especially one's native city, improving all the knowledge and the associations of early years for the purposes of destruction, that every generous mind revolts at the idea, and cannot award the praise which, it may be admitted, would otherwise be due to the undertaking. But this attempt was only the first exploit which signalized the 22nd of April. Early in the forenoon, he landed with a part of his crew at St Mary's Isle, on the Galloway coast, the beautiful residence of the earl of Selkirk, whom he hoped to have surprised, and carried off a prisoner to America, that he might serve as a hostage for the security of such of the colonists as should fall into the hands of the British. Happily for his lordship, he was not at home, and Jones, as he approached the house, and learned that there were only ladies within it, wished to return to his ship without farther procedure; but his followers had no such exalted ideas. In venturing upon an undertaking so hazardous, they were influenced by the hope of plunder, which, being now in view, they refused to relinquish. He succeeded, however, so far, that they agreed to offer no violence to any one, that they should not enter the house, and that the officers, having made their demand, should accept of what might be put into their hands without further inquiry. These stipulations were punctually fulfilled; but the inmates of the house were not aware of them, and, terrified for their lives, were glad to redeem them by delivering up the whole family plate, which was carried off in triumph by the sailors, who neither understood nor cared for the discredit, which it brought upon their intrepid commander and the cause they served. The circumstance was, as he probably foresaw, improved with great effect to his disadvantage. To heighten the odium of the affair, it was industriously but most falsely given out that the father of Jones had been gardener to the earl of Selkirk, and that it was from this circumstance he had learned all the localities of the estate, which

enabled him to commit the robbery without danger either to himself or his marauding crew. Not one of Jones's relations had ever been in the service of lord Selkirk; and he showed that he had a spirit far above the meanness imputed to him, by buying the whole of the articles from the captors, who claimed them as their right by the usages of war, and, at a subsequent period, restoring them, in their original packages, to the noble owner. In a correspondence which was carried on between Jones and lady Selkirk relative to the affair, her ladyship most gratefully acknowledged the generosity and the integrity of his character.

But these exploits on shore did not exhaust the good fortune of Jones. The very next day, in the bay of Carrick Fergus, he fell in with the Drake, a king's ship of twenty guns, and after a desperate resistance, in which the English captain and his first lieutenant were both killed, made her his prize, with which, and another large ship, he returned to Brest, after an absence of twenty-eight days. In this short period, besides destroying a number of valuable ships, he had thrown the coasts both of Scotland and Ireland into the deepest consternation. This cruise, short as it was, occasioned the British government immense sums of money for the fortification of harbours, and it was the ostensible cause of embodying the Irish volunteers, a measure of which we have yet felt only a few of the consequences.

Notwithstanding the brilliant success that had attended his exertions, Jones was now subjected to no small degree of mortification. As a token of good-will to the United States, the French ministry had promised to furnish him with a ship, aboard of which he was to hoist the American flag; but after multiplied applications, and a number of written memorials, the engagement seemed to be forgotten or disregarded. Wearied out with the delays and apologies which he was daily receiving, Jones set out for Paris to make his application to the French ministry in person, in consequence of which he obtained the command of the *Duras*, a ship of forty guns, the name of which, in compliment to a saying of poor Richard, "If you would have your business done, come yourself," he changed to *Le bon homme Richard*. In this vessel, badly manned and poorly furnished, Jones sailed with a little squadron, to which he acted as commodore. This squadron consisted of the *Alliance*, of thirty-six guns, the *Pallas* of thirty-two, the *Serf* of eighteen, the *Vengeance* of twelve, and two privateers, who were promised their share of the prizes that might be made. Having taken a number of prizes, the *Alliance*, the *Serf*, and the privateers deserted him, in order to pursue their own plans singly. The courage and skill of the commodore, however, did not forsake him, and after again alarming the coasts of Ireland, he sailed by the North Sea round to Leith, in the roads of which he appeared with his own ship, the *Richard*, accompanied by the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*, in the month of September, evidently determined to seize upon the guard ship and two cutters that lay in the roads, and to lay Leith and perhaps the city of Edinburgh under contribution. The wind, however, which was fair when he made his appearance, shifted during the night, and the next day he continued working up the firth with great labour and slow progress. While he was thus employed, a boat from the shore, sent out by an official character, who mistook his ships for British, informed Jones that he was greatly afraid of a visit from that desperate buccaneer Paul Jones, and begging that he would send him some powder and shot. Highly amused with his mistake, the good-humoured republican sent him a barrel of gunpowder, with a civil answer to quiet his fears, and a modest apology for not including shot in the present he had sent him. In the mean time he relaxed nothing in his exertions to come at the ships of war in the roads, and other two tacks would have laid him along-

side of them, when a sudden gale of wind sweeping down the frith sunk one of his prizes, and carried his squadron irresistibly out to sea. The captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* were so much dejected at this accident, that they could not be prevailed upon to renew the attempt. His little squadron shortly after fell in with the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, under convoy of his majesty's ships the *Scrapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*. A desperate engagement ensued, in which Jones displayed the most consummate skill, dauntless intrepidity, and perfect presence of mind. The battle was obstinately contested; but the *Countess of Scarborough* was at last obliged to strike to the *Pallas*, and the *Scrapis* to the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was so shattered in the action, that next morning, after all hands had left her, she went to the bottom. Though the *Scrapis* was nearly in the same condition, Jones hoisted his flag aboard of her, and under jury masts, with some difficulty, steered her along with his other prizes into the *Texel*. He now used all his influence with the French court to have his prisoners exchanged against American prisoners in England, in which he had the pleasure of succeeding to the utmost of his wishes, receiving, in a short time after, a letter from Benjamin Franklin, the American minister at Paris, which informed him, "that he (Franklin) had just completed the noble work, which he (Jones) had so nobly begun, by giving liberty to all the Americans that then languished in England." The French ambassador at the Hague was at the same time ordered to communicate to commodore Jones, the high sense which his majesty, the king of France, entertained of his merits, and the personal esteem he bore for his character, and, especially, for his disinterested humanity.

Jones now took the command of the *Aliance*, the captain of which had been summoned to Paris to answer for his insubordination, in deserting the commodore on the coast of Ireland; but his situation was now perilous in the extreme. Summoned to deliver him up to the vengeance of the English government as a pirate and a rebel, the Dutch were constrained to order him out to sea, where an English squadron was watching to intercept him. From this dilemma he could have been saved by accepting of a commission from the king of France, whose ambassador earnestly pressed him to adopt that alternative; but he thought himself bound in honour to decline the offer, and determined, at whatever hazard, to abide by and support the flag of the country which he had, upon the maturest reflection, adopted. "Fortune favours the brave" is a maxim we see every day exemplified. Jones weighed anchor and escaped through the straits of Dover, almost under the eyes of the English men-of-war, all of which had strict orders to secure him, and were, besides, inflamed against him in a high degree from the repeated defeats that British ships had sustained at his hands.

Towards the close of the year 1780, he sailed with important despatches for America in the ship *Ariel*, and by the way meeting an English ship of twenty guns, engaged her, and with his usual gallantry made her his prize. The king of France had, previously to this, testified his approbation of Jones's services, by presenting him with a superb gold-hilted sword; and a letter from the French minister, M. de Sartine, was now transmitted to the president of the United States, requesting liberty "to decorate that brave officer with the cross of the order of military merit." The letter was laid before Congress, and, a law acceding to the proposal being passed on the 27th of February, he was formally invested by the chevalier de la Luzerne, at a public fete given to the members of that body. Congress, in the month of April following, on the report of a committee, passed a vote of thanks to the chevalier John Paul Jones, "for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he had sustained the honour of the American flag, for his bold and successful enterprizes to redeem

from captivity those citizens of America who had fallen under the power of the enemy, and in general for the good conduct and eminent services by which he had added lustre to his character and to the arms of America." No farther opportunity for distinguishing himself occurred during the war; but, after its conclusion, Congress, as an expression of gratitude, had a gold medal struck with appropriate devices to perpetuate the memory of his valour, and the singular services he had performed for the States.

In the year 1787, the chevalier Jones, being charged with a mission to the court of Denmark, sailed for that country in the month of November, and passing through Paris on his way, he was strongly solicited by the agents of Russia to take the command of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. This he declined, but he was scarce arrived at Copenhagen, when the empress Catharine, sent him, by a special messenger, an urgent invitation to visit St Petersburg. After what he had performed, it would have been strange if the chevalier Jones had not felt some reluctance to enter into the service of Russia, where every maxim by which he had been guided during his exertions for liberty behoved to be reversed, and where, instead of being directed by the united voice of an intelligent people, he must regulate his conduct by the single will of a despot. It is one of the greatest evils of despotism, that the despot, once established, has the means of corrupting and enslaving even the most generous minds. The chevalier Jones saw many reasons for declining to enter into the service of Catharine; but, flattered by her attention and kind offers, he thought he could not do less than to wait upon and thank her in person for her friendly intentions. For this purpose he set out instantly from Copenhagen, by the way of Sweden, but at Gushelham found the gulf of Bothnia blocked up by the ice. After making several unsuccessful attempts to reach Finland by the islands, he conceived a plan for effecting his progress by doubling the ice to the southward. With this view he sailed from Gushelham in a boat thirty feet long, followed by a smaller one that might be hauled over the ice, but told none of those who accompanied him what were his intentions. Having set out early in the morning, he had by the evening got nearly opposite Stockholm, when, instead of landing as the boatmen expected, he drew out a pair of pistols and ordered them to proceed in the direction he had previously determined upon. Resistance with a man of the chevalier's character was probably judged by the simple boatmen to be in vain; and following his orders, with a fair wind they expected to reach the coast of Finland by the morning. An impenetrable bar of ice, however, defied all their efforts, nor from the state of the weather was it possible for them to return. Their only resource was to sail for the gulf of Finland, which they did, steering at night by a pocket compass, lighted by the lamp of the chevalier's carriage, and in four days, having lost the smaller of their boats, landed at Revel in Livonia. The chevalier hastened from Revel to St Petersburg, where he met with a most gracious reception, and, unable any longer to hold out against the kind wishes of the empress, entered into her service, without any stipulations but that he should not be at any time condemned without being heard. Invested with the rank of rear-admiral, he proceeded without delay to take the command of a fleet stationed at the Liman or mouth of the Dnieper, destined to oppose the Turkish fleet under the capitan Pacha. He hoisted his flag as commander of this fleet on the 26th of May, 1788, on board the *Vlodimer*, and was supported by a flotilla under the prince of Nassau, and a number of land troops under prince Potemkin. Throughout this campaign, though it produced little that is worthy of the notice of the historian, the chevalier Jones had many opportunities of displaying his professional skill and the singular intrepidity of his character; but mean jealousy and the malignant

caballing of heartless and narrow-minded courtiers, denied him the well-earned praise that was due to his services. He was, however, on his return to St Petersburg, as an acknowledgment of his fidelity, invested with the order of St Anne, and informed, that in a short time he would be called to perform a part in services of much greater importance. He had seen enough of the Russians, however, and disgusted with the sordid selfishness and the low sensuality that reigned in the court of Catharine, took leave of her dominions, in the month of August, 1789. The remainder of his days he spent partly in Holland and partly in France, devoting his leisure hours to the arrangement of his affairs, and to the preparation of papers which might exhibit his character and his services in their true light to posterity. He also made a large collection of important documents relating to the public transactions in which he had been engaged, which will be at some future day, it is to be hoped, given to enrich the history of the important period in which he lived. He was seized with water in the chest, and died at Paris in the month of July, 1792. As the laws relative to the interment of calvinists or heretics were not then abolished in France, application was made to the national assembly, which gave free liberty for his being buried with all public honours, and ordered a deputation of their number to attend, one of whom pronounced an elegant eulogium upon his character over his grave. He left among his papers a copious memoir of his life written with his own hand, which his friends, it has been said, had it in contemplation to publish. We cannot doubt but that its publication would add to the history of that important era many valuable notices, and be hailed by the public as a most valuable contribution to the general stock of literature. From the brief sketch of his life which we have given, the reader will be at no loss to appreciate the character of Paul Jones, which, in his own country, has been misrepresented by prejudice. That he was a naval genius of the first order, his actions abundantly demonstrated. He was the man who first flung upon the winds the flag of the United States; and he graced it by a succession of victories, all of which were relatively of the most splendid character. Unlike the vaunted achievements of single ships belonging to the same nation in the late war, every one of which possessed a vast superiority of men and of metal, Jones accomplished his purposes with means, to all appearance, inadequate to the end, his ships being often half rotten, only half provided in necessaries, and his sailors of the most motley description. In every battle which he fought, superior skill and bravery were the evident sources of victory. Nor can the circumstance which has been so often urged against him, that of turning his arms against his native country, detract, in the smallest degree, from his merit. He was, be it remembered, at the commencement of the war, a regular colonist of America, and was, therefore, no more liable to this charge, than was any other individual out of all the thousands who at first took up arms against Great Britain, and eventually constituted the American republic. Less, however, can be said, for his entering the service of Russia, which was discreditable to his generosity and love of freedom.

K

KAY, JOHN, long well-known in Edinburgh as a miniature-painter and caricaturist, and almost the only artist of the latter kind produced in Scotland, was born in April, 1742, at a place called Gibraltar, near Dalkeith. His father, and an uncle named Norman, were both stone-masons, and he was himself des-

tined to follow the same profession. Having lost his father, however, in his eighth year, this scheme was given up, and he was placed with some relations of his mother in Leith, who, it appears, treated the poor orphan boy with great cruelty—almost to the hazard of his life. He also was oftener than once, while in this situation, in danger of drowning in Leith harbour.

At the age of thirteen, he was placed by his mother with a barber in Dalkeith, whom he served for six years; he then set up in Edinburgh, having first paid about forty pounds to the society of surgeon-barbers for the freedom of the corporation, and soon after married a young woman, by whom he had eleven children, all of whom long predeceased himself. The trade of a barber was then more lucrative, and consequently more dignified than latterly. Kay had good employment in dressing the wigs, and trimming the heads, of a certain number of gentlemen every morning, all of whom paid him a certain annual sum (generally about four guineas,) for his trouble. Among his customers was a fine specimen of the old Jacobite country gentleman, Mr Nisbet of Dirleton, who took a fancy for him, and frequently invited him to the country, to the great injury of his business. Kay had, even in his boyhood, when residing in Leith, manifested a turn for sketching familiar objects, such as horses, dogs, ships, &c., using chalk or coal, and tracing his delineations on such pieces of dead wall as presented a large enough ground. Now and then, in later life, he made some attempts in miniatures and pencil sketches. It may easily be conceived that, finding himself possessed of this talent, and encouraged by a man of rank in developing it, he felt some difficulty in restraining himself to the humble career which destiny seemed to have marked out for him. At Mr Nisbet's country-seat, he for the first time found proper opportunities and proper materials for his favourite study; while any compunctious visitings he might feel as to the danger to which he thus exposed the permanent livelihood of himself and family, were laid to rest by the kindness of his patron, who, in the meantime, sent money to support his domestic establishment in Edinburgh, and promised speedily to obtain for him some permanent provision, which should render him independent of business. Unfortunately, in 1782, Mr Nisbet died, without having executed his kind intention; and Mr Kay was left in somewhat awkward circumstances, having, as it were, fallen to the ground between certainty and hope. The heir, however, so far repaired the omission of his predecessor, as to settle an annuity of twenty pounds upon Kay for life.

He now began effectually to follow out his bent for limning and etching, and, after a few trials, abandoned his trade as a barber. In 1784, he published his first caricature, which represented a half-crazed Jacobite gentleman, named laird Robertson, who was wont to amuse the citizens of Edinburgh by cutting caricatured resemblances of public characters, which he fixed on the head of his stick, and whose figure was perfectly known to all the inhabitants. The portrait, accordingly, excited some attention, and the author was induced to attempt others. The style assumed by Mr Kay was the stippled or dotted style, and nothing could equal the felicity of the likeness. From that time forward, till he was about eighty years of age, this untutored son of genius pursued his vocation, taking off, one after another, the whole of the public and eccentric persons who appeared in the Scottish capital, and occasionally caricaturing any jocular incident that happened to attract attention. To speak of his portraits as caricatures is doing them signal injustice. They were the most exact and faithful likenesses that could have been represented by any mode of art. He drew the man as he walked the street every day: his gait, his costume, every peculiarity of his appearance, done to a point, and no defect perceptible except the stiffness of the figures. Indeed, he may be said to have rather resembled one of the prosopo-

graphuses or apographs of modern times, than a living artist trusting to his eye and hand. Hence, nothing can be more valuable in the way of engraved portraits, than his representations of the distinguished men who adorned Edinburgh in the latter part of the eighteenth century—the Blairs, the Smiths, and the Robertsons. It was only in certain instances that his productions could be considered as caricatures, namely, in those combinations by which he meant to burlesque any ridiculous public transaction : and even here, his likenesses displayed all his usual correctness. During a considerable part of his career, Mr Kay was a professed miniature painter, and executed some specimens which, for delicacy and finish, would surprise such individuals as have only been accustomed to inspect his published etchings. It is said, that his only fault in this capacity, was a rigid and unbending adherence to likeness—a total want of the courtly system practised, in so eminent a degree, by Lawrence and other fashionable painters. Once, it is related, he was “trysted” with an exceedingly ill-looking man, much pimpled, who, to add to the distresses of the artist, came accompanied by a fair nymph to whom he was about to be married. Honest Kay did all he could in favour of this gentleman, so far as omitting the ravages of bacchanalianism would go ; but still he could not satisfy his customer, who earnestly appealed to his innamorata as to the injustice which he conceived to be done to him, and the necessity of improving the likeness, for so he termed the flattery which he conceived to be necessary. Quite tired at length with this literally ugly customer, and greatly incensed, the miniaturist exclaimed, with an execration, that he would “paint every plook in the puppy’s-face : would that please him !” It is needless to remark, that in this, as in other instances, Mr Kay lost by his unbending accuracy of delineation.

During almost the whole of his career as an artist, Mr Kay had a small print-shop in the Parliament Square, the window of which was usually stuck full of his productions. He etched in all nearly nine hundred plates, forming a complete record of the public characters, of every grade and kind, including many distinguished strangers, who made a figure in Edinburgh for nearly half a century. It may be safely affirmed, that no city in the empire can boast of so curious a chronicle. From the first to the last, there is a remarkable similarity in his style. After forty years’ experience, he was just as deficient in grouping, and other acquired gifts in the art, as when he first began to use the graver. It would almost appear as if nature had designed him for that peculiar style alone, in which he so much excelled all other men, and had denied him every common effect of his art, which other men generally attain with ease.

In a profile of himself, executed about the year 1785, Mr Kay appears with a handsome aquiline countenance, of much delicacy and ingenuity of expression. In his latter days, when the writer of this notice first saw him, he was a slender but straight old man, of middle size, and usually dressed in a garb of antique cut ; of simple habits, and quiet, unassuming manners. His head was of a singular structure, presenting a very remarkable protuberance in the forehead, where phrenologists, we believe, place the organs of observation : in Kay, the profile of this feature formed the arc of a perfect circle, beginning under the hair, and terminating at the root of the nose. According to the information of his widow, (a second spouse, whom he married in 1787,) he cared for, and could settle at no employment, except that of etching likenesses. He would suddenly quit his lucrative employment in miniature-drawing, in order to commit some freak of his fancy to copper, from which, perhaps, no profit was to be hoped for. It was the conviction of this lady, that, if he had devoted himself to the more productive art, he would soon have acquired a competency.

Mr Kay died in his house in the High Street of Edinburgh, some time in the

year 1830. His wife survived him till 1835. After her death, the copper-plates of his works were purchased by Mr Hugh Paton, Edinburgh, who republished them in two quarto volumes, with biographical sketches, under the title of "Kay's Edinburgh Portraits." The work forms a collection altogether unique, and possesses great general as well as local interest, even in a generation comparatively unacquainted with the subjects of the prints.

KEILL, JAMES, a physician and philosopher of eminence, the younger brother of the celebrated person whose memoir follows this in alphabetical order, was born in Scotland, on the 27th of March, 1673. He received his early education in Edinburgh, afterwards studying the sciences and languages at Leyden and other continental universities. On his return to Britain, he applied himself assiduously to the acquisition of a knowledge of anatomy, studying the science practically, by constant attendance at the dissecting rooms. Having accustomed himself to deliver his opinions on anatomy privately to his friends, he at last undertook public tuition, and delivered, with considerable applause, lectures on anatomy, at Oxford and Cambridge, by the latter of which universities he was presented with the degree of doctor of medicine. In 1698, he translated from the French, Lemery's Course of Chemistry, and soon after published in the Philosophical Transactions "An account of the death and dissection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been one hundred and thirty years old."¹ To No. 361 of the same journal, he gave "De viribus cordis epistola." In 1708, he published "An account of animal secretion, the quantity of blood in the human body, and muscular motion." On the subject of animal secretion, and the manner in which the fluids of the animal body are separated from the blood, he undertakes to show: 1. How they are formed in the blood before they come to the place appointed for secretion; 2. In what manner they are separated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former head he shows, that the blood consists of a simple fluid, in which swim corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of such particles as the blood consists of, must the fluids be composed, which are drawn from it. This he proceeds to show to be not only possible, but actually so in several secretions. From this principle, that the blood consists of corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with various degrees of attractive power, &c., he attempts to show the force of the air upon the blood, in breathing, in order to demonstrate that by the pressure of the air, the cohesion of the globules of the blood is dissolved. After this, he shows how the union of the attractive particles is hindered near the heart, and that the particles which unite first, after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, must be such as have the strongest attractive force; and that such as have the least, must unite last; and all the intermediate ones according to their respective attractive power."² Besides this work, Keill published "Anatomy of the Human Body," for the use of his pupils, and in 1717, "Essays on several parts of the Human Economy." He appears to have given up public tuition, and some time previously to the publication of his last work, to have established himself as a practising physician at Northampton, where he gained considerable fortune and reputation, and remained till his death, which took place in July 16, 1719, from a cancer in his mouth. He was buried in the church of St Giles, where his brother John, to whom he left his property, erected a handsome monument to his memory.

KEILL, JOHN, an eminent mathematician and natural philosopher, the elder brother of the preceding, was born in Edinburgh, on the 1st of December,

¹ Phil. Trans., xxv. 2, 247.

² Martini's Biographia Philosophica, 460.

1671.¹ He received the rudiments of education in the schools of his native city, and remained at the Edinburgh university until he was enabled to take the degree of master of arts. He early displayed a genius and predilection for mathematics, and had the good fortune to study the science, along with the Newtonian system of philosophy, under Dr Gregory. When, in the year 1694, Gregory went to try his fortune in England, Keill followed him, and contrived along with him to find admission to Oxford, where he held one of the Scottish exhibitions in Baliol college. Keill made his first appearance before the scientific world in his "Examination of Dr Burnet's Theory of the Earth, together with some remarks on Mr Whiston's new Theory of the Earth," published at Oxford in the year 1698. Any "Theory of the Earth," or account of its formation and state, in anticipation of the discovery of facts to support it, always formed a fruitful subject of debate; but Burnet's Theory afforded more ample field for censure than any other which pretended to support from the enlightened doctrines of modern philosophy. The grand outlines of his theory were of themselves sufficiently imaginative, and their effect was increased by the curious speculations with which he filled up the minor details of his edifice. He supposes the earth to have been originally a heterogeneous mass of fluid matter, of which the heavier portions fell to the centre, forming there a dense body, surrounded and coated by lighter bodies, while the water—the lightest of all the heterogeneous mass, remained on the outside of the whole. The air and other celestial fluids floated round this body: while between it and the water was gradually formed a coat of unctuous or oily matter, higher than water. Upon this unctuous coat, certain impure particles which had at first been mingled with the air, descended, and floating about covered the surface, forming a shell over the water, which became the crust of the earth. The crust thus formed was level and uniform, without hill or vale; so it remained for about sixteen centuries, until the heat of the sun having cracked it in divers places, the water rushed forth, causing the general deluge. This water found, however, a means of partially subsiding, betwixt the broken masses of the crust, and thus leaving the globe in the state of ocean, hill, and valley.

Keill, who, besides being a man of accurate science, was a person of clear good sense and critical acumen, saw clearly the evil done to science, by the admission of suppositions which have a fully greater chance of being wrong than of being right, while the richness of the doctor's imagination, and the poetic beauty of his language and illustration, did not protect his principles from a subjection to the strict rules of logic. Keill's book is full of the clear argumentation of a man who is rather formed to correct and check the discoveries of others, than to allow his invention to stray so far as to make any of his own. He occasionally condescends to use demonstration, while, well knowing that there may be positions against which the gravity of an argument is misapplied, he makes very frequent use of sarcasm, a power of which he is an accomplished and apt handler. Most of the vigour of the attack is derived from the manner in which the different parts of the theory are found inconsistent with each other, without any very extensive reference to other authority. "After this fashion," says Keill, after giving an outline of Burnet's first formation of the earth, "has the theorist formed his antediluvian habitable world, which doth not much differ from the Cartesian method of making the earth: only Des Cartes, being somewhat wiser than the theorist, would not allow the outward crust, within whose bowels the waters were shut up, to be a habitable earth, knowing well that neither man nor beast could live long without water. But he made the crust first be broken, and the waters flow out, before he placed any inhabitants on it.

¹ Martin's Biographia Philosophica, 457.

Another small difference betwixt the two hypotheses is, that Monsieur Des Cartes never thought of making the exterior orb of oily liquids, which the theorist asserts to be absolutely necessary towards the formation of the crust; for if it were not, says he, for the oily liquor which swims upon the surface of the abyss, the particles of earth which fell through the air had sunk to the bottom, and had never formed the exterior orb of earth. But notwithstanding this, I believe it may be easily made evident (though neither of these systems is true), that the theorist's hypothesis is the worse of the two, which I will prove from his own concessions: for he has already owned that the oily liquor is much lighter than the watery orb. He has mentioned also, that the terrestrial particles when falling from the air, if the orb were only water, would sink to the bottom; and therefore these particles must be heavier than water. From thence I think it does necessarily follow, that these terrestrial particles must also be heavier than the oily fluid, which is lighter than water, and therefore they will more easily descend through it than they did through water, it being well known that there are several bodies which will swim in water, but sink in oil."²

Proceeding on such positions, Keill destroys what has been raised by his adversary, wisely substituting nothing in its stead, except what experiment and demonstration support; the general aim of the principles he espouses being, that, excepting in so far as we know by experiment the operation of nature, we must take the cosmogony of the earth, either literally as we find it laid down in holy writ, or, admitting our inability to penetrate into its secrets, be content with what is afforded us by experience, demonstration, and rational or certain deduction. Whiston, in his "New Theory of the Earth, from its original to the consummation of all things," maintained, that the Mosaic account of the creation did not give a philosophical account of the formation of the universe, but that it was merely intended, in the most simple and intelligible manner, to give a history of the formation of the globe we inhabit; that before being brought into existence as an inhabited world, it had been a comet, which being subject to perpetual reverses from heat to cold, became by the alternate congealing and melting of its surface, covered with a coat of heterogeneous matter or a chaos, within which the solid nucleus formed a great burning globe. This great mass of matter, as the eccentricities of its orbit decreased, became more nearly circular, and the materials ranging themselves according to their gravities, assumed at the period of the "creation" the forms of earth, water, and air. If this theory does not possess any recommendation to our belief superior to that claimed by Burnet, its author had at least the art, to found a greater number of his conclusions on experiments, and to deduce others in a less imaginative manner. Keill treats this adversary with more respect than he affords to the theoretic Burnet, seldom proving his positions "impossible," and generally contenting himself with being sceptical; he allows that the author "has made greater discoveries, and proceeded on more philosophical principles than all the theorists before him have done."

Keill's small work is often referred to as authority by geologists and natural philosophers; it contains many experimental calculations, among which is that estimate of the depth of the sea, on which Breislak in later times founded his celebrated calculation, that there never could have been a sufficient quantity of water in and about our globe to have kept the matter of it at any time in solution. It was considered by many, that Keill had used the venerable doctor Burnet, much his elder in years, a scholar, and a man esteemed for his private virtues, with too much asperity and unbecoming sarcasm. It appears that the

² Examination, 37, 38.

respective theorists answered the attack, although in what manner we have been unable to discover.

In 1699, Keill published a rejoinder, entitled "An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth, together with a defence of the Remarks on Mr Whiston's New Theory." The Defence of the Theory appears by no means to have infused into Keill a greater spirit of politeness. He proceeds with the impatience of a man of sense and knowledge interrupted, terminating with an advice to Burnet to study "numbers and magnitude, astronomy and statics; that," he continues, "he may be the better able to understand the force of my arguments against his Theory, after which I doubt not but that he will easily perceive its errors, and have the ingenuity to acknowledge them. But till then, all farther disputation between him and me must needs be vain and frivolous, since true reasoning on natural philosophy depends on such principles as are demonstrated in those sciences, the knowledge of which he has not yet attained."³ To his other opponent, Whiston, Keill has in this work, probably owing to the manner in which he was answered, forgot his former courtesy, treating him with no more deference than he has used toward Burnet.

In 1700, Dr Thomas Millington, Sedelian professor of natural philosophy in Oxford, on his appointment as physician in ordinary to the king, substituted Keill as his assistant, to read his public lectures; and the term for enjoying the Scottish exhibition at Baliol college then expiring, he accepted an invitation from Dr Aldrich, dean of Christ's church, to reside there. As his master Gregory was the first who introduced the Newtonian philosophy to the universities, Keill himself possesses the reputation of having been the first to demonstrate its principles on experiment; a task he is said to have performed through machinery of his own invention, but of what description, or to what extent he proceeded in his proofs, we are not informed.

In 1701, Keill published his "Introductio ad Veram Physicam," a useful and popular treatise on the Newtonian Philosophy. It is considered as an excellent introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and has frequently been reprinted in England, and in a French translation. About the year 1708, Keill was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society, and after his admission he published in the Philosophical Transactions a pretty lengthy paper, "in which the laws of attraction, and other principles of physic are shown."⁴ At this period, the scientific world became disturbed by the dispute which had assumed the aspect of a national question, whether Leibnitz formed his idea of the doctrine of fluxions from some unpublished discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, and which of these two great men could properly be considered the inventor of that sublime addition to the power of the human intellect. In the *Acta Eruditorum* published at Leipsic, it was maintained that Leibnitz was the sole inventor, all right on the part of Newton being denied. To this Keill answered in a paper which he communicated to the Royal Society, defending his friend without much regard to the accusations which he brought against his opponent.

In 1711, Leibnitz complained to the Royal Society, that Keill had accused him of obtaining and publishing his knowledge in a manner not reputable to a philosopher, or even exactly consistent with honesty; he appealed to Sir Isaac himself as a witness of his integrity, and required that Keill should publicly disavow the offensive construction which might be applicable to his words. The Royal Society being appealed to as philosophical judges in the matter, appointed a committee to examine the papers and documents connected with the dispute,

³ Examination of the Reflections, 160.

⁴ Epistola ad clar. Vir: Gulielmum Cockburn, Medicinæ Doctorem—in qua Leges Attractionis Aliaque Physicæ Principia traduntur.—Phil. Trans., xxvi. 97.

who did not find it difficult to produce a report rather unfavourable to the continental philosopher, bearing "That Mr Leibnitz was in London in 1673, and kept a correspondence with Mr Collins, by means of Mr Oldenburgh, till September, 1676, when he returned from Paris to Hanover, by way of London and Amsterdam; that it did not appear that M. Leibnitz knew anything of the differential calculus before his letter of the 21st June, 1677, which was a year after a copy of a letter wrote by Sir Isaac Newton, in the year 1672, had been sent to Paris to be communicated to him, and about four years after Mr Collins began to communicate that letter to his correspondents; wherein the method of fluxions was sufficiently explained to let a man of his sagacity into the whole matter: and that Sir I. Newton had even invented his method before the year 1669, and of consequence fifteen years before Mr Leibnitz had given anything on the subject in the Leipsic acts;" from which train of circumstances they concluded that Keill was justified in his imputations. The censure of the society, and the papers connected with it, were published apart from the Transactions in 1712, under the title "*Commercium Epistolicum de Analyti Promota.*" For some time the philosopher appears not to have answered this array against him, until the Abbe Conti, in the year 1716, addressed him, calling on him, if he did not choose to answer Keill, at least to vindicate himself from the non-admission of his claim on the part of Newton;⁵ and he just commenced the work of vindication at a period when death prevented him from completing it.

In the year 1709, Keill was appointed treasurer to the Palatines, and in performance of his duties, attended them in their passage to New England. On his return in 1710, he was appointed successor to Dr Caswell, Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. At this period, he again entered the field of controversy, in support of his friend Sir Isaac Newton, whose philosophy had been attacked on the foundation of Des Cartes's theory of a plenum; and he published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1713, a communication to the society, on the rarity of matter and the tenuity of its composition.⁶ In this controversy, he was, however, interrupted by his appointment to the situation of decypherer to the queen, and he was soon afterwards presented with the degree of doctor of medicine, by the university of Oxford. About this period we find him gratefully remembered by that unfortunate scholar Simon Oakley, for having permitted him the use of the Savilian study.⁷

Keill, in the year 1717, took to himself a wife. The name of the lady who made him the happiest of men, has not been preserved; but it is said he married her "for her *singular* accomplishments." In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1739, we find a curious Horatian ode, addressed to Keill by the celebrated Anthony Alsop; its period of publication is some years after the death of both the parties, and there is no comment alluding to the date of its composition; but the circumstances mentioned show it to be a congratulatory epistle to Keill on his marriage. The ode is extremely spirited and not destitute of elegance; but whether from other motives, or the anxiety of the author to reach the familiar vivacity of the Roman lyrist, he has treated his grave subject in a manner which would not now be considered very worthy of a divine, or to convey a pleasing compliment to a venerable professor. The subject was one of some delicacy to Alsop, who was then enjoying a species of banishment, the consequence of a verdict obtained against him for breach of a contract of marriage;

⁵ Published in the Phil. Trans., xxx. 924.

⁶ *Theoremata quædam infinitam materiæ divisibilitatem spectantia, quæ ejusdem raritatem et tenuem compositionem demonstrant, quorum ope plurimæ in physica tolluntur difficultates.*—*Phil. Trans.*, xxviii. 82.

⁷ Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.

and whether from this circumstance, or his classical feelings, he has dwelt on the habits of his friend in a manner which would hardly fail to draw "damages" from a modern jury.⁸ In 1718, Keill published "Introductio ad veram Astronomiam, seu lectiones Astronomicæ," a work which was reprinted in the year 1721, at which period, at the request of the duchess of Chandos, he published a translation of this work in English, with emendations, under the title of "An Introduction to the true Astronomy; or, Astronomical Lectures, read in the astronomical school of the university of Oxford." The year in which he accomplished these literary labours was the last of his life; during the summer of 1721, he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in the month of September, in the fiftieth year of his age. Besides the works we have mentioned, he published in 1715, an edition of Commandinus's Euclid, with additions.

KEITH-ELPHINSTONE, GEORGE, (viscount Keith, K. B. admiral of the Red, &c.) a distinguished modern naval officer, was the fifth son of Charles, tenth lord Elphinstone, by the lady Clementina Fleming, only child of John, sixth earl of Wigton, and niece and heir-of-line to the last earl Marischal. His lordship was born on the 12th January, 1746, at Elphinstone in East Lothian, the ancient but now dismantled seat of the family of Elphinstone.

Mr Elphinstone was early taught, by his remoteness from the chance of family inheritance, to trust to his own exertions for the advancement of his fortune; and, having from his earliest years shown a predilection for the navy, he was, at sixteen, ranked as a midshipman in the Gosport, commanded by captain Jervis, afterwards earl St Vincent. The peace of 1763 soon put an end to his immediate hopes of naval glory—though not before he had experienced much advantage from the tuition of his eminent commander. He subsequently served in the Juno, Lively, and Emerald frigates, and, entering on board an Indiaman, commanded by his elder brother, the honourable W. Elphinstone, made a voyage to China, where, however, he suffered considerably from the climate. Notwithstanding this latter circumstance, he did not scruple to make a voyage to the East Indies in 1767, under commodore Sir John Lindsay, by whom he was promoted to a lieutenancy.

In 1772, he was advanced to the rank of commander in the Scorpion of four-teen guns. In the spring of 1775, he was made post-captain on board the Marlborough, seventy-four guns, and soon after he obtained, first, the command of the Pearl, and then of the Perseus frigate. In the Perseus, which was remarkable as the first ship in the British navy that was sheathed with copper, he made a conspicuous figure, during the early years of the contest with America, as an active and intrepid officer on the coast of that country, under lord Howe and admiral Arbuthnot. He was likewise often engaged in the services, in this unhappy war, where sea and land forces were united—in particular at the reduction of Charleston, he conducted himself with such gallantry in the command of a detachment of seamen, as to gain frequent and most honourable mention in the of-

⁸ Quidni ego lætor tibi gratulari
 Conjugi, conjux? ego qui reliqui,
 Connubi causa, patriam domumque ux-
 orius exul.

Quare age et totis licitæ diebus,
 Noctibus totis veneri litato:
 Non opus sylvæ, aut recubare subter
 Tegmine fœni, &c.

Gent. Mag. ix. 324.

ficial despatches of general Sir Henry Clinton. The experience which he thus acquired was of great service to him long afterwards, when he had a more prominent and distinguished part to perform.

In 1780, having returned to England with despatches from admiral Arbuthnot, he was, on his arrival, appointed to the command of the Warwick of fifty guns. In the general election, which took place this year, he was chosen member of parliament for Dumbartonshire, where his family possessed some influence; and he was one of those who met at the St Alban's tavern, to attempt a reconciliation between Fox and Pitt and the duke of Portland, with the view of forming what was called "a broad-bottomed administration." This attempt, as is well known, proved unsuccessful. In the following year, as he was cruising down the channel in his ship the Warwick, he encountered the Rotterdam, a Dutch ship of war, bearing fifty guns and three hundred men. The manner in which he attacked this vessel and compelled her to strike—more especially as the engagement happened immediately after the Iris, a ship of equal force, had been baffled in the attempt—gained captain Elphinstone much public notice. Soon after this, he went out to the coast of America, where he served during the remainder of this disastrous war. While on this station, he, in company with other three British vessels of war, captured the French frigate *L'Aigle* of forty guns, (twenty-four pounders, on the main deck,) and a crew of 600 men, commanded by count de la Touche. Unfortunately for the captors, the enemy's captain escaped to shore with the greater part of a large quantity of specie which was on board the frigate. Two small casks and two boxes, however, of this valuable commodity fell into the hands of the victors. Along with the captain, there also escaped several officers of high rank, and amongst them the commander-in-chief of the French army in America. During his service on the American coast, captain Elphinstone had the honour to receive on board his ship as midshipman, prince William Henry, afterwards king William IV. ; a distinction the more flattering, that the choice of the ship and officer was made by his royal highness himself. At the close of the war, when the subject of our memoir returned to Britain, the prince of Wales appointed him for life to be secretary and chamberlain of the principality of Wales.

In April, 1787, captain Elphinstone married Jane, daughter of William Mercer, Esq. of Aldie, in the county of Perth, a lady of large property, by whom he had a daughter, afterwards viscountess Keith, and wife of count Flahault, aide-du-camp to the emperor Napoleon. In 1786, captain Elphinstone was chosen to represent the shire of Stirling. The breaking out of the French war in 1793, opened a new field for his enterprise and activity, and soon after the occurrence of that event he was appointed to the Robust of seventy-four guns, and sailed under the command of lord Hood to the Mediterranean. The object for which the latter had been sent to these seas was to endeavour to effect a co-operation with the royalists in the south of France. In this his lordship so far succeeded, that the sections of Toulon immediately proclaimed Louis XVII. under a promise of protection from the British fleet, and Marseilles was only prevented from taking a similar step by the approach of a republican army. Before taking possession of Toulon, which was part of the arrangement made with the French by lord Hood, it was deemed proper to secure the forts which commanded the ships in the roads, and for this duty fifteen hundred men were landed under captain Keith, who, after effecting this service, was directed to assume the command of the whole, as governor of fort Malgue. In a few days afterwards general Carteaux appeared, at the head of a detachment of the republican army, on the heights near Toulon. Captain Elphinstone, placing himself at the head of a small body of British and Spanish soldiers, instantly marched out to attack him, and after

a gallant contest, completely routed the enemy, and captured his artillery, ammunition, horses, and two stand of colours.

In the October following, captain Elphinstone, with lord Mulgrave and rear-admiral Gravina, at the head of a combined force of British, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, obtained another complete victory over a detachment of the French army, consisting of nearly 2000 men, at the heights of Pharon. In this engagement the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about 1500 men, while on the part of the allied force it amounted only to eight killed, seventy-two wounded, two missing, and forty-eight prisoners.

These successes, however, were insufficient to secure the British in possession of Toulon. The whole force of the republicans became directed to their expulsion; and, finding the place no longer tenable, it was determined, though not without much reluctance, to abandon it. In pursuance of this resolution, the whole of the combined troops, to the number of 8000 men, together with several thousand royalists, were embarked on board the British ships early in the morning of the 5th December, without the loss of a single man. This important service was superintended by captains Elphinstone, Hallinel, and Matthews; and it was principally owing to the care, attention, and vigorous exertions of these officers, and more especially of the first, that it was so well and speedily accomplished. Captain Elphinstone's efficient services on this and some of the immediately preceding occasions procured him high encomiums from both lord Hood and lieutenant-general Dundas. On his return to England, which was in the year 1794, he was invested with the knighthood of the Bath, having been previously promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and in July the same year was made rear-admiral of the white, and in this capacity hoisted his flag on board the *Barfleur* of ninety-eight guns, and in the year following, having shifted his flag to the *Monarch*, he sailed with a small squadron for the Cape of Good Hope, then in the possession of the Dutch.

A war being about to commence between Great Britain and the Batavian republic, the object of admiral Elphinstone was to reduce the settlements at the Cape, a service which he effectually accomplished, besides capturing a squadron which had been sent out for its defence. On the completion of this important undertaking he returned to England, now advanced to the rank of vice-admiral; and the cabinet was so highly gratified with the great service he had rendered his country by securing to it so valuable a colony as that of the Cape, that they conferred upon him yet further honours.

In 1797, he was created an Irish peer by the title of baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal, and shortly after assumed the command of a detachment of the channel fleet. In this year also, he was presented by the directors of the East India company with a splendid sword, valued at 500 guineas, as an acknowledgment for his eminent services. In 1798, lord Keith hoisted his flag on board the *Foudroyant*, and sailed for the Mediterranean as second in command under the earl St Vincent, who was already there with a large fleet.

Early in the beginning of the following year, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and on the occasion of a temporary indisposition of earl St Vincent, assumed the entire command of the fleet. Here he continued employed in blockading the Spanish fleet till May, 1799, when he went in pursuit of the Brest fleet. His search, however, being unsuccessful, he returned to England. In November, he again sailed for the Mediterranean, to take the command of the fleet there, and which was now wholly resigned to him in consequence of the increasing illness of the earl St Vincent. While in this command lord Keith performed a series of important services. By the judicious arrangement of his ships, and the co-operation of lord Nelson, he succeeded in capturing

two large French ships proceeding to La Valetta, with troops and stores. He blockaded the ports of Toulon, Marseilles, Nice, and the coast of the Riviera; and, co-operating with the Austrians, who were besieging Genoa, he so effectually cut off all supplies from the French garrison in that place by the activity of his blockade, that they were compelled to surrender. In the following September, the island of Malta was captured by a detachment of his fleet. The British cabinet having determined to make a descent on Spain, lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercromby entered the bay of Cadiz with a large fleet, having on board about eighteen thousand troops. Circumstances, however, occurred, which the admiral and general conceived warranted them in not attempting the proposed landing, and they accordingly withdrew without making any descent.

The greatest and most brilliant of all lord Keith's services, however, was yet to be performed; this was the celebrated landing of Aboukir, one of the most splendid affairs in the annals of war; and it was in a great measure owing to the promptitude and skill of the admiral alone, that this critical and perilous enterprise was so triumphantly accomplished. For this important service lord Keith received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and on the 5th December, 1801, he was created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Keith of Barheath, county of Dumbarton. He had been previously advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue. In the fulness of the country's gratitude for his services, he was also presented by the corporation of London with the freedom of the city in a gold box, together with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, and was invested by the Grand Signor with the order of the Crescent, which he had established to perpetuate the memory of the services rendered to the Ottoman empire by the British.

In 1803, lord Keith was appointed commander-in-chief of all his majesty's ships in the north sea. In 1805, he was further advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, and in 1812, succeeded Sir Charles Cotton as commander-in-chief of the channel fleet. While on this station, it was his lot to be the means of capturing the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, on his flight from France after the battle of Waterloo. The disposition which lord Keith made of his ships on this occasion was such, that the distinguished fugitive, after being taken by captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, acknowledged escape to have been impossible. His treatment of the prisoner was as noble, delicate, and humane, as his arrangements for seizing him had been dexterous. He acted throughout the whole affair with so much good sense and right feeling, that he at once gained the esteem and gratitude of Napoleon, and the approbation of the government which he represented.

In 1814, lord Keith had been created a viscount; and, at the conclusion of the war, by the exile of Napoleon in St Helena, he retired to enjoy his well-earned honours in the bosom of his family, and the society of his former friends. Latterly he resided constantly on his estate of Tulliallan, where he erected a mansion-house suited to his rank and fortune. There he also expended large sums in works of permanent utility, and united with constant acts of voluntary bounty the encouragement of industrious pursuit and useful occupation, those sure sources of comfort to a surrounding population. The strength of his natural understanding enabled him to derive the utmost benefit from all that he had occasion to see or to contemplate. A most tenacious memory and great readiness enabled him to bring all his information effectually into action when the occasion called for it. Such powers, united to a fertility of mind which is rarely excelled, rendered him a most distinguished character in all that regarded his profession. In social intercourse, his kindly nature was constantly predominant: he was entirely free of affectation in conversation, and he dealt out the

facts and anecdotes with which his memory was stored, in a most interesting and amusing manner. Lord Keith was invariably influenced by the kindest feelings for all who were connected with him, and, without solicitation on their part, he was uniformly alive to whatever could promote their interest. But this did not limit the extent of his usefulness to others; on the contrary, being always open to approach, he was zealous in forwarding, to the utmost of his power, the objects of deserving men. Accordingly, it may be safely said of him, that he could reckon as great a number of meritorious officers, of all ranks and descriptions, who had been placed in their proper stations by his efforts, as any man of his rank who served during the same distinguished period of our naval history.

His first lady having died in 1789, lord Keith married, in January, 1808, the eldest daughter of Henry Thrale, Esq. M.P. for Southwark; of which union the issue was one child, a daughter. In 1822, lord Keith was permitted by the king to accept the last additional honour he was to receive on earth, in the shape of a grand cross of the royal Sardinian order of St Maurice and St Lazare. He died at Tulliallan house, on the 10th of March, 1823, in the 78th year of his age.

KEITH, GEORGE, fifth earl Marischal, founder of the Marischal college of Aberdeen. The period of this nobleman's birth is unknown; his father was William lord Keith, (eldest son of the fourth earl Marischal,) a person known in history as having been taken prisoner into England in 1558, and released for a ransom of £2000. This individual married Elizabeth Hay, daughter to the earl of Errol, by whom, at his death in 1580, he left, besides the subject of our memoir, three sons and four daughters.¹ George succeeded his grandfather in the year 1581, and we find him towards the end of the year following, doing his duty in parliament.² We are led to understand, that, previously to his succeeding to the title, he had spent some time among the seats of learning on the continent. As with all men who have been remarkable in advanced life, it was recollected of him after his death, that in youth he showed an extreme desire for knowledge, and a facility in its acquisition. We are informed that he studied at the King's college of Aberdeen,³ and that at the age of eighteen he was an adept in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and in the studies of antiquities, history, and literature; when, discontented with the scope allowed in his own country, he resolved to study in France.⁴ On this journey, it is said that he was courteously received by the Landgrave of Hesse, (the chief among the descendants of that celebrated tribe of "Catti," from which the fabulous historians have traced the family of Keith,) along with the other noble youths of the age. While he was accumulating knowledge, he did not forget the opportunities afforded him in France, of perfecting himself in the knowledge of arms, and the feats of athletic jugglery then in vogue. After some time, Keith left France, preferring a residence in Geneva, with the illustrious Theodore Beza, by whom he was instructed in divinity, history, and the art of speaking. During his residence there, an accident of a melancholy nature happened. His younger brother, William, who had accompanied him on his journey, and had apparently, with high promise of future eminence, shared in his studies, was killed in a tumult, during an excursion into the country. His eminent master,

¹ Douglas' Peerage, 193.

² Act. Parl., iii. 326.

³ Middleton's account of the King's college of Aberdeen and of the great men there, MS. Bib. Ad. M. 6, 15.

⁴ Oratio Funeris, in obitum maximi virorum Georgii Marischalli comitis, D. Keith et Altre, &c., Academia Marischallanæ Aberdoniæ fundatoris, et Meenatis munificentissimi; scripta et pronunciata a Gulielmo Ogstono, philosophiæ moralis ibidem professore. *Aber. Itaban*, 1623, 4to, p. 11.

along with Gaultier and Andrew Melville, have celebrated the memory and talents of this young man. Beza, in the dedication of his "*Icones virorum doctrina et pietate illustrium*," to king James, mentions, with much satisfaction, the circumstance of having been intrusted with the education of pupils so illustrious. After the death of his brother, Keith left Geneva, and visited the courts of Europe, where his rank and great wealth admitted his making a considerable figure. It is said that, even in this employment, presumed to be full of gayety, he was a grave and accurate student: that he indulged in the splendour of courts more for the purpose of acquiring historical knowledge, than of pursuing pleasure, and that he travelled less for the purpose of recreation and variety, than for the acquisition of correct knowledge of the various countries of the world, having seldom seen a country of which he did not show his acquaintance, by embodying his knowledge in a map.⁵ He returned to his native country, after an absence of seven years. The Scottish peer who in the sixteenth century founded a university, and encouraged learning, must have been a man whose penetration and grasp of mind were very different from those of his colleagues in rank, yet he appears not to have been totally exempt from the barbarous habits and feelings of the day.

On the 8th of June, 1585, we find him obtaining a remission under the great seal, for "art and part" of the slaughter of his relative William Keith, apparent of Luduqhairn;⁶ and in 1595, he is charged to appear before the king and council, as a person entertaining a deadly feud with the laird of Mel-drum.⁷ Soon after his accession to the earldom, the celebrated raid of Ruthven took place, a political movement, as to which it is difficult to discover his view, but with which his connexion seems to have somewhat displeased the king. He was, apparently, not present at the "raid," nor does he appear to have approached so hot a political atmosphere, until the king's escape from Falkland to St Andrews, whither he repaired, apparently as a neutral person; but he is represented as having retired to his own home in disgust, on the king changing the lenient measure he had at first proposed towards the rebels.⁸ The earl was a member of that parliament which, on the 19th of October, 1582, approved the acts of the conspirators, holding their proceedings as legal, and protecting their persons from punishment, by an act which was afterwards expunged from the statute book.⁹ It is not without surprise, that, after such a measure, we find him acting as chancellor of the assize of peers, which, with considerable partiality in its proceedings, found the earl of Gowrie guilty of treason, on account of his share in the raid of Ruthven.¹⁰ It can scarcely be doubted, that in these proceedings he was guilty of inconsistency: it is not likely that any one attended a parliament held under the auspices of the conspirators, for the purpose of voting against them, and it was not customary for the crown to choose assizers who would acquit, while his having acted as chancellor leaves no doubt that he voted for a verdict of guilty! Charity can only palliate this tergiversation, on the circumstance, that Gowrie had, in the interval between these events, been guilty of additional acts of disobedience.

After the singular proceedings on the part of James towards the court of Denmark, in attempting a negotiation of marriage with the eldest daughter of Frederick the II., which terminated in that monarch (not presuming the king of Scotland to be serious in his proposals) marrying his daughter to the duke of Brunswick; the lover, disappointed of one daughter, was resolved to try more consistent plans for obtaining the other, and James proposed to send lord Altry,

⁵ *Oratio Funebris* ut sup.

⁶ Douglas' *Peerage*, i. 193.

⁷ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 353.

⁸ Melville's *Memoirs*, 270 74.

⁹ *Act. Parl.*, iii. 326.

¹⁰ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 116.

uncle to the earl Marischal, to Denmark, to make serious proposals to Frederick's second daughter, Anne. The disposition of the council of Scotland, was such as prompted Altry, an old and infirm statesman, averse to engaging in the excitement of politics, to decline the high office, and his nephew, the earl Marischal, showed a desire to officiate in his stead. "Now the earl Marischal," says Sir James Melville in his cautious manner, "was desirous to supply the place of his uncle, my lord of Altry : and his majesty was content that he should be sent thither. Whereupon I took occasion to represent to his majesty, that the said earl was very well qualified for that employment, and that he would go the better contented, if he might have in commission with him some of his own friends and acquaintance. His majesty answered, that it was his part to choose his own ambassadors ; that the earl Marischal should have the first place as a nobleman, but," continues Sir James with his usual complacency, "that he would repose the chief handling with the regent and council of Denmark upon me."¹¹ It is probable that the great wealth of the earl, who was then the richest nobleman in Scotland, was a cogent reason for appointing him to superintend an expensive expedition. It was the policy of queen Elizabeth to object to the proposed alliance, and the privy council of Scotland showed a disposition to accede to her wishes. In the mean time, the tradesmen of Edinburgh, instigated, it is said, by the secret interference of James, took the matter into their hands, threatening the privy council, and denouncing vengeance against Thirstane, the chancellor, whom they looked upon as the chief agent of Elizabeth. James had made his resolution, and the earl was finally despatched to Denmark, along with the constable of Dundee, and lord Andrew Keith, whom he had requested permission to take as an associate. Owing to the vacillating policy of James, "his power to conclude was so limited, and his commission so slender, that he was compelled to send back again my lord Dingwall, either for a license to come home, or for a sufficient power to conclude."¹² Dingwall found the king at Aberdeen, who, as the chancellor and most part of the council were absent, was now in a situation to give more ample powers. The storm which interrupted the voyage of the princess is well known as an amusing portion of Scottish history ; in the mean time, the chancellor, who was the deadly enemy of the earl Marischal, had, from his opposition to the measure, sunk in the favour of James, and did not recover his former estimation, without suffering the expense of procuring the handsome fast-sailing vessel, in which the monarch made that voyage to Denmark which has been considered so unaccountably inconsistent with his general character. We shall give, in the words of Sir James Melville, an account of the very characteristic squabbles which took place between the two rival peers at the court of Copenhagen. "The company who were with his majesty put him to great trouble to agree their continual janglings, strife, pride, and partialities. The earl Marischal, by reason that he was an ancient earl, and had been first employed in this honourable commission, thought to have the first place next unto his majesty so long as he was there. The chancellor, by reason of his office, would needs have the pre-eminence. There were also contentions between him and the justice-clerk. The constable of Dundee and my lord Dingwall could not agree about place. George Hume did quietly shoot out William Keith from his office of master of the wardrobe. At length they were all divided into two factions ; the one for the earl Marischal ; the other for the chancellor who was the stronger, because the king took his part ; so that the chancellor triumphed."¹³ The munificence and great wealth of the earl, prompted him to bear, in the first instance, the expense of the mission ; he could not have done a service more acceptable to his sovereign,

¹¹ Melville's Memoirs, 357.¹² *Ibid*, 358.¹³ *Ibid*, 363.

and it appears to have finally reinstated him in favour. In 1592, the earl received a parliamentary ratification of his acts as concerned the mission, and was at the same time empowered to recover, from a forfeited estate, the expense he had incurred, stated as amounting to 3156 merks.¹¹ Up to the commencement of the eighteenth century, the debt was, however, unrecovered,¹⁵ and it is not probable that after that period it was ever paid.

In 1553, the earl was one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the "new erection" or alteration in management of the King's college of Aberdeen; and it is probable that the duties in which he was then engaged, prompted him, ten years afterwards, to perform that act of enlightened munificence, which has perpetuated his name as the founder of Marischal college. The charter of the university was granted by the earl on the 2nd April, 1593; it was approved of by the General Assembly of Dundee on the 24th of the same month, after having been submitted to the examination of a committee, and was ratified by Parliament on the 21st of July following. The college was endowed to maintain a principal, three regent professors, and six bursars. By the foundation, the languages and sciences appointed to be taught, were, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, natural history, geometry, geography, chronology, and astronomy. In opposition to the principle previously pursued, by which each professor conducted a class of students through all the branches of knowledge taught in any university, the subjects taught in Marischal college were divided among separate masters, each of whom adhered to his peculiar branch—an excellent regulation, afterwards departed from, but resumed in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Without descending to the particular benefits of this institution, the circumstance that many eminent names are connected with Marischal college, and that its small endowments have cultivated intellects which might have long lain unproductive, are sufficient of themselves to speak to the honour of its noble founder. There are 114 bursaries connected with the college, of the annual value of £1150. About 70 of these are open to competition. Two of them are of the annual value of £30 each, and are adjudged for excellence in mathematics to students who have studied that science for two sessions, and are held for two years. The bursaries range in value from £3 to £15 annually—the smallest paying the full fee of the possessor for the four years during which he remains at the university, and the larger frequently forming for a time the chief support of one or two individuals who would otherwise remain uneducated. They are carefully protected, as the rewards of talent and labour, and held by those who gain them as their right, independently of the authority of the officials of the university. The ancient buildings of the university having fallen into decay, the foundation of a splendid new building, in the Gothic style, from designs by Mr Archibald Simpson, architect, was laid, with masonic honours, by the Duke of Richmond, chancellor of the university, on the 18th of October, 1837. The builder's contract amounted to £21,420, of which sum £13,000, with interest thereon from 1826, was granted by government, the remainder being raised by private subscription. The new buildings were completed in 1842. Several new chairs have been instituted. The average number of students for the last twenty years has been—in arts, 190; in divinity, 120; in law, 35; in medicine, 84.

Within the same year, when Marischal college was founded, we find its patron

¹¹ Act. Parl., iii. 511.

¹⁵ A short relation of the origin of the Keiths in Scotland, with a list of the predecessors of the present earl Marischal of that kingdom, being an abstract of the history of that noble family, anno Domini, 1690. Aberdeen, x die Aprilis, An. Dom. 1700.

¹⁶ For a farther account of this matter, vide the memoir of Alexander Gerard in this collection.

engaged in other works of public utility. He granted a charter to Peterhead. And by the act 1593, c. 48, we find him empowered to exact a toll of twenty pence for every last of goods entering or leaving a harbour he had attached to that town.¹⁷ At the same period, the secret transactions with the court of Spain, of which some of the northern peers were suspected, and the discovery of those mysterious documents known by the name of "the Spanish blanks," created alarm in the nation, and consternation at court; and by the same act of 1593, the earl Marischal, as a trusty statesman, was empowered to act the part of king's commissioner in the shires of Kincardine, Aberdeen, and Banff; and to inquire into the conduct of the earls of Errol, Huntly, Angus, and others.¹⁸ A trust of still higher order was reposed in the earl, in June 6th, 1609, when, by commission under the great seal, he was appointed lord high commissioner to the parliament of Scotland.

In the year 1622, in the old age of a well-spent life, the earl felt his last illness come upon him, and he retired to his fortress of Dunnottar, where he is said to have borne his sickness with patience and religious resignation. Dr Dun, one of the professors of his college, attended him as physician, and the disease for a time yielded to medicine, but finally relapsed.¹⁹ The latter days of this great and useful man do not appear to have been permitted to pass in domestic peace, and his death-bed was disturbed by the desertion and crime of an unfeeling wife. The circumstance to which we refer is one of a very singular nature; and as it is impossible at this period to trace all the motives from which it originated, we shall state it, almost verbatim, as it occurs in the criminal record, avoiding antiquated orthography. "On the 3rd of March, 1624, Dame Margaret Ogilvie, countess dowager of Marischal, along with her then husband, Sir Alexander Strauchane of Thornetoun, knight, and Robert Strauchan, doctor in physic, were accused before the high court of justiciary, of the ignoble crimes of masterful theft and stouthrief, in having stolen from the place of Benholm, belonging to the earl, certain jewels, silver plate, household stuff, gold, silver, and title deeds, in October, 1622, a little before the said earl's decease." On the same day, James Keith of Benholme was cited to answer for a similar crime, committed at the same time, and in the same place. The two cases are evidently connected together, and the minute in the latter provides us with the following inventory of articles stolen, which is an evidence of the magnificence and wealth of the earl, and an extraordinary feature in the transaction. Of Portugal ducats, and other species of foreign gold, to the avail of 26,000 pounds or thereby; thirty-six dozen gold buttons; a rich jewel set with diamonds, which the deceased earl received as a gift when he was ambassador in Denmark, worth 6,000 merks; the queen of Denmark's picture in gold, set about with rich diamonds, estimated at 5,000 merks; a jasper stone for stemming of blood, estimated at 500 French crowns; a chain of "equall perle," wherein were 400 pearls great and small; two chains of gold, of twenty-four ounce weight; another jewel of diamonds set in gold, worth 3,000 merks; a great pair of bracelets, all set with diamonds, price thereof 500 crowns; the other pair of gold bracelets at 600 pounds the pair; a turquois ring worth ten French crowns; a diamond set in a ring, worth twenty-eight French crowns, with a number of other small rings set with diamonds and other rich stones in gold, worth 300 French crowns; also 16,000 merks of silver and gold ready coined, which was within a green coffer; together with the whole tapestry, silver-work, bedding, goods, gear, and plenishing within the said place. The case, as regarded the countess, and Sir Alexander and Dr Strauchane, was postponed by a royal war-

¹⁷ Act Par., iv. 35.¹⁸ Act. Parl., iv. 44. Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, i. 283.¹⁹ Oratio Funebris at sup.

rant to the 2nd of July, from thence to the 27th of July, and from thence to the 8th of December, of which date no entry appearing, the lord advocate seems to have been prevailed with to give up the pursuit; Keith of Benholme, who seems to have occupied, or been steward of, the house so strangely dilapidated, was outlawed for not appearing.²⁰

The earl died at five o'clock on the morning of the fifth day of April, 1623, and a monument with a poetical inscription was erected to his memory. The funeral oration so frequently referred to, was read at Marischal college on the 30th June, 1623, by Ogston, the professor of moral philosophy; it compares his death to an earthquake, and sundry other prodigies of nature—heaps too great a load of virtues on his shoulders for mankind to bear with comfort, and in detailing the perfections of the dead Mæcenas, the author does not neglect those of the living Solomon. A book of “Tears” was also published to his memory, chiefly composed by Massy and Alexander Wedderburn.²¹ The lady already so equivocally mentioned was his second wife, a daughter of James, sixth lord Ogilvie: he had previously married Margaret, daughter of Alexander, fifth lord Hume,²² and by both he had several children.

KEITH, (the Honourable) JAMES, commonly called marshal Keith, the younger son of William, ninth earl Marischal, and lady Mary Drummond, daughter to the earl of Perth, was born in the year 1696. His aptness for learning seems to have been very considerable, since he acquired in after-life a reputation for letters scarcely inferior to his military renown; a circumstance which was possibly in no small degree owing to his having had the good fortune to receive the rudiments of his education from the celebrated bishop Keith, who was allied to his family by consanguinity, and who officiated as tutor to himself and his elder brother, the tenth earl Marischal.

Mr Keith was originally designed for the law, and with the view of making it his profession, he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his studies. It was soon discovered, however, that he entertained a much stronger predilection for the camp than the bar;—he seems indeed to have been very early attached to the military profession. His language, when the subject happened at any time to be alluded to, was always full of martial enthusiasm, even while yet a mere stripling. “I have begun to study the law,” he said, “in compliance with the desires of the countess of Marischal, (his mother,) but commend me, gentlemen, to stand before the mouth of a cannon for a few minutes; this either makes a man in an instant, or he dies gloriously in the field of battle.” Such was the spirit in which the young soldier entered on his career of fame.

The earl Marischal, elder brother of the subject of this memoir, was one of those Tory noblemen who signed the proclamation of George I. The party being disappointed in their hopes of office under the new dynasty, he returned in a state of high irritation to Scotland, and at York met his brother James, who was on his way to London for the purpose of asking a commission in the army. The two young men returned home together, burning with resentment, and on the commencement of the insurrection of 1715, they were incited at once by their own feelings, and by the advice of their mother, who was a catholic, to declare for the Pretender. The meeting held by the earl of Mar, (who was their cousin,) under the semblance of a hunting match, was attended by the two brothers, and they continued, throughout the remainder of the campaign,

²⁰ Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, iii. 562.

²¹ “Lachrimæ Academiæ Marischallanæ sub obitum Mæcenas et Fundatoris sui, munificentissimi, nobilissimi et illustrissimi, Georgii Comitiss Marischalli, Domini de Keith et Altre, &c.”—*Aberd. Raban*, 1623.

²² Douglas' Peerage.

to act a bold and conspicuous part under that unfortunate leader. The immediate subject of this memoir is said to have manifested a degree of resolution and conduct which attracted much attention, and inspired hopes of his future fortune. On the final dispersion of the rebel army at Ruthven in Badenoch, they had no resource but to make the best of their way to a foreign land, where they might be safe from the consequences of their enterprise. They proceeded, in company with many other Lowland gentlemen, to the Western Isles, where they designed to wait till a vessel could be procured to convey them to France. While in the isles, where they were detained nearly a month, the fugitives were frequently alarmed by reports of their retreat having been discovered, and that an armament had been despatched in quest of them; and on one occasion they were informed that three frigates, with two battalions of foot on board, were within ten miles of them. They, however, were not molested. On the 20th of April, a ship which had been despatched from France for the purpose, arrived at the island on which they were concealed. Losing no time, they, along with about a hundred companions in misfortune, embarked on board of this vessel, and arrived in safety at St Paul de Leon in Brittany, on the 12th of May, 1716. On their arrival at this port, the greater part of them proceeded immediately to wait upon the Pretender, who was then at Avignon; the others, amongst whom was Keith, went straight to Paris, where the latter had at that time several relations residing. On reaching Paris, Keith waited upon the queen-mother, by whom he was most graciously received, and who, amongst other flattering things, said, that she had heard of his good services in her son's cause, and that neither of them should ever forget it. Keith now proposed to the queen-mother to visit the king, by which he meant the Pretender, and asked her permission to do so. She, however, dissuaded him from taking this step, saying that he was yet but young, and had better remain in Paris and recommence his studies, and concluded by proposing to bear the charge of his future education. Notwithstanding this flattering reception, a whole month elapsed before Keith heard any thing further from the queen-mother, and, in the mean time, he was reduced to great straits for want of money, living principally by selling horse furniture, which military officers were at this period in the habit of carrying about with them, and which, being sometimes richly ornamented with silver, was a very valuable article. There were many friends of himself and his family in Paris, who would readily have afforded him any pecuniary assistance he might have required, but, as he himself says, in a MS. memoir of his life, written with his own hand, to which we have access, "I was then either so bashful or so vain, that I would not own the want I was in." His wants, however, of this kind were soon amply provided for, and from various unlooked for sources. The queen-mother at length sent him 1000 livres, and much about the same time a Parisian banker waited upon him, and informed him that he had instructions from Scotland to supply him with money, and an order from king James to pay him 200 crowns a-year, with an apology for the smallness of the sum, as it was all that his (the king's) circumstances enabled him to do. Relieved now from his pecuniary difficulties, he betook himself to study, to which he devoted the whole of the remaining part of the year 1716, and a great part of the following year. Previous to this, and while pursuing his studies, he received a commission as colonel of horse in the service of the king of Sweden, who entertained a design of making a descent on Scotland in favour of king James. The project, however, was discovered long before it could be carried into execution, and thus both the intended invasion and Keith's commission fell to the ground. Another opportunity, although equally fruitless in its results, presented itself to the young soldier, now in his twentieth year, of pushing his fortune with his sword. This

was the appearance in Paris of Peter the first, emperor of Russia. Keith made every effort to obtain admission into the service of that potentate, but without effect, he himself supposes on account of his not having employed the proper means. In the following year, 1718, learning that there was an intention on the part of Spain, similar to that which had been entertained by the king of Sweden, viz, to attempt the restoration of king James by invading Scotland—Keith and his brother the earl Marischal set out for Madrid, with the view of offering their services in the proposed expedition. These were readily accepted, and the two brothers, after repeated interviews with cardinal Alberoni, then prime minister of Spain, were furnished with instructions regarding the intended descent, and with means to carry that part of it which was intrusted to them into execution. By previous appointment, Keith and his brother the earl Marischal were met at Havre de Grace, the point at which they had fixed to embark for Scotland, by several of the Scottish leaders in the rising of 1715, who were still lurking about France. All of them having been advised of the undertaking, were furnished with commissions from the king of Spain, to apply equally to the Spanish forces which were to be sent after them, and to those which they should raise in the country.

The co-operation in this enterprise which they were led to expect was the landing in England of the duke of Ormond with an army, which it was proposed should immediately take place. Two frigates, with Spanish troops on board, were also to follow them within a day or two, to land with them in Scotland, and enable them to commence their operations in that kingdom. On the 19th of March, the expatriated chiefs embarked on board a small vessel of about twenty-five tons, and after encountering some stormy weather and running great risk from some English ships of war which they fell in with, they reached the island of Lewis on the 4th of April. They were soon afterwards joined by the two frigates, and a debarkation on the main land was immediately determined upon. In the expectation of being joined by large bodies of Highlanders, they proposed to march forward to Inverness, from which they hoped to drive out the small force by which it was garrisoned.

The whole enterprise, however, hurried on to a disastrous conclusion. The duke of Ormond's fleet was dispersed: the Highlanders refused to embark in the desperate undertaking; a very few only joining the invaders, and these showing little enthusiasm in the cause: and to complete their ruin, they were attacked and defeated by a body of troops which had been despatched to arrest their progress. They were, however, not so completely routed but that they were enabled to retire in partial order to the summit of some high grounds in the vicinity of the scene of action. Here a council of war was held during the night, in which it was resolved that the Spaniards should on the next day surrender themselves prisoners of war, that the Highlanders should disperse, and that the officers should each seek his safety in the best way he could.

Thus Keith found himself placed in exactly the same desperate circumstances in which he was after the rising of 1715,—an outlawed fugitive, without means and without a home. After lurking some months in the Highlands, during the greater part of which, to add to his misfortunes, he was in bad health, he found his way to Peterhead, where he embarked for Holland, whither his brother had gone before him. Being here joined by the latter, they both proceeded to the Hague, and sometime afterwards to Madrid. Here Keith's pecuniary difficulties became as pressing and infinitely more desperate than they were in Paris on his arrival there in 1715. "I was now," he says, "as the French have it, *au pié de la lettre sur le pavé*. I knew nobody and was known to none, and had not my good fortune brought rear-admiral Cammoek to Madrid, whom I had known

formerly in Paris, I don't know what would have become of me; he immediately offered me his house and his table, both which I was glad to accept of." Thus shifting, together with the aid of some arrears of pay which he received from the king of Spain, he remained the greater part of the year 1720, and, with the exception of some short absences, all the year 1721, at Madrid. He then removed to Paris, where he lived for the next three or four years, receiving the pay of a Spanish colonel, but without being attached to any regiment. At the end of this period Keith again returned to Spain, and was employed in active service up to the year 1728. Thinking himself, however, rather overlooked, he in this year addressed a letter to the king, soliciting his patronage, and requesting that he might be appointed to the command of the first Irish regiment which should become vacant. The answer of his majesty to this application was, that so soon as he knew that he was a Roman catholic he should not only have what he asked, but that his future fortunes should be cared for. Finding all hopes of promotion in the Spanish service thus cut off on account of his religious belief, Keith solicited a recommendation from his Spanish majesty to the court of Russia, where he now determined to try his fortunes. The recommendation which he sought was at once granted, and forwarded to the emperor of Russia, who soon after intimated to him his admission into his service as a major-general. On Keith's leaving Madrid for Moscow, the king of Spain presented him with a *douceur* of 1000 crowns, and soon after his arrival in Russia he was promoted to the command of a regiment of guards, an appointment of great trust, and which had hitherto been bestowed on none but especial favourites of the sovereign. He was further named one of three inspectors of army details, and awarded as his department the frontier of Asia, with the country on both sides of the Volga and Don, together with part of the frontier of Poland. About this time one of his early instructors, a Mr Morton, hearing of his good fortune, wrote to him a letter of congratulation on his prosperity. The general's reply partook of his nature; it was kind and unaffected. "I am a true Scotsman indeed," he said amongst other obliging things, "wise behind the hand; for had I been more careful to imbibe the excellent instructions I received under your inspection, I had still made a better figure in the world." Hitherto the general, though he had proven himself at once a zealous and an able officer in the discharge of his military duties, had had no opportunity of exhibiting his talents for active warfare. Such an opportunity, however, at length offered. On the death of the king of Poland, that unhappy kingdom was entered by a Russian army to overawe, or rather control the election of a new king. On this occasion the general was despatched into Poland with six battalions of foot, 600 dragoons, and 4000 Cossacks. While on this service he was ordered by the commander-in-chief, prince Schahofskoi, to ravage the country. With a feeling of humanity and in a spirit of honour which reflects much credit on his character, both as a soldier and a man, he endeavoured to evade the painful, and as he felt it, dishonourable duty. Finding that no dictates of humanity would weigh with the commander-in-chief, he tried the effects of interested considerations; representing to him, that if the system of devastation was continued, not only would the inhabitants, but the Russian army also be reduced to a state of absolute starvation. This had the desired effect. The general was immediately ordered to desist from further spoliation. During the whole of this war the general conducted himself with a degree of judgment and gallantry, and in short, discovered throughout such a possession of the best and most valuable qualities of the soldier, as now ranked him indisputably amongst the first captains of the age. He was severely wounded in the knee in this service at Ocrakow. The injury was of so serious a nature that the Russian

surgeons recommended that the wounded limb should be amputated, and the general at once gave his consent to the operation being performed. But his brother, who had gone to visit him on this occasion, would not listen to the proposal. "I hope," he said, "James has yet more to do with that leg, and I will not part with it so easily, at least not until I have the best advice in Europe." In the spirit of brotherly affection which these expressions bespeak, he immediately removed the general to Paris, to procure the advice of the surgical skill of that city, and the result was highly favourable. The French surgeons, doing what those of Russia had neglected, laid open the general's knee, and extracted some pieces of cloth which had been driven into the wound by the shot, and had all along prevented that cure which was now soon effected.

The military fame of general Keith was now spread over all Europe, and had attracted in a particular manner the notice of the warlike Frederick of Prussia, who lost no time in inviting him into his service, offering him the rank of a field marshal and the governorship of Berlin, with ample means to support the dignity of these situations. These offers were too tempting to be refused. The general accepted them, and immediately proceeded to the Prussian court. His affable manners and military genius soon won him the personal esteem of his new master, who not only admitted but invited him to the most familiar intercourse, travelled with him throughout his own dominions and those of the neighbouring states, and acknowledged him as an adviser in matters of military business, and as his companion in his hours of relaxation. For some time after his arrival in Prussia the marshal enjoyed a respite from military service, Frederick happening then to be, we cannot say at peace, but not at actual war with any of the European powers. This leisure he devoted to literary pursuits, entering into and maintaining a correspondence with some of the most eminent politicians and philosophers of the day, all of whom bear testimony to the great talent and ability with which he discussed the various subjects on which he wrote, and not the smallest portion of their praise was bestowed upon the elegance and felicity of language which his correspondence exhibited.

Frederick's, however, was not a service in which much repose of this kind could be expected. He, of whom it is said, that he looked upon peace only as a preparation for war, was not likely either to remain long idle himself, or to permit such a man as marshal Keith to be so.

The outrageous conduct of Frederick in repeated instances had long given great umbrage to many of the European powers, but none of them had dared to come to open hostilities with him. At length, however, they fell upon the plan of combining their efforts for the chastisement of the warlike monarch, whom none of them would venture to face singly.

Austria, Russia, Germany, and France, all took the field against the Prussian monarch. During the vicissitudes and operations which ensued, in attacking at one time and resisting at another, the various efforts of his numerous enemies, Frederick intrusted the most important, next to those which he himself assumed, to marshal Keith, whose military talents and sound judgment he found during the arduous struggle which followed, had not been over-rated. When summoned by the prince of Saxe-Hildburg to surrender Leipsic, which Frederick had left him to defend with 8000 men, the gallant soldier, then upwards of 60 years of age, replied to the messenger, "Let your master know that I am by birth a Scotsman, by inclination as well as duty, a Prussian, and shall defend the town in such a manner that neither the country which gave me birth nor that which has adopted me shall be ashamed of me. The king my master has ordered me to defend it to the last extremity, and he shall be obeyed." Early on the

following morning, the marshal summoned the magistrates of the town together, told them of the communication which he had from the enemy, and advised them to wait upon the prince, and beg of him, for their own sakes and that of the inhabitants in general, to refrain from proceeding to extremities against the city; "for," said he, with a tact which showed the consummate soldier, "if he proceeds in this resolution, I will myself begin to set fire to the suburbs, and if that be not sufficient to oblige the enemy to desist from his enterprise, I will go further, and not spare even the city itself;" and with many expressions of reluctance to have recourse to such dreadful measures, to which he said necessity alone could compel him, he dismissed the terrified citizens, who instantly despatched a deputation to wait upon the prince. All, however, they could obtain from the latter was a modification of the terms of the original summons. Another was sent, in which the Prussians were offered the liberty of marching out of the town without molestation. This summons marshal Keith rejected with the same determination as the former, to the great provocation of the prince, who, in his resentment at the tone of defiance assumed by the Prussian commander, declared that if the latter carried his threat into execution regarding the burning of the town, he would lay Berlin or Potsdam in ashes. The extremities which were thus threatened on both sides were, however, prevented by the approach of the Prussian monarch, who arrived in the neighbourhood of Leipsic with a large force, and averted the destruction of the city by bringing on the celebrated battle of Rosbach, in which he was completely victorious. Soon after this, marshal Keith marched into Bohemia with an army, and laid that kingdom under contribution, having previously dislodged the Austrians from the mountains of Saxony, where they had been strongly posted. The brilliant career, however, of this soldier of fortune was now about to close for ever; the death which became him awaited him, and was close at hand.

Frederick had taken up a position in the village of Hochkirchen, which he was particularly desirous of retaining, and which the enemy were equally desirous of possessing. The consequence was, that this point was attacked during the night following its first occupation. On the first alarm of the enemy's motions, marshal Keith mounted his horse, and hastily collecting what troops were in his immediate neighbourhood, marched towards the village. On arriving there he found it already in the hands of the enemy. Charging, however, at the head of his troops, he drove them from the position. Fresh bodies of the enemy came up, and the marshal was in turn forced to retire. Again he returned to the combat, leading on his men, and cheering them as he advanced; and again he cleared the village of the enemy. Determined on possession of the position, the latter once more returned with increased numbers, until latterly the whole flower of the Austrian army were concentrated on this sanguinary spot, defended by a handful of Prussians. At eight o'clock in the morning, and while the combat was yet at the hottest, although it had now lasted several hours, the marshal received a severe and dangerous wound. He refused, however, to quit the field, but continued to conduct the desperate encounter with unabated enthusiasm and gallantry. At nine o'clock, an hour after he had received his first wound, a second shot passed through his breast, and instantly stretched him lifeless on the ground. His body was stripped by the Austrians, who had now driven the Prussians from the field, and was thus left exposed until it was recognized by count Lasci, who had been one of his pupils in the art of war. That nobleman immediately gave orders for its interment; but this having been done with little reverence, it was shortly afterwards taken up by the curate of Hochkirchen, and again committed to the earth, with every mark of decency and respect. The remains of the marshal were, by the special orders of the

king, finally removed to Berlin, and buried there with all the honours which a nation and a great monarch could pay to splendid talent and great moral worth.

If any thing were wanting to complete the illustrious character of this great man, it is to be found in the circumstance of his death having been nearly as much lamented by the Austrians, then the enemies of Prussia, as by the Prussians themselves. His humanity was ever on the alert to protect even those against whom he fought from any unnecessary violence, and the Austrians had, in a thousand instances, been indebted to this ennobling trait in a character admirably calculated in all its parts to gain the esteem and admiration of mankind. Marshal Keith died in the sixty-third year of his age. He was never married, but to whatever chance this was owing, it does not appear to have proceeded from any want of susceptibility, for, while in Paris in 1718, on being first urged by some of his friends to offer his services to the court of Spain, which he was then informed meditated some designs on Sicily, he says, "But I was then too much in love to think of quitting Paris, and, although my friends forced me to take some steps towards it, yet I managed it so slowly, that I set out only in the end of that year; and had not my mistress and I quarreled, and that other affairs came to concern me more than the conquest of Sicily did, it's probable I had lost many years of my time to very little purpose—so much was I taken up with my passion." Of the final result of this attachment we are not informed; but it does not appear that he ever formed another.

Some years after his death, a monument was erected in the church-yard of Hochkirchen to the memory of the marshal, by his relative Sir Robert Murray Keith. It bore the following inscription, composed by the celebrated Metastasio :

Jacobo Keith,
Gulielmi Comitis Marescelli Hered.
Regni Scotiæ,
Et Mariæ Drummond, Filio,
Frederici Borussorum Regis
Summo Exercitus Præfecto;
Viro
Antiquis Moribus et Militari Virtute claro,
Qui,
Dum in prælio non procul hinc,
Inclinatam suorum aciem
Mente, Manu, Voce, et Exemplo
Restituebat,
Pugnans ut Heroas decet,
Occubuit,
Anno 1758, Mense Oct.

The earl Marischal, elder brother of marshal Keith, also deserves some notice in the present work, as an enlightened and distinguished man. Attainted for his share in the insurrection of 1715, his fate continued for some time identified with that of his younger brother; till, in 1750, he was appointed by Frederick II. of Prussia as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. He afterwards served the same sovereign as ambassador to the court of Spain, and in this capacity had an opportunity of reconciling himself to his native court. Having discovered the secret of the family compact, by which the different princes of the house of Bourbon had bound themselves to assist each other, he communicated that important intelligence through Mr Pitt, to the British government, to whom it was of the highest importance. The consequence was

a pardon extended by the king to earl Marischal, and an act of parliament to enable him to inherit property in Great Britain.

After this happy event, he proceeded to London, and was introduced to the king (George II.) who received him very graciously. It afterwards was discovered that, by this movement, he escaped a very considerable danger, for within thirty-six hours of his departure from Madrid, notice was received by that court of the communication he had made. The reconciliation of the earl to the house of Brunswick appears to have given great offence to the relics of the Jacobite party, who, it is needless to mention, still retained all their pristine antipathy to that family. Among the papers of bishop Forbes of Leith, is an anecdote to the following effect: "It had been a constant practice in the parish of Langside in Aberdeenshire, to have bonfires, and even to ring the parish bell, on the 2nd of April, O.S., the birth-day of earl Marischal. On Thursday, the 12th February, being a general fast throughout Scotland, when the bellman was ringing the first bell, the news came to Langside, containing the accounts of the earl Marischal having taken the oaths at London; and at that very instant, the said bell rent from the top downwards, and then across near the mouth, and that soon after the bell had begun to ring.

"A gentleman," continues this curious memorial, "walking in his garden, about a quarter of a mile from the church of Langside, asked a man passing by, what the matter was with the bell, in stopping so suddenly. The answer being that she was rent, 'Well,' said the gentleman, 'do you know what the bell says by that?—even, the deil a cheep mair sall I speak for you, earl Marischal!'"¹

The earl resided in Britain for several years, purchased back some of his family property, and intended finally to settle for the remainder of his life in Scotland. The king of Prussia, however, pressed him so warmly to return to his dominions—saying, in one of his letters, "if I had a fleet, I would come and carry you off by force,"—that he once more became an exile from his native land. He spent the rest of his life in Prussia, in the most intimate terms of friendship with its extraordinary monarch, and the enjoyment of every pleasure that a cultivated mind and a virtuous course of life can secure for mortals. Frederick had discovered that the earl was sincerely attached to his person, and he therefore bestowed upon him in return more of his own friendship than was ever experienced by any other individual. The earl was also the friend and correspondent of Hume, and other literary men of his own country, besides the European literati in general. He died at Potsdam, May 28, 1778, in the 86th year of his age,—two days before Voltaire, who had nearly attained the same age, expired at Paris. An "Eloge de My-lord Marischal," by the celebrated D'Alembert, was published at Berlin in 1779.

KEITH, ROBERT, commonly called bishop Keith, an eminent scholar and antiquary, was born at Uras in Kincardineshire, February 7, 1681. He was named Robert after the viscount of Arbuthnot, who had been suckled by his mother. His father, Alexander Keith, having died while he was only two years of age, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, a most exemplary woman, who spared no pains and no expense within the reach of a very limited income, to inculcate those lessons of virtue and religion, and that knowledge of letters which afterwards procured her son so much honourable distinction.

The bishop seems to have entertained, during his whole life, a deep sense of the obligations under which he lay to this amiable parent, and to have taken great pleasure in expressing it. Though in but indifferent circumstances in the

¹ The worthy bishop gives this anecdote as one related at his table by the celebrated Mr John Skinner, episcopal minister at Langside.

early period of his life, he was yet closely related to one of the most ancient and noble families in the kingdom, being lineally descended from Alexander, the youngest son of William, third earl Marischal.

When he had attained the age of seven years, his mother removed with him to Aberdeen, where he obtained the earlier part of his education. In 1703, he procured the situation of tutor to the young lord Keith and his brother, and in this employment he remained till 1710, when he was admitted to the order of deacons in the Scottish episcopal church, by Haliburton, (titular) bishop of Aberdeen; and in November following became domestic chaplain to Charles, earl of Errol, and his mother, the countess. Two years after, he accompanied his lordship to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, and had thus an opportunity of visiting some of the most celebrated towns and cities on the continent. Leaving the earl at Aix-la-Chapelle, he returned to England and landed at Dover, where he was compelled to remain for several months, in consequence of a severe illness, brought on by exposure during a violent storm which he had encountered in crossing the channel. On recovering sufficiently to enable him to undergo the fatigue of travelling, he set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived in February, 1713. He was shortly after this invited by a congregation of Scottish episcopalians in that city, to become their minister, and was accordingly raised to the priesthood by bishop Haliburton, on the 26th May, in the year just named. His talents and learning had already attracted some notice, and had procured for him a considerable degree of influence in the church to which he belonged, and of which he was always a steady, zealous, but rational supporter; for, although firmly attached to the faith in which he was educated, he was yet extremely liberal and tolerant in his religious sentiments. In June, 1727, he was raised to the episcopate, and was consecrated in Edinburgh by bishops Miller, Rattray, and Gadderar. He was, at the same time, intrusted with the superintendence of the district of Caithness, Orkney, and the Isles, and in 1733, was preferred to that of Fife.

For upwards of twenty years after this period, bishop Keith continued to exercise his duties in Edinburgh, filling a respectable, if not a dignified place in society, and employing his leisure, it would appear, chiefly in the compilation of those historical works which have transmitted his name to posterity. In a manuscript memoir by Mr Murray of Broughton, secretary to prince Charles Stuart—which the present writer has perused—it is clearly signified that, previous to the insurrection of 1745, the bishop corresponded on subjects relating to his depressed and suffering communion, with the court of the Pretender, and that the latter personage, as the supposed head of a supposed church, gave the *congé d'elire* necessary for the election of individuals to exercise the episcopal office.

The first historical work published by the bishop, appeared in 1734, in a folio form, under the title of a "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation in the reign of James V., to the retreat of queen Mary into England." Though tinged here and there with high-church prejudices, the original narrative is a useful, and, upon the whole, a candid record of a very controverted part of our history; while the state documents quoted in the body of the work and at its close, have proved of incalculable service to every later writer upon the same subject. The list of subscribers prefixed to this work is highly curious, as being an almost complete muster-roll of the Jacobite nobility and gentry of the period: among the rest is the famous Rob Roy. In 1755, the bishop published his well-known "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," which has also been a mine of valuable knowledge to later writers. The latter years of this venerable person appear to have been spent at a villa called Bonnyhaugh, on the banks of the water of Leith, which belonged to

himself. Here he died on the 20th of January, 1757, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the Canongate church-yard, a few feet from the wall on the western side, where a plain tomb-stone, inscribed simply with his name, has recently been erected.

Besides his eminent qualifications as an historian and antiquary, the subject of this notice possessed those of an acute and pains-taking genealogist, a study to which he was probably directed by the high value which he always attached to the dignity of his own descent, and which he was at much pains to establish. An instance of his tenacity in this particular, and of his peculiar talent for genealogical research, was exhibited in a dispute into which he entered with Mr Keith of Ravelstone, on the subject of the comparative proximity of their several families to the house of the earls Marischal.

On that occasion he printed a "Vindication of Mr Robert Keith, and of his young grand-nephew Alexander Keith, from the unfriendly representation of Mr Alexander Keith, jun. of Ravelston." In this vindication he not only succeeded in establishing his superior claims to the particular honour in dispute, but showed that he was also related to the dukes of Douglas and Hamilton. His reason for being at so much pains in vindicating the nobility of his descent, is thus spoken of in the document above alluded to: "For although he himself, (he speaks in the third person,) now in the close of the seventieth year of his age, and having only one daughter, might be pretty indifferent about any thing of this nature, yet he suspects his young grand-nephews, (for there are no less than three of them, Alexander, Robert, and John,) when they came of age, might reproach the memory of their uncle, and justly perhaps, for his not endeavouring to set their birth at right against so flagrant an attack, seeing the one was capable, and the others might not have the same means of knowing, or the same abilities to perform it."

The good bishop seems to have been no hoarder of money, for at his death he left only £450, while his colleague and assistant, died worth £3000.

KENNEDY, JAMES, bishop of St Andrews, was the younger of the two sons of James Kennedy of Dunure, and his wife, the countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III. king of Scotland. He was born about the year 1405 or 1406. The earlier part of his education he received at home, under the eye of his mother, and was afterwards, agreeably to the practice of the times, sent abroad to complete it. Being early destined to the church, the only road to preferment at that period, and the only profession, besides, worthy his dignified descent, he devoted himself to the study particularly of theology and the canon law; but, besides his acquirements in these departments of knowledge, he made a singular proficiency in the languages and other branches of learning, and was altogether looked upon as by far the most accomplished prelate of his day.

On his entering into holy orders, he was preferred (1437) by his uncle James I. to the see of Dunkeld. The good bishop was no sooner installed in his office than he set assiduously to work to reform abuses in the church, and to compel his vicars and parsons to a faithful discharge of their duties. He enjoined them to remain in their parishes, and to instruct their parishioners in the knowledge of religion, to preach to them regularly, and to visit, comfort, and encourage the sick. He himself visited all the churches within his diocese four times every year, preaching in each of them as he went along. On these occasions he never failed to inquire of the people if they were duly instructed by their pastors; if they had no complaints against them; whether their poor were properly cared for; and if their youth were brought up in the fear of God. Such were the pious labours of this excellent man at the outset of his career, and he never deviated from them during the whole of a long and active after-life. Finding

his own authority insufficient to enable him to accomplish all the good which he was desirous of doing, in reforming the abuses which had crept into the church, he went over to Florence to procure additional powers for this purpose from the pope, Eugenius IV. On this occasion his holiness, as a mark of his esteem for the worthy prelate, bestowed upon him the *commendam* of the abbacy of Leone.

On the death of Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrew, an event which happened on 6th April, 1440, Kennedy was chosen as his successor in that see; and to this new and more important charge, he brought all that activity and anxiety to do good which had distinguished him while he filled the bishopric of Dunkeld. He continued his efforts to reform the manners and practice of the clergy, and in 1446, set out on a second journey to Italy, to consult with and obtain the co-operation of the pope in his work of reformation. On this occasion he was accompanied by a train of thirty persons; for though moderate and temperate in all his pursuits and enjoyments, he was yet of an exceedingly liberal and generous disposition, and a scrupulous maintainer of the dignity of the sacred office which he held, and he had sufficient penetration to discover how much of this, as of all human dignities, depends upon extrinsic aids. His dislike of turbulence and anarchy, and his constant efforts to reconcile differences where they existed, and to discountenance oppression, and to restrain illegal power, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the house of Douglas, which, during the minority of James II., had nearly accomplished the total overthrow of the hereditary royalty of Scotland. In revenge of the part he took in restraining the power of that ambitious family, his lands were plundered by the earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie of Inveraritie, at the instigation of the earl of Douglas, who had farther instructed them to seize, if possible, the person of the bishop, and to put him in irons. This fate he avoided by confining himself to his castle, the only mode of resistance which he thought consistent with his sacred character as a minister of religion. He was, however, eventually the means of reducing the power of the Douglasses within limits more consistent with the peace and safety of the kingdom. James II., almost driven from his throne by the increasing insolence and influence of the chief of that house, went in despair to St Andrews, to seek the counsel and advice of its able and amiable bishop. On the prince and prelate meeting, the former laid before him the desperate situation to which the growing power and daring effrontery of the earl of Douglas had reduced him. He informed him that he had learned that Douglas was mustering a large army either to dethrone him or drive him from the country; that he knew no means of resisting him, and was utterly at a loss what steps to take in this emergency. "Sir," replied the bishop, perceiving that the disconsolate king was exhausted with fatigue as well as depressed in spirits, "I entreat your grace to partake, in the mean time, of some refreshment, and while ye do so, I will pass into my chamber and pray to God for you and the commonwealth of this realm."

On retiring, as he had proposed, the good bishop fervently implored the interference of the Almighty in behalf of the unhappy prince, who, friendless and distracted, had sought his counsel and advice; and when the king had finished his repast, he came forth, and taking him by the hand, led him into the apartment in which he himself had been praying, and there they both knelt down and besought the guidance and assistance of Him who directs all things,—a scene than which it would not probably be easy to conceive anything more striking or interesting.

When they had concluded their devotions, the bishop proceeded to point out to the king such a mode of procedure as he deemed the most suitable to the circumstances. He advised the monarch immediately to issue proclamations, calling upon his subjects in the north to muster around his standard, which he afterwards

erected at St Andrews, and still more wisely, and as the issue showed, with a still better effect, proposed his offering pardon to all who, having previously attached themselves to the earl of Douglas, would now abandon his cause, and aid that of the king. The consequence was, that James soon found himself at the head of forty thousand men. The final muster took place at Stirling, and a battle, which was to decide whether a Douglas or a Stuart was to be king of Scotland, appeared to be at hand; for the former with an equal force was at that moment encamped on the south side of the Carron. But, while in the very act of advancing with his army to encounter the forces of the king, Douglas detected the effects of the amnesty proclaimed by James by the advice of the bishop of St Andrews. A spirit of disaffection and indications of doubt and wavering appeared in his ranks. Alarmed by these symptoms, he marched his army back to their encampment, hoping to restore their confidence in him by the following day, when he proposed again to march forth against the enemy. The result, however, was directly the reverse of what he had anticipated. The feeling which he expected to subdue, in place of subsiding, gained ground; so that in the morning, there were not a hundred men remaining of all Douglas's host. Finding himself thus suddenly deserted, the earl instantly fled; and in this manner fell the overgrown power of the house of Douglas,—a circumstance mainly, if not entirely attributable to the wisdom and energy of the bishop of St Andrews.

On the death of James II., bishop Kennedy was intrusted with the charge and education of his son, afterwards James III., then about seven years of age. His known wisdom, prudence, and integrity, pointed him out as the fittest person for this important duty, and on the same ground there was added to it a large share in the management of public affairs during the regency of the queen-mother. He had acquired an authority in the kingdom by the mere influence of his character, which few had ever attained by adventitious circumstances, and which no churchman had at any time before enjoyed; and he was thus enabled to accomplish more amongst a rude and barbarous people, than would have been yielded to the mere force of power or rank. The consequence was, that an unusual quietness and prosperity pervaded the whole kingdom during his administration. He enjoyed the confidence and good-will of all parties, and was no less esteemed for his probity, humanity, and wisdom, than admired for the splendour of his abilities; and so highly was his character appreciated, and so universal the satisfaction which his government afforded, that the chief management of public affairs was still left in his hands—even after the death of the queen-mother, and remained with him until his own death, which took place on the 10th of May, 1466, an event which was widely and sincerely deplored.

Bishop Kennedy was not less remarkable for his munificence than for the other splendid qualities which composed his character. He founded the college at St Andrews, called St Salvator's, in honour of our Saviour, and endowed it with a fund for the maintenance of a provost, four regents, and eight poor scholars, or bursars, at an expense of about ten thousand pounds. He built a ship, which was afterwards known by the name of the Bishop's Barge, at a similar cost, and his tomb is said to have been equally expensive with the two former. In 1444, he was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, but this office he resigned in a few weeks afterwards, because he found it interfered with those projects for doing good in his clerical capacity, which he had resolved to follow out from the beginning of his career. He was, by his own desire, interred in the collegiate church of St Andrews, where his tomb is still shown, along with several silver maces which were found in it some years ago.

KER, JOHN, third duke of Roxburgh, distinguished by his eminent bibliographical knowledge, and his extensive and valuable collection of books, was born

in Hanover Square, London, on the 23d April, 1740. He was the eldest son of Robert, the second duke, by Essex Mostyn, daughter of Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn, in Kentshire, baronet. In 1755, he succeeded his father in the dukedom, to which was attached the British peerage of earl and baron Ker of Wakefield; and he appears to have soon after proceeded upon his travels on the continent. It is stated that, while in Germany, he formed an attachment to Christiana Sophia Albertina, eldest daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and that their nuptials would have taken place, had not her sister Charlotte, just at that time, been espoused by the king of Great Britain. Etiquette then interfered, to prevent what would otherwise have been an equal and proper match, it being deemed improper that the elder should become the subject of the younger sister. Both parties, however, evinced the strength of their attachment, by devoting their after-lives to celibacy. It seems to have been to this event that Sir Walter Scott alludes, when he says of the duke: "Youthful misfortunes, of a kind against which neither wealth nor rank possess a talisman, cast an early shade of gloom over his prospects, and gave to one splendidly endowed with the means of enjoying society, that degree of reserved melancholy, which prefers retirement to the splendid scenes of gayety." To whatever extent George III. might be the innocent cause of his grace's misfortune, it does not appear to have, in the least, marred a strong friendship which existed between them—"a tie of rare occurrence," Sir Walter Scott justly observes, "between prince and subject." In 1767, his grace was appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, and next year was invested with the order of the thistle. The former honour gave him a title to be much about the court; but he never farther engaged himself in a public career.

The taste which his grace imbibed to so extraordinary an extent for book-collecting, is stated by Sir Walter to have originated in an accidental circumstance. "Lord Oxford and lord Sunderland, both famous collectors of the time, dined one day at the house of the second duke of Roxburgh, when their conversation happened to turn upon the editio princeps of Boccaccio, printed at Venice in 1471, and so rare that its very existence was doubted of. The duke was himself no collector, but it happened that a copy of this very book had passed under his eye, and been offered to him for sale at a hundred guineas, then thought an immense price. It was, therefore, with complete assurance that he undertook to produce to the connoisseurs a copy of the treasure in question, and did so at the time appointed, with no small triumph. His son, then marquis of Beaumont, never forgot the little scene upon this occasion, and used to ascribe to it the strong passion which he ever afterwards felt for rare books and editions, and which rendered him one of the most assiduous and judicious collectors that ever formed a sumptuous library."

There can be no doubt, at the same time, that the duke chanced to possess that perseverance of character and genuine literary taste, without which such an impulse as this must have been of no avail. "Sylvan amusements," says Sir Walter, "occupied the more active part of his time when in Scotland; and in book-collecting, while residing in London, he displayed a degree of patience which has rarely been equalled, and never excelled. It could scarcely be said, whether the duke of Roxburgh's assiduity and eagerness were most remarkable, when he lay for hours together, though the snow was falling at the time, beside some lovely spring in the Cheviot hills, where he expected the precarious chance of shooting a wild goose, when the dawning should break; or when he toiled for hours, nay, for days, collecting and verifying his edition of the Black Acts, or Caxton's Boke of Troy."

¹ Quarterly Review, xlv. 416.

With the exception of singularly fortunate adventures in the procuring of old books, the duke's life passed on in an almost unvaried tenor, in the pursuits just alluded to. At his seat of Fleurs in Scotland, where he spent but a small portion of his time, he had a proportionately small library; but at his house in St James's Square, London, where he chiefly resided, he, in time, amassed the most valuable private library in the country. In 1796, he was appointed groom of the stable, and initiated a privy councillor, and in 1801 was honoured with the garter, which he was permitted to bear along with the thistle, a mark of honour conferred on no other subject since 1712, when the duke of Hamilton had the same distinction from queen Anne.² For upwards of forty years, he continued his book-collecting habits without intermission, being much aided during a great part of the time by Mr G. Nichol, bookseller to the king, whose services towards the excellent library collected by George III., and afterwards given by George IV. to the nation, were also very eminent. At length, on the 19th of March, 1804, the duke died of inflammation in the liver, at his house in London, in the 64th year of his age. He was buried at Bowden, near Melrose.

His library, at his death, consisted of upwards of ten thousand distinct articles, many of them of the greatest rarity and of high value, though it was understood that in many cases he had purchased them at comparatively low prices. It would be vain to pretend that his grace had made or could make a good use of such a vast mass of literature, much of it of an obsolete kind; yet, neither can there be any doubt that he read much of what he purchased, and seemed, upon the whole, to aim rather at gratifying an innate taste for letters, and a devout and worshipful regard for their brightest ornaments, than either for the pride of possessing so many curiosities, or the usual antiquarian appreciation of minute peculiarities in the *externe* of books.

Early English literature and the *Table Ronde* had been the chief objects of his research. Of the former he possessed not only the rarest, but, in point of condition, the most beautiful specimens in existence. He idolized the talents of Shakspeare and Cervantes, and collected every thing that could illustrate their works. Fifteen different editions of Shakspeare's complete works, with seventy-five separate plays in different editions, and fourteen distinct works respecting this great dramatic author, are to be found in the catalogue. In the poetical department of early English literature, he had a great collection; in which the most curious article was a very large assortment of ancient ballads and fugitive pieces of poetry in three volumes folio, which had been first formed for the library of the earl of Oxford, afterwards enlarged by major Pearson and Mr Isaac Reid, then increased to a great extent by the duke himself, and which brought, at the sale, no less than four hundred and seventy-seven pounds, fifteen shillings. The duke had also collected many ancient manuscripts, some of them splendidly illuminated; and it is mentioned, that he read these with great facility, as was testified by various remarks which he wrote upon them with his own hand. He had the largest and finest collection of the books printed by Caxton, in England. At his death he was in full pursuit of the English dramatic authors; and when the large collection he possessed is taken into account, along with the comparative briefness of the time during which he had directed his attention this way, his industry seems prodigious. He had an uncommon quantity of books and tracts relative to criminals, detections of witches, and other impostors. Mr Nichol, in the preface to the catalogue, says, "he had a particular pleasure

² No man could have borne these honours with more grace than the duke of Roxburgh, whose "lofty presence and felicitous address," according to Sir Walter Scott, "recalled the ideas of a court in which lord Chesterfield might have acted as master of the ceremonies."

in exercising those discriminating powers which he so eminently possessed, in tracing out the images by which the perverted ingenuity of the human mind often attempts to impose upon the credulity of its fellow creatures."

This splendid library was, after a long and distressing delay from litigation, brought to sale, in May, 1812; an event which may be said to have created more sensation than any other connected with literature during the present century—the disclosure of the Waverley secret alone excepted. Mr Dibdin, in his *Bibliographical Decameron*, has given an account of the proceedings, under the metaphorical semblance of a battle among the bibliomaniacs. He calls it *THE ROXBURGH FIGHT*; and to this record we must be indebted for the account of a transaction which it would be improper to overlook in this memoir.

"It would seem," says this facetious writer, "as if the year of our Lord 1811, was destined, in the annals of the book auctions, to be calm and quiescent, as a prelude and contrast to the tremendous explosion or contest which, in the succeeding year, was to rend asunder the bibliomaniacal elements. It is well known that Mr George Nichol had long prepared the catalogue of that extraordinary collection; and a sort of *avant-courier* or *picquet guard* preceded the march of the whole army, in the shape of a *preface*, privately circulated among the friends of the author. The publication of a certain work, ycleped the *Bibliomania*, had also probably stirred up the metal and hardened the sinews of the contending book-knights. At length the hour of battle arrived. * * * For *two-and-forty* successive days—with the exception only of Sundays—was the voice and hammer of Mr Evans heard, with equal efficacy, in the dining-room of the late duke, which had been appropriated to the vendition of the books; and within that same space (some thirty-five feet by twenty,) were such deeds of valour performed, and such feats of book-heroism achieved, as had never been previously beheld: and of which the like will probably never be seen again. The shouts of the victors and the groans of the vanquished, stunned and appalled you as you entered. The throng and press, both of idle spectators and determined bidders, was unprecedented. A sprinkling of Caxtons and De Wordes marked the first day; and these were obtained at high, but comparatively with the subsequent sums given, moderate prices. *Theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and philology*, chiefly marked the earlier days of this tremendous contest: and occasionally, during these days, there was much stirring up of courage, and many hard and heavy blows were interchanged; and the combatants may be said to have completely wallowed themselves in the conflict! At length came *poetry*, Latin, Italian, and French; a steady fight yet continued to be fought: victory seemed to hang in doubtful scales—sometimes on the one, sometimes on the other side of Mr Evans—who preserved throughout, (as it was his bounden duty to preserve,) a uniform, impartial, and steady course; and who may be said, on that occasion, if not to have 'rode the whirlwind,' at least to have 'directed the storm.' At length came *ENGLISH POETRY!!* and with that came the tug and trial of war: Greek met Greek: in other words, grandee was opposed to grandee; and the indomitable Atticus was compelled to retire, stunned by the repeated blows upon his helmet. The lance dropped from his hand, and a swimming darkness occasionally skimmed his view—for on that day, the *Waterloo* among book-battles, many a knight came far and wide from his retirement, and many an unfledged combatant left his father's castle to partake of the glory of such a contest. Among these knights from a 'far countree' no one shot his arrows with a more deadly effect than Astiachus! But it was reserved for Romulus to reap the greatest victories in that poetic contest! He fought with a choice body-guard; and the combatants seemed amazed at the perseverance and energy with which that body-guard dealt their death-blows around them!

“ *Dramatic Poetry* followed ; what might be styled rare and early pieces connected with our ancient poetry ; but the combat now took a more tranquil turn : as after ‘ a smart brush ’ for an *early Shakspeare* or two, Atticus and Coriolanus, with a few well known dramatic aspirants, obtained almost unmolested possession of the field.

“ At this period, to keep up our important metaphor, the great *Roxburgh day* of battle had been somewhere half gone through, or decided. There was no disposition, however, on either side to relax from former efforts ; when (prepare for something terrific !) the *Romances* made their appearance ; and just at this crisis it was that more blood was spilt, and more ferocity exhibited, than had ever been previously witnessed.”

We interrupt Mr Dibdin to mention, that the *great blow* of the day was struck for that volume which has been already alluded to, as purchased by the duke’s father for a hundred guineas,—a volume of singular value, which Mr Nichol very properly intitles the most *notorious* in existence—the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, printed (folio) by Christopher Valdarfer at Venice in 1471, and supposed to be quite unique. “ Mr Nichol, in his *avant-courier* of a preface,” thus writes Mr Dibdin in a note, “ had not a little provoked the bibliomaniacal appetites of his readers : telling them that ‘ in the class of Italian poets and novelists was the first edition of *Il Decamerone di Boccaccio*, 1471. This was certainly one of the scareest, if not the very scareest book, that existed. It has now for upwards of 300 years preserved its unquity, if that term be allowable.’ It was also previously known that this very book had been a sort of bone of contention among the collectors in the reign of the two first Georges. Lord Sunderland had seen it, and lord Oxford had cast a longing eye thereupon ; but it was reserved for an ancestor of the duke of Roxburgh to secure it—for the gallant price of 100 guineas ! This purchase took place before the year 1740. * * I have a perfect recollection of this notorious volume, while in the library of the late duke. It had a faded yellow morocco binding, and was a sound rather than a fine copy. The expectations formed of the probable price for which it would be sold were excessive ; yet not so excessive as the price itself turned out to be. The marked champions were pretty well known beforehand to be the earl Spencer, the marquis of Blandford (now duke of Marlborough), and the duke of Devonshire. Such a rencontre, such a ‘ shock of fight,’ naturally begot uncommon curiosity. My friends, Sir Egerton Bridges, Mr Lang, and Mr G. H. Freeling, did me the kindness to breakfast with me on the morning of the sale—and upon the conclusion of the repast, Sir Egerton’s carriage conveyed us from Kensington to St James’s Square.

—The morning lowered
And heavily with clouds came on the day—
Big with the fate of . . . and of

In fact the rain fell in torrents, as we lighted from the carriage and rushed with a sort of impetuosity to gain seats to view the contest. The room was crowded to excess ; and a sudden darkness which came across gave rather an additional interest to the scene. At length the moment of sale arrived. Evans prefaced the putting up of the article by an appropriate oration, in which he expatiated upon its excessive rarity, and concluded by informing the company of the regret and even ‘anguish of heart’ expressed by Mr Van Praet [librarian to the emperor Napoleon] that such a treasure was not to be found in the imperial collection at Paris. Silence followed the address of Mr Evans. On his right hand, leaning against the wall, stood earl Spencer : a little lower down, and standing at right angles with his lordship, appeared the marquis of Blandford. Lord Al-

thorp stood a little backward to the right of his father, earl Spencer. Such was 'the ground taken up' by the adverse hosts. The honour of firing the first shot was due to a gentleman of Shropshire, unused to this species of warfare, and who seemed to recoil from the reverberation of the report himself had made!—"One hundred guineas," he exclaimed. Again a pause ensued; but anon the biddings rose rapidly to 500 guineas. Hitherto, however, it was evident that the firing was but masked and desultory. At length all random shots ceased; and the champions before named stood gallantly up to each other, resolving not to flinch from a trial of their respective strengths.

"'A thousand guineas' were bid by earl Spencer—to which the marquis added 'ten.' You might have heard a pin drop. All eyes were turned—all breathing well nigh stopped—every sword was put home within its scabbard—and not a piece of steel was seen to move or to glitter, except that which each of these champions brandished in his valorous hand. See, see!—they parry, they lunge, they bet: yet their strength is undiminished, and no thought of yielding is entertained by either. *Two thousand pounds* are offered by the marquis. Then it was that earl Spencer, as a prudent general, began to think of a useless effusion of blood and expenditure of ammunition—seeing that his adversary was as resolute and 'fresh' as at the onset. For a quarter of a minute he paused: when my lord Althorp advanced one step forward, as if to supply his father with another spear for the purpose of renewing the contest. His countenance was marked by a fixed determination to gain the prize—if prudence, in its most commanding form, and with a frown of unusual intensity of expression, had not bade him desist. The father and son for a few seconds converse apart; and the biddings are resumed. '*Two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds*' said lord Spencer! The spectators were now absolutely electrified. The marquis quietly adds his usual 'ten,' * * and there is an *end of the contest*. Mr Evans, ere his hammer fell made a due pause—and indeed, as if by something preternatural, the ebony instrument itself seemed to be charmed or suspended 'in the mid air.' However, at length, down dropped the hammer. * * * The spectators," continues Mr Dibdin in his text, "stood aghast! and the sound of Mr Evans' prostrate sceptre of dominion reached, and resounded from, the utmost shores of Italy. The echo of that fallen hammer was heard in the libraries of Rome, of Milan, and St Mark. Boccaccio himself started from his slumber of some five hundred years; and Mr Van Praet rushed, but rushed in vain, amidst the royal book-treasures at Paris to see if a copy of the said *Valdarfer Boccaccio* could there be found! The price electrified the bystanders, and astounded the public!"³

"What boots it to recount minutely the various achievements which marked the conclusion of the *Roxburgh contest*, or to describe in the manner of Sterne, the melancholy devastations which followed that deathless day? The battle languished towards its termination [rather, we suspect, from a failure of ammunition than of valour or spirit on the part of the combatants]; but notwithstanding, there was oftentimes a disposition manifested to resume the glories of the earlier part of the day—and to show that the spirit of bibliomania was not made of poor and perishable stuff. Illustrious be the names of the book-heroes, who both conquered and fell during the tremendous conflict just de-

³ The marquis's triumph was marked by a plaudit of hands, and presently after he offered his hand to lord Spencer, saying, "We are good friends still!" His lordship replied, "Perfectly, indeed I am obliged to you." "So am I to you," said the marquis; "so the obligation is mutual." He declared that it was his intention to have gone as far as £5000. The noble marquis had previously possessed a copy of the same edition, wanting five leaves; "for which five leaves," lord S. remarked, "he might be said to have given £2000."

scribed! And let it be said, that John duke of Roxburgh both deserved well of his country and the book cause."

Mr Dibdin gives many other instructive particulars respecting this sale. He mentions that the duke's library occupied a range of apartments in the second floor of his house; and in a room adjoining, and into which the library opened, "slept and died" the illustrious collector himself. "All his migrations," says Mr Dibdin, "were confined to these two rooms. When Mr Nichol showed me the very bed upon which this bibliomaniacal duke had expired, I felt—as I trust I ought to have felt, upon the occasion!" He also informs us that a gentleman who bought many articles was generally understood to be an agent of the emperor Napoleon, but at last turned out to have been a secret emissary of the duke of Devonshire. A letter which he received from Sir Walter Scott on the occasion of this sale, is too characteristic to be omitted. "The Roxburgh sale," says the author of *Marmion*, "sets my teeth on edge. But if I can trust mine eyes, there are now twelve masons at work on a cottage and offices at this little farm, which I purchased last year. Item, I have planted thirty acres, and am in the act of walling a garden. Item, I have a wife and four bairns crying, as our old song has it, 'porridge ever mair.' So, on the whole, my teeth must get off the edge, as those of the fox with the grapes in the fable. *Abbotsford, by Melrose, 3rd May, 1812.*"

It would be improper, in a memoir of the duke of Roxburgh, to omit a circumstance so honourable to his name as the formation of the society called the "Roxburgh." "The number of noblemen and gentlemen," says Sir Walter Scott,⁴ "distinguished by their taste for this species of literature, who assembled there [at the sale] from day to day, and lamented or boasted the event of the competition, was unexampled; and in short the concourse of attendants terminated in the formation of a society of about thirty amateurs, having the learned and amiable earl Spencer at their head, who agreed to constitute a club, which should have for its object of union the common love of rare and curious volumes, and should be distinguished by the name of that nobleman, at the dispersion of whose library the proposal had taken its rise, and who had been personally known to most of the members. We are not sure whether the publication of rare tracts was an original object of their friendly re-union, or, if it was not, how and when it came to be engrafted thereupon. Early, however, after the formation of the Roxburgh Club, it became one of its rules, that each member should present the society, at such time as he might find most convenient, with an edition of a curious manuscript, or the reprint of some ancient tract, the selection being left at the pleasure of the individual himself. These books were to be printed in a handsome manner, and uniformly, and were to be distributed among the gentlemen of the club. * * * * Under this system, the Roxburgh Club has proceeded and flourished for many years, and produced upwards of forty reprints of scarce and curious tracts, among which many are highly interesting, not only from their value, but also their intrinsic merit."

It remains only to be added, that this association has been the model of several others in different parts of the world. We are aware, at least, of La Société des Biblioglyphes in Paris, and the Bannatyne, Maitland, and Abbotsford Clubs in our own country. Such institutions show that a taste for literary antiquities is extending amongst us; yet it must also be stated, that the desire of forming libraries such as that of the duke of Roxburgh is much on the decline, and that if his grace's stock had been brought to the hammer in our own day, it would have neither created the sensation which it did create, nor brought such "astounding" prices.

⁴ Quarterly Review, xliv. 417.

KER, ROBERT, earl of Ancrum, a nobleman of literary accomplishment, and the direct ancestor of the present noble family of Lothian, was descended from a third son of Sir Andrew Ker of Ferniehurst, and entered public life as laird of Ancrum in Roxburghshire. He was born about the year 1578, and succeeded to the family estate in 1590, on the death of his father, who was assassinated by his kinsman, Robert Ker, younger of Cessford. He was cousin to the famous, or rather infamous Robert Ker, the favourite of James VI., and who was raised by that prince to the title of earl of Somerset. The subject of this memoir appears to have also been honoured, at an early period of life, with court favour. Soon after the king's accession to the English throne, he is observed to occupy a considerable station in the household of prince Henry, which was, perhaps, more splendid, and consisted of more persons than the present royal household. He afterwards was employed about the person of prince Charles, who became his patron through life. By the mediation of this prince, a match was effected between Sir Robert and the lady Anne Stanley, daughter of the earl of Derby.

In 1620, Sir Robert was involved in a fatal quarrel by a young man named Charles Maxwell, who insulted him, without the least provocation, as he was entering the palace at Newmarket. In a duel, which followed, Sir Robert killed his antagonist; and, although the friends of the deceased are said to have acquitted him of all blame, so strict were the rules established by the king for the prevention and punishment of duels, that he was obliged to fly to Holland, where he remained about a year. During his exile, he employed himself in the collection of pictures, for which, like his royal master, he had a good taste: those which he brought with him on his return, were eventually presented to the prince. He was also distinguished by his literary taste. In Drummond's works there are a letter and sonnet which he addressed, in 1624, to that poet, and which breathe an amiable and contemplative spirit. The latter is as follows:

A SONNET IN PRAISE OF A SOLITARY LIFE.

SWEET solitary life! lovely, dumb joy,
 That need'st no warnings how to grow more wise
 By other men's mishaps, nor the annoy
 Which from sore wrongs done to one's self doth rise.
 The morning's second mansion, truth's first friend,
 Never acquainted with the world's vain broils,
 Where the whole day to our own use we spend,
 And our dear time no fierce ambition spoils.
 Most happy state, that never takest revenge
 For injuries received, nor dost fear
 The court's great earthquake, the grieved truth of change,
 Nor none of falsehood's savoury lies dost hear;
 Nor knows hope's sweet disease that charms our sense,
 Nor its sad cure—dear-bought experience!

R. K. A.

On the accession of Charles to the throne, in 1625, Sir Robert Ker was one of the friends who experienced his favour. He was in that year constituted a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and in June, 1633, when the king was in Scotland at his coronation, he was elevated to the peerage, under the title of earl of Ancrum. Previous to this period, his son William, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Murray of Blackbarony, had married his relative, Anne, countess of Lothian in her own right, and had been, by the king, en-

dowed with a full participation of that title. It was therefore arranged, in the patent granted to the subject of this memoir, that his own title should descend to the children of his second marriage. He thus enjoyed the singular honour of being father of two peers.

Unlike many other persons who owed every thing to this prince, the earl of Ancrum continued his steady adherent during the whole of his troubles; though he was unable to prevent his eldest son, the earl of Lothian, from acting one of the most conspicuous parts on the opposite side. On the death of Charles, his lordship took refuge in Holland, where he spent the remainder of his days in solitary afflictions and poverty, and died in 1654, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His title was inherited by his son Charles, but ultimately merged in that of Lothian. In Park's edition of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, there is a beautiful portrait of his lordship, assigning him a thoughtful and strongly-marked countenance, and apparently done in old age.

KERR, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1755.¹ He was the son of Mr James Kerr of Bughridge, jeweller in Edinburgh, convener of the trades and M.P. for the city, which honours he held at the same time,² by Elizabeth, daughter of lord Charles Kerr, second son of Robert, first marquis of Lothian. Mr Kerr was educated at the High school and university of Edinburgh; and having qualified himself to act as a surgeon, entered into business as partner with an aged practitioner named Wardrope, whose daughter he subsequently married. He had the misfortune to be very lame in one of his limbs, which caused him to sink greatly to one side in walking. His first literary effort was a translation of Lavoisier's Elements of Chemistry, published in 1789, in which year he also gave to the world a version of Berthollet's Essay on the New Method of Bleaching by means of Muriatic Acid and Oxygen. The approbation with which these publications were received, induced him to commence a translation of Linnæus's Zoological System; two volumes of which were published, (4to) in 1792, but which did not meet with so much success as to tempt him to proceed with the rest. Having failed with the dry classifications of the Swedish philosopher, he commenced a translation of the more popular work of Buffon on Oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents, the first volume of which appeared in 1793, and the fourth and last in 1800. The execution of these translations was highly extolled in the reviews of the time, and caused Mr Kerr to be respectfully known in the world of letters.

The political predilections of this gentleman being decidedly whiggish, he published in 1794, a pamphlet, entitled "A Vindication of the Friends of Freedom from the aspersion of Disloyalty;" being designed, as its name imports, to prove that the liberality of his party was not inconsistent with a steady attach-

¹ The exact place of his birth is not known; but it was a mansion in Roxburghshire, near the Cheviot hills, where his mother happened to be on a visit at the time. The usual residence of his parents was in Edinburgh.

² An intimate friend of Mr Robert Kerr supplies us with the following information respecting his father:—

"Mr James Kerr was the son of a jeweller in the Parliament Square, Edinburgh, whose shop was attached to the walls of the old cathedral of St Giles; the first on the right hand in going into the square. The house occupied by this person was a mere cellar under the shop, and partly projecting below the adjacent pavement, from which its sole light was derived by means of a grating. In consequence of the family, which was very numerous, being brought up in this miserable and unhealthy hovel, they all died in infancy, except the father of the author, whose life was saved by his being removed to more roomy accommodations on the opposite side of the square. Mr James Kerr was the last citizen who had the honour to represent the city in parliament. It may be mentioned that he was one of the jury on the famous trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, for the murder of the earl of Strathmore in 1728, when, through the persuasive eloquence of the first lord president Dundas, then at the bar, and counsel for the prisoner, the jury recognized the liberty of Scotland, by resuming the right to judge not only of the naked fact, but of the fact and the law conjunctively."

ment to the existing monarchical form of government. The prevailing tone of his mind was political, and he used to argue on topics which interested him with great ardour and even enthusiasm, insomuch that he often appeared suffering from passion when he was not.

In the year 1794, Mr Kerr was induced to embark his fortune, which was not inconsiderable, in the purchase and management of a paper-mill at Ayton in Berwickshire. The speculation, after a trial of several years, turned out unfortunately, and reduced him in the latter part of life to circumstances very inconsistent with his merits, either as a man or as an author. These circumstances, however, renewed his exertions in literature, after they had been long intermitted. In 1809, he published a General View of the Agriculture of Berwickshire, and in 1811, *Memoirs of Mr William Smellie*, and a *History of Scotland during the reign of Robert Bruce*, both of which last were in two volumes octavo. About the same time, he conducted through the press, for Mr Blackwood, a *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in eighteen volumes octavo. The memoirs of Mr Smellie, though disproportioned to the subject, contain much valuable literary anecdote. Mr Kerr's last work was a translation of Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, which was published in 1815 (after his death), with an introduction and notes by professor Jamieson. The event just alluded to took place on the 11th of October, 1813, when he was about fifty-eight years of age. He left one son, a captain in the navy, and two daughters, both of whom were married.

Mr Kerr was a kind and warm-hearted man, liberal and honourable in his dealings, possessed of extensive information, and in every respect an ornament to society.

KIRKALDY, WILLIAM, one of the earliest converts to the protestant faith in Scotland, and a brave and accomplished man, was the eldest son of Sir James Kirkaldy of Grange, high treasurer to James V. of Scotland.¹ Of the period of his birth and the method of his education we have been unable to discover any satisfactory information; but like the greater number of the Scottish barons at that time, he seems to have chosen, or to have been devoted by his parents, to the profession of arms. At the death of James, his father seems to have lost his situation in the government; yet with a view of procuring that nobleman's assistance to the cause of protestantism, he was one of the most active assistants in raising Arran to the regency; but in the hope he had formed, he was to a considerable extent disappointed.

Young Grange, as well as his father, had embraced the principles of the Reformation; and his first appearance in the historic page is as one of the conspirators against the persecutor, cardinal David Beaton. The circumstances of this renowned conspiracy have already been commemorated in these pages. The conspirators having, by an act which cannot be justified, avenged the death of the martyr Wishart by assassinating his murderer, shut themselves up in the castle of St Andrews, which they held for several months, and only surrendered, after being besieged by a French force, in the end of July or the beginning of August, 1546. It was stipulated that the lives of all that were in the castle should be spared; that they should be transported to France, whence, if they did not choose to continue in that country, they were to be transported to whatever other country they chose, Scotland excepted. The victors, however, did not find it necessary or convenient to attend to the terms of the stipulation; the greater part of the garrison were sent to the gal-

¹ The facts in this article are in general taken from the memoir of Kirkaldy of Grange by Mr Graham Dalryell, a gentleman who has been so minute in his investigations that it would be difficult to find a fact of importance omitted by him.

leys, and the leaders immured in different dungeons. Norman Leslie, Peter Carmichael, and the subject of this memoir, were imprisoned in Mount St Michael, where they lay a considerable time. From this place they wrote a letter to John Knox, who was in the galleys, asking the somewhat superfluous question whether they might not with a good conscience break their prison. To this Knox naturally answered in the affirmative, with the proviso, that they were not morally entitled to shed blood in the attempt.

Embracing the opportunity of a festival night, when the garrison were intoxicated, they bound every man in the castle, locked the doors, and departed, having, it is said, strictly adhered to the humane recommendation of Knox. The two Leslies came to Rohan, and speedily escaped; but Kirkaldy and Peter Carmichael, disguised as beggars, wandered through the country for upwards of a quarter of a year; at the termination of which period they got on board a French ship, which landed them in the west of Scotland, whence they found their way into England.

Kirkaldy appears to have spent a considerable portion of the ensuing period of his life in France, where he entered the army, and was distinguished as a brave and skilful soldier in the wars between the French king and the emperor Charles V. Sir James Melville informs us, that in these wars he commanded a hundred light horsemen; and for his useful services, received the commendation of the duke of Vendome, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Aumale. Henry II., he adds, used to point him out and say, "Yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age." Henry indeed seems to have used him with the most endearing familiarity, and in all the pastimes which he attended, is said to have chosen Grange as a supporter of his own side, in their mimic battles; while, according to the same writer, who is always circumstantial in recording the honours paid to a Scotsman, the great constable of France would never speak to him uncovered. We are not aware of the exact date of his return to Scotland, but we find him in that country in the year 1559.

During the border wars of this period, an incident occurred peculiarly characteristic of the chivalrous temper of Kirkaldy, which is otherwise remarkable as being the latest "passage of arms" which has been handed down to us, described with all the minute "pomp and circumstance" of Froissart. Lindsay of Pitscottie, who describes the circumstance, tells us, that lord Evers's brother desired to fight with Kirkaldy "ane singular combatt upone horseback with speares." Sir William was "very weil content" with such a species of amusement, and consented to meet the challenger on any spot he might prefer. The lord Evers's brother was attended by the governor of Berwick and his whole garrison, while Kirkaldy was waited on by "Monseor Doswell (Mons. d' Oswell?), the king of France lieftenant," with the garrison of Heymouth, and other Scottish gentlemen. In bringing the opposing armies so near each other, and within view of example so seducing, it was necessary to "decerne under paine of treasoun, that no man should come near the championes, be the space of ane flight shot." Each of the champions had a squire to bear his spear, there were two trumpeters to sound the charge, and after the most approved method, two lords were appointed as judges of the field, "to sie the matter finished." "And when all things war put to ordour, and the championes horsed, and their speirs in their hands, then the trumpeters sounded, and the heralds cryed, and the judges let them go, and they ran together very furiously on both sides, bot the laird of Grange ran his adversar, the Inglisman, throw his shoulder blaid, and aff his hors, and was woundit deadlie, and in perill of his lyff; but quihidder he died or lived I cannot tell,² bot the laird of Grange wan the victorie that day."

² Lindsay of Pitscottie, *ii.* 521.

Kirkaldy became after this incident actively engaged in the cause of the Reformation. When the French troops arrived to subdue Scotland, and by means of the popish faction reduce it to a province of France, no man stood firmer to the interests of his country, and in the first encounter he is said to have slain the first man with his own hand. To the French, who were aware of his bravery and military skill, he was particularly obnoxious, and in one of their inroads through Fife they razed his house of Grange to the foundation. Naturally exasperated at such an act, Kirkaldy sent a defiance to the French commander; reproached him for his barbarity, and reminded him of the many Frenchmen whom he had saved when engaged in quarrels not his own. The commander, less chivalrous than Grange, paid no regard to the communication; and the latter took vengeance by waylaying a party of marauders, and cutting them off to a man. During this invasion of Fife by the French, he had a mere handful of men, and these were but poorly provided, yet he retarded the powerful and well-appointed troops of France at every village and at every field, disputing as it were, every inch of ground, and making them purchase at a ruinous price every advantage.

In common with all the wise and good among his countrymen, Kirkaldy was convinced of the danger of the French alliance, and of the far superior advantages which might be derived from a connexion with England, which by a barbarous and ignorant policy had been always overlooked or despised, and he contributed materially to the formation of that friendship which subsisted between the ministers of Elizabeth and the Scottish reformers, without which, it may be doubted if the reformation of that country could have been effected. In the contests that arose between Mary and her subjects, while it must be admitted that his correspondence with the English was clandestine, contrary to the law, and not perhaps dictated by motives quite purely patriotic, he steadily adhered to the popular cause. Kirkaldy was among the number of the adherents of Moray, who on the temporary success of the queen, were compelled in 1565, to take refuge or "banish themselves" in England, and the criminal record shows us some instances of barbarous punishment denounced on those who had intercourse with them, as "intercommuning with rebels."³

When after her unhappy marriage and flight to Dunbar, she returned with an army to meet the lords who had entered into a confederation for the preservation of the prince, Grange was one of the most active and influential among them, having the command of two hundred horse, with which he intended at Carberry hill, by a stratagem, to have seized upon the earl of Bothwell, which he hoped would have been the means of putting an end to the contest between the queen and her subjects. The queen, however, who highly respected him, perceiving the approach of the troop, and understanding that he was their leader, requested to speak with him, which prevented the attempt being made. While he was in this conference with the queen, Bothwell called forth a soldier to shoot him, who was in the very act of taking aim, when the queen perceiving him, gave a sudden scream, and exclaimed to Bothwell, that he surely would not disgrace her so far as to murder a man who stood under her protection. With that frank honesty which was natural to him, Kirkaldy told her that it was of absolute necessity, if she ever expected to enjoy the services and the confidence of her subjects, that she should abandon Bothwell, who was the murderer of her husband, and who could never be a husband to her, having been so lately married to the sister of the earl of Huntly. Bothwell, who stood near enough to overhear part of this colloquy, offered to vindicate himself by single combat, from the charge of any one who should accuse him of murdering the

³ Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, i. (p. i.) 466, 478.

king. Grange told him he should have a speedy answer; and returning to the lords, found little difficulty in persuading them of the propriety of his accepting the challenge, which he did without hesitation. Bothwell, however, thought it prudent to decline, on the plea that Kirkaldy being only a baron, was not his equal. To the laird of Tullibardine he objected on the same ground. The lord Lindsay then came forward, whom he could not refuse on the score of inequality; but he finally declined to engage. The queen then sent again for Grange, and proposed surrendering herself to the lords. Bothwell, in the mean time, made his escape. The queen holding out her hand, Kirkaldy kissed it, and taking her horse by the bridle turned him about, and led her down the hill. This was almost the full measure of Mary's humiliation, which was accomplished by her entry into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of the rabble. The lords, (particularly Kirkaldy) were still willing to treat her with kindness, if she could have been prevailed on to abandon Bothwell. The same night, however, she wrote a letter to him, calling him "her dear heart, whom she should never forget nor abandon, though she was under the necessity of being absent from him for a time;" adding, that she had sent him away only for his own safety, and willing him to be comforted, and to be watchful and take care of himself. This letter falling into the hands of the lords, convinced them that her passion for Bothwell was incurable; and they determined to secure her in Lochleven. Grange alone wished to excuse her, and hoped that gentle usage might yet reclaim her; but they showed him her letter to Bothwell which had fallen into their hands, which left him no room to speak more on her behalf. The queen, in the mean time, sent him a letter, lamenting her hard usage, and complaining of broken promises. He wrote to her in return, stating what he had already attempted in her behalf, and how his mouth had been stopped by her letter to Bothwell; "marvelling that her majesty considered not that the said earl could never be her lawful husband, being so lately before married to another, whom he had deserted without any just ground, even though he had not been so hated for the murder of the king her husband. He therefore requested her to dismiss him entirely from her mind, seeing otherwise that she could never obtain the love or respect of her subjects, nor have that obedience paid her which otherwise she might expect."

His letter contained many other loving and humble admonitions which made her bitterly to weep. Eager to free the queen and the nation of Bothwell, Grange most willingly accepted the command of two small vessels that had been fitted up from Morton's private purse (for Bothwell had not left a sufficient sum for the purpose in the Scottish treasury), with which he set sail towards Orkney, whither it was reported Bothwell had fled. He was accompanied by the laird of Tullibardine and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. Bothwell having made his escape from Orkney, was pursued by Grange to the coast of Norway, where, at the moment when they had almost overtaken the fugitive, the impetuosity of Kirkaldy, who called on the mariners to hoist more sail than the vessel was able to carry, lost them their prize, and they were wrecked on a sand bank. Bothwell escaped in a small boat to the shore, leaving his ship and his servants a prey to Kirkaldy. This unhappy man fled to Denmark, and the method of his end is too well known to be repeated.

The regent Moray was in the mean time establishing order and tranquillity generally through the country. The king, an infant, had been crowned at Stirling, and his authority in the person of the regent very generally acknowledged, when the queen, making her escape from Lochleven, and putting herself into the hands of the Hamiltons, created new and serious calamities. The regent being at that time in Glasgow, holding his justice-eyre, was just

at hand, and meeting with the queen and her followers at Langside, on the way for Dumbarton castle, gave them, though they were far more in number than all the king's friends that he could muster, an entire overthrow. The regent led the battle himself, assisted by Grange, who being an experienced soldier, was appointed to oversee the whole battle; to ride to every wing, and to encourage and make help wherever it was most required. The dispositions of the regent were excellent, and his followers behaved with great courage; so that the victory was soon won, and there being few horsemen to pursue, and the regent calling out to save and not to kill, there were not many taken or killed; the greatest slaughter, according to Sir James Melville, being at the first rencounter by the shot of some troops that were planted behind the dykes at the head of the lane leading up to the village.

Having taken the command of the castle of Edinburgh from Sir James Balfour, the regent bestowed it upon Grange, who appears to have had the principal direction of affairs during the time that Moray through the intrigues of the queen's faction was called up to the conferences at York. Lethington, subtle, restless, and changeable, had by this time changed to the queen's side, whom he almost openly owned during the time of these conferences, and he had imposed upon the unsuspecting disposition of Grange, enticing him into a kind of doubtful neutrality, which had an unhappy influence upon the public cause, and ended fatally for Grange himself. Lethington and Sir James Balfour having been both at last arrested under an accusation of having been concerned in the king's murder, Grange took them into his own hands, and protected them in the castle, which he refused to deliver up to the regent. On the murder of the regent Moray in 1570, it did not immediately appear what party Grange would embrace. It was evident, however, that for some time previous to this event he had leaned to the side of the queen, and the castle of Edinburgh in a short time became the resort and general rendezvous of all who opposed the party of the prince.

The earl of Lennox succeeding to the regency was supported by Elizabeth, who sent an army into Scotland for that purpose, and to retaliate upon some of the border chieftains, who had made inroads into the English territories, particularly Buccleugh and Fernihurst. Grange, in the mean time, by the orders of the queen's faction, who now assembled parliaments of their own, liberated all those who had been formerly given him in charge as prisoners, for their opposition to the king in the person of the regent. These, dispersing themselves over the country, some pretending to be employed in a civil, and others in a military capacity, carried dissension and rebellion along with them, to the entire ruin of the miserable inhabitants. Lord Seaton, to intimidate the citizens of Edinburgh, who in general leaned to the side of the king, assembled his vassals at Holyrood house, while the Hamiltons, with the whole strength of their faction, assembled at Linlithgow, when they made a sudden and unexpected attack upon the castle of Glasgow, the residence of Lennox the regent. Coming upon the place by surprise, they gained the court, and set fire to the great hall; but they were soon repulsed, and the approach of the king's army, a principal part of which was English, compelled them to raise the siege. The Hamiltons suffered most severely on this occasion, their lands in Clydesdale being ravaged, Cadzow plundered, and the town of Hamilton, with the seat of the Hamiltons, burned to the ground. Nor did this suffice; they also burned the house of the duke of Chatelherault in Linlithgow, the palace of Kinnoul, the house of Pardovan, and Bynie, Kincavil, and the chapel of Livingston.

Grange, meanwhile, acting somewhat dubiously, and not supporting the extreme measures of either of the parties, was confounded to see a foreign foe in

the heart of the kingdom, and Mary's friends used with such extreme rigour; and afraid of being entrapped himself, began to fortify the castle with all haste, and lay in every thing necessary for a siege. Lennox, in the mean time, summoned an army in the king's name to attend him, with twenty days' provision, and to complete his equipments, he applied to Grange for some field-pieces. The request was, however, refused, under a pretence that he would not be accessory to the shedding of blood. The purpose of this armanent was to interfere with a parliament which the queen's party intended to have held at Linlithgow, which it effectually accomplished; and on the following month (October) Lennox held one for the king in Edinburgh. The insignia of royalty being supposed necessary to the legality of parliaments, they were demanded from Grange, who flatly refused them, and from that time forth he was regarded as determinedly hostile to that cause for which he had done and suffered so much. Through the mediation of Elizabeth, however, who was at the time amusing Mary and her friends with proposals for restoring her to some part of her authority, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon for two months, which being renewed, was continued till the succeeding April, 1571.

The truce, however, was not strictly observed by either of the parties. Fortresses were taken and retaken on both sides oftener than once, and in the month of April, Dumbarton castle, reckoned impregnable, was taken by surprise by the friends of the regent, who, on a sentence of forfeiture in absence, hanged Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, who had taken refuge in the place. Alarmed at the fate of Dumbarton, Grange repaired the walls of the castle, cut away all the prominences on the rock, and smoothed the banks to prevent the possibility of an escalade. He also prepared the steeple of St Giles for receiving a battery, and carried away the ordnance belonging to the town. His brother James at the same time arrived from France with "ten thousand crowns of gold, some murrions, corslets, hagbuts, and wine, whilk was saillie convoyit from Leyth be the horsemen and soldiers of the town." All men who favoured not the queen were now commanded to leave the town, and even his old tried friend and fellow sufferer, John Knox, was obliged to quit his place, which was supplied by Alexander, bishop of Galloway. The regent's soldiers, however, took possession of some ruinous houses close to the walls, whence they annoyed the town. There was now an end to all business; public worship ceased, and there was nothing to be heard but the thundering of artillery. The queen's party had now, however, the pride of also holding a parliament in Edinburgh, which declared the demission of Mary null; forbade any innovation to be made in the presbyterian religion; and after two or three hours deliberation, rode in procession from the Canongate to the castle, having the regalia borne before it. Prayers for the queen were ordered by this meeting, and all who omitted them were forbidden to preach. During these proceedings, there were daily skirmishes on the streets, and the regent still kept possession of Holyrood house. In the month of August in this year, an envoy arrived from the king of France, with money, arms, and ammunition for Grange; but the money fell into the hands of the regent. In the ensuing month, Grange laid a plan for seizing the regent at Stirling, and bringing him safe to the castle, which failed of success only through the imprudence of those who conducted it. The regent was actually made a prisoner, and on the road for Edinburgh, when, principally through the valour of Morton, he was rescued, but shot by one of the party, when they saw they could not carry him away. David Spens of Wormiston, who had him in charge, and used every endeavour to save him, was also shot in revenge, though the wounded regent attempted to protect him. This was unfortunate for Grange. Mar was immediately elected regent; a man of far higher merit, and much

more respected than Lennox, and in still greater favour with the ministers of Elizabeth; and he in the end proved too strong for the misled, though patriotic Grange. The war now assumed the most ferocious character. Morton destroyed the whole of Grange's property in Fife. Grange, on the same day retaliated by burning Dalkeith; and for upwards of two months they reciprocally hanged their prisoners.

The distress of the town and the surrounding districts now became extreme; the poor were turned without the gates, and the empty houses pulled down and sold for fuel; a stone weight being sold for what would purchase a peck of meal. Through the mediation of the English and French ambassadors, an armistice was at last agreed to, and all the differences between Morton and Grange nearly made up. Through the intrigues of Maitland, however, who had gained an extraordinary influence over him, Grange rose in his demands, and nothing was accomplished further than a renewal of the truce. In the mean time Mar, who was a sincere, good man, and truly devoted to the public interests, died, and was succeeded by Morton, a man of great address, and the mortal enemy of Maitland. He too, however, professed to desire peace, and offered the same terms as Mar. Grange was to deliver up the castle in six months, and a convention was called to consider the means of effecting a double peace. Both parties were at the same time attempting to over-reach each other. Morton thirsted for the wealthy estates of some of the queen's adherents; and the queen's adherents wanted to gain time, in the hope of procuring effectual aid from France. The Hamiltons, Huntly, Argyle, and their followers, were now weary of the war; and in a meeting at Perth accepted of the terms offered by Morton, and, according to Sir James Melville, abandoned Grange, who would willingly have accepted the same terms; but from that time forth Morton would not permit the offers to be mentioned to him. The day of the truce had no sooner expired than a furious cannonade was commenced by Grange on the town from the castle. He also shortly after, on a stormy night, set fire to the town, and kept firing upon it to prevent any person coming forth to extinguish the flames; a piece of wanton mischief, which procured him nothing but an additional share of odium. Being invested by the marshal of Berwick, Sir William Drury, with an English army, the garrison was soon reduced to great straits. Their water was scanty at best, and the falling of one of the chief towers choked up their only well. The Spur, a building of great strength, but imperfectly manned, was taken by storm, with the loss of eight killed, and twenty-three wounded. Sir Robert Melville, along with Grange, were, after beating a parley, let over the walls by ropes, for the gate was choked up with rubbish. They demanded security for their lives and fortunes, and that Maitland and lord Hume might go to England, Grange being permitted to go or stay as he might deem best. These conditions not being granted, they returned to the garrison, but their soldiers refused to stand a new assault, and threatened in case of another that they would hang Lethington, whom they regarded as the cause of their protracted defence, over the wall. Nothing remained, therefore, but an unconditional surrender; and so odious were the garrison to the citizens, that an escort of English soldiers was necessary to protect them from the rabble. After three days they were all made prisoners. Lethington died suddenly, through means, it has been supposed, of poison, which he had taken of his own accord. Grange, Sir James Kirkaldy, (his brother,) James Mossman and James Leckie, goldsmiths, were hanged on the third of August, 1573, and their heads afterwards set up on the most prominent places of the castle wall.

Thus ignominiously died one of the bravest warriors⁴ of his age; the dupe of

⁴ In the case of Kirkaldy there appears to have been considerable debate on the relevancy of the indictment on which he was tried, too technical to be interesting to the general reader.—*Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, ii. 3.

a volatile and crafty statesman, and of his own vanity to be head of a party. He had been one of the earliest friends, and, during its first days of peril, one of the most intrepid defenders of the Reformation. Knox, who knew and loved him well, lamented his apostasy, and with that sagacity which was peculiar to his character, admonished him of the issue. "That man's soul is dear to me," said Knox, "and I would not willingly see it perish; go and tell him from me, that, if he persists in his folly, neither that crag in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal wit of that man whom he counts a demi-god, shall save him; but he shall be dragged forth, and hanged in the face of the sun." He returned a contemptuous answer dictated by Maitland; but he remembered the warning when on the scaffold with tears, and listened with eagerness when he was told the hope that Knox always expressed, that, though the work of grace upon his heart was sadly obscured, it was still real, and would approve itself so at last; of which he expressed with great humility his own sincere conviction.

KIRKWOOD, JAMES, an eminent teacher and writer on grammar, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was born near Dunbar. The circumstances of his education are unknown; he was first schoolmaster of Linlithgow, and subsequently of Kelso. His school at Linlithgow was one of considerable reputation, and he would appear to have been intrusted, like many teachers of the present day, with pupils who boarded in his house. The celebrated John, second earl of Stair, was thus educated by him. The first work ascertained to have been published by him, was an "Easy Grammar" of the Latin language, which appeared at Glasgow in 1674. In 1677, he published at London an octavo fasciculus of "Sentences," for the use of learners. In the succeeding year appeared his "Compendium of Rhetoric," to which was added a small treatise on Analysis. After the Revolution, he was sent for by the parliamentary commissioners for colleges, on the motion of lord president Stair; and his advice was taken about the best Latin grammar for the Scottish schools. The lord president asked him what he thought of Despauter. He answered, "A very unfit grammar; but by some pains it might be made a good one." The lord Crossrig desiring him to be more plain on this point, he said, "My lord president, if its superfluities were rescinded, the defects supplied, the intricacies cleared, the errors rectified, and the method amended, it might pass for an excellent grammar." The lord president afterwards sent for him, and told him it was the desire of the commissioners that he should immediately reform Despauter, as he had proposed; as they knew none fitter for the task. He accordingly published, in 1695, a revised edition of Despauter, which continued to be commonly used in schools till it was superseded by Ruddiman's Rudiments. Kirkwood was a man of wit and fancy, as well as of learning; and having fallen into an unfortunate quarrel with his patrons the magistrates, which ended in his dismissal, he took revenge by publishing a satirical pamphlet, entitled "The twenty-seven gods of Linlithgow," meaning thereby the twenty-seven members of the town-council. He appears to have afterwards been chosen schoolmaster at Kelso, where he probably died.

KNOX, JOHN, the most eminent promoter of the Reformation in Scotland, was born at Haddington in the year 1505. His father, though himself a man of no note, was descended from the ancient house of Ranfurly in the shire of Renfrew. Of the mother of the great reformer nothing farther is known than that her name was Sinclair,—a name which he frequently used in after-life, when to have subscribed his own would have exposed him to danger: thus many of his letters in times of trouble are signed "John Sinclair." Though a man of no rank in society, his father would yet seem to have been possessed of a competency beyond that of the ordinary class of the peasantry of the times, if such an inference be permitted from the circumstance of his having given his son an

education which was then attainable only by a very few. This is a point, however, on which there has been also much dispute; some representing his parents as in a "mean condition," others as persons of extensive property. Whatever may have been the condition of his parents—a matter of little moment—there is no doubt regarding the only circumstance of any importance connected with the question, namely, that he received a liberal education.

His course of learning began at the grammar-school of Haddington, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language. He was afterwards, about the year 1524, sent to the university of St Andrews. From the circumstance of the name "John Knox" appearing on the list of matriculated students, for the year 1520, in the Glasgow college, it has been presumed that he studied there also, and this, as appears by the dates, four years previous to his going to St Andrews; but the supposition that this John Knox was the reformer, is much weakened by the fact, that many of the Knoxes of Ranfurly, the house from which his father was descended, were educated at the university of Glasgow. Amongst the last of these of any note were Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, and, after him, his son and successor, Sir Thomas Knox. In the absence, therefore, of all other evidence, this circumstance in the life of the reformer must be held as extremely doubtful, especially as no allusion is made to it, either by himself, his contemporaries, or any of the earlier writers who have spoken of him. Knox, when he went to St Andrews, was in the nineteenth year of his age, and was yet undistinguished by any indications of that peculiar character and temper, or that talent, which afterwards made him so conspicuous. His literary pursuits had hitherto been limited to the acquisition of the Latin language, Greek and Hebrew being almost unknown in Scotland, although at an after period of life Knox acquired them both. His removal to St Andrews, however, opened up new sources of learning and of knowledge. John Mair, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, who had studied at the colleges of England and Paris, was then principal of St Salvador's college, St Andrews. He was a man of no great strength of mind, nor of very high attainments; but he had while in Paris imbibed, and he now boldly inculcated, civil and religious principles directly at variance with the opinions and practices of the times. He denied the supremacy of the pope, and held that he was amenable to a general council, which might not only rebuke and restrain him, but even depose him from his dignity. He held that papal excommunications were of no force, unless pronounced on just and valid grounds, and that tithes were not of divine origin. He, besides, fearlessly censured the avarice and ambition of the clergy. And with regard to civil matters, his opinions were no less daring, and not less boldly inculcated. He taught his pupils to consider kings as having no other right to their elevation, but what proceeded from their people, to whom they were amenable for their conduct, and by whom they might be judicially proceeded against. Such were some of the doctrines taught by Mair; and that they had taken a strong hold of Knox, who was one of his pupils, his after life sufficiently shows. For we find him, with the courage which belonged to his character, practising himself, and showing others how to practise that which his preceptor only taught.

In the studies of the times, Knox now made rapid progress. He was created master of arts, and ordained a priest before he had attained the age (twenty-five) appointed by the canon law for receiving ordination. It will not, perhaps, be lost time to pause for a moment at this period of his life, since it presents us with the interesting sight of a great mind slumbering in its strength, and unconscious at once of the darkness with which it was surrounded, and of there being a brighter and a better world beyond the narrow precincts which it had been taught to consider as the utmost limits of its range. Here we find the

great reformer, passively, and without remark or objection, becoming a minister of that church which he was afterwards to overturn and erase from his native soil; becoming a minister of that religion which he was afterwards to drive from the land, with a violence which shook both the kingdom and the throne. A little longer, however, and we find this mighty mind emerging gradually but majestically into the light of day. The discovery had been made that there lay a wider and a fairer region beyond the bounds of the prison-house, and Knox hastened himself to seek and to point out the way to others.

He soon betook himself to the study of the writings of the fathers of the Christian church; and, in the works of Jerome and Augustine, found the doctrines and tenets which effected that revolution in his religious sentiments, afterwards productive of such important results. He was now in the thirtieth year of his age, but he did not either publicly avow the change which had taken place in his religious creed, or attempt to impress it upon others, for several years afterwards. In the mean time the work of reformation had been making irregular but rapid progress. Patrick Hamilton had already preached the new faith in Scotland, and had fallen a martyr to its doctrines, and many others of not less zeal, but of less note, had shared a similar fate. Copies of the Scriptures were now surreptitiously introduced into the kingdom, and eagerly read by those into whose hands they fell. Poets employed their fascinating powers in bringing the church of Rome and its ministers into contempt. The effect of all this was a violent agitation of the public mind. The reformed doctrines were every where spoken of and discussed. They became the topics of common conversation, and were the themes of disquisition amongst the learned. It was at this critical period, about the year 1542, in the midst of this feverish excitement of public opinion, that Knox first stepped into the arena as a combatant in the cause of the new faith. He was still a teacher of philosophy in the college of St Andrews, but he availed himself of the opportunities which this appointment afforded, of disseminating his doctrines amongst his pupils, whom he taught to look with abhorrence and contempt on the corruptions and errors of the Romish church. Though such opinions were now spreading widely, and were made matter of ordinary discussion, their abettors were not yet, by any means, safe from the vengeance of the Romish ecclesiastics, who were yet struggling hard to suppress the heresies which were every where springing up in the land, and threatening the speedy ruin of their church. Knox's case was too marked and too conspicuous an instance of defection, to escape for any length of time some proof of that wrath which it was so well calculated to excite. He was degraded from the priesthood, had sentence passed against him as a heretic, and only escaped assassination by flying from St Andrews, that fate having been marked out for him by cardinal Beaton. On leaving St Andrews, Knox found protection in the family of Douglas of Langniddrie, where he acted in the capacity of tutor. Here, Douglas himself being a zealous advocate for the new faith, Knox continued to preach the doctrines which had driven him from St Andrews; and in these doctrines he not only instructed the family with which he lived, but also the people in the neighbourhood, whom he invited to attend his prelections. From the consequences which must infallibly have attended this perseverance in disseminating principles so inimical to the church, Knox was only saved by the death of cardinal Beaton, who was assassinated in the castle of St Andrews, on the 29th of May, 1546. Though, by the death of Beaton, Knox probably escaped the utmost severities which prelaty could inflict; he yet did not escape all visitation from its wrath.

John Hamilton, the successor of Beaton, sought his destruction with as much eagerness as his predecessor had done, compelling him to flee from place to place,

and to seek his safety in concealment. Apprehensive of falling at last into the hands of his enemies, he, after having led a vagrant and miserable life for many months, at length sought an asylum in the castle of St Andrews, which had been in the possession of the cardinal's assassins since the period of his death, and which they had held out against repeated attempts of the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, to take it. Knox entered the castle of St Andrews at the time of Easter, 1547. This step he had been prevailed upon to take by two of his warmest friends, the lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston, at a time when he had himself determined to retire to Germany.

The circumstance of Knox's having taken shelter, on this occasion, with the assassins of Beaton, has given rise to reflections on his character, involving charges of the most serious nature. Some of them are wholly unfounded, others unreasonable. He has been accused of being one of the conspirators who projected the death of Beaton; which is totally unsupported by any evidence, and must, therefore, in common justice, be utterly rejected. He has been said to have made himself accessory to the crime of the cardinal's murder by taking shelter amongst those by whom it was perpetrated; a most unreasonable and unwarrantable conclusion. His own life was in imminent danger, and he naturally sought shelter where it was most likely to be found, without reference to place or circumstances, and we cannot see by what reasoning he could be reduced to the dilemma of either sacrificing his own life or submitting to be accused as an accessory to murder; the one consequence threatening him by his remaining at large, the other by his flying to a place of refuge. He has been accused of vindicating the deed in his writings. This length he certainly has gone; but, considering all the circumstances connected with it, such vindication on the part of Knox is not much to be wondered at, nor is it calculated to excite much reasonable prejudice against him. Beaton eagerly sought his life; he was his personal enemy, and a relentless and cruel enemy to all who were of the same faith. If, therefore, we are called upon to disapprove of Knox's justification of the death of Beaton, we should at the same time be permitted to remark, that it was an event which he had but little reason to regret.

After entering the castle of St Andrews, Knox resumed his duties as a teacher, and proceeded to instruct his pupils as before. He also resumed his lectures on the Scriptures, and regularly catechised his hearers in the parish church of the city. Hitherto Knox's appearances as a disciple and teacher of the reformed doctrines had been rather of a private character, or at least only before select audiences, such as his own class of pupils, or a few neighbours congregated together as at Langniddrie. He was now, however, about to come forward in a more public, or at least more formal capacity. At the time that he sought refuge in the castle of St Andrews, there were three persons of note there, all zealous reformers, who had also fled to it as a sanctuary. These were Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, and John Rough, a celebrated reformed preacher, and who was at this moment publicly preaching in St Andrews. These persons were so much struck with Knox's talents and his manner of instructing his pupils, that they earnestly exhorted him to come publicly forward as a preacher of the reformed doctrines. This, however, Knox declined; not from any unwillingness to expose himself to the dangers which then attended the discharge of such a duty, nor from any reluctance to devote himself to the great cause which he had espoused, and of which he was afterwards so singular a promoter; but from a feeling of diffidence in his own powers, and a deep sense of the awful importance of the charge to which he was invited; he besides entertained some scruples as to the regularity of the call which was now made upon him, and with a conscientiousness and feeling of delicacy which became his

religious professions, expressed a fear that his coming forward as a preacher, on the summons of only two or three individuals, might be deemed an intrusion into the sacred office of the ministry.

Bent on their object, however, the three persons above named, without Knox's knowledge, consulted with the members of the church in which Rough preached, and the result was the fixing of a certain day when Knox should, in the name and in the face of the whole congregation, be called upon by the mouth of their preacher to accept the office of the ministry. On the day appointed, and while Knox was yet wholly unaware of what was to take place, Rough, after preaching a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he maintained the right of a congregation, however small its numbers, to elect its own pastor; and he farther maintained, that it was sinful to refuse to obey such a call when made: then suddenly turning to Knox—"Brother," he said, "you shall not be offended although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this,—In the name of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Turning now to the congregation, "Was not this your charge unto me?" he said, "and do ye not approve this vocation?"—"It was, and we approve it," was the reply. Deeply impressed with the circumstance, Knox made an attempt to address the audience, but his feelings overcame him; he burst into tears, and rushed out of the church. Though not without the hesitation and the doubts and fears of an ingenuous and religious mind, Knox accepted the charge thus solemnly and strikingly imposed upon him, and on an appointed day appeared in the pulpit. On this occasion, a highly interesting one, as being the first public appearance of the great reformer as a preacher of the gospel, he gave out the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel, a choice which shows the great changes which he already anticipated in the religious establishments of the land, and the confidence with which he looked forward to the result of the contest now begun with the church of Rome. The sermon which he preached on this occasion subjected him to the high displeasure of the church dignitaries; he and Rough were summoned before a convention of learned men to answer for the heretical doctrines which they entertained and promulgated. In the controversy which took place in this assembly between Knox and the person appointed to dispute with him, a grey friar of the name of Arbukill, on the various points at issue, the former so utterly discomfited his opponent, and so strongly established his own positions, that the Romish clergy, resigning all hopes of maintaining their ground, either by scriptural appeals, or by force of reasoning, carefully avoided for the future all such exhibitions of public disputation. The castle of St Andrews, in which Knox still found refuge, was soon after this, June, 1547, besieged by a French fleet, which had been despatched from France to assist the governor in its reduction; and after a stout resistance of several weeks' duration, the garrison was compelled to capitulate, and all within it were made prisoners of war. Knox and all the others who were taken with him were carried on board the French ships, which soon afterwards proceeded with them to France. On their arrival there the greater part of them were distributed throughout different prisons; but Knox, with two or three others, were detained on board the galleys in the Loire during the whole of the succeeding winter. His confinement

on ship-board altogether extended to nineteen months. At the end of that long period his liberation took place; but how it was effected is not certainly known.

On obtaining his liberty, Knox immediately proceeded to England, where the Reformation was making considerable progress, under the auspices of archbishop Cranmer, and other powerful persons in that kingdom. Knox's reputation as a preacher and zealous reformer was already well known to Cranmer and his colleagues, who were not long in finding him suitable employment. He was despatched by the privy council to Berwick to preach the reformed doctrines, and was allowed a salary for his maintenance. Here he remained for two years, daily strengthening the great cause in which he was embarked, and weakening that of its opponents. During this period too, great numbers were converted by his powerful reasoning and impressive eloquence: nor were the good effects of his ministry confined to the effecting a beneficial change in the religious sentiments of his hearers; their morals and manners were also greatly improved by the force of his example, and the striking truths exhibited in his precepts. While in Berwick, Knox was involved in another controversy or public disputation similar to that in which he had been engaged in St Andrews. The scene on this occasion was Newcastle, whither he had been summoned by the bishop of Durham to appear before an assembly of the learned men of his cathedral, to discuss the doctrines which he taught. These Knox defended with his usual ability, and with his usual success. He retired triumphant from the debate, leaving his opponents silenced and confounded by the ingenuity and strength of his arguments, and the fervour and energy of his eloquence.

His reputation was now daily spreading wider and wider, and so highly did the privy council appreciate the value of his services, that they conferred on him in December, 1551, a singular mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of the king's chaplains. While residing in Berwick, Knox formed an acquaintance with a young lady of the name of Marjory Bowes. This lady afterwards became his wife, but without the consent of her father, who could never be induced to approve of the connexion. He, however, had a warm friend in the young lady's mother, who not only gave her sanction to the marriage of her daughter, but used every effort, though without effect, to reconcile her husband to the union. Family pride, together with some differences of opinion in religious matters, are supposed to have been the cause of Mr Bowes's objection to accept the reformer as a son-in-law. As a natural result, the malevolence of Knox's enemies, those who adhered to popery, kept pace with the success which attended his efforts against the Romish church. They narrowly watched his every word and action, and at length laying hold of some expressions of a political nature which they conceived might be employed to his prejudice, they denounced him to the privy council. In consequence of this charge, which was supported by the duke of Northumberland, who entertained a personal dislike to Knox, he was summoned up to London. The result, however, was in the highest degree favourable to him. He not only convinced the council of the uprightness of his intentions and the malice of his accusers, but succeeded in gaining a yet greater degree of favour with that body than he had before enjoyed. He was appointed to preach to the court, and gave such satisfaction in the discharge of this duty, that the privy council determined to invite him to preach in London and the southern counties during the following year. They offered him the living of All Hallows in the city. He, however, declined the appointment, as also that of a bishopric, which was soon afterwards tendered him at the special request of the king, by whom he was much esteemed. These splendid offers of promotion he refused for conscience' sake,—there being several

things connected with the English ecclesiastical establishment repugnant to the faith which he had adopted; such as the reading of homilies, the chanting of matins and even-song, the prevalence of pluralities, &c.

In the mean time, the king, Edward VI. who had evinced so much readiness to patronize our reformer, died, and was succeeded by one of the most sanguinary and relentless enemies which the reformed religion had, during any period, to contend with. This was Mary. The accession of this princess to the throne totally altered Knox's situation and his views. Her bigotry and persecution soon made England unsafe for him to live in.

Finding his danger becoming daily more and more imminent, he at length came to the resolution, though not without much reluctance, of retiring to the continent; and making choice of France, proceeded to Dieppe in that kingdom in the year 1554. Here he remained till the latter end of the following year, occasionally visiting Geneva, then the residence of the celebrated Calvin, with whom he formed a close intimacy. At the latter end of the autumn of 1555, Knox returned to Scotland, induced by the temporary favour which the queen dowager, Mary of Lorraine, had extended to the protestants in her dominions. As this favour, however, did not proceed from any feeling of regard for those who had adopted the new faith, but was employed as a means of checking the clergy who had been averse to the dowager's obtaining the regency of the kingdom, it was of short duration, and lasted only so long as that princess thought it necessary to her interests. In the mean time, Knox was zealously and industriously employed in disseminating the doctrines of the reformed religion. He went from place to place preaching the gospel, and gradually increasing the number of his disciples, amongst whom he was soon able to reckon some of the first persons in the kingdom. While thus employed, he received an invitation from an English congregation at Geneva to become their pastor. With this invitation he thought it his duty to comply, and accordingly proceeded thither in the month of July, 1556. He was on this occasion accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law, the husband of the latter being now dead. On learning that he had left Scotland, the clergy there proceeded to evince those feelings regarding him which they had not dared to avow, or at least to act upon, while he was present. Knowing that he could not appear, they summoned him before them, passed sentence against him in absence, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. The first part of the sentence they made a show of carrying into effect, by causing his effigy to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh. On reaching Geneva, he immediately took charge of his congregation, and spent the two following years in promoting their spiritual interests. This was perhaps the happiest period of Knox's life. He lived upon the most affectionate footing with the members of his church, by all of whom he was greatly beloved. He enjoyed the society and friendship of Calvin, and the other ministers of the city; and to complete his felicity, he lived in the bosom of his own family, a happiness of which he had hitherto had but a small share. No degree of enjoyment, however, or of earthly felicity, could wean him from the desire of promoting the Reformation in his native country; to this he continued to look forward with unabated eagerness, and only waited for more favourable times to gratify this ruling passion of his life.

When he had been about two years in Geneva, the long-cherished wishes of our reformer to exercise his ministry in his native land, seemed about to be realized. Two persons, citizens of Edinburgh, the one named James Syme, the other James Barron, arrived in Geneva with a letter signed by the earl of Glencairn, the lords Lorn and Erskine, and lord James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., and afterwards earl of Murray, inviting him to return to Scotland.

Knox immediately obeyed the call, and had proceeded as far as Dieppe on his way to Scotland, when he received letters from the latter country containing the most discouraging accounts of the state of the kingdom and of the protestant interest there. Grieved and disappointed beyond expression, he again returned to Geneva, where he remained for another year. During this period he assisted in making a new translation of the Bible into English, and also published his "Letter to the Queen Regent," his "Appellation and Exhortation," and "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." Matters having at length taken a more favourable turn in Scotland, the protestant lords sent a second invitation to Knox to join them, accompanied by the gratifying intelligence that the queen-regent had promised them her countenance and protection. He placed little reliance on these promises, but he readily obeyed the call of his friends to return to his native country.

He sailed from Dieppe on the 22nd of April, and arrived safely in Leith on the 2nd of May, 1559. The distrust which Knox entertained of the good faith of the queen-regent was not without sufficient cause. By the time he arrived, that artful but able princess, conceiving that she had no longer any occasion for assistance from the protestants, not only gave them to understand that they had nothing more to hope from her, but openly avowed her determination to suppress the Reformation by every means in her power, and to employ force for that purpose if it should be found necessary.

In this spirit she authorized archbishop Hamilton to summon the reformed preachers before him in St Andrews to answer for their conduct, giving him at the same time, a similar assurance of protection and support with that which she had a short while before given to the protestants. A threat, however, having been conveyed to her that the preachers would not go unattended to the impending trial, she deemed it prudent to prorogue it until she should be in a better state of preparation, and accordingly wrote to the primate to delay any further proceedings in the matter for the time. On the faith of receiving assistance from France, which had united with Spain for the extirpation of heresy, she soon after resumed the process against the protestant preachers, and summoned them to stand trial at Stirling. Thither Knox, though he had been proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, by virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him, determined to repair to assist his brethren in their defence, and to share the dangers to which they might be exposed.

The artifice of the queen-regent, however, deprived him of the opportunity of carrying this generous resolution into effect. The preachers in their progress to Stirling, were attended by large bodies of people, who had determined to abide by them during the impending trial. Unwilling, however, to give the queen-regent any offence by approaching her in such numbers, they halted at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling to assure her that they mediated no violence nor entertained any but the most peaceable intentions. Not reconciled, however, by this representation to the approach of so great a multitude, she had recourse to dissimulation to prevent their coming nearer. She informed Erskine, that she would stop the trial, if he would prevail upon his brethren to desist from their journey. Unsuspicious of the deception she intended to practise, Erskine was persuaded to write to the assembled protestants, requesting them to proceed no further, and intimating that he was authorized by the queen to promise them that no trial of their preachers should take place. Rejoiced by these very welcome and very unexpected overtures, they instantly complied with the regent's request, and the greater part of them returned to their homes. When the appointed day of trial came, however, the summonses of the preachers were called in court by the express orders of the queen. They

were outlawed for non-appearance, and all persons prohibited under pain of rebellion from harbouring or assisting them. When this infamous proceeding took place, Knox was with the rest of his brethren at Perth, where he had preached a sermon against idolatry and the celebration of mass, on the very day on which intelligence reached that place of what had occurred at Stirling.

On the conclusion of the sermon, a priest who was present had the impudence to uncover an altar-piece on which were some images, and prepared to celebrate mass, regardless of the excited state of the public feeling, which had just been roused by the eloquence of Knox, and armed, as it were, for violence by the duplicity of the regent. Under these circumstances little was required to bring on a crisis, and that little was not long wanting. A boy having uttered some disrespectful expressions, was instantly struck by the hot-headed priest. The boy retaliated by throwing a stone, which, missing his assailant, for whom it was intended, struck the altar and broke one of the images. This fired the train. In an instant all the interior decorations of the church were torn down and destroyed, altar and images were overturned and trampled under foot; a mob collected outside, but finding the work of destruction already completed here, they proceeded to the monasteries, which they in a short time laid in ruins. This was the first ebullition of popular feeling connected with the Reformation, and Knox has been accused of having been the cause of it. If he was, he certainly was so unconsciously and innocently, for he reprobated the violence which had taken place, and in speaking of it, says it was perpetrated by "the rascal multitude,"—language sufficiently indicative of the light in which he viewed it. The protestant lords, finding now that they had not only nothing more to hope for from the queen, but that she was their declared enemy, determined to make a vigorous effort to establish the reformed religion without either her assistance or consent. They proceeded to ascertain the numbers of their friends, established a correspondence with them, and united the whole by procuring their subscriptions to a religious covenant, copies of which they despatched for that purpose to different districts throughout the country. These thus united were distinguished by the name of The Congregation, and the noblemen who were included by that of the Lords of the Congregation. The latter, still desirous of accomplishing their purpose rather by the force of reasoning than by the sword, engaged Knox to meet them on a certain day at St Andrews, where they proposed he should deliver a series of sermons. On his way to St Andrews he preached at Anstruther and Crail, and arrived at the first named place on the 9th of June.

Here occurred a striking instance of that personal intrepidity for which the great reformer was so remarkable. The archbishop, informed of his design to preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent word to Knox, that if he appeared in the pulpit, he would order the soldiers to fire upon him. Alarmed for his safety, Knox's friends endeavoured to dissuade him from preaching, but in vain. "He could take God to witness," he said, "that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day, unless forcibly hindered, he could not in conscience agree. As for the fear of danger that may come to me," he continued, "let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me." Knox accordingly appeared in the pulpit at the appointed time, and preached to a numerous assembly, without experiencing any interruption; but although the threatened attempt upon his life was not made, he retains a full claim to all the courage which a contempt and defiance of that threat implies.

On this occasion he preached for three successive days; and such was the ef-

fect of his eloquence and the influence of his doctrine, that both the inhabitants and the civil authorities agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town. The monasteries were demolished and the church stripped of all images and pictures. The example of St Andrews was soon after followed in many other parts of the kingdom. At the latter end of the month, Knox arrived with the forces of the Congregation in Edinburgh, and on the same day on which he entered the city, he preached in St Giles's, next day in the Abbey church, and on the 7th of July, the inhabitants met in the tolbooth, and appointed him their minister, there being then only one place of worship in Edinburgh, viz. St Giles's church. In this charge, however, he was not long permitted to remain. The forces of the regent soon after obtained possession of the city; and, although against his own inclination, his friends prevailed upon him to retire from the town. On leaving Edinburgh, he undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom; and in less than two months had gone over the greater part of it, disseminating with the most powerful effect the doctrines of the reformed religion. He next retired to St Andrews, where he officiated as minister for several months; and on the conclusion of the civil war, which the determination of the Congregation to establish the reformed religion and the regent's efforts to suppress it, had created, he returned to Edinburgh. In 1560, after an arduous struggle and many vicissitudes, the faith for which Knox had fought such a "good fight," seemed to be securely established in the land. The queen-regent was dead, and by the assistance of England, an assistance which Knox had been the chief instrument in procuring, the arms of the forces of the Congregation were completely triumphant.

The accession, however, of Mary, who was known to be strongly attached to popery, to the actual government, again excited the fears of the protestants, and of no one more than Knox, who insisted that the invitation sent to France to that princess to ascend the throne of her ancestors should be accompanied by the stipulation, that she should desist from the celebration of mass; and when the rest of the council urged that she ought to be allowed that liberty within her own chapel, he predicted that "her liberty would be their thralldom."

A few days after the queen's arrival at Holyrood she sent for Knox, and taxed him with holding political opinions at once dangerous to her authority and the peace of her realm, and with teaching a religion different from that allowed by its princes. Knox entered at great length into these subjects, defending himself and his doctrines with his usual ability and boldness. His language, at no time very courtly, is said to have been so harsh in some instances on this occasion as to drive the young queen to tears; but whether this, if true, ought to be considered as a proof of the severity of his expressions, or of the queen's irritability of temper, is questionable, since it is probable that she may have wept without sufficient cause. The arrival of the dinner hour broke off this interesting interview, and Knox retired from the presence with some expressions of good wishes for the queen's happiness. Frequent conferences of a similar nature with this took place afterwards between the reformer and Mary, but with little increase of regard on either side. On one of these occasions, when he had spoken with even more than his usual boldness, and just as he was about to retire, he overheard some of the queen's popish attendants say, "He is not afraid."—"Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman frighten me?" replied the stout reformer, turning round upon them; "I have looked in the faces of many angry *men*, and yet have not been afraid beyond measure." Knox's ministerial duties were in the mean time exceedingly laborious. His charge, as already mentioned, was St Giles's church, where he had discharged these duties since the year 1560. He preached twice every Sabbath, and thrice on other

days of the week, besides meeting regularly with his kirk-session once every week for discipline, and with others for exercises on the Scriptures. Besides all this, he regularly attended all the meetings of the general assembly and the provincial synod; and at almost every meeting of the former, a mission to visit and preach in some distant part of the country was imposed upon him. With the view of relieving him of part of these overwhelming labours, the town council, in April, 1562, solicited John Craig, minister of Canongate, to undertake the half of his charge. From the difficulty, however, of obtaining an additional stipend, Knox remained without assistance till June in the following year. It has been already said that many interviews took place from time to time between the queen and Knox; these were still occasionally occurring; but their only effect was to increase her dread and dislike of the reformer; and although some instances occurred in which there was something like an approach to a better understanding, yet on the part of the queen it was never sincere; and there is little doubt that she longed for an opportunity of getting rid of so troublesome a subject, whom neither her threats nor blandishments could divert for an instant from what he conceived to be the strict path of his duty. Such an opportunity as she desired, or at least such a one as she certainly rejoiced in, seemed now unexpectedly to present itself. Two persons, protestants, were indicted to stand trial for having with several others, intruded into the palace during a temporary absence of the queen, for the purpose of interrupting the celebration of certain Roman catholic rites which was about to take place in the chapel of Holyrood. The protestants of Edinburgh, dreading that the queen would proceed to extremities against these men, requested Knox to write circular letters to the principal gentlemen of their persuasion, detailing the circumstances of the case, and inviting their presence on the day of trial.

One of these letters falling into the hands of the bishop of Ross, he immediately conveyed it to the queen, who again lost no time in laying it before her privy council, by which it was pronounced treasonable, and the writer was soon afterwards indicted to stand trial in Edinburgh for the crime of high treason. The queen presided in person at the trial, and with an ill-judged and ill-timed levity, burst into a fit of laughter, when on taking her seat in court she perceived Knox standing uncovered at the foot of the table. "That man," she said, pointing to the reformer, "had made her weep, and shed never a tear himself: she would now see if she could make him weep." The trial now proceeded, and after the charge against him had been read, Knox entered upon his defence at great length, and with such self-possession, intrepidity, and ability, that although he had several enemies amongst his judges, he was, by a great majority acquitted of the crime of which he had been accused.

Alluding to the queen's feelings on this occasion, he says in his History, "That night, (the evening after the trial) was nyther dancing nor fiddling in the court; for madame was disapoynted of hir purpose, quhilk was to have had John Knox in hir will, be vot of hir nobility." A second attempt on the part of the queen and her husband Darnley to suppress the stern and uncompromising truths, both political and religious, which the reformer continued to proclaim to the world, was soon after made. He had given out a text which gave such offence to the stripling king, that on the afternoon of the same day he was taken from his bed and carried before the privy council, who suspended him from his office. As the suspension, however, was limited to the time of their majesties residence in the city, it was but of short duration, as they left Edinburgh before the following Sabbath, when Knox resumed his ministry, and delivered his sentiments with the same boldness as before. This occurrence was soon after followed by the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary; an event which gave the

queen, now at Dunbar, a pretence for raising an army, ostensibly to enable her to resent the indignity which had been shown to her person by the assassins of Rizzio, and to punish the perpetrator of that deed, but in reality, to overawe the protestants. On the approach of the queen and her forces to Edinburgh, Knox, long since aware of the dislike which she entertained towards him, deemed it prudent to leave the city. On this occasion he retired to Kyle, and soon afterwards went to England to visit his two sons, who were there living with some relations of their mother's. Knox returned again to Edinburgh, after an absence of about five or sixth months. During that interval two events had taken place, which entirely ruined the queen's authority in the kingdom, and left him nothing to fear from her personal resentment; these were the murder of Darnley and her marriage with Bothwell. He therefore resumed his charge without interruption, and proceeded to take that active part in the national affairs, both political and religious, which the times required, and for which he was so eminently fitted; and, soon after, had the satisfaction of seeing the protestant religion securely established by the laws of the land, and that of the popish church utterly overthrown by the same authority.

In the month of October, 1570, he was struck with apoplexy, and although it only interrupted his preaching for a few days, he never recovered from the debility which it produced.

The irritability of the times, and the vindictive spirit of the popish faction, still animating its expiring efforts, placed the life of the great reformer once more in danger, and once more compelled him to seek safety in flight. His enemies endeavoured first to destroy his reputation by the most absurd and unfounded calumnies; and failing utterly in these, they made an attempt upon his life. A shot was fired in at the window at which he usually sat; but happening to be seated at a different part of the table from that which he generally occupied, the bullet missed him, but struck the candlestick which was before him, and then lodged in the roof of the apartment.

Finding that it was no longer safe for him to remain in Edinburgh, he retired to St Andrews, where he continued till the end of August, 1572, when he again returned to Edinburgh. His valuable and active life was now drawing fast to a close. On the 11th of the November following he was seized with a cough, which greatly affected his breathing, and on the 24th of the same month expired, after an illness which called forth numerous instances of the magnanimity of his character, and of the purity and fervour of that religious zeal by which he had been always inspired. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "not so much," says Dr M'Cric, "oppressed with years as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind." His body was interred in the church-yard of St Giles, on Wednesday the 26th of November, and was attended to the grave by all the nobility who were in the city, and an immense concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the regent, who was also at the funeral, exclaimed in words which have made a strong impression from their aptness and truth, "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

I.

LAING, ALEXANDER GORDON, whose name is so mournfully connected with the history of African discovery, was born at Edinburgh on the 27th of De-

ember, 1793. His father, William Laing, A.M., was the first who opened an academy for classical education in the new town of the Scottish capital: where he laboured for thirty-two years, and was one of the most popular teachers of his day. His maternal grand-father, William Gordon, was also a teacher of very considerable note, and is known in the schools as the author of a system of geography, a treatise on arithmetic, a translation of the first six books of Livy, &c.

With such a parentage it might naturally have been supposed, that the subject of this memoir was more likely to have spent his days amid the quiet pursuits of literature, than in the bustle of the camp, and amid the din of arms; the appearances of his early years seemed to favour the supposition. Under the tuition of his father, young Laing received the elementary education that was necessary to prepare him for the university, and he was enrolled in the Humanity class at the early age of thirteen years. Previous to this he had acquired a very considerable knowledge of the Latin language, of which he was passionately fond; and the appearances he made in the class then taught by professor Christison, were of so marked a kind as to secure him the very flattering notice of his preceptor; he was held up as a model for the imitation of his fellow students, and there were but few who could entertain any hope of excelling him.

At the age of fifteen Mr Laing entered on the business of active life, having engaged himself as assistant to Mr Bruce, a teacher in Newcastle. In this situation he remained only six months, when he returned to Edinburgh, and entered into company with his father, taking charge of the commercial department of the academy, for which his beautiful penmanship and other acquirements singularly qualified him.

But the time was fast approaching when the subject of our memoir was to exchange the *ferula* for the *sword*. In 1809, volunteering was very general in Edinburgh, and young Laing attached himself to a corps then forming. In 1810, he was made an ensign in the prince of Wales' volunteers, and from that period the academy had no more charms for him. In his eighteenth year he abandoned the irksome duties of teaching, and set off for Barbadoes to his maternal uncle, colonel, afterwards lieutenant-general Gordon, through whose kind offices he looked forward to an introduction into the army. At that time colonel Gordon held the office of deputy quarter-master-general in Barbadoes, and on his nephew's arrival he gave him a situation as clerk in his counting house. In this situation Mr Laing repeatedly came in contact with Sir George Beckwith, then at the head of the command of the military on the station, who was so much pleased with the young clerk, and took so deep an interest in his fortunes, as to secure for him unsolicited an ensign's commission in the York light infantry.

But we must hurry over the first years of Laing's service in the army, in order that we may have space to detail the more important passages in his history. Having obtained the ensigncy in the York light infantry, he immediately joined his regiment in Antigua; in two years he was made a lieutenant, and shortly after, on the reduction of the regiment, he was put on half-pay. Dissatisfied with the inactivity consequent on such a measure, as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made, he exchanged into the 2nd West India regiment, and proceeded to Jamaica. Here over exertion in consequence of his discharging the duties of quarter-master-general caused him to suffer much from disease of the liver. He retired to Honduras for the recovery of his health, where colonel Arthur, appreciating his excellence as an officer, detained him with another division of the regiment, and appointed him fort major. His distemper, however, which at first seemed to yield in Honduras, returned with increasing violence, and compelled him to seek relief in the air of his native land, and the sympathies of his relations.

During the eighteen months he remained at home, the division of the 2nd West India regiment to which he belonged, was reduced, and he was again put on half-pay. Restored, however, to health, he could not remain inactive. Towards the end of 1819, he went to London, was sent for by the colonel of his regiment, the late Sir Henry Torrence, received many flattering compliments for his former services, and having been appointed lieutenant and adjutant, he proceeded to Sierra Leone.

From the beginning of the year 1822 his history as an *African traveller* may properly be dated. In January of that year he was despatched by Sir Charles McCarthy, governor of Sierra Leone, on an important embassy to Kambia and the Mandingo country, where he collected much valuable information regarding the political condition of these districts, their dispositions as to commerce, and their sentiments as to slavery. Having so far achieved the object for which he set out, he crossed to Malacouri, a Mandingo town, situated on the banks of the river Malageea. There he learned that Sannasee, the chief of the district of Malageea, and a friend of the British government, had been captured by Amara, the king of the Soolimas, and was about to be put to death. Well knowing the unrelenting disposition of Amara, Laing, although labouring under a severe attack of fever and ague, resolved to go to the Soolima camp, and intercede for the life of the unfortunate Sannasee.

With this view he crossed the Malageea near its source, and after experiencing many difficulties in meeting with Soolima guards, he at length reached the camp. Having witnessed the feats of warlike exercise, the dancing, and the music exhibited by Soolimas, Bennas, Sangaras, and Tambaccas, he was invited to a *palaver* with Yarradee, the general of the Soolima army. This officer received him with much kindness, and with many protestations of friendship. Subsequently he was introduced to, and had a conversation with Amara himself, and having obtained an assurance that Sannasee would not be put to death, he retired to Sierra Leone, where he arrived on the 6th day, exhausted by the fatigues of his journey and continued illness.

Scarcely had Laing recovered, when a report at Sierra Leone that his mission had been of no avail, induced the governor to send him on another embassy for the same object. Having once more visited the Soolima camp, he was assured indeed that Sannasee had been set at liberty, but he also learned that his town had been burned, and his property plundered or destroyed. Of this conduct he expressed in the name of his government the most decided reprobation; and after a journey of six and a half days, during which he had never for a single hour been under shelter, he once more reached Sierra Leone.

It was now that lieutenant Laing assumed the character of a *volunteer* traveller. Having been led to believe during the last embassy that the Soolimas were in possession of considerable quantities of gold and ivory, he suggested to the governor the propriety and probable advantages of the colony opening up a commercial intercourse with them; and the suggestion having been approved of by the council at large, he left Sierra Leone again on the 16th of April, 1822, with the view of furthering such an object, accompanied by two soldiers of the 2nd West India regiment, a native of Foutah Jallow, eleven carriers, natives of the Jolof district, and a boy a native of Segou.

When he set out upon this journey little was known of the Soolimas except the name; they were said to be distant from Sierra Leone four hundred miles to the eastward: it afterwards appeared that Palaba, the capital, is only distant two hundred miles. They were represented as a powerful nation, rich in gold and ivory; but this also turned out not to be the fact.

On his arrival at Toma in the country of the Timmanees, our traveller found

that no white man had ever been there before him, although the town is situated only sixty miles from Sierra Leone. His appearance, as was to be expected, excited no little astonishment—one woman, in particular, stood fixed like a statue gazing on the party as they entered the town, and did not stir a muscle till the whole had passed, when she gave a loud halloo of astonishment, and then covered her mouth with both her hands. Of the Timmanees he writes in his journal very unfavourably; he found them depraved, indolent, avaricious, and so deeply sunk in the debasement of the slave traffic, that the very mothers among them raised a clamour against him for refusing to buy their children. He further accuses them of dishonesty and gross indecency, and altogether wonders that a country so near Sierra Leone, should have gained so little by its proximity to a British settlement.

From the country of the Timmanees lieutenant Laing proceeded into that of Kooranko, the first view of which was much more promising—he found the first town into which he entered neat and clean, and the inhabitants bearing all the marks of active industry. It was about sunset when he approached it, and we give in his own language a description of the scene. “Some of the people,” says he, “had been engaged in preparing the fields for the crops, others were penning up a few cattle, whose sleek sides denoted the richness of their pasturages; the last clink of the blacksmith’s hammer was sounding, the weaver was measuring the cloth he had woven during the day, and the guarange, a worker in leather, was tying up his neatly stained pouches, shoes, and knife-sheaths; while the crier at the mosques, with the melancholy call of ‘Allah Akbar,’ summoned the decorous Moslems to their evening devotions.” Such were our traveller’s first impressions of the Koorankoes; but their subsequent conduct did not confirm the good opinion he had formed of them.

On approaching the hilly country, lieutenant Laing informs us that nothing could be more beautiful or animating than the scene presented to his view,—well clothed rising grounds, cultivated valleys, and meadows smiling with verdure; the people in the different towns were contented and good-humoured, and, in general, received the stranger with very great kindness. In illustration of this he has given us the burden of the song of one of their minstrels:—“The white man lived on the waters and ate nothing but fish, which made him so thin; but the black men will give him cows and sheep to eat, and milk to drink, and then he will grow fat.”

At Komato, the last town of the Koorankoes, on his route, our traveller found a messenger from the king of Soolimana, with horses and carriages to convey him to Falaba, the capital of that nation. Crossing the Rokelle river, about a hundred yards broad, by ropes of twigs suspended from the branches of two immense trees, (a suspension bridge called by the natives Nyankata,) he proceeded to that city; and having been joined by the king’s son at the last town upon this side of it, he entered Falaba under a salute of musketry from 2000 men, who were drawn up in the centre of the town to receive him.

Not long after reaching Falaba, lieutenant, now captain Laing (for about this time he was promoted,) was seized with a fever which brought on delirium for several days. While in this state he was cupped by one of the Soolima doctors, and that so effectually as to satisfy him that it was the means of saving his life. The operation differed in no respect from ours, except that the skin was scarified by a razor, and the cup was a small calabash gourd.

Our traveller enters, in his journal, into a long detail of the habits and manners of the Soolimas, with which he had made himself fully acquainted during his three months’ residence in Falaba. To give even a short abstract of this, would be inconsistent with the limits assigned to this memoir. Suffice it to say,

that the main object of his mission failed. The king all along promised to send back with him a company of traders; but when the time of departure arrived, these promises ended in nought. Although within three days' journey of the source of the Niger, he was not permitted to visit that often sought spot, and deep was the grief which the loss of such an opportunity cost him; by measuring, however, the height of the source of the Rokelle, which he found to be 1441 feet, and by taking into account the height of the mountains in the distance, which gave rise to the Niger, he calculated, (as he himself thought,) with a tolerable degree of accuracy, that that river which has had so much importance assigned to it, has an elevation at its source of from 1500 to 1600 feet above the level of the Atlantic. We cannot resist quoting here the testimony of an eminent writer in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science*, (June, 1830,) more especially as the measurements of captain Laing have been rather lightly spoken of in the *Quarterly Review*, (we believe by Mr Barrow :) "Major Laing," says the *Edinburgh Journalist*, "assigned the position and the elevation above the sea of Mount Loma, from whence the Niger takes its origin: and *he* first traced on the map the first part of its course towards the north for an extent of about twenty-five leagues."

On the 17th of September our traveller quitted Falaba, accompanied by numbers of the natives, who escorted him to a considerable distance, the last to leave him was the king himself. Of his "adieu" the captain speaks in the most affecting terms. On returning, the route of the party was nearly the same as that by which they set out. The conclusion of the journey we give, in the traveller's own words, in a note.¹

Before our traveller's return, hostilities had commenced between the British government and the king of the Ashantees—the consequence was, that no sooner had he tasted the comforts of a British settlement, than he was ordered to join his regiment on the Gold coast without delay. Having transmitted details to his friend, captain Sabine in London, of the geographical determinations of the latitude, longitude, and elevation of the places he had lately visited, he hastened to obey the order he had received. On his arrival on the Gold coast he was employed in the organization and command of a very considerable native force, designed to be auxiliary to a small British detachment which was then expected from Britain. During the greater part of the year 1823, this native force was stationed on the frontier of the Fantee and Ashantee countries, and was frequently engaged, and always successfully, with detachments of the Ashantee army. On one of these occasions the enemy was completely beaten, and the fame of the victory spread over the whole coasts; in so much, and so effectually, that Sir Charles M'Carthy received the allegiance of most of the Fantee tribes. On another occasion captain Laing made two gallant and successful attacks on a larger division of the enemy; and entering into the territories of the king of Aju-

¹ "We left Ma Koota at six A. M., and after a fatiguing march of twenty-five miles over a vile Timmanee path, we reached Rokon at four P. M., where I rejoined my party, which had arrived a few hours before. At six I embarked in a canoe, with an intention of pushing direct for Sierra Leone, but perceiving a small boat at anchor off the small town of Maherre, I went on shore, and in a few minutes had the gratification of shaking hands with Senor Altavilla, Portuguese commissary judge at Sierra Leone, and captain Stepney of the 2nd West India regiment, who, on hearing of my approach had gone so far on the way to meet me. About midnight we were joined by Mr Kenneth Macauley, when we all embarked in his barge; and proceeding down the river, arrived at Tombo to breakfast, where I *deprived myself of the decoration of my face, now of seven months' growth*, and by the help of some borrowed garments effected an alteration in my appearance which was very requisite. Leaving Tombo after breakfast, we proceeded down the Rokelle, on a fine calm morning, and at two P. M. I had the satisfaction of being welcomed by my friends at Sierra Leone, so many of whom, so much esteemed and so highly valued, are now no more."

macon, who was suspected to be friendly to the Ashantees, he compelled that prince to place his troops under the British command.

On the fall of Sir Charles M'Carthy, which took place in 1824, lieutenant-colonel Chisholm, on whom the command of the Gold coast devolved, sent the subject of our memoir to England, to acquaint government more fully than could otherwise be done, of the state of the country, and the circumstances of the war. He arrived in England in August, and immediately afterwards obtained a leave of absence to visit Scotland for the recovery of his health, which had been seriously affected by so many months of constant and extreme exposure in Africa. In Scotland, however, he did not continue long. In October he returned to London, and an opportunity having unexpectedly presented itself to him, of proceeding under lord Bathurst's auspices, in the discovery of the course and termination of the Niger, an opportunity which he had long and anxiously desired, he gladly embraced it. It being arranged, that he should accompany the caravan from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, in the ensuing summer, it became necessary that he should depart early in the year from that father land, which, alas! he was destined never to revisit.

Our traveller, now promoted to a majority, left London for Tripoli, in the month of February, 1825. While in the latter city he had occasion to have frequent intercourse with the British consul, Mr Warrington; a close intimacy was formed between them, and the bond was strengthened by the major's marrying Emma Maria, the daughter of the consul. This event was celebrated on the 14th of July, 1825; and two days after the marriage the major proceeded on his pilgrimage to Timbuctoo.

He left Tripoli in company with the sheik Babani, whom he afterwards discovered to be no less a personage than the governor of Ghadamis. The sheik engaged to conduct him to Timbuctoo in ten weeks; the wife and the family of Babani resided there. The travellers proceeded with their *koffila* by the route of Beneoleed, the passage by the Gharan mountains being rendered unsafe, in consequence of the turbulence of a rebellious chief in that district. On the 21st of August the party reached Shaté, and on the 13th of September, after a tedious and circuitous journey of nearly a thousand miles, they arrived at Ghadamis. Already had the major experienced much to vex and annoy him; his barometer had been broken; his hygrometers had been rendered useless by evaporation; the tubes of most of his thermometers had been snapt by the warping of the ivory; his glasses had been dimmed by the friction of the sand; his chronometer had stopped (in all likelihood from the insinuation of sandy particles); and in addition to this lengthened list of mishaps, his rifle stock had been broken by the tread of an elephant.

Our traveller left Ghadamis, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality, on the 27th of October; and on the 3rd of December he arrived at Ensala, a town on the eastern frontier of the province of Tuat, belonging to the Tuaric, and said to be thirty-five days' journey from Timbuctoo. Here as in Ghadamis, he experienced the kindest reception, and he did all he could to repay it, by administering of his medicines to the diseased.

From Ensala he wrote the last letter to his relations in Scotland, which they ever received from him. As it is a document of great interest, and, in some passages, highly characteristic of the writer, we shall present a considerable extract:

“*Ensala in Tuat, December 8, 1825.*”

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“I arrived here in the afternoon of the 2nd instant; and the curiosity which my appearance among these people has excited, is not yet nearly allayed, insomuch that I am beset during

nearly the whole day with myriads of wondering spectators, who flock to the house which I inhabit, and stare at me with about as much curiosity as you would at the great lioness in Exeter Change, which whelped three young lions, and descended to suckle them herself. The natives of this place are of the tribe called Musticrab, and live under no law or control. They do not employ themselves either in trade or cultivation, but, like a set of outlaws, roam about the desert, robbing and plundering kafilas wherever they can fall in with them. There has been murderous work among them this year,—more than half a dozen fights of one kind or another, and between two and three hundred slain. I shall quit them, please God, in seven or eight days more, as I accompany a large kaffila, which proceeds on the 15th instant towards Timbuctoo, from which I am now only thirty days' journey. Every thing appears to favour me, and to bid fair for a speedy and successful termination to my arduous enterprise. I am already possessed of much curious and valuable information, and feel confident that I shall realize the most sanguine expectations of my numerous friends. I shall do more than has ever been done before, and shall show myself to be what I have ever considered myself, a man of enterprise and genius. My father used often to accuse me of want of common sense; but he little thought that I gloried in the accusation. 'Tis true, I never possessed any, nor ever shall. At a very early age, I fell in with an observation of Helvetius, which pleased me much, and chimed in with my way of thinking to the tenth part of a second. 'A man of common sense is a man in whose character indolence predominates: he is not endowed with activity of soul, which, in high stations, leads great minds to discover new springs by which they may set the world in motion, or to sow the seeds, from the growth of which they are enabled to produce future events.' I admit that common sense is more necessary for conducting the petty affairs of life than genius or enterprise; but the man who soars into the regions of speculation should never be hampered by it. Had I been gifted with that quality which the bulk of mankind consider so inestimable, I might now have been a jolly subaltern on half-pay, or perhaps an orthodox preacher in some country kirk, in lieu of dictating this letter to you from the arid regions of central Africa. This is a long rhapsody, but you must just bear with it patiently, as it is not every day that you can hear from me.

"I hope you have written to my dearest Emma, the most amiable girl that God ever created. She is, indeed, such a being as I had formed in my mind's eyes but had never before seen, and has just as much common sense as has fallen to the lot of your most worthy elder brother." * * *

He quitted Ensala on the 10th of January, 1826, and on the 26th of the same month entered on the cheerless, flat, and sandy desert of Tenezaroff. Hitherto neither his enthusiasm nor his health had failed him; the people had all been friendly and kind to him, the elements only had been his foes; but in the desert he was to enter on a different course of experience, and bitter assuredly it was. The Tuarics attacked, and plundered, and most cruelly mangled him. The following letter, written by himself, and addressed to his father-in-law, discloses the amount of authentic information concerning this barbarous outrage.

Blad Sidt Mahomed, May 10th, 1826.

My Dear Consul,—

I drop you a line only by an uncertain conveyance, to acquaint you that I am recovering from my severe wounds far beyond any calculation that the most sanguine expectation could have formed; and that to-morrow, please God, I leave this place for Timbuctoo, which I hope to reach on the 18th. I have suffered much, but the detail must be reserved till another period, when I shall "a tale unfold" of treachery and woe that will surprise you. Some imputation is attachable to the old sheik (Babani); but as he is now no more, I shall not accuse him; he died very suddenly about a month since.

When I write from Timbuctoo, I shall detail precisely how I was betrayed, and nearly murdered in my sleep. In the mean time, I shall acquaint you with the number and nature of my wounds, in all amounting to twenty-four; eighteen of which are exceedingly severe. I have five sabre cuts on the crown of the head, and three on the left temple; all fractures, from which much bone has come away. One on my left cheek, which fractured the jaw-bone, and has divided the ear, forming a very unsightly wound. One over the right temple, and a dreadful gash on the back of the neck, which slightly scratched the *windpipe*,* &c. I am, nevertheless, as already I have said, doing well, and hope yet to return to England with much important geographical information. The map indeed requires much correction, and please God, I shall yet do much in addition to what I have already done towards putting it right.

It would appear from this letter, that the major intended on the day after he wrote it, to set out for Timbuctoo. The intention, however, was frustrated. The illness, and subsequent death of Sidi Mahomed Mooktar, the marabout and sheik of the place, together with a severe attack of fever in his own person, detained him for two months longer. By this distemper he lost also his favourite servant *Jack*, to whom he was much attached. We can easily enter into his feelings when, writing again on the 1st of July to his father-in-law, he concludes the epistle by saying, "I am now the only surviving member of the mission."

On the 18th of August he arrived at Timbuctoo, and from the following letter, which he left behind him there, which was afterwards forwarded to Tripoli by the nephew of Babani, and is the last that any of his relations ever received from him, we learn only enough to deepen our regret that he should have perished in the hour of success, and that his valuable papers should have been lost to the world.

* *Timbuctoo*, † September 21, 1826.

"My Dear Consul:—A very short epistle must serve to apprise you, as well as my dearest Emma, of my arrival at and departure from the great capital of central Africa; the former of which events took place on the 18th ultimo, the latter, please God, will take place at an early hour to-morrow morning. I have abandoned all thoughts of retracing my steps to Tripoli, and came here with an intention of proceeding to Jenne by water; but this intention has been entirely upset, and my situation in Timbuctoo rendered exceedingly unsafe by the unfriendly dispositions of the Foulahs of Massina, who have this year upset the dominion of the Tuaric, and made themselves patrons of Timbuctoo, and whose sultan, Bello, has expressed his hostility to me in no unequivocal terms, in a letter which Al Saidi Boubokar, the sheik of this town received from him a few days after my arrival. He has now got intelligence of my arrival in Timbuctoo, and as a party of Foulahs are hourly expected, Al Saidi Boubokar, who is an excellent good man, and who trembles for my safety, has strongly urged my immediate departure. And I am sorry to say, that the notice has been so short, and I have so much to do previous to going away, that this is the only communication I shall for the present be able to make. My destination is Segou, whither I hope to arrive in fifteen days; but I regret to say that the road is a vile one, and my perils are not yet at an end; but my trust is God, who has hitherto borne me up amidst the severest trials, and protected me amidst the numerous dangers to which I have been exposed.

"I have no time to give you any account of Timbuctoo, but shall briefly state, that in every respect, except in size, (which does not exceed four miles in circumference), it has completely met my expectations. Kabra is only five miles distant, and is a neat town situated on the margin of the river. I have been busily employed during my stay, searching the records in the town, which are abundant, and in acquiring information of every kind; nor is it with

* It should be the *Spine*.

† In this letter the major always spells the name of the capital *Timbuctu*.

any common degree of satisfaction that I say my perseverance has been amply rewarded. I am now convinced that my hypothesis concerning the termination of the Niger is correct.

"May God bless you all! I shall write you fully from Sego, as also my lord Bathurst, and I rather apprehend that both letters will reach you at one time, as none of the Ghadamis merchants leave Timbuctoo for two months to come. Again may God bless you all! My dear Emma must excuse my writing. I have begun a hundred letters to her, but have been unable to get through one. She is ever uppermost in my thoughts, and I look forward with delight to the hour of our meeting, which, please God, is now at no great distance."

The following abstract of the testimony of Bungola the major's servant, when examined by the British consul, gives the catastrophe of this melancholy story :

When asked if he had been with the major at Mooktar's, he answered, Yes.

Did you accompany him from thence to Timbuctoo? Yes.

How was he received at Timbuctoo? Well.

How long did he remain at Timbuctoo? About two months.

Did you leave Timbuctoo with major Laing? Yes.

Who went with you? A kofle of Arabs.

In what direction did you go? The sun was on my right cheek.

Did you know where you were going? To Sansinding.

Did you see any water, and were you molested? We saw no water, nor were we molested till the third day, when the Arabs of the country attacked and killed my master.

Was any one killed beside your master? I was wounded, but cannot say if any were killed.

Were you sleeping near your master? Yes.

How many wounds had your master? I cannot say, they were all with swords, and in the morning I saw the head had been cut off.

Did the person who had charge of your master commit the murder? Sheik Bouraboushi, who accompanied the reis, killed him.

What did the sheik then do? He went on to his country; an Arab took me back to Timbuctoo.

What property had your master when he was killed? Two camels; one carried the provision, the other carried my master and his bags.

Where were your master's papers? In his bag.

Were the papers brought back to Timbuctoo? I don't know.

Thus perished, a few days after the 21st of September, 1826, by the hand of an assassin, one of the most determined, enthusiastic, and thoroughly accomplished of those daring spirits who have periled their lives in the cause of African discovery. The resolution of the unfortunate Laing was of no ordinary kind; his mother has told the writer of this article, that years before he entered on his last and fatal expedition, in providing against hardships and contingencies, he had accustomed himself to sleep on the hard floor, and to write with the left hand; yea more, with the pen between the first and second toes of the right foot. It is melancholy to think that he should have perished unrequited by that fame for which he sacrificed so much, and undelivered of that tale of the capital of central Africa, which he had qualified himself so well to tell. In any circumstances the death of such a man had been lamentable; but it seems the more so, inasmuch as the result of his successful enterprise is likely for ever to be unavailing for the benefit of the living. Many years have elapsed since his melancholy murder, and there seems not the shadow of a hope that his papers will ever be recovered.

But we cannot conclude this memoir without adding a few sentences regarding

these important documents. Facts which were established at Tripoli during the year 1829, and established to the entire satisfaction of the consuls of Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Sardinia, develop a system of treachery and plunder regarding the major and his property, which almost amounts to the incredible. It seems to have been fully made out, that the very guide (Babani,) who set out with the traveller from Tripoli, was under the secret direction of Hassunah D' Ghies, son of the prime minister of the Tripolitan bashaw, and the conspirator against the major's life—that by his (D' Ghies') instructions the ferocious Bourabouschi, the eventual murderer, was appointed to be the conductor of the major from Timbuctoo, and that into his (D' Ghies') hands the major's papers (fourteen inches long by seven thick,) were put by another of his emissaries shortly after the murder. In short, it was afterwards fully ascertained that this packet was secreted in Tripoli in the month of July or August, 1828.

The most amazing part of the tale of treachery yet remains to be told. It would further appear that the documents referred to were given by D' Ghies to the French consul at Tripoli, the baron de Rosseau, and that during the greater part of the major's journey this official from France had been in secret correspondence with the conspirators—that he exerted himself in securing the flight of Hassunah D' Ghies after the treachery had been discovered, and gave protection to, and tampered with his brother Mohamed, who made the disclosure.

It were out of place, in this memoir, to detail the strong chain of evidence by which these allegations are supported. A masterly summary of it will be found in the Quarterly Review, No. 84. Suffice it to say, that neither M. Rosseau nor the French government did anything to acquit themselves of the fearful charge there preferred against them. Till removed, it must stand a foul blot upon their national honour.

LAING, MALCOLM, a lawyer and distinguished constitutional historian, was born in the year 1762, at Stryuzia, his paternal estate, situated on the mainland of Orkney. He received the rudiments of his education at the humble but respectable grammar school of Kirkwall; a seminary which is generally attended by about a hundred boys, the sons of the neighbouring proprietors and farmers. When he had reached the proper age, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh, then superintended and attended by men of great talent. Along with many of the latter class, he joined in the establishment of the Speculative Society, an institution whose subjects of discussion were perhaps to a certain extent guided by his peculiar tastes, and certainly coincided remarkably with those in which he afterwards distinguished himself.

In 1785, he passed as a Scottish advocate: we do not know whether he had any predilection for the practice of the law, or whether he made choice of the profession, for the mere respectability of the title, and the opportunity it might afford of attracting notice as a politician; but assuredly, notwithstanding his very high talents in general, and his peculiarly great powers as a reasoner or special pleader, he never was much employed, or known as a distinguished practising barrister. It will scarcely account sufficiently for this circumstance, that the manner in which he delivered his powerful arguments was neither majestic nor pleasing, that "his speeches were uttered with an almost preternatural rapidity, and in harsh and disagreeable tones." If he could speak and compose with facility—and in parliament he was considered an able speaker—such arguments as *he* might have used did not require the extraneous assistance of *manner*, even for a jury; while almost the whole pleading in Scotland at that period was addressed to the judges, from whose well-practised intellects, reason and powerful argument only could find attention. Laing has shown in his writings

a minute knowledge of all branches of Scottish law: he voluntarily acted the part of a lawyer, in historical subjects, in a manner which has called forth the highest praise to his merely forensic talents; and it may, on the whole, be safely concluded, that the limited extent of his practice at the bar must be attributed more to his choice than to his talent. The first fruit of Mr Laing's laborious constitutional investigations, was the preparing for the press the last volume of Dr Henry's History of Great Britain in 1793, after that author's death. The matter collected by Henry did not extend to a period at which the work could be terminated, and Laing was requested by his executors to write two terminating chapters, to which he annexed a dissertation on the alleged crimes of Richard III. The labours of the two authors could not be very aptly united, and many consider Laing as a fierce liberalist, whose doctrines appeared harsh and prejudiced, when compared to the calm narrative of Henry. The authors were indeed extremely dissimilar, but we must pause before we decide in favour of the former. Henry was a man of tame mind and tolerable good sense; but if he appeared calm and moderate in his historical opinions, he was so, in the very safe and reputable cause of despotism, in which he insconced himself as an impregnable fortress, which it did not require much skill to defend. Laing, on the other hand was a man of strong judgment and profound speculation; and if he was violently argumentative in support of the opinions he had adopted, he was so, not as a man who is determined to maintain a given point because he has chosen it, and is personally interested in its being shown to be true; but as one who had considered the matter accurately, had submitted it to the arbitration of his strong judgment, and was resolved to crush those prejudices which prevented others from seeing it as it appeared to himself. It is the height of all prejudice to blame an historian for his opinions; but many have deserved to be censured severely for twisting facts to support opinions, instead of bending opinions to accommodate them to facts. It was the object of Laing to discover the truth. Perhaps prepossession in favour of the line of principles he had adopted may have, therefore, prompted him to derive improper deductions from the facts which he produced; but his strongest political opponents have never accused him of perverting facts. Laing is said likewise to have composed the memoir of Henry which accompanied the History; but it certainly does not display his usual energy of style. Whatever defects some may have discovered in the continuation of Henry's History, the critical world in general saw its merit, and bestowed the countenance of its approbation. The author thus encouraged to new historical labours, looked towards his native country, and in 1800, he published "The History of Scotland, from the union of the crowns, on the accession of king James VI. to the throne of England, to the union of the kingdoms, in the reign of queen Anne. With two dissertations, historical and critical, on the Gowry Conspiracy, and on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's Poems." As in the previous case, his book was very dissimilar to that of the person of whose labours his were a continuation—Dr Robertson. Of the flowing academical ease of that author it is very destitute. It cannot be called either inelegant or harsh, but it is complicated; and by being laboured to contain much meaning, is occasionally obscure. There is much in the profundity of the remarks and reflections which Dr Robertson could not have reached; but the chief merit lies in the display of critical power on matters of evidence, in which he displays all the acumen of the practised lawyer, and the close observer of human nature. From this peculiar merit, the separate dissertations, containing nothing but special pleadings, are the most useful and admirable parts of the book. In all parts of the work, the author's ruling spirit has prompted him to search for debated facts, few of which he has left without some sort of settlement

of the point. He has treated in this manner many points of English history, among which is the celebrated question of the author of *Eikon Basilike*, concerning which he has fully proved, that whatever share Charles may have had in the suggestion or partial composition, Gauden was the person who prepared the work for the press. Mr Laing appears to have enjoyed a peculiar pleasure in putting local and personal prejudices at defiance, and exulting in the exercise of strong reasoning powers, he has not hesitated to attack all that is peculiarly sacred to the feelings of his countrymen; a characteristic strikingly displayed in his dissertation on the authenticity of *Ossian's Poems*. These productions required no depth of argument, or minute investigation of facts, to support their authenticity in the feelings of an enthusiastic people: and those who did not believe them, had not troubled themselves with calmly meeting what they considered unconquerable prejudices.

Laing may, therefore, be considered as the first person who examined the pretensions of Macpherson on the broad ground of an investigation into facts. The arguments in this dissertation may be considered as of three sorts: the first, a logical examination of the arguments and proofs adduced, or supposed to be adduced, in favour of the authenticity of the poems, which, as the author has only sceptical arguments to produce, is the least interesting and satisfactory part of the investigation. The second body of arguments is drawn from contemporary documents and chronological facts,—a portion of the subject in which the author showed his vast reading, and his power of clearly distinguishing truth from falsehood, constituting a body of evidence which finally demolished any claim on the part of “the Poems of Ossian” as authentic *translations* of the productions of a Highland bard of the fourth century. The third part of our division, containing an examination of the internal evidence drawn from the poems themselves, if not the most conclusive part of the examination, is certainly that which gives us the strongest idea of the author's critical ingenuity, and his powers as a special pleader. He produces terms and ideas which could not be presumed to have entered into the minds of the early inhabitants of Britain, from their never having encountered the circumstances which legitimately rouse them, such as the idea attached to the term “desert,” which cannot be a part of speech with men who inhabit a wild and thinly peopled country, and can only be comprehended by those who are accustomed to see or hear of vast barren tracts of country, as opposed to cities, or thickly peopled districts.

He produces similes, and trains of ideas derived, or plagiarised from the writings of other authors, particularly from Virgil, Milton, Thomson, and the Psalms; and finally, he enters into a curious comparison between the method of arranging the terms and ideas in the Poems of Ossian, and that exhibited in a forgotten poem called “The Highlanders,” published by Macpherson in early life. The author of such an attack on one of the fortresses of the national pride of Scotland, did not perpetrate his work without suitable reprobation; the Highlanders were “leud in their wail,” and the public prints swarmed with ebullitions of their wrath. Mr Laing was looked on as a man who had set all feelings of patriotism at defiance: to many it seemed an anomaly in human nature, that a Scotsman should thus voluntarily undermine the great boast of his country; and, unable otherwise to account for such an act, they sought to discover in the author, motives similar to those, which made the subject sacred to themselves. “As I have not seen Mr Laing's History,” says one gentleman, “I can form no opinion as to the arguments wherewith he has attempted to discredit Ossian's Poems: the attempt could not come more naturally than from Orcadians. Perhaps the severe checks given by the ancient Caledonians to their predatory Scandinavian predecessors raised prejudices not yet extinct. I con-

ceive how an author can write under the influence of prejudice, and not sensible of being acted upon by it."¹ This gentleman, who had not seen Mr Laing's History, probably conceived his observation to be one which would go bitterly home to the feelings of his opponent; but we fear Mr Laing's feelings regarding the Celts were a strong armour against the arrow, as we have heard that he was personally partial to the Highlanders, so much so as to be designated by those who knew him, "a regular Celt." Mr Laing's dissertations on the Poems of Ossian had the merit of causing to be produced "The Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," conducted under the superintendence of Henry Mackenzie, published in 1805.

At the same period, Mr Laing brought the controversy to a final issue, by publishing a work, which, with a sneer in its designation he entitled "The Poems of Ossian, &c. containing the poetical works of James Macpherson, Esq., in prose and rhyme, with notes and illustrations." The nature of the "notes and illustrations" may easily be presumed; the work indeed is a curiosity in literature. The edition of Ossian is a very splendid one; and, like an animal decked for sacrifice, the relentless editor introduced it conspicuously to the world, with the apparent purpose of making its demolition the more signal. Within the same year, Mr Laing's line of argument was answered by Mr M'Donald, and two years afterwards, a long and elaborate work, complacently termed a "confutation," was produced by the reverend Mr Graham, who, however, made a somewhat unlucky development of his qualifications for this task, by quoting the "De Moribus Germanorum" of Tacitus, referring entirely to the Teutonic nations, as authority concerning the Celts. Mr Laing never confuted his arguments, having never made the attempt.

In the mean time, Mr Laing's controversial disposition had prompted him to discover another subject, in the treatment of which he excited a still greater degree of wrath. In 1804, he published an edition of his History of Scotland, to which he prefixed two volumes, containing "A Preliminary Dissertation on the participation of Mary queen of Scots in the murder of Darnley." The purpose of the treatise was, with the author's usual decision and boldness, declared in the title, and through the whole of the lengthy detail of two volumes on one historical incident, he never wavers in the slightest degree from the conclusion of guilt. Having first formed his opinion in the matter—on good grounds, it is charitably to be presumed—he lays down and arranges his documents and arguments with the precision and conciseness of a lawyer, and no more hints at the possibility of the innocence of the queen, than the crown lawyer at that of his victim. Few who have ever read this extraordinary work can forget the startling exactness with which the arguments are suited to the facts, and to the guiding principles of the whole narrative of the renowned event laid before the reader. "Mr Laing's merit," says a writer in the Edinburgh Review, who refers to this work as to one peculiarly characteristic of his genius, "as a critical inquirer into history, an enlightened collector of materials, and a sagacious judge of evidence, has never been surpassed. If any man believes the innocence of queen Mary, after an impartial and dispassionate perusal of Mr Laing's examination of her case, the state of such a man's mind would be a subject worthy of much consideration by a philosophical observer of human nature. In spite of his ardent love of liberty, no man has yet presumed to charge him with the slightest sacrifice of historical integrity to his zeal. That he never perfectly attained the art of full, clear, and easy narrative, was owing to the peculiar style of those writers who were popular in his youth, and may

¹ Rev. Mr Gallie's Letter to the Highland Society Committee,—Report 59.

be mentioned as a remarkable instance of the disproportion of particular talents to general vigour of mind."¹

Laing was intimately acquainted with Charles Fox, with whom he conducted an ample correspondence, the letters of which on both sides, still, we believe, exist unpublished, and would certainly form a very interesting addition to our epistolary information regarding great men. That eminent statesman frequently quoted the historical works of Mr Laing, as containing matter which could be relied on for its authenticity; and Laing became an active and zealous supporter of the short administration of his friend, during which he represented his native county in parliament. It is said, that notwithstanding the disadvantages of his manner, he was listened to and much respected as a speaker; and he gave all the assistance which so short a period admitted to the plans of the ministry for improving the Scottish courts of law. After his brief appearance as a legislator, the state of his health prevented him from interfering in public business. Whether from excessive study and exertion, or his natural habit of body, he suffered under a nervous disorder of excessive severity, which committed frightful ravages on his constitution; and it is said that he was required to be frequently supported in an artificial position, to prevent him from fainting. He retired to his estate in Orkney, and his health being to a certain extent restored by a cessation from laborious intellectual pursuits, his ever active mind employed itself in useful exercise within his narrow sphere of exertion: he improved his own lands, introduced better methods of cultivation than had been previously practised in the district, and experimented in the breeding of Merino sheep. He died in the end of the year 1818, having, notwithstanding the great celebrity of his works, been so much personally forgotten by the literary world, that it is with difficulty that we have been enabled to collect matter sufficient for an outline of his life. He was married to Miss Carnegie, daughter of a gentleman in Forfarshire, and sister-in-law to lord Gillies. His property was succeeded to by Samuel Laing, his elder brother.² Besides the works we have discussed above, it may be mentioned that he edited the *Life of James VI.*, published in 1804.

LAUDER, (SIR) JOHN, lord Fountainhall, an eminent lawyer and statesman, was born at Edinburgh, on the 2nd of August, 1646.³ His father was John, afterwards Sir John Lauder, baronet, a merchant and baillie of Edinburgh, a younger branch and afterwards chief of the family of Lauder of Bass and Lauder. The subject of our memoir was his eldest son, by his second marriage with Isabel Ellis, daughter of Alexander Ellis of Mortonhall. By this wife he had fourteen sons and two daughters; by a previous marriage he had three children, and by a third wife, of whom mention will be made hereafter, he had four sons and two daughters. Of the early education of young Lauder, we know nothing, with the exception of a passing memorandum in his voluminous memorials of legal matters, which shows that he had passed some time at the university of Leyden, at that time the principal continental resort of students at law. "The university of St Andrews," he says, "claims to be freed from paying excise for all drink furnished to the scholars, and that upon the general privilege competent to all universities by custom. I remember we enjoyed that privilege at Leyden, after our immatriculation." Having accomplished his preparatory studies, he passed as an advocate on the 5th of June, 1668, and commenced the

¹ Ed. Rev. xlv. 37.

² Ed. Annual Register, 1818, p. 250.

³ Register of baptisms in Edinburgh. For this, and all the other information relative to lord Fountainhall, not to be found in printed works, we are obliged to a very curious M.S. collection regarding him, made by his descendant, the late Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, of which that gentleman kindly permitted us the use.

practical pursuit of his profession with vigour, after having previously, as his early proficiency as a lawyer shows us, prepared his mind by intense and accurate study. "From my admission as an advocate," he says, "in June, 1668, I began to mark the decisions of the court of session;" and it is to his uninterrupted industry in this occupation that we owe that valuable mass of precedents, known by the name of "Fountainhall's Decisions," published in two volumes folio, and lately more fully re-edited from the original manuscripts. In a case which he reports during his earlier years at the bar, strong internal evidence, arising from the use of the first person singular—the unusual prolixity of the speech,⁴ and the absence of the name of the counsel, shows himself to have acted in that capacity. This action was at the instance of the town of Stirling, against the unfreemen in Falkirk and Kilsyth, bearing date January 18, and June 25, 1672. Lauder's speech is a curious specimen of the mixed logical and rhetorical eloquence of the forensic pleading of the age, when the judges acted more as a deliberative assembly, than as a body of lawyers bound to the letter of certain enactments; and the person who addressed them, if he could not sway their passions as those of a modern jury are affected, had a wide field of influence in their reason or prejudices. Contrasted with the restricted legal pleadings of the present day, the following commencement on the part of "the learned gentleman for the prosecution," would appear very singular: "My lord commissioner, may it please your grace, what happiness and cheerfulness the eminent and most eloquent of all the apostles, St Paul, expresses, when he is put to plead his cause before Festus and Agrippa, because the one had long been a judge in his nation, and the other was expert in all the manners and customs of the Jews, the same gladness possesses the town of Stirling, and with them the whole royal burghs, that they are to plead in behalf of their privileges this day, before your grace, the great patron and conservator of them." It is to be remarked, that, in this case, Lauder is pleading for the exclusive privileges of burghs, and in favour of monopolies. He opens his speech with a sketch of the arguments of his adversary, on which, probably with a wish to caricature them, he has bestowed an amiable liberality of doctrine, which Adam Smith could not have excelled, and told many politico-economical truths, which few had then imagined. His own answers to the principles he thus beautifully lays down, sound harsh and jarring in comparison, although they were far more accordant to the principles of the time. "Do not," he says with considerable tact, "think it a light matter to rob the royal burghs of their privileges, which are become their property by as good a title as any of you bruike your lands and estate. By what hand ye shall communicate these liberties (now called in question,) to the defenders, by that same shall ye lop off the royal burghs from being the third estate in the kingdom. Remember that a threefold cord ought not to be easily broken. Consider that lamentable confusion may follow on loosing one pin of the government; that the touching such a fundamental sacred constitution may unhinge the whole; that government is like a sheaf of arrows fast bound, pull out one, all will follow and fall to the ground; and how terribly dangerous such an innovation may be." It will be held in mind, however, that each counsel was feed for the principles he maintained, and that the genuine opinions of both may have almost united in "a happy medium." The speech, on the whole, is full of classical learning, and statistical information, and cannot fail to convey a pleasing idea of the intelligence and talent of a forensic orator of the seventeenth century.

⁴ Extending from p. 642, to 679, of Brown's Supplement, where it is styled "Fountainhall's Speech for the Pursuers."

Soon after this period, we find the subject of our memoir connected with one of those constitutional acts of resistance, for which the bar of Scotland has only, in a very few instances, been celebrated. It is well known to those acquainted with Scottish history, that a private litigation betwixt the earls of Dunfermline and Callender interested the feelings or cupidity of Lauderdale, who was determined to influence the decision in favour of the former, by swaying the judges through his personal appearance on the bench, in virtue of his honorary title of "an extraordinary lord of session." The affair was managed by having the cause prematurely called in court, in defiance of statute; and, a decision being come to in favour of the pursuer, Callender lodged an appeal to parliament, a novel procedure, which it was the interest of the king and of the judges to stifle at its first appearance. There are few who will not acknowledge, that a final appeal of litigated cases to the legislative tribunal of the country, is, if not a preventive, at least a check to the consequences of influence or prejudice in inferior judicatories. The absence of such a principle, and the decay of jury trial in Scotland, had both originated from the same cause. Parliament was anciently the great jury of the nation, and, with the king as its president, the court of last resort in all litigations: but becoming, from the nature of the inferior courts, overburdened with judicial business, which a large body of men could not easily accomplish, the full powers of parliament, in this respect, were bestowed on a judicial committee called the Lords Auditors, from which, through a gradation of changes, was formed the court of session, which thus, by its origin, united the duties of the jury, the law court, and the legislative body of last resort. In these circumstances, it was not difficult for government to discover, that a measure so displeasing to itself, was a daring innovation of the "constitution." The counsel for the appellants, Lockhart and Cunningham, were desired to make oath regarding their share in this act of insubordination, and not only refusing, but maintaining the justice of appeals, were summarily prohibited the exercise of their profession. The members of the bar united to resent the insult and protect their rights, and fifty advocates, (probably very nearly the whole number then at the bar,) of whom Lauder was one,⁵ followed their distinguished brethren to retirement, and at the instance of Lauderdale, were banished twelve miles from Edinburgh. After a year's exile, they were allowed to return, having managed to effect a compromise with the court. In another appeal, which was attempted not long after, the appellant was persuaded to trust to the effect of recalling his appeal; but the judges, on whom the mixture of intimidation and flattery appears to have produced little effect, adhered, notwithstanding an implied promise to the contrary, to their previous interlocutor. "And so," remarks Lauder in reference to the case, "he was either ill or well served for his complimenting them. But the times were such that no rational man could expect a rectification from them of what had once, even through unawares, escaped them. When their honour was once engaged at the stake, they blushed to confess what is incident to humanity itself, *nam humanum est errare.*" With regard to his own sufferings for judicial integrity, he remarks, "I have few or no observations for the space of three sessions and a half, viz. from June, 1674, till January, 1676, in regard I was at that time debarred from any employment, with many other lawyers, on the account we were unclear to serve under the strict and servile ties seemed to be imposed on us by the king's letter, discharging any to quarrel the lords of session their sen-

⁵ Mackenzie's Memoirs, 293, where Lauder, among others, subscribes an address by the debarred advocates to the privy council. For a farther account of the affair, see the memoirs of Sir G. Lockhart, and Sir G. Mackenzie.

tences of injustice, and was not restored till January, 1676." After his restoration to his powers, his collection of decisions shows that he was a well employed and active counsellor.

His next appearance in public life, is at the celebrated trial of the earl of Argyle in 1681, for a treasonable explanation of the test, for whom Lauder acted as counsel, along with Lockhart and six others. The vulgar prejudice against vindicating a person accused of any crime, together with the cautious vigilance of the crown, trammelled for a long time the legitimate powers of counsel in Scotland, and especially in cases of treason, brought their duty so much under the arbitration of the court, that a practice prevailed by which it was considered illegal to defend a person accused of such a crime, without the permission of government; and therefore every prudent advocate declined interfering till he could produce a royal warrant. In the present instance, Argyle's counsel had prepared and signed, as lawyers, an "opinion" that his explanation of the test was a legal one. The consequence of this, as detailed in Lauder's own words, was, that "The councill named a committee to call my lord Argyle's eight advocates, vizt., Sir George Lockhart, Sir John Dalrymple, Messieurs Walter Pringle, David Thoirs, Patrick Home, John Stewart, James Graham, and myself, for subscribing an opinion that his explanation contained nothing treasonable in it. We were examined upon oath; and it was called a new practice to sign opinions with us, especially in criminal cases importing treason, and a bad preparative; though lawyers should not be prelimited nor overawed freely to plead in defence of their clients; the privy council having authorized us to that purpose. Tho' some aimed at imprisoning and depriving us, yet, after we had spoke with his royal hynes, he was pleased to pass it; tho', he said, if any bad use were made of our signed opinion, by spreading it abroad in England to incense them, or reproach the duke or the judges, he could not but blame us. It was afterwards printed in England, and Argyle's triall, with another piece, called a Scotch Mist to wet an Englishman to the Skin: being sundry animadversions on Argyle's process."

Although his political proceedings do not seem to have been calculated to bring him within the atmosphere of court favour, he early received the dignity of knighthood; at what precise period is not known, but apparently previous to the year 1681. Much about the same period, or some years afterwards, he appears to have acted as one of the assessors to the city of Edinburgh; a circumstance discoverable from his remarking, that on the 4th of November, 1685, the other gentleman who held that office was removed, from some cause connected with burgh politics, while he was retained.

In 1685, Sir John Lauder became a member of the Committee of Estates; and for more than twenty years,⁶ until the treaty of union, he appears from the journals of the house to have performed his parliamentary duties with activity and zeal. He was returned for the shire of Haddington on the 23rd of April, along with Sir John Wedderburn of Gosford. His election was disputed by Sir James Hay of Simplum; and the committee on controverted elections having reported that the votes were equally divided, a new election was proposed, when one of the voters for Sir James Hay being discovered to have given his vote after the election had been formally terminated, Sir John Lauder was declared the sitting member by a majority of one. Lauder was early discovered in his legislative, as he had been in his professional capacity, not to be a do-

⁶ The record shows him to have been returned of the following dates: 23d April, 1685; 29th April, 1686; 3rd September, 1690; 9th May, 1695; 8th September, 1696; 21st May, 1700; 6th May, 1703; 6th July, 1704; 28th June, 1705; 3rd October, 1706.—*Act. Parl.* vols. viii, ix, x, xi.

cile and obedient supporter of the measures of government. In the first parliament which he attended, he refused to vote for the forfeiture of the earl of Melville, who had fled from the wrath of government after the discovery of the Rye-house plot.⁷

He was a zealous friend to the protestant faith, when there were few in Scotland who risked an open defence of the religion to which they were so ardently attached. The government, who found it difficult to make the protection of protestantism a crime, had nevertheless power enough to harass him. "On May 1st, 1686," he says, "Mr James Young, son to Andrew Young, writer to the signet, is apprehended by captain Graham, and kept in the court of guard, being delated as a copier and dispenser of a paper, containing reasons why the parliament should not consent to the dispensing with the penal laws against papists, and reflecting in the end on such protestants as had apostatized! and for having verses against the bishop of St Andrews and bishop of Edinburgh; and he having in his examination named John Wilson and John Nasmyth, my servants,⁸ as bringers of these papers to his chamber, the chancellor signed an order to captain Graham to arrest them, apprehending possibly to reach myself for libelling, as he termed it. But they having named their authors from whom they had them, were liberated, and their authors, viz. Mr John Ellis, Robert Keill, &c. were cited."—"My two servants," he afterwards says, "being imprisoned, and I threatened therewith, as also that they would seize upon my papers, and search if they contained anything offensive to the party then prevailing, I was necessitat to hide the manuscript, and many others, and intermit my historick remarks till the Revolution in the end of 1688, after which I began some observes of our meeting of estates of parliament held in 1690-93 and 95, and other occurrents forreign and domestick, briefly summed up, and drawin together yearly, (but not with such enlargements as I have used heir,) and are to be found up and downe in several manuscripts besyde me, to be reviewed *cum dabit otium Deus.*"

When James made his well-known recommendation to the parliament of Scotland to rescind the penal statutes against Roman catholics, Lauder joined in the debate on the appropriate answer, in a spirit of moderation, which, according to the amount of his charity, the reader may attribute to prudence, or liberality, or both united. On the question, what term the parliament should bestow on those who professed the Romish faith, "I represented," says he, "that there was no man within the house more desirous to have these odious marks of division buried, and that we might all be united under the general name of Christian. It is true the names under which they were known in our law were the designations of the papistical kirk, heresy, error, superstition, popish idolatry, and maintainers of the cruel decrees of the council of Trent; and though it was not suitable to the wisdom and gravity of parliament to give them a title implying as if they were the true church, and we but a sect, yet I wished some soft appellation, with the least offence, might be fallen on, and therefore I proposed it might run thus, *those commonly called Roman Catholics*; that the most part of our divines calls us the catholics, and so Chamier begins his Panstratia, '*Vertuntur controversiæ, Catholicos inter et Papistas.*' The chancellor called this a nicknaming of the king, and proposed it might run in general terms thus, *as to those subjects your majesty has recommended to us, &c.*" The motion of the archbishop of Glasgow, that they should be simply termed "Roman Catholics,"—a repetition of the king's own words—was finally carried. But

⁷ Act Parl., ix. Ap. 45.

⁸ The term "servant" is invariably used by Lauder and other lawyers of the period for "clerk."

however he might be inclined to be conciliatory about epithets, Lauder resisted with firmness the strong attempt made by James and his commissioner, the earl of Moray, towards the conclusion of the parliament, finally to abolish the penalties against Roman catholics. In his manuscripts are preserved seventeen closely written pages of matter on this subject, entitled "A Discourse in defence, whereof part was spoken in the parliament, of the Penal Laws against Popery, and why the Toleration Act should not pass; and the rest was intended, but was prevented by the sudden rising of the parliament." Frequent application, often in the most contemptible of causes, has made the arguments contained in this able document too hackneyed to please a modern taste; an impartial posterity, however, will reflect, that though liberal feeling has often been disgusted by a similar discussion of a question, which to this day bears the same name, the supporters of the penal laws against Roman catholics in the reign of James the Seventh, were not striking against freedom of opinion; that they were a party which had just halted from a battle for their own privileges and liberties, and once more beheld them sternly menaced; that they did not wish to dictate to the consciences of an oppressed body of men, but were boldly preserving the purity of their own, by using the only means in their power to prevent the resuscitation of a church which sat in judgment over the mind, and was armed with a sword to compel obedience to its dictates. "It were," says Lauder, "a strange excess and transport of Christian lenity and moderation, to abolish our laws against papists, who, by the principles and practice of their church, may show no favour to us; but will turn the weapons we arm them with to the total subversion of our religion:" words which had a meaning when a bigoted papal monarch sat on the throne, and the horrors of a high commission were in too fresh recollection; but which have none when used towards a poor and powerless body, desiring to enjoy their own religion in peace.

We must not omit to mention, that at the trial of the duke of Monmouth in 1686, Sir John Lauder and other two counsel were employed to protest for the interest of the duchess, who was absolute proprietrix of the estate enjoyed by her husband. The criminal court would not condescend to receive a protest in a matter purely civil; but did condescend to forfeit the property of the duchess for the crime of her husband. It was afterwards, however, given back by the king.

We pause in the history of his political career, to record a few domestic events which characterized the life of Sir John Lauder. He had been married on the 21st January, 1669, to Janet Ramsay, daughter of Sir Andrew Ramsay, lord Abbotshall, whose father was the celebrated Andrew Ramsay, minister of the Grey-friars' church. This lady, after bearing him eleven children, died in 1686. Her husband has thus affectionately noted the event, "27 Februarii, 1686, at night happened *mors charissimæ meæ conjugis mihi amarissima et luctuosissima*; so there is little to the 10th of March, I not having come abroad till then." On the margin is written *nota non obliviscenda*. In the curious familiar memorials which he has left behind him, we find frequent instances of that warm domestic feeling which is often the private ornament of men illustrious for their public and political intrepidity. To any disaster in his numerous family—for he had seven children by a second wife—we sometimes meet such simple allusions as the following, buried among the legal notanda, or the political events of that feverish period: "17 Decembris, 1695, I entered on the bills; and my dear child Robert dying this day, the observes are the fever, in respect of my absence for two days, and my other affairs, which diverted my constant attention that week." Again, "21 July, 1696, Tuesday: my dear son William

dying this day, I was absent till his burial was over." Sir John was a second time married on the 26th of March, 1687, to Marion Anderson, daughter of Anderson of Balram, who survived him.

The domestic tranquillity of this excellent man was long harassed by the machinations of a step-mother,—his father's third wife, of whose heteroclitic proceedings we must give a slight sketch. This woman, Margaret Ramsay, daughter to George Ramsay of Iddington, to whom Sir John Lauder's father was united in 1670, at the ripe age of 86, prevailed on her husband to procure a baronet's title, which he obtained in July, 1688, and the lady, showing that she had more important designs than the gratification of female vanity, managed, by an artifice for which parental affection can scarcely form an excuse, to get the patent directed to her own son George, and the other heirs male of her body, without any reference to the children of the previous marriage.

A document among the papers of Sir John Lauder, being a draft of an indictment, or criminal libel, at the instance of the lord advocate, before the privy council, against the lady and her relations, gives us his own account of the transaction: it is dated 1690, and commences "Memorandum for Sir John Lauder, to raise ane libell at privy counsell at the instance of Sir J. D. (Sir John Dalrymple), his majesty's advocate, for his majesty's interest, and of Sir John Lauder, Mr William and Andrew Lauders, his brothers german, against Margaret Ramsay, &c." Neither the Medea of Euripides, nor the old ballad of "Lord Randal my Son," gives a more *beau ideal* picture of the proceedings of the "cruel step-dame," than this formidable document. It accuses her of having "wearied her husband by her excessive importunity and ambition to procure and accept ane knight baronet's patent;" that, having managed through her relations to direct the destination in the manner we have mentioned, the old gentleman immediately sent the patent to Mr Robert Lauder to be altered, and Mr Robert, certainly not having the fear of what are awfully termed consequences before his eyes, proceeded to his duty, when the enraged lady "with several others of her accomplices, intending by force to have taken the patent from him, threatened to see his heart's blood if he did not deliver it presently." Farther, "to fright her husband to comply with her unreasonable and unjust demands, she threatened that she would starve herself if that patent was not taken to her son, and that she would kill herself if she saw any of the complainers come near the house, and if he did not absolutely discharge them his presence;" and still more emphatically, "she tore the clothes off her body, and the hoods off her head, and sware fearful oaths, that she would drown herself and her children, and frequently cursed the complainers, and defamed and traduced them in all places, and threatened that she hoped to see them all rooted out, they and their posterity, off the face of the earth, and her children would succeed to all."⁹ A decree appears to have been obtained against the defenders in the privy council; and the patent being reduced in the civil court, a new destination was obtained, by which Sir John Lauder succeeded to the family title and estates on the death of his father in 1692.

⁹ Notwithstanding her ferocity, this woman seems to have managed to be regretted at her death. She is the only person to whom, from the date (April 18, 1713), we can apply a piece of doggerel. "In obitum pie ac generosissimæ Domine D. A. Fountainhall, Elegidium, ad usum et captum adolescentuli ejusdem filii Alexandri Lauder, ex industria accommodatum. It thus elegantly commences:

An quia matrona es, generoso stemmate nata
Fatorum rigido numine, saneta cadis."

Or as it is Englished,

"Fallen by the dismal stroke of harsher fate,
Because by birth, but more by virtue great.

Pamphlets Ad. Lib. M. 4. 4.

Meantime, the Revolution had brought him a relief from the dangers and difficulties of opposition, and the hope of preferment and influence. He was appointed a lord of session, and took his seat with the title of "lord Fountainhall," on the 1st November, 1689. On the 27th of January following, he was also nominated a lord of justiciary. In 1692, Sir John Lauder was offered the lucrative and influential situation of lord advocate; but the massacre of Glencoe, an act characteristic of a darker age and a bloodier people, had just taken place; the lukewarmness, if not criminality of the government, formed an impediment, and to his honour be it mentioned, he would not accept the proffered situation except on the condition of being allowed to prosecute the murderers. At the time when the Scottish parliament found it necessary to strike a blow for the property of the nation invested in the Darien scheme, it was proposed that the parliament should vote an address to the king, calling on him to vindicate the honour of Scotland, and protect the company. The more determined spirits in that exasperated assembly demanded an act as the legitimate procedure of an independent body. Among these was Lauder. The address was carried by 108 to 84, and a body of those who voted otherwise, with Hamilton and Lauder at their head, recorded their dissent.¹ He began at this period to show opposition to the measures of government. Along with Hamilton, he recorded a dissent from the motion of the high commissioner, for continuing for four months the forces over and above the 3000, which constituted the regular establishment.² He attended parliament during the tedious discussion of the several articles of the union, and we find his protest frequently recorded, although to one or two articles which did not involve the principle of an incorporating union, he gave his assent. In the final vote, his name is recorded among the noes.

Soon after the union, on the appointment of circuits, old age interfered with lord Fountainhall's performance of all his laborious duties, and after some unwillingness on the part of royalty to lose so honest a servant, he resigned his justiciary gown, and a short time before his death, he gave up his seat in the court of session. This good and useful man died in September, 1722, leaving to his numerous family a considerable fortune, chiefly the fruit of his own industry. On a character which has already spoken for itself through all the actions of a long life, we need not dilate. His high authority as a rational lawyer is well known to the profession. His industry was remarkable. His manuscripts, as extant, fill ten folio and three quarto volumes; and there is reason to believe, from his references, that several were lost.

In 1822, was published "Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701, being chiefly taken from the Diary of lord Fountainhall." Unfortunately this volume is not taken from the original manuscript, but from an abridged compilation by a Mr Milne, a writer in Edinburgh; a fierce Jacobite, who has disturbed the tranquil observations of the judge with his own fiery additions, apparently judging that his cause might be well supported by making an honest adversary tell falsehoods in its favour. A genuine selection from the historical manuscripts of lord Fountainhall would be a useful addition to our historical literature.

LAUDER, WILLIAM, a man renowned in literary history, for having turned superior talents, and very high classical acquirements, to an attempt to defraud Milton of his fame. Of the period of his birth, which has escaped the patient investigation of Chalmers, we are totally ignorant. The earlier part of his life was passed in great obscurity, although it has been ascertained from his own remarks—in after life we believe—that he was connected, and not very distantly, with the respectable family of Lauder of Fountainhall. He received all his edu-

¹ Act. Parl., x. 269.

² Act. Parl., x. 294.

cation in Edinburgh, and passed through the university with considerable credit. After leaving college, he seems to have immediately resorted to teaching, as a means of gaining a livelihood; his early career in this profession was for some time interrupted by an accident, which must have materially affected his future course of life. While standing near a party engaged in the game of golf, on Bruntsfield Links, near Edinburgh, a ball struck him on the knee; the wound, which cannot have been very serious, festered from careless treatment, and he was compelled to submit to the amputation of his leg.¹ In 1734, he was employed by professor Watt, then in bad health, to teach for him the class of Humanity, or Latin; and on the death of that gentleman he naturally exerted himself to procure an appointment as successor; but though he had talents to teach, he had not sufficient influence to be appointed a professor. We are, however, informed that on this occasion the professors gratuitously honoured him with "a testimonial from the heads of the university, certifying that he was a fit person to teach Humanity in any school or college whatever."² After this disappointment, his ambition sunk to an application for the subordinate situation of keeper to the university library, but this also was denied him. He appears indeed to have been a person whose disposition and character produced a general dislike, which was only to a small extent balanced by his talent and high scholarship. "He was," says Chalmers, with characteristic magniloquence, "a person about five feet seven inches high, who had a sallow complexion, large rolling fiery eyes, a stentorian voice, and a sanguine temper;" and Ruddiman has left, in a pamphlet connected with the subject of our memoir, a manuscript note, observing, "I was so sensible of the weakness and folly of that man, that I shunned his company, as far as decently I could." Ruddiman's opinion, however, if early entertained, did not prevent him from forming an intimate literary connexion with its subject.

In 1738, Lauder printed a proposal to publish by subscription "A Collection of Sacred Poems," "with the assistance of professor Robert Stewart, professor John Ker, (professor of Greek in Aberdeen, and afterwards of Latin in Edinburgh), and Mr Thomas Ruddiman." The promised work was published by Ruddiman in 1739, and forms the two well known volumes called "*Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*."³ What assistance Stewart and Ker may have given to this work appears not to be known; Ruddiman provided several notes, and three poems. This work was creditable both to the scholar and typographer. It contains a beautiful edition of the translation of the Psalms and the Song of Solomon, by Arthur Johnston, and similar sacred poems of merit, by Ker, Adamson, and Hog: it contains likewise a reprint of Eglisbam's somewhat ludicrous attempt to excel Buchanan's best translated Psalm, the 104th,⁴ with the sarcastic "judicium" of Barclay on the respective merits of the competitors,⁵ and several minor sacred poems by Scottish authors are dispersed through the collection. The classical merit of these elegant poems, has, we believe, never been disputed by those who showed the greatest indignation at the machinations of their editor; nor is their merit less, as furnishing us with much biographical and critical information on the Latin literature of Scotland, among which may be mentioned a well written life of Arthur Johnston, and the hyperbolical

¹ Chalmers's Ruddiman, 146.

² Nichols's Anecdotes, ii. 136.

³ *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ, sive quatuor sacri codicis scriptorum, Davidis et Solomonis, Jobi et Jeremie, Poetici libri, per totidem Scotos, Arch. Johnstonum, et J. Kerrum, P. Adamsonum, et G. Hogam, Latino carmine redditi: quibus ob argumenti similitudinem, obiectantur alia Scotorum itidem opuscula sacra.* Edin^b Ruddim: 1739.

⁴ Certamen cum Georgio Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphrascos Psalmi civ.

⁵ Barclai Judicium de certamine Eglisenmii cum G. Buchanano, pro dignitate Paraphrascos Psalmi civ.

praises, which proved so detrimental to the fame of that poet. To support the fame of the author he had delighted to honour, Lauder afterwards engaged in the literary controversy, about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnston, known by the name "Bellum Grammaticale."⁶

In 1740, the general assembly recommended the Psalms of Johnston, as an useful exercise in the lower classes of the grammar schools; but Lauder never realized from his publication the permanent annual income which he appears to have expected, "because," says Chalmers, "he had allowed expectation to outrun probability." In 1742, Lauder was recommended by Mr Patrick Cuming, professor of church history in the university of Edinburgh, and the celebrated Colin Maclaurin, as a person fitted to hold the rectorship of the grammar school of Dundee, which had been offered to his coadjutor Ruddiman in 1710; he was again, however, doomed to suffer disappointment, and in bitterness of spirit, and despair of reaching in his native place the status to which his talents entitled him, he appears to have fled to London, where he adopted the course which finally led to the ruin of his literary reputation. His first attempts on the fame of Milton were contained in letters addressed to the Gentleman's Magazine in 1747, which that publication, certainly without due caution regarding charges so suspicious, unreservedly admitted for publication. The literary world indeed received the attacks on the honesty of the great poet with singular complacency, and the periodicals contained praises of the acuteness and industry of Lauder, some of which he afterwards ostentatiously published. The first person who attempted a discovery of the true merit of the attack, was the Reverend Mr Richardson, author of *Zoilomastix*, who, on the 8th of January, 1749, wrote a letter to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, in which he maintained the falsity of Lauder's quotations from some books not very well known even to the learned world; particularly insisting that the passage "non me judice," which Lauder had "extracted" from Grotius, was not to be found in that author, and that passages said to be from Masenius and Staphorstius, belonged to a partial translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* by Hog, who had written twenty years subsequently to the death of Milton.⁷ Although the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine arrogated to himself the praise of candour for admitting the strictures of Lauder, yet this communication was not published until the forgeries had been detected in another quarter, on the ground of unwillingness to give currency to so grave and unexpected a charge, without full examination.

In 1750, Lauder having brought his design to maturity, published his "Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the moderns, in his *Paradise Lost*," to which he prefixed as a motto the very appropriate line from the author he traduced, "Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme." The reader is aware, that this book consists of a tissue of passages from obscure authors, from which it is maintained that Milton surreptitiously filched the materials of *Paradise Lost*. In the list are two of the critic's own countrymen, Andrew Ramsay and Alexander Ross, both respectable Latin versifiers and good scholars, but neither likely to have been suspected of giving much aid to Milton; in the introduction of the former of these, the critic may have gratified a little family pride,—he was father-in-law to lord Fountainhall, and consequently a connexion or relation of the author. Had the author confined his book to the tracing of such passages

⁶ For farther information on this matter, vide the Memoir of Arthur Johnston in this collection. The reader may remark that we have there praised the classical acquirements of auditor Benson if he was the author of the *Life of Johnston* prefixed to the edition of his Psalms. The circumstance that the life in the *Musæ Sacre* is exactly the same, leads to the conclusion that it is by Lauder.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.*, xx. 535.

of Milton, as accident has paralleled in far inferior poems, he might have produced a curious though not very edifying book: and, indeed, he has given us a sufficient number of such genuine passages, to make us wonder at his industry, and admire the ingenuity with which he has adapted them to the words of Milton; but when he produces masses of matter, the literal translations of which exactly coincide with the poem unequalled in the eyes of all mankind, we express that astonishment at the audacity of the author, which we would have felt regarding the conduct of Milton, had the attempt remained undetected. As he spreads a deeper train of forgery and fraud round the memory of his victim, the author's indignation and passion increase, and from the simple accusation of copying a few ideas and sentences from others, passion and prejudice rouse him to accuse Milton of the most black and despicable designs, in such terms as these: "I cannot omit observing here, that Milton's contrivance of teaching his daughters to read, but to read only, several learned languages, plainly points the same way, as Mr Phillips' secreting and suppressing the books to which his uncle was most obliged. Milton well knew the loquacious and incontinent spirit of the sex, and the danger, on that account, of entrusting them with so important a secret as his unbounded plagiarism: he, therefore, wisely confined them to the knowledge of the words and pronunciation only, but kept the sense and meaning to himself." It is generally believed that a character for probity is so dear to every man, that nothing but the temptation of gain, mingled generally with a prospect of concealment, will prompt a man to dishonesty. Here, however, was a man whose object could not be gain, courting that which depends more than any other acquisition upon probity of mind—real or assumed fame; and doing so by a bold act of dishonesty, which could not escape discovery, and which, in proportion as he had traduced others, would be revisited upon himself. "As I am sensible," he solemnly says at the conclusion, "this will be deemed most outrageous usage of the divine, the immortal Milton, the prince of English poets, and the incomparable author of *Paradise Lost*, I take this opportunity to declare, in the most solemn manner, that a strict regard to TRUTH alone, and to do justice to those authors whom Milton has so liberally gleaned, without making the least distant acknowledgment to whom he stood indebted: I declare, I say, that these motives, and these only, have induced me to make this attack upon the reputation and memory of a person, hitherto universally applauded and admired for his uncommon poetical genius: and not any difference of country, or of sentiments in political or religious matters, as some weak and ignorant minds may imagine, or some malicious persons may be disposed to suggest." The violence of party spirit to which Lauder here alludes, has been alleged as a partial excuse, or rather motive, for his audacious act: but it may be more charitably, if not more naturally presumed, that the accidental discovery of a few of the parallel passages we have alluded to above, had prompted him to form a theory of universal plagiarism on the part of Milton, which a more than ordinary perverseness in favour of the creation of his own mind prompted him rather to support by falsehood, than resign; while, as he afterwards partially admitted, spleen and disappointment may have sufficiently blackened his heart, to make him scruple at no means of gaining celebrity, and triumphing over the world that had oppressed him. Add to this the angry feelings which may have been roused, and the real injury done to his interest, by a ludicrous contrast of his favourite author Johnston, with Milton, in that passage of the *Dunciad* which is levelled at the literary predilections of Benson:

"On two unequal crutches propp'd he came;
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name."

There is no crime so severely punished by the world as injustice, which is always repaid by a repetition of itself: hence the learned world which applauded the courage and ingenuity of Lauder, on the appearance of a full and explicit detection of his crimes, by his countryman Dr Douglas,⁸ were seized with a confirmed hatred against the person who had duped them, and would not admit to his degraded name, the talents and information he undoubtedly possessed and displayed. Lauder subscribed a confession, addressed to Dr Douglas, explaining his whole conduct to have been caused by the neglect with which the world had looked on his previous labours. This confession is said to have been dictated by Dr Johnson, who was one of those on whom Lauder had imposed, or rather of those who chose to submit to be imposed on, which we may safely trace, in his case, to the grudge he never ceased to bear towards the republican poet. The connexion of Johnson with Lauder's work is, indeed, somewhat mysterious. In a manuscript note on the margin of archdeacon Blackburne's remarks on the life of Milton, Johnson has said, "In the business of Lauder I was deceived, partly by thinking the man too frantic to be fraudulent."⁹ But others have alleged, that he did more than believe the statements of Lauder, and even gave assistance to the work. Dr Lort had a volume of tracts on the controversy, in which he wrote, "Dr Samuel Johnson has been heard to confess, that he encouraged Lauder to this attack upon Milton, and revised his pamphlet, to which he wrote a preface and postscript." On the same subject Dr Douglas remarks, "It is to be hoped, nay, it is expected, that the elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments, and inimitable style, point out the author of Lauder's preface and postscript, will no longer allow one to plume himself with his feathers, who appeareth so little to deserve assistance: an assistance which, I am persuaded, would never have been communicated, had there been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the instrument of conveying to the world in these sheets."¹⁰ Boswell repels the insinuation that Johnson assisted in the preparation of the body of the work, assuring us that Douglas did not wish to create such a suspicion; while he acknowledges the preface and postscript to have been the work of his hands.¹¹ On a first perusal of the book, we were indeed struck with the sonorous eloquence and majesty of the commencement and termination, when compared to the bareness of the other portions of the work, and a slight hint is quite sufficient to convince us of the authorship. The postscript contains matter much at variance with the other contents of the book, and had it been the work of Lauder, it might have gone far to redeem, at least the soundness of his *heart*, from the opprobrium which has been heaped upon him. It called for the admirers of Milton's works, to join in a subscription to the grand-daughter of Milton, who then lived in an obscure corner of London, in age, indigence, and sickness.

Notwithstanding his penitence, a desire to traduce the fame of Milton seems to have haunted this unhappy man like an evil spirit. In 1754, he published "The grand Impostor detected, or Milton detected of Forgery against king Charles the First." An answer to this pamphlet appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1754, supposed to be from the hand of Johnson. After this period, Lauder quitted England, and for some time taught a school in Barbadoes. "His behaviour there," says Nichols, "was mean and despicable; and

⁸ Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiarism brought against him by Lauder; and Lauder himself convicted of several forgeries and gross impositions on the public, in a letter addressed to the right hon. the earl of Barb, 1751, (by Dr Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury.)

⁹ Nichol's Anecdotes, II. 551.

¹⁰ Second edition, 78.

¹¹ Boswell's Johnson, (Croker's ed.) I. 191.

he passed the remainder of his life in universal contempt. He died some time about the year 1771, as my late friend Isaac Reed was informed by the gentleman who read the funeral service over him."¹ Chalmers mentions that there was published, in 1754, (probably just after his retreat from London,) a pamphlet entitled, "Furius: or a modest attempt towards a History of the Life and surprising exploits of the famous W. L., critic and *thief-catcher*," a somewhat inappropriate name for the traducer of Milton.

LAW, JOHN, of Lauriston, comptroller-general of the finances of France, under the regency of Orleans, was born at Edinburgh, in the month of April, 1671. His mother, Jean Campbell, was descended from one of the numerous branches of the ducal house of Argyle. His father, William Law, was great-grandson of James Law, archbishop of Glasgow, and second son of James Law of Brunton in Fife. William Law acquired a considerable fortune by his profession as a goldsmith in the Scottish metropolis, and purchased the two estates of Lauriston and Randleston, a property of about 180 acres, in the parish of Cramond, and county of Edinburgh. He died shortly after making this purchase, leaving an only son, the subject of the present memoir, then fourteen years of age.

John received his education at Edinburgh, and early evinced an uncommon aptitude for the more abstruse branches of study. He likewise became skilled in games of dexterity and hazard, and acquired an enviable reputation in the tennis-court, a place of amusement then much frequented by young men of fashion in Scotland. But the early death of his father had relieved him from many salutary restraints, and *Beau Law*—as he was commonly called by his companions—shortly after reaching majority, found his affairs in a state of embarrassment, from which they were only extricated by the kindness and excellent management of his mother, who having obtained a disposition of the fee of Lauriston from her son, paid his debts, relieved the estate of its incumbrances, and executed an entail of the property.

Law was now in London, where his personal accomplishments, fascinating manners, and devotion to gambling, procured him admittance into some of the first circles. An affair of gallantry, however, with another dissolute young man, led to a hostile meeting, in which Law killed his antagonist on the spot. After a trial before the king and queen's commissioners in the Old Bailey, which lasted three days, the jury found the survivor in this duel guilty of murder, and sentence of death was accordingly passed upon him, 20th April, 1694. On a representation of the case to the crown, Law obtained a pardon; but was detained in the King's Bench, in consequence of an appeal against this extension of royal clemency towards him having been lodged by a brother of the deceased. He found means, however, to make his escape, and got clear off to the continent.²

Law was at this critical period of his life in the 26th year of his age. His dissipation had not destroyed the tone of his mind, nor enfeebled those peculiar powers which had so early developed themselves in him. He visited France, then under the brilliant administration of Colbert, where his inquiries were particularly directed to the state of the public finances, and the mode of conduct-

¹ Anecdotes, II. 137.

² On this occasion the following advertisement was published in the *London Gazette* of Monday, 7th January, 1695: "Captain John Law, a Scotchman, lately a prisoner in the King's Bench for murder, aged 26, a very tall, black lean man, well-shaped, above six feet high, large pock-holes in his face, big high nosed, speaks broad and loud, made his escape from the said prison. Whoever secures him, so as he may be delivered at the said prison, shall have fifty pounds paid immediately by the Marshall of the King's Bench." We may here observe, that this description was upon the whole inaccurate, and leaves room to believe that it was designed rather with the view of facilitating than impeding his escape.

ing banking establishments. From France he proceeded to Holland, where the mercantile system of those wealthy republicans, who had succeeded the merchant princes of Venice in conducting the commerce of Europe, presented to his mind a vast and most interesting subject of investigation. Amsterdam was at this period the most important commercial city in Europe, and possessed a celebrated banking establishment, on the credit of which her citizens had been enabled to baffle the efforts of Louis XIV., to enslave the liberties of their country; a treasury, whose coffers seemed inexhaustible, and the whole system of which was an enigma to the political economists of other countries. Law, with the view of penetrating into the secret springs and mechanism of this wonderful establishment, took up his residence for some time at Amsterdam, where he ostensibly officiated as secretary to the British resident.

About the year 1700, he returned to Scotland. He was now nearly thirty years of age, and had acquired a more accurate acquaintance with the theory of commercial and national finances, as well as with their practical details, than perhaps any single individual in Europe possessed at this time. The contrast which Scotland presented to those commercial countries which he had visited during his exile now struck him forcibly, and he immediately conceived the design of creating that capital to the want of which he attributed the depressed state of Scottish agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. Law's views were not without foundation; but unfortunately, he stumbled at the outset, by mistaking the true nature of capital. The radical delusion under which he laboured from the outset to the close of his financial career, originated in the idea which had got possession of his mind, that by augmenting the circulating medium of a country we proportionally augment its capital and productive energies. Now, money is not always convertible into capital, that is, into something which may be employed towards further production; for the creation of exchangeable products must, in the nature of things, precede the creation of a general medium of commerce, and it is quite evident, that if we double the amount of the circulating medium without doubling the products of industry, we just depreciate the currency in the degree of the excess, and do not increase the resources or industry of a country in the least. But Law conceived that to her overflow of money alone Holland owed her national prosperity; and he calculated that the increase of the circulating medium in Scotland would be absorbed by the increase of industry, and have no other effect than to lower the rate of interest. This view he developed in a publication entitled "Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade," dated at Edinburgh, 31st December, 1700, and published at Glasgow in the following year; and in a second and more important work, entitled "Money and Trade considered, with a Proposal for supplying the nation with Money," printed at Edinburgh in 1705.

In the latter work, Law developed his views of banking and the credit system. He proposed to supply Scotland with money by means of notes to be issued by certain commissioners appointed by parliament; which notes were to be given out to all who demanded them, upon the security of land. In answer to the supposition, that they might be depreciated by excess or quantity, he observed, that "the commissioners giving out what sums are demanded, and taking back what sums are offered to be returned, this paper-money will keep the value, and there will always be as much money as there is occasion or employment for, and no more." Here his project evidently confounds the quantity of good security in the country, and the quantity of money which people may wish to borrow at interest, with the quantity necessary for the circulation, so as to keep paper-money on a level with the precious metals, and the currency of surrounding countries,—a mistake which has prevailed to a very considerable ex-

tent in our own times. But notwithstanding of this capital error, Law has in the latter publication developed the principles and mechanism of banking in an astonishingly able and luminous manner for the period at which he wrote. The court party, and the *squadron*, headed by the duke of Argyle and the marquess of Tweeddale, entered warmly into Law's views; but parliament passed a resolution "that to establish any kind of paper-credit, so as to oblige it to pass, were an improper expedient for the nation."

Law now resolved to offer his system to some of those continental states whose finances had been exhausted by the wars of Louis XIV., and in which the principles of credit were imperfectly understood. With this view he went to Brussels, and from that city proceeded to Paris, where he won immense sums at play, and introduced himself into the good graces of the young duke of Orleans. The Succession war was at this moment occupying the attention of the French court; Chamillart, unable to extricate himself from the difficulties of his situation in any other manner, was about to resign his functions as minister of finance; the moment appeared favourable to our projector, and he made offer of his services to the French monarch. But the leading men of the day were totally unable to comprehend the plans of the new financier, and the name of Huguenot was no passport to the royal favour: so that the unexpected result of this negotiation was an order from the intendant of police to quit Paris in twenty-four hours as a state-enemy. Law found himself in a similar predicament at Genoa and Turin, but not before he had pursued his usual run of luck at the gaming-tables in these cities. After visiting several other continental cities, in all of which his fascinating manner procured him admission to the first circles, our adventurer found himself possessed of a tangible fortune of considerably more than £100,000,—the fruits of his skill and success at play. The death of Louis XIV.,—the succession of the duke of Orleans to the regency,—and the deplorable state of the French finances, prompted Law to present himself once more to the attention of the French ministry.

During the war of Succession—now brought to a close—Demarest, who had succeeded Chamillart as comptroller-general, had exhausted every possible means of raising money; he had issued promissory notes under every conceivable name and form,—*Promesses de la caisse des emprunts*, *Billets de Legendre*, *Billets de l'extraordinaire des guerres*, but all without success; the credit of the government was gone, and its *effets* of every description had sunk from seventy to eighty per cent in value. In this extremity, the expedient of a national bankruptcy was proposed to and rejected by the regent, who also refused to give a forced circulation to the royal billets, but appointed a commission to inquire into the claims of the state-creditors. The commission executed its duties with great ability; but after reducing the national debt to its lowest possible form, and providing for the payment of the interest amounting to 80,000,000 of livres, or about one half of the revenue, there hardly remained a sum sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the civil government, and that too, after having had recourse to a measure tantamount, in its effects at least, to a breach of faith, namely, a change in the nominal value of the currency. By the latter scheme, the government foolishly imagined that they would pocket 200,000,000 of livres, but the sum on which they had calculated, only went into the pockets of the Dutch and the clandestine money-dealers. At this critical juncture, Law stepped forward in the full confidence of being yet able to rescue the government from bankruptcy, by the establishment of a well-regulated paper-credit. His first proposal was to establish a national bank, into which was to be transferred all the metallic currency of the nation, which was to be replaced by bank-notes. Law regarded the whole nation as one grand

banking-company, and his reasoning was this:—If a bank may increase the issue of its notes beyond the amount of its funds in bullion, without risking its solvency, a nation may also do the same. But the private fortunes of the individuals of a nation, it is quite evident, can never be held as security for the notes which the sovereign authority may choose to issue; and unless such security is to be found in the resources of the government itself, it is equally clear that a paper-currency might sink in the course of a few months fifty or a hundred per cent below the value of the precious metals, and deprive individuals of half or the whole of their fortunes. Law seems to have regarded *credit* as every thing,—as intrinsic worth,—as specie itself. Still, notwithstanding this capital delusion, the memoirs which he addressed to the regent on the subject, contain many just observations on the peculiar facilities afforded to trade by the existence of a paper-currency: though they failed to remove the doubts of one sapient objector, who thought a paper-currency highly dangerous, on account of its liability to being cut or violently destroyed! The council of finance, however, rejected this scheme. The present conjuncture, they thought, was not favourable for the undertaking; and this reason, added to some particular clauses of the project, determined them to refuse it.

Law next proposed a private bank for the issue of notes, the funds of which should be furnished entirely from his own fortune, and that of others who might be willing to engage with him in the speculation. He represented the disastrous consequences which had resulted from a fluctuating currency, the enormous rate at which discounts were effected, the difficulties in the exchange between Paris and the provinces, and the general want of an increased currency; and succeeded in convincing the regent that these evils might be obviated by the adoption of his plans even in their limited modification. The bank was accordingly established by letters patent, bearing date the 2nd of May, 1716. Its capital was fixed at 1200 shares of 5000 livres each, or about £300,000 sterling. The notes were payable at sight in specie of the same weight and fineness as the money in circulation at the period of their issue; and hence they soon bore a premium above the metallic currency itself, which had been subjected to many violent alterations since 1689. The good faith which the bank observed in its proceedings,—the patronage which it received from the regent,—and the want of private credit, soon procured for it a vast run of business. Had Law confined his attention to this single establishment, he would justly have been considered as one of the greatest benefactors of the country, and the creator of a beautiful system of commercial finance; but the vastness of his own conceptions, his boundless ambition, and the unlimited confidence which the public now reposed in him, suggested more gigantic enterprizes, and led the way to that highly forced and unnatural system of things which eventually entailed ruin upon all connected with it.

Law had always entertained the idea of uniting the operations of banking with those of commerce. Every one knows that nothing can be more hazardous than such an attempt; for the credit of the banker cannot be made to rest upon the uncertain guarantee of commercial speculations. But the French had yet no accurate ideas on this subject. Law's confidence in the resources of his own financial genius was unbounded, and the world at this moment exhibited a theatre of tempting enterprise to a comprehensive mind. The Spaniards had established colonies around the gulf of Mexico,—the English were in possession of Carolina and Virginia,—and the French held the vast province of Canada. Although the coast lands of North America were already colonized, European enterprize had not yet penetrated into the interior of this fertile country; but the chevalier de Lasalle had descended the Mississippi, to the gulf

of Mexico, and, taking possession of the country through which he passed in the name of the French monarch, gave it the appellation of Louisiana. A celebrated merchant of the name of Crozat had obtained the privilege of trading with this newly discovered country, and had attempted, but without success, to establish a colony within it. Law's imagination, however, was fired at the boundless field of enterprise which he conceived was here presented; he talked of its beauty, of its fertility, of the abundance and rarity of its produce, of the richness of its mines outrivalling those of Mexico or Peru,—and in the month of August, 1717, within five months after his embarkation in the scheme of the bank, our projector had placed himself, under the auspices of the regent, at the head of the famous Mississippi scheme, or West Indian company. This company was invested with the full sovereignty of Louisiana, on condition of doing homage for the investiture to the king of France, and presenting a crown of gold, of thirty marcs, to each new monarch of the French empire on his accession to the throne. It was authorised to raise troops, to fit out ships of war, to construct forts, institute tribunals, explore mines, and exercise all other acts of sovereignty. The king made a present to the company of the vessels, forts, and settlements which had been constructed by Crozat, and gave it the monopoly of the beaver trade with Canada for twenty-five years. In December following, the capital of the West Indian company was fixed at 100,000,000 livres, divided into 200,000 shares; and the *billets d'etat*, were taken at their full value from those wishing to purchase shares. Government paper was at this moment vastly depreciated on account of the irregular payment of the interest; but although 500 livres nominal value in the public funds could not have been sold for more than 150 or 160 livres, the *billets d'etat*, by this contrivance, soon rose to par. It was evident that these fictitious funds could not form stock for commercial enterprise; nevertheless, the advance of the government debts to a rate so advantageous to the holders, increased the value of the government securities that remained in circulation, and the depreciated paper rose to full credit with the astonished public, who now began to place implicit confidence in Law's schemes. The council of finance, however, looked with mistrust on these proceedings; and its president, the duke de Noailles gave in his resignation, and was replaced by d'Argenson, a man far less skilled in matters of finance. The jealousy of the parliament, too, was excited by the increasing influence of the Scottish financier, who had been heard imprudently to boast that he would render the court independent of parliamentary supplies. By an arêt of the 18th of August, 1717, the parliament attempted to destroy the credit of the notes of the bank, by prohibiting the officers of the revenue from taking them in payment of the taxes; but the regent interposed, and Law was allowed to continue his operations. He, however, encountered another formidable rival in d'Argenson, who now proposed, with the assistance of the four brothers Paris, men of great wealth and influence in the commercial world, to form a company which, with a capital as large as that of the West Indian company, should advance large sums of money secured on the farms, posts, and other branches of the public revenue. This anti-system, as it was called, soon fell to pieces for want of the same energetic and fearless direction which characterized the schemes of its rival.

Law now prevailed on the regent to take the bank under royal guarantee, persuading him that it was quite possible to draw into it the whole circulating specie of the kingdom, and to replace it by the same amount of paper-money. The notes issued by the royal bank, however, did not promise, as those of Law's private establishment had done, to pay in specie of the same weight and fineness as the specie then in circulation, but merely to pay in silver coin. This opened

a door for all the fluctuations which might occur in the real value of the coin called a *livre*, affecting the value of the paper-money. Law was made director-general of the royal bank, which, in a few months, issued 1,000,000,000 of *livres* in new notes; "less," says the royal *arêt*, "not being sufficient for its various operations:" although this sum was more than all the banks of Europe could circulate, keeping good faith with their creditors. The director-general found it extremely difficult to support the credit of such an enormous issue, and for a while hesitated between the plan of insensibly transforming bank-notes into a real paper-money, by giving the latter a decided advantage over specie, which should be kept constantly fluctuating, and by receiving it in payment of the taxes; or of creating a new and apparently lucrative investment for this paper, so as to prevent its returning upon the bank to be exchanged for specie. The latter plan appeared at last the preferable one. A colossal establishment was projected with a capital equal in amount to the public debt. This capital was to be divided into shares, which the regent was to buy with the paper-money that he was to manufacture; he was then to borrow this paper anew to pay the creditors of the state; and then by selling the shares, to retire the paper-money, and thus transfer the creditors of the state to the company.

Accordingly, in May, 1719, the East India company, established by Richelieu, in 1664, the affairs of which were then at a very low ebb, was incorporated with that of the West Indies; and the conjoined companies received the name of the Company of the Indies, "with the four quarters of the world to trade in." "Moreover," says the edict issued on this occasion, "beside the 100,000,000 of public debts already subscribed into the Western Company's capital, there shall be a new subscription of 50,000 shares of 550 *livres* each, payable in specie." In a short time, the newly created company engaged, by extending its capital to 624,000 shares, to lend the king the immense sum of 1,600,000,000, at three per cent. interest, and declared itself in a condition to pay a dividend of 200 *livres* upon each share. The public faith being yet unshaken, the shares hereupon rose to 5000 *livres*; and when the king began to pay off the state-creditors with the loan now procured, many not knowing how to employ their capital, a new competition for shares in the great company arose, and shares actually rose in consequence to 10,000 *livres*. The slightest consideration might have served to convince any cool speculator, that the company had come under engagements which, in no circumstances, however prosperous, it could fulfil. How was it possible that the company could raise annually 124,800,000 *livres* for the dividend upon 624,000 shares? Or, supposing it able to make an annual dividend of 200 *livres* a share, still the rate of interest being at this time about four per cent., the shareholder who had bought in at 10,000, thus lost one-half of the revenue he might otherwise have drawn from the employment of his capital. The truth is, the whole scheme was designed for the sole purpose of relieving the state from its debts by the ruin of its creditors; but the immense fortunes which were realized by stock-jobbing at the very outset of the scheme, led on others to engage in the same speculation; splendid fortunes were realized in the course of a single day; men found themselves suddenly exalted as if by the wand of an enchanter, from the lowest station in life to the command of princely fortunes; twelve hundred new equipages appeared on the streets of Paris in the course of six weeks; half a million of people hastened from the country, and even from distant kingdoms to procure shares in the India company; and happy was he who held the greatest number of these bubbles. The negotiations for the sale and purchase of shares were at first carried on in the Rue Quincampoix, where fortunes were made by letting lodgings to the crowds who hastened thither for the purpose of speculating in the stocks. The murder

of a rich stock-jobber, committed here on the 22nd of March, 1720, by a young Flemish nobleman, occasioned the proscription of that street as a place of business, and the transference of the stock-jobbing to the Place Vendome, and finally to the hotel de Soissons, which Law is said to have purchased from the prince of Carignan for the enormous sum of 1,400,000 livres.

Innumerable anecdotes are on record of the extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune which took place during this season of marvellous excitement; footmen stepped from the back to the inside of carriages; cooks appeared at the public places with diamond necklaces; butlers started their berlins; and men educated in poverty and of the lowest rank suddenly exchanged the furniture and utensils of their apartments for the richest articles which the upholsterer and silversmith could furnish. Law himself, now arrived "*summa ad vestigia rerum*," shone super-eminent above all the other attractions of the day; princes, dukes, marshals, prelates, flocked to his levees, and counted themselves fortunate if they could obtain a smile from the great dispenser of fortune's favours; peeresses of France, in the excess of their adulations, lavished compliments upon the Scottish adventurer which set even decency at defiance; his daughter's hand was solicited by princes; and his lady bore herself with hauteur towards the duchesses of the kingdom. Land in the neighbourhood of Paris rose to eighty or a hundred year's purchase; the ell of cloth of fifteen livres sold for fifty; coffee rose from fifty sous to eighteen livres; stock-jobbers were known to treat their guests to green pease at a hundred pistoles the pint; every yard of rich cloth or velvet was bought up for the clothing of the new *élèves* of fortune; and the value of the silver plate manufactured in the course of three months for supplying the demands of the French capital amounted to £7,200,000! The regent, sharing in the general delusion, wished to place the wonderful foreigner at the head of the finances of the kingdom; but then, in addition to his being an alien, he was a protestant also; so l'Abbé de Tencin was charged with the important duty of his conversion, and this ecclesiastic succeeded so well in the task assigned to him, that on the 5th of January, 1720, all obstacles being removed, Law was elevated to the comptroller-generalship of the finances of France, and for some time after his elevation to the premiership, governed France with almost absolute power. Law's fame had now reached its acmé; his native city of Edinburgh hastened to transmit to her illustrious son the freedom of citizenship in a gold box of the value of £300; the earl of Hly re-published some of his works with an adulatory preface; British noblemen disdained not to pay their court to so successful an adventurer; even the earl of Stair, then the British ambassador at Paris, trembled at the idea of Law's overweening influence in the affairs of France, and viewed his boastful speeches in so serious a light, as to deem them matter of grave communication and advice to his government,—a piece of good faith for which the meritorious and discerning minister met with small thanks.

The great drama, however, which Law was now enacting before the astonished eyes of all Europe, was soon to shift; the glittering bubble on which he had fixed the eyes and expectations of all France was rapidly attenuating to its explosion; the charm by which he had swayed the mind of the million lay not in the rod of the magician, but in the implicit faith which people reposed in the skill and the power of its master,—and, that faith once shaken, the game of delusion was over.

We have said that the shares of the India company had risen to 10,000 livres each in the month of November, 1719. So long as they kept at this elevation, the credit of the bank remained unshaken. Its notes were found so very convenient in conducting the rapid negotiations of the Rue Quincampoix, that they were sought after with avidity, and even bore a premium of ten per

cent. in exchange for specie! Notwithstanding, however, of the boundless delusion under which men acted at this moment, it could not escape the eyes of the vigilant financier, that a constant and enormous drain of specie was going on, either in the way of exportation to foreign countries, or for the consumption of the jewellers and goldsmiths. To answer the large orders of the wealthy Mississippians, and to guard against a run upon the bank in these circumstances, the master-projector had again recourse to forced measures. Edicts were issued declaring the value of bank-notes to be five per cent. above that of specie, and forbidding the use of silver for the payment of any sum exceeding 100 livres, or of gold in payments exceeding 300 livres. Law thought by these expedients to confine the use of specie to small transactions alone, while those of any magnitude could still be conducted by the fictitious currency which he had called into existence. At the same time, to give a fresh impulse to the stock-jobbing transactions, which had experienced a perceptible decline, he presented himself personally in his ministerial robes, and surrounded by a number of the nobility in the Rue Quincampoix, where his presence instantly excited a lively sensation; and the report being industriously propagated that new edicts were about to be issued, conferring additional privileges on the great company, the actions which had fallen to 12,000 livres, rose to 15,000. Still the public creditors hesitated to employ the notes now issuing in extinction of their debts in purchasing India stock; and the enormous sum of 1,000,000,000, remained floating in the form of bank notes, for which no species of investment could be found.

A publication issued at this juncture by Law, under the title of *Lettre à un Créancier*, failed to satisfy their scruples, and actions again fell to 12,000 livres. Meanwhile, specie, in spite of successive depreciations effected upon it at the suggestion of the minister of finance, entirely disappeared; still the government kept issuing notes to the immense amount of 1,925,000,000, between the 1st of January, and the 20th of May, 1720, and the price of every thing advanced in almost hourly progression. On the 11th of March, a second letter from the minister of finance appeared, in which he employed the most ingenious sophistry in defence of the exaggerated value at which the paper-currency was attempted to be maintained. The choice of a standard value, the great financier contended, was wholly a matter of opinion. To support the value of any article in the opinion of the community, it is only necessary to decline selling it under a certain price. Houses, lands, and other articles of property, have a certain value in the opinion of mankind, just because some people desire to purchase them, and others will not part with them; but if all the proprietors of houses and land were willing to get rid of their property at one and the same time what value would it have in the market? It is easy to answer such palpable sophistry as this. Houses and lands are possessions fit for certain purposes which men require; it is their fitness which constitutes their value; but in the case of those shares whose value, Law contended, ought to be quite as real as that of any other article of property, it is most evident that they have no value, unless the profit to be derived from commerce in them be not proportioned to the price at which the stock was purchased; from the moment, in fact, that they cease to become marketable they are stripped of their value. A system supported by such desperate reasoning as Law had here recourse to, must have appeared tottering to its fall in the eyes of every rational man: the public credit of France was about to give way; the Atlantean shoulders on which it had been hitherto supported, could no longer prop the mighty burden. Government at last perceived that too great an extension had been given to what Law called *credit*, and that to re-establish the value of paper, it would be necessary

to diminish its amount. On the 21st of May, the death-blow was given to the whole gigantic system of our Scottish projector, by an edict which announced that a progressive reduction of the India company's action, and of bank-notes, was to take place from that day till the 1st of December, when it was declared that the bank-notes should remain fixed at one half of their present value, and the actions at four-ninths. Law, whose influence with the government was now rapidly sinking, or rather was annihilated, felt himself too weak to resist this measure, and actually consented to announce it himself. The public eye was now opened in one instant to the delusion which had been practised upon it, and the next day every one was anxious to get rid of his paper-money at any sacrifice. The catastrophe, though inevitable in the nature of things, was hastened by the artifices of the cardinal Dubois, who used every means to injure Law in the opinion of the regent; and by the irritation of the finance-general, and the parliament of Paris, who regarded the foreign projector as their bitter enemy. The united efforts of such a powerful party appear to have made a deep impression on the mind of the regent, who, in a letter of lord Stair's, dated 12th March, 1720, is represented as abusing the comptroller cruelly to his face, and even threatening him with the Bastile. The same authority informs us that the minister himself was at this period reeling under the weight of that complicated and stupendous system of which he now found himself the prime support and mover. "Law's head is so heated," he writes, "that he does not sleep at nights, and has formal fits of frenzy. He gets out of bed almost every night, and runs stark-staring mad about the room making a terrible noise,—sometimes singing and dancing,—at other times swearing, staring, and stamping, quite out of himself. Some nights ago, his wife, who had come into the room upon the noise he made, was forced to ring the bell for people to come to her assistance. The officer of Law's guard was the first that came, and found Law in his shirt, who had set two chairs in the middle of the room, and was dancing round them quite out of his wits."

The consequences of this rash edict were frightful; the government was upbraided for having been the first to impeach that credit to which it had itself given original existence, and charged with the design to ruin the fortunes of the citizens; seditious and inflammatory libels were posted throughout the streets; the mob assailed the hotels of Law and other members of the cabinet; and even the life of the regent himself was threatened. In this emergency, the parliament assembled on the 27th of May, and terrified at the consequences of their own measures, were about to petition the regent to revoke the unfortunate edict; but while yet deliberating with this purpose, an officer announced to them that the paper had been restored to its former value, by a new proclamation. However, if the first step had been bad, the second was little less weak and unwary. To declare that the actions and billets had resumed their full value, was doing nothing of real consequence to allay the ferment of the public mind; for such a measure was founded on no principle which could operate in the slightest degree to restore to paper-money the confidence it had lost; it was doing nothing to recompense those who had already suffered injury, and it was effectually securing the ruin of all others on whom the valueless paper could now be fixed as a legal tender. And to add to all this confusion and distress, the repositories of the bank were sealed up the same day, under pretence of examining the books, but in reality to prevent the specie from being paid away in exchange for notes. At last, after the first moments of alarm and outrage were over, the regent ventured to resume those expressions of confidence towards Law which he had been compelled to withhold from him for a time; he received him in his own box at the opera, and gave him a guard to

protect his hotel from the insult of the exasperated populace. The infamous Dubois, who had enriched himself by his speculations during the height of the Mississippi madness, now united with Law to expel Argenson from the cabinet; and the regent, whose character though intrepid was not without its weak points, was persuaded at their instigation, to take the seals from his faithful minister, and bestow them upon Agnesseau, who tamely resumed the high office, from which he had been expelled by the very men to whose influence he now beheld himself indebted for his second elevation.

Nothing could now save the system of the great financier; his billets and actions were for ever stripped of their value in the eye of the public; and the most expedient measure that could now be adopted with regard to them, was to withdraw them as promptly as possible from circulation. To demolish in the most prudent manner the vast structure reared by his own labour was now the highest praise to which Law could aspire. By a series of arbitrary financial operations, which it would be tedious here to relate, the public creditors were reduced to the utmost distress, the national debt annihilated, and the whole affairs of the kingdom thrown into the utmost perplexity. "Thus ended," to use the words of Voltaire, "that astonishing game of chance played by an unknown foreigner against a whole nation." Its original success stimulated various individuals to attempt imitations of it,—among which the most famous was the South Sea bubble of England, which entailed disgrace and ruin on many thousands of families. It would be doing injustice to Law's character were we to view him as the sole author of these misfortunes: his views were liberal beyond the spirit of the times in which he lived; he had unquestionably the real commercial interests of his adopted foster-country at heart; he did not proceed on speculation alone; on the contrary, his principles were to a certain degree the very same as those the adoption of which has raised Britain to her present commercial greatness, and given an impulse to trade throughout the world, such as was never witnessed in the transactions of ancient nations. His error lay in over-estimating the strength and breadth of the foundation on which his gigantic superstructure rested. Unquestionably in his cooler moments he never contemplated carrying the principle of public credit to the enormous and fatal length to which he was afterwards driven by circumstances; it was the unbounded confidence of the public mind, prompted by the desire of gain and the miraculous effects of the system in its earliest development,—the enthusiasm of that mind, transported beyond all bounds of moderation and forbearance, by a first success eclipsing its most sanguine expectations, realizing to thousands of individuals the possession of wealth to an amount beyond all that they had ever conceived in imagination,—the contagious example of the first fortunate speculators intoxicated with success, and fired to the most extravagant and presumptuous anticipations, by which men can be lured into acts of blinded infatuation or thoughtless folly,—it was these circumstances we say, over which Law had necessarily little control, that converted his projects into the bane of those for whom they were at first calculated to serve as a wholesome antidote.

Law was in fact more intent on following out his idea than aggrandizing his fortunes. Riches, influence, honours, were showered upon him in the necessity of things; the man who had given birth to the wealth of a whole kingdom, whose schemes had for a while invested all who entered into them with imaginary treasures,—by whose single mind the workings of that complicated engine which had already produced such dazzling results as seemed to justify the most extravagant anticipations of the future, were comprehended and directed,—must have risen during the existence of that national delusion, to the highest pinnacle of personal wealth and influence, and might, though only endowed with

a mere title of the forecasting sagacity of Law, have provided for his retreat, and secured a sufficient competency at least beyond the possibility of loss or hazard, as thousands in fact did upon the strength of his measure. But Law, in deluding others, laboured under still stronger delusion himself; like the fabled Frankenstein, he had created a monster whose power he had not at first calculated, and the measure of which he now found he could not prescribe, and he awaited the result with mingled feelings of hope, fear, and distrust. It was the ignorant interference of others with his own mysterious processes, which finally determined the fatal direction of those energies which he had called into being, and which he might have been able, if not to restrain, at least to direct in another and less ruinous manner. We are far from professing ourselves the unqualified apologists of our enterprising countryman. It was criminal in him to make use of remedies of such a desperate kind as those to which he had recourse when his system began to stagger under its first revulsions; doubtless his temptations were strong, but, invested as he was with authority, it was in his power to have resisted them, and adopted a less empirical mode of treatment. In estimating his moral character, it does not appear to us, that his renouncing protestantism, under the circumstances in which he was placed, ought to weigh much against the uprightness of his intentions. Religion was with him a matter of inferior moment. In his previous life he had manifested no symptoms of piety; an utter stranger to the faith and power of the gospel, protestantism was superior to any other *ism* with him, just in as far as it favoured his worldly policy. He believed himself possessed of means to elevate a whole nation in the scale of wealth and power, with all their attendant benign influences, and to give an impulse by means of the fortunes of France to the destinies of the human species: and is it to be supposed, that this consideration, thrown into the balance, should not have caused that scale in which was placed a mere nominal profession of a religion—the truth of which he neither knew nor respected—to kick the beam?

Before resuming the thread of our biography, let us for a moment compare the financial catastrophe we have now been considering with that of the assignats of revolutionary France, and the celebrated crisis of the bank of England in 1797: we shall discover striking points of resemblance in the circumstances which led to these events, and draw from their comparison a few important truths. Credit is founded on the supposition of future value; it is this prospective value which is made to circulate as if it were existing value, in the form of a bank-note. Law founded his schemes upon the great basis of credit, which again he proposed to create by the profits arising from speculation in the shares of his India company. The financiers of revolutionary France wished to pay the national debt and the expenses of a universal war, with the national funds; but finding it impossible from the want of public confidence, or credit, to sell these funds, they anticipated their sale, and represented their supposed future value by paper-money called *assignats*. The bank of England, in return for its loans to the government, supposed the existence of two species of value, and accepted of these species in payment: the effects themselves, namely, of commerce, and the securities of the state; the former a certain value, and the latter necessarily fluctuating with the political aspect of the times. In these three cases, we perceive three species of doubtful value; Law's share represented a future, but speculative and very uncertain value; the assignats represented certain funds which might ere long pass from under the hands of their present administrators; and the notes of the bank of England represented a value depending upon engagements, regarding the ability of the state to fulfil which there existed no absolute certainty. Now the crisis produced by the fluctuation

of these three species of credit corresponded to the difference of circumstances in the three cases. The sudden displacement of an enormous sum raised the shares of the East India company to an enormous premium; but a rapidly established credit is exposed to an equally or still more precipitous decline; for that true credit which is founded on the solid basis of real success, must necessarily be as slow in its growth as the success itself. The assignats again could not experience such a sudden rise in value, for they represented a certain portion of land, a species of value least of all exposed in the nature of things to rapid fluctuation. In proportion, however, as the public confidence in the permanence of the administration declined, the assignats declined in value; and in proportion as they declined in value, the existing government was compelled to supply the loss of funds by increasing the issue, which again operated to depreciate its paper money. The notes of the bank of England, depending on mercantile credit or the real security of responsible funds, as well as on government security, were only slightly affected in credit by the political aspect of the times. In all the three cases, public credit was attempted to be supported by forcible measures, the injustice of which was just in proportion to the degree of suspicion which attached to that false system of credit which they were designed to support. Law fixed the value of shares in notes, and thus forced a circulation for the latter. The French revolutionary government punished the refusal of its assignats, at their nominal value, with death. In England the bank was relieved of the obligation to cash its notes at sight. Law again endeavours to drive specie altogether out of the market, and render paper the only legal tender; the revolutionists fix the maximum of all exchange; and the bank of England, whose security was less questionable, threw itself on the patriotism of the London merchants, who relieved it from its embarrassment by agreeing to accept of its notes in payment from their debtors. Thus we see, *1st*, that every system of public credit ought to represent a certain real value, and not to be founded on mere anticipation of a value yet to be created; *2ndly*, that it is impossible, by fixed measures, to sustain an arbitrary value; and, *3rdly*, that where forced values are resorted to, they are rejected by all who are at liberty to reject them, and are followed by the ruin of those who are not in a condition to refuse them.

Law, at his last interview with the duke of Orleans, is reported to have said: "My lord, I acknowledge that I have committed great faults; I did so because I am a man, and all men are liable to err; but I declare to your royal highness that none of them proceeded from knavery, and that nothing of that kind will be found in the whole course of my conduct;" a declaration which the regent and the duke of Bourbon bore frank testimony to, at the same time that they suggested the expediency of his leaving the kingdom, for which purpose they offered to supply him with money, his whole property having been confiscated; but Mr Law, though in possession of only 800 louis d'ors, the wreck of a fortune of 10,000,000 of livres, refused to receive any assistance from other funds than his own, and on the 22nd of December, 1720, arrived at Brussels, where he was received with the greatest respect by the governor and resident nobility. Early in January, 1721, he appeared at Venice, under the name of M. du Jardin, where he is said to have had a conference with the chevalier de St George, and the famous cardinal Alberoni, minister of Spain. From Venice he travelled through Germany to Copenhagen, where he had the honour of an audience with prince Frederick. During his residence at the Danish capital he received an invitation from the British ministry to return to his native country, with which he complied, and was presented on his arrival to George I. by Sir John Norris, the admiral of the Baltic squadron. On the 28th of November he

pleaded at the bar of the king's bench his majesty's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, and was attended on this occasion by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Hly, and several other friends.

Mr Law's re-appearance in Britain excited some uneasy feelings on the part of various senators. The earl of Coningsby, in particular, moved the house of lords for an inquiry, whether Sir John Norris had orders to bring over a person of his dangerous character. The affair, however, was hushed, and it is thought that he at first received some kind of pension or allowance from the British government. Meanwhile, he maintained a constant correspondence with the regent of France, who caused his official salary of 20,000 livres per annum to be regularly remitted to him, and held several consultations with the council respecting the propriety of recalling him. The sudden death, however, of the regent, on the 2nd of December, 1723, was a fatal blow to the reviving hopes of the *ci-devant* minister of finance. His pension ceased to be remitted, his prospect of a reversion from the sale of his property in France was annihilated, his embarrassments at home increased, and demands were made upon him by the India company to the enormous amount of 20,236,375 livres. On the 25th of August, 1724, we find him addressing a letter to the duke of Bourbon, from London, in which he writes :

"Notwithstanding the confusion in which my affairs have become involved, one hour will suffice to put your highness in full acquaintance with them. The subjoined memoir explains by what means I purpose to fulfill my engagements and obtain a livelihood for myself. The means which I suggest are of the very simplest nature. It is likewise the interest of the state that my affairs should be wound up ; for although the number of those who desire my return is not great, their confidence in me is considerable, and must either destroy or retard the success of those measures which have been adopted by those persons to whom the king has been pleased to intrust the management of the finances. If my matters were arranged, madame Law, my daughter, my brother, and his family, would return to England, and I would fix myself here in such a manner as should convince the public that I entertained no intention of ever again setting foot in France.

"Those who have set themselves to oppose me, by retarding the decision in my case, have acted thus upon a mistaken principle altogether, and against their own view of things ; they accuse me of having done the thing which they would have done themselves if they had been in my place ; and in examining into my conduct they are unintentionally doing me a great honour. There are few, perhaps no instances, of a stranger having acquired the unlimited confidence of a prince, and realized a real fortune by means perfectly honourable, and who yet on leaving France reserved nothing for himself and his family, not even the fortune which he had brought into the country with him.

"Your highness knows that I never entertained the idea of making my escape from France. I had made no provision for this purpose when it was announced to me that the regent had ordered me to be provided with passports ; for I had indeed at one time thought of quitting the kingdom, when I requested his royal highness's permission to resign my office ; but after that I had deliberated upon the reasons which the prince then urged against my taking this step, I renounced the idea altogether, although fully aware of the personal danger to which I would expose myself, by remaining in France after having ceased to hold office in the administration.

"I have said that my enemies have advised no measures opposed even to their own principles ; for if what they allege had been true ; if I had carried a great sum of money with me out of the kingdom,—it would surely have been their

truest policy to have induced me to return with my son. If they had acted dispassionately in this matter, they would have afforded me every facility in arranging my affairs; and it is my belief that, had his highness the duke of Orleans lived, I would have been invited back to France. A short time before the prince's death, he was pleased to express his approbation of my conduct; to give me certain marks of his esteem; he was satisfied that my plans would have completely succeeded, if the juncture of extraordinary circumstances had not compelled others to interfere with them; he felt that he yet required my assistance; he asked my opinion regarding the present situation of the kingdom, and he was pleased to say that he yet counted on my aid in raising France to her proper elevation and weight in Europe. These are facts with which I am persuaded your highness was made acquainted by the prince himself."

The late M. Law de Lauriston transmitted to Mr Wood, the biographer of the Comptroller-General, a complete copy of the memorial which accompanied this letter, and of which only some detached fragments are published in the "Œuvres de J. Law," Paris, 1790. Mr Wood supplies us with the following passage from this document: "When I retired to Guermande," says the memorialist, "I had no hopes that the regent would have permitted me to leave the kingdom; I had given over all thoughts thereof when your highness sent to inform me of his intention to accord that permission; and the next day, immediately on receiving the passports, I set off. Consider, my lord, if being in the country, removed from any paper and books, it were in my power to put in order affairs that required not only leisure, but also my presence in Paris, to arrange properly; and if it is not a piece of great injustice for the India company to wish to take advantage of the condition to which I was reduced; and of the dishonest conduct of clerks, in requiring from me payment of sums I do not in fact owe, and which, even though I had been owing, were, as I have shown, expended for their service, and payable in actions or notes, of which effects belonging to me they at that time had, and still have, on their books, to the amount of double or treble the sum they demand. No, my lord, I cannot bring myself to accuse the company of so much as the intention to injure me. That company owes its birth to me. For them I have sacrificed every thing, even my property and my credit, being now bankrupt, not only in France, but also in all other countries. For them I have sacrificed the interests of my children, whom I tenderly love, and who are deserving of all my affections; these children, courted by the most considerable families in France, are now destitute of fortune and of establishments. I had it in my power to have settled my daughters in marriage in the first houses of Italy, Germany, and England; but I refused all offers of that nature, thinking it inconsistent with my duty to, and my affection for, the state in whose service I had the honour to be engaged. I do not assume to myself any merit from this conduct, and I never so much as spoke upon the subject to the regent. But I cannot help observing, that this mode of behaviour is diametrically opposite to the idea my enemies wish to impute to me; and surely all Europe ought to have a good opinion of my disinterestedness, and of the condition to which I am reduced, since I no longer receive any proposals of marriage for my children.

"My lord, I conducted myself with a still greater degree of delicacy: for I took care not to have my son or my daughter married even in France, although I had the most splendid and advantageous offers of that kind. I did not choose that any part of my protection should be owing to alliances; but that it should depend solely upon the intrinsic merits of my project."

These representations failed to produce the desired effect; the India company refused to allow him credit for the notes and actions in their hands belong-

ing to him, while they at the same time insisted on his making payment in specie of the sums owing to them; the government, with equal injustice, confiscated his whole property in France. In 1725, Mr Law bade a final adieu to Britain, and retired to Venice, where he died in a state little removed from indigence, on the 21st of March, 1729, in the 58th year of his age. He lies buried in one of the churches of the city, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen.

Such is a brief outline of the history of one of the most extraordinary projectors of modern times. That he deceived himself is, we think, quite evident from the whole tenor of his conduct; that he should have deceived others is not wonderful, if we consider the spirit and circumstances of the times in which he lived, the ignorance of the public mind respecting the great principles of credit and currency, and the personal advantages and experience which the master-projector possessed. He is said to have presented an uncommonly engaging external appearance. "*On peut,*" says the French historian of his system, "*sans flatterie, le mettre au rang des hommes les mieux faits.*" In Brunley's Catalogue of British Portraits, four engravings of Law are noticed, by Anglois, Hubert, Des Rochers, and Schmidt. The best portrait of him was a crayon portrait by Rosalba in the earl of Oxford's gallery. Of his moral character we have already spoken. Lockhart of Carnwath relates that, even before he left Scotland, he was "nicely expert in all manner of debaucheries."

Law never composed any treatise; his works are confined to memorials and justificatory statements, or explanations of his views and plans. Towards the end of the year 1790, the epoch of the creation of the assignats, there appeared at Paris an octavo volume, entitled "*Œuvres de J. Law, contrôleur-général des finances de France, sous le régent.*" This work was ably edited by M. Senour, and is in high estimation in France. The writings relating to Law's system are very numerous; Stewart, Ganilh, and Storch, have all commented with ability upon his measures; and Duélos and Marmontel have composed very interesting memoirs of the projector and his system. In general, however, all the French writers of the 18th century have commented with great severity upon Law and his proceedings. Fourbonais was the first to do justice to this great but unfortunate man. Dutot, in his "*Reflexions politiques sur le commerce et les finances,*" printed at the Hague in 1738, has discussed the state of affairs at the giving way of the system, and the effect of the famous edicts of the 5th March and 21st May, with great sagacity; Duverney's "*Histoire du Systeme des finances, sous la minorité de Louis XV., pendant les Années 1719 et 1720,*" is a most valuable collection of edicts and state papers relative to French finances, in two volumes. Mr John Philip Wood's "*Memoir of the Life of John Law of Lauriston*"² is the best account which has yet been given to the British public of this extraordinary man, and the rise and fall of his fortunes.

Law married lady Catharine Knollys, third daughter of Nicholas, third earl of Banbury, by whom he had one son, John Law of Lauriston, and one daughter, Mary Catharine, who married her first cousin, William viscount Wallingford, who was afterwards called to the house of peers by the title of baron Althorp. Lady Wallingford survived her husband more than half a century, and died in London on the 14th of October, 1790, leaving no issue. Her brother succeeded his father in 1729, and died a cornet of the regiment of Nassau Friesland, at Maestricht, in 1734. William Law, third son of Jean Campbell of Lauriston, succeeded to the entail on the extinction of the issue male of her eldest son. His eldest son John, rose to the rank of commandant-general and president of council of the French settlement in India, and died at Paris about 1796;

² Edinburgh, 1824, 12mo, pp. 234.

and on the 21st of May, 1808, Francis John William Law, a merchant in London, of the reformed religion, was served nearest and legitimate heir of entail and provision of his father John Law, and entered into the possession of the estate of Lauriston, to the exclusion of his elder brothers, who were Roman catholics. Law's grandson, Count de Lauriston, was one of the generals of Napoleon Bonaparte.

LEIGHTON, ROBERT, an ecclesiastic of singular learning, integrity, and benevolence, was born in 1611, and descended from an ancient and respectable family, who were long in possession of the estate called Ulyshaven, in Forfarshire. Their names are mentioned in several parts of history, and even so far back as Dooms-day Book. In 1424, Dr Henry Leighton, bishop of Moray, and afterwards of Aberdeen, was deputed as one of the commissioners to negotiate for the release of James I., at that time a prisoner in England. The family estate of Ulyshaven was lost to the house of Leighton in the seventeenth century, as they had by that time decayed in wealth and interest.

Dr Alexander Leighton, father of the subject of this memoir, was educated at St Andrews, where he obtained the degree of doctor of divinity. He afterwards went to Leyden and applied himself to the study of physic, and so far succeeded as to graduate there. The Scottish church at Utrecht being in want of a minister, and he being, according to all accounts, a man of great piety and learning, the charge was offered to him, which he accepted, and he continued to officiate there for some time; but not approving of the holidays observed by the Dutch church, and having some difference on the subject, he finally resigned. He was there styled doctor of medicine and Scottish minister. We shall compress, in the shortest limits possible, the most prominent actions of this man's eventful life, as his name is conspicuous in history from the cruel persecution he was subject to.

On his arrival in London from Holland, he saw with grief and indignation that the presbyterian church, of which he was a stern defender, was likely to be subverted in Scotland, through the policy of Charles I. and his ministers—and being a man, according to Burnet, “of much untempered zeal,” and fond of polemics, he published several tracts against episcopacy, which gave great offence to the members of that religion. He, at this time, intended to commence the medical profession in London; but the College of Physicians interdicted him from practice within seven miles of the city, as a person they considered disgraceful to their profession; an allegation he disputed and disproved, by claiming a right, in virtue of his having graduated in the college of Leyden. They did not deny his being a clergyman; but at that time he had no living. He soon after this drew down upon himself the vengeance of that tyrannical and unconstitutional court, the star-chamber. The work for which he was prosecuted, according to Burnet, is entitled “Zion's Plea against Prelates;” the name of the author and printer were omitted, and instead of the date of publication, the following words were added—“Printed the year and moneth wherein Rochelle was lost,”—evidently intended as a stigma for that city being allowed to be taken by the French catholics from the protestants in 1628; an event which it was well known Charles might have prevented, if he had had the interests of protestantism really at heart. There was also prefixed to this work—which it appears was printed in Holland—a hieroglyphical vignette, seemingly designed to recommend the subversion of prelacy. This is described in the informations by Rushworth, “as a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming that all that pass us spoil us, and we spoil all that rely upon us, and amongst the rest the black pining death of the famished Rechelles, to the number of 15,000 in four months; by which passages he did,

so much as in him lay, scandal his majesty's person, his religious wife, and just government, especially the reverend bishops." Soon after this offensive work was put into circulation, Dr Leighton was arrested by a warrant from the high commission court, and committed to Newgate, where he was confined for fifteen weeks in a loathsome cell full of vermin, without a bed to rest upon, and openly exposed to the inclemency of the weather: none of his family or friends were permitted to see him; and in the mean time his house was forcibly entered, and not only his books and papers, but every article of furniture carried away.

The cause was tried on the 4th of June, 1630. The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, but denied all intention of evil, his end being only to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, to the end that parliament might take them into consideration, and to give such redress as might be for the honour of the king, the quiet of the people, and the peace of the church. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously, that for this offence the doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; that the high commission should degrade him from his ministry, and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipped; after whipping, be set in the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, and one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S., for *sower of sedition*; that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days, be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life;" a sentence only to be compared with the worst acts of the infernal inquisition of Spain. Archbishop Laud, on hearing the unfortunate man condemned, pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, gave thanks to God who had given him the victory over his enemies. This barbarous sentence being given towards the end of Trinity term, and the court not usually sitting after the term unless upon emergent occasions, and it requiring some time in the ecclesiastical court in order to the degradation of the defendant, it was Michaelmas following before any part of the sentence could be put in execution. On the 10th of November he was to have undergone the punishment awarded to him; however, the night before he contrived, with the assistance of one Livingston and Anderson, to effect his escape. A hue and cry was immediately issued by order of the privy council, ordering his apprehension, which described him as a man of low stature, fair complexion, high forehead, and yellowish beard, about forty or fifty years of age. He scarcely was at large one week when he was seized in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. Rushworth, in his Historical Collections, says, "On Friday, the sixteenth of November, part of the sentence on Dr Leighton was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace at Westminster. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron with the letters S. S., *sower of sedition*, and afterwards carried back again, prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody. And on that day seven night, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face, not being cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek." His unfortunate companions, who aided him to escape, were also brought before the Star-Chamber, and out of respect to their "penitency" they were only fined five hundred pounds each, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.

In that vile prison, in a filthy, dark, and unwholesome dungeon, the unhappy Leighton was incarcerated for upwards of eleven years, without once being suffered to breathe in the open air; and when at length released from his miserable confinement, he could neither walk, see, nor hear. His release was only effected when the sitting of the Long Parliament had changed the state of things in England. "At the reading of his petition in the house of commons," says Brook, "giving an account of the dreadful barbarity with which he had been treated, the members were so deeply moved and affected, that they could not bear to hear it without several interruptions with floods of tears." A committee was appointed to investigate his case, and the result was, as might be expected, the exposure of one of the most unconstitutional and horrible pieces of barbarity that ever stained a nation's annals. The whole proceedings were declared illegal, and reversed, and "good satisfaction and reparation were ordered to be made to him for his great sufferings and damages." Six thousand pounds were voted on his account; but it is very uncertain in those distracted times if he ever received it.

In 1642, Lambeth house was converted into a prison, and he was made keeper of it, on account, it is said, of his knowledge of the medical profession. He did not survive this unworthy appointment long, and the wonder only is, how human nature could have borne up against such dreadful inflictions as he had endured.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, some time bishop of Dumblane, and afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, son to Alexander, and the proper subject of this memoir, was, according to Pearson, in a late edition of his works, born in Edinburgh, and received his education at that university, which he entered as a student in 1627. From his earliest years he was conspicuous for exemplary piety, and an humble disposition; with talents of the rarest description, and a happy facility of acquiring a knowledge of languages. He was, above all, fond of studying the Scriptures, and was profoundly skilled in every branch of theological learning. Two of the masters at that time in the university whose classes he attended, namely Robert Rankin, professor of philosophy, and James Fairley, professor of divinity, were strongly in favour of episcopacy; the latter having afterwards become bishop of Argyle. It is more than probable that their opinions, being early imbibed by Leighton, continued in after-life to exercise a considerable influence over him. This may in a great degree serve to explain why he succeeded from the presbyterian church. He became master of arts in 1631, and having by that time completed his course of academical studies, he was sent abroad for further improvement, and took up his residence at Douay in France, where some of his relations lived. There he formed an intimacy with many of the best educated of the Roman catholic gentlemen who were attending the college, and being naturally fond of exploring every system of ecclesiastical polity, where he found men of worth adhering to forms of religion even at variance with his own, he loved them in Christian charity for the virtue they possessed, and thought less rigidly of their doctrine. While in France, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the language, which he spoke with all the fluency of the most polished native. It is impossible to ascertain how he passed the intermediate ten years from the time he went to Douay. All we can gather with certainty is, that in 1641, on his return from the continent, and immediately after the triumph of presbytery in Scotland, he was, at the age of thirty, and in the very year of his father's liberation from his cruel confinement, settled as presbyterian minister in the parish of Newbattle, in the county of Edinburgh. There he was most unremitting in the sacred duties of his office, preaching peace and goodwill amongst all men, carefully avoiding to mix or interfere with the distractions

of that stormy period, when the pulpit was made the vehicle of political disputes. It being the custom of the Presbytery to inquire of the brethren twice a-year, whether they had preached to the *times*: "For God's sake," answered Leighton, "when all my brethren preach to the *times*, suffer one poor priest to preach for *eternity*." This moderation could not fail to give offence—the fact is, he seems to have regarded their disputes as trivial in comparison with the high and sacred duties he felt himself called upon to perform in his holy office. He seldom or never attended the meetings of the Presbytery, which was undoubtedly part of his duty as a Presbyterian minister, but chose rather to live in strict retirement, alive only to the care of his own parish, in which he proved himself a faithful and zealous pastor. Of all the accounts of this eminent divine there is none so strictly correct as that left on record by his friend and illustrious contemporary, bishop Burnet, which we shall here quote in full, as we are persuaded that nothing could be given, either so entertaining or so full of information.

"Robert, eldest son of Dr Leighton, was bred in Scotland, and was accounted a saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin I ever knew in any man; he was master of both Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and boldest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man; he had no regard for his person, unless it was to mortify it, by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had both a contempt of wealth and reputation: he seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself. He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in the course of twenty years of intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile; and he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that I ever heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation; and, though the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible; so that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said there was a diversity of tempers, and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, out of the way and surprising, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together, in his memory, the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man master of, and he used them in the adeptest manner possible. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion possible to the whole frame of the church of England. From Scotland his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in France, and spoke the language like one born there. He came afterwards and settled in Scotland, and had the presbyterian ordination; but he quickly bore through the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion; I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fire; but there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the

sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago; and yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had the cure, he was ready to employ all others, and when he was a bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice before hand. He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great crowd. He soon came to see into the follies of the presbyterians, and to dislike their covenant, particularly their imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts; theirs were narrow as their tempers were sour; so he grew weary of mixing with them. He scarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at Newbattle, near Edinburgh. Yet all the opposition that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature; but his own practice did outshine his doctrine.

“ In the year 1649, he declared himself for the engagement for the king. But the earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him, that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him, though he gave occasion to great exception; for when some of his parish who had been in the engagement were ordered to make public profession of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition in which he believed they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness, and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of these seriously, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entered into a great correspondence with many of the episcopal party, and with my own father in particular, and did wholly separate himself from the presbyterians. At last he left them, and withdrew from his cure, for he could not do the things imposed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention so much, that he chose rather to leave them in a silent manner, than to engage in any disputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a saint, and of something above human nature in him; so the mastership of the Edinburgh college falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevailed on to accept it, because in it he was wholly separated from all church matters. He continued ten years in that post, and was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had a great effect upon them. He preached often to them, and if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in Scotland, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in the kingdom. He had a brother well known at court, Sir Elisha, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts; but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined. For though he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a papist of a form of his own; but he had changed his religion to raise himself at court, for he was at that time secretary to the duke of York, and was very intimate with lord Aubigny, a brother of the duke of Richmond's, who had changed his religion, and was a priest, and had probably been a cardinal if he had lived longer. He maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions than men of quality who enter into the church generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man; and that perhaps made him the more considered by the king [Charles II.], who loved and trusted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the king; for he was in the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole designs that were then managed in order to establish it, than any man whatsoever. Sir Elisha brought his brother

and him acquainted; for Leighton loved to know men in all the varieties of religion. In the vacation time he made excursions, and came often to London, where he observed all the eminent men in Cromwell's court, and in the several parties then about the city of London; but he told me that they were men of unquiet and meddling tempers; and that their discourses were very dry and unsavoury, full of airy cant or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to Flanders to see what he could find in the several orders of the church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted upon, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raising himself at court, fancied that his being made a bishop might render himself more considerable; so he possessed lord Aubigny with such an opinion of him, that he made the king apprehend that a man of his piety and his notions, (and his not being married was not forgot,) might contribute to carry on their designs. He fancied such a monastic man, who had a great stretch of thought and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at least to prepare the nation for popery, if he did not directly come over to them, for his brother did not stick to say, he was sure that lay at the root with him. So the king named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those who began to suspect the king himself great jealousies of him. Leighton was averse to this promotion as much as possible. His brother had great power over him, for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a show of piety. He seemed to be a papist rather in name and show than in reality, of which I will set down one instance that was then much talked of. Some of the church of England loved to magnify the sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the church of Rome for defining the manner of it, saying Christ was present in the most inconceivable manner. This was so much the mode that the king and all the court went into it; so the king, upon some raillery about transubstantiation, asked Sir Elisha if he believed it. He answered he could not well tell, but he was sure the church of England believed it; and when the king seemed amazed at that, he replied, do you not believe that Christ is present in the most inconceivable manner, which the king granted. Then said he, that is just transubstantiation, the most inconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When Leighton was prevailed upon to accept a bishopric, he chose Dumblane, a small diocese as well as a little revenue. But the deanery of the chapel royal was annexed to that see. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the common prayer in the king's chapel, for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The English clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned and more thoroughly versed in the other points of uniformity than the rest of the Scottish clergy, whom they could not much value; and though Sheldon did not much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought such a man as he was might give credit to episcopacy, in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. Sharpe did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his strictness of life nor his notions. He believed they would not take the same methods, and fancied he might be much obscured by him, for he saw he would be well supported. He saw the earl of Lauderdale began to magnify him, and so Sharpe did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect, for he had no regard to him. I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person, and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate conversation with him,

that continued to his death, for twenty-three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day, in a most particular manner; and yet, though I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candour. I had the relation of it from himself, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes ever the papists had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the design of bringing in popery, and had therefore talked of some points of popery with the freedom of an abstracted or speculative man; yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really to be brought in amongst us. He then spoke of popery in the complex at much another rate; and he seemed to have more zeal against it than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy, for his abstraction made him seem cold in all these matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish; but had nothing in it of the wisdom that is from above, and is pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that church under those just and visible prejudices but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the work that was among them, maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and that course of life free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved; so that the protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character, but it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it; and I was so singularly blessed by knowing him as I did, that I am sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him, which I hope may be of some use to the world."

Leighton remained ten years principal of the college of Edinburgh, where he conducted himself with a degree of diligence, wisdom, and prudence, that engaged universal respect and esteem, and proved of essential benefit to the students. The funds of that seminary were then very low, and Leighton did not scruple to go to London to appeal to the generosity of Cromwell in favour of his object. That extraordinary man ordered an annuity of two hundred pounds a year to be granted in 1653, a sum that at the time was of considerable use; but on the death of the Protector, which took place shortly after, it fell to the ground, as all his acts were rescinded at the Restoration. The state of the presbyterian church in Scotland when Charles the Second ascended the throne was extremely critical—betrayed by its own ministers, and secretly hated by the king, who had sworn to defend its rights. James Sharpe, who was commissioned to go to London to defend the rights of the Scottish church, was a man capable of any duplicity or baseness that would in the main advance his own interests, while his communications with his brethren at home were lying and deceitful. He had the effrontery to impress on the minds of the court that the people of Scotland were at heart unfriendly to presbytery, and secretly attached to episcopacy. However Charles may have doubted the truth of such an account, he was glad to avail himself of Sharpe's duplicity to give ascendancy to prelaty; and notwithstanding the memorials and remonstrances from the Scottish church, and the interference of men of rank and importance, he determined on the re-establishment of a hierarchy in Scotland.

Sharpe, as a reward for his perfidious apostasy, was to be elevated to the

primacy. He had the recommendation also of other persons to fill the different vacant sees; but Leighton was the last man he would ever have thought of pointing out, as he shrunk from approaching a character so upright and virtuous, in every way superior to himself. But Sir Elisha Leighton, already referred to by Burnet, having an eye to his own interests, considered that by having a brother, ever whom he had already gained some ascendancy, high in the church, much might be expected. As he affected to be strongly attached to popery to please the duke of York, whose secretary he was, he vainly thought, as his relative was on many occasions known to evince a great respect for some good men connected with the church of Rome, that in time he might be gained over to promote and adopt that faith. Blinded by selfish ambition, he was incapable of perceiving, like the illustrious Burnet, that of all men Leighton was the least likely to favour a religion which he characterized as "earthly, sensual, and devilish, with nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable." Indeed it was a matter of considerable difficulty, as it will appear, to prevail upon him to join the episcopalians. The king, though pleased at finding Sharpe and others subservient in all points to his wishes, still knew that their characters must stand degraded in the eyes of the people, as they were men neither of piety nor moderation, and that it would be, above all, necessary to strengthen their ranks by those who stood high and worthy in the eyes of the world; for this reason he personally solicited Leighton to accept of a mitre.

The earl of Lauderdale, and his brother, and some of the most moderate and respectable of his countrymen, exerted themselves to gain the same result, but all seemed of no avail. Leighton still refused, as he evidently mistrusted the men to whom the government of the new church was to be confided, and he could not but see that the methods they resorted to were violent and repugnant to the principles and desires of the people of Scotland. "It was at last mentioned to him, that the king had issued positive orders for him to yield, unless in fact he regarded the episcopal office as unwarrantable." To that extreme he would not go, as he all along was favourable to that order, if divested of its useless pomp.

He was at length persuaded that a regard to the interests of the church rendered it his duty to accept it; but in order to demonstrate to the world that avarice was not his principle, he made choice of Dumblane, as of small extent and little revenue. He was consecrated, along with Sharpe and two other Scottish bishops, at the Abbey church of Westminster, which occasion was celebrated with great feasting and pomp. Leighton could not help remarking, "that it had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety as became the new modelling of a church." It is with considerable hesitation we are obliged to remark, that in this instance the conduct of Leighton exhibits a want of the Christian consistency and simplicity generally displayed in his character. Admitting that his reason for joining the episcopal church, was the virtuous intention of softening down the asperities of two rival systems, which had long struggled for ascendancy; yet the time was unseasonable, when selfish and bad men were endeavouring, by all crooked means, to build their fortunes on the ruin of their country and their shameful apostasy. He was induced, too, to lend the weight of his virtuous name in countenancing the acts of a reckless and unprincipled tyrant, who was bent on the total subversion of those forms of religion connected with his earliest associations, and in whose defence his father had almost suffered martyrdom. That he was free from all interested motives every one must admit; and in justice to the character of one so pious, we shall give the following extract of a letter written by him in reference to his appointment:—"There is in

this preferment something that would allow of reconciling the devout on different sides, and of enlarging those good souls you meet with from their little fetters, though possibly with little success. Yet the design is commendable,—pardonable at least. However, one comfort I have, that in what is pressed on me, there is the least of my own choice; yea, on the contrary, the strongest aversion that I ever had to any thing in all my life; the difficulty, in short, lies in a necessity of either owning a scruple, which I have not, or the rudest disobedience to the authority that may be. The truth is, I am yet importuning and struggling for a liberation, and look upward for it; but whatever be the issue, I look beyond it and this weary, weary, wretched world, through which the hand I have resigned to, I trust, will lead me into the path of his own choosing: and, so I may please him, I am satisfied. I hope if ever we meet, you shall find me in the love of solitude and a devout life.”¹

He lost no time in endeavouring to persuade Sharpe to join with him in some moderate plan, founded on archbishop Usher’s scheme, for uniting the presbyterians and episcopalians, but to his astonishment he found him unwilling even to talk on the subject. He and the other newly made bishops seemed only anxious to get possession of their sees. This circumstance was discouraging to Leighton, who soon perceived that such men were not designed by providence to build up the church. Soon after their consecration, the Scottish bishops went down to Scotland in one coach; but when they came to Morpeth, finding that they intended to be received at Edinburgh with pomp and ostentation, Leighton parted company from them, and arrived at the capital some days before them. He would not even have the title of lord given to him by his friends, and was not easy when others used it in addressing him. Leighton soon perceived with deep regret, that the government was resolved to enforce conformity on the presbyterians by severe means. He laboured all in his power to show the impolicy of such proceedings, and in the session of parliament in April, 1662, when the ministers to whom the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered, consented to take it with an explanation, which they presented to the house, he pleaded strenuously that it might be accepted, and insisted that the conditions asked by the presbyterians were just, and should in reason be granted. Sharpe, with his usual vehemence answered, that it was below the dignity of government to make acts to satisfy the scruples of peevish men, and “that it ill became those who had imposed their covenant on all people, without any explication, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours.”—“For that very reason,” replied Leighton, “it ought to be done, that all people may see the difference between the mild proceedings of the government and their rivals; and that it ill became the very same persons who had complained of that, now to practise it themselves, for thus, it may be said, the world goes mad at times.” But the voice of violence prevailed; the Scottish bishops were entitled to a seat in parliament on their consecration, and were one and all invited to avail themselves of the privilege. Leighton was the only one that declined the honour. He retired to his see, and resolved never to appear in parliament unless the interests of religion were called in question, or by his presence he might assist it. In his own diocese he set a bright example to his brethren, by practising the moderation which he recommended. He studied to make his clergymen a well-informed, serious, and useful body of men; and he even tolerated the preaching of non-conforming ministers in districts where the people were particularly attached to them. He continued a private and ascetic course of life, and gave all his income, except the little he expended on his own person, to the poor. By these means he became generally

¹ Pearson ut supra, p. 43.

beloved through his diocese, and even softened down the feelings of those who were most adverse to episcopacy.

In the year 1665, the proceedings in Scotland by the ecclesiastical high commission were so severe and illegal, that Leighton was prevailed on to go to court, and lay before the king a true account of them. On this occasion he assured his majesty that the measures which Sharpe and other members of the court pursued, were so violent, "that he could not concur in planting of the Christian religion itself in such a manner, much less a form of government. He therefore entreated leave to quit his bishopric, and to retire, for he thought he was in some sort accessory to the violence of others." The king seemed to be deeply affected with the complaints of the worthy prelate, and issued an order in council for discontinuing the ecclesiastical commission, and less rigorous measures were promised to be pursued with respect to Scotland; but the king would not hear of Leighton's resigning his see. Deceived by the specious conduct of Charles on this interview, and perhaps aware that if he retired he would lose all authority, or chance of standing between the people of Scotland and persecution, he returned to his see, and resumed the charge of his sacred functions. It is almost needless to add, that no reliance could be placed on the promise of protection from so deceitful a monarch. Matters in Scotland were driven to such dreadful extremities by the base and tyrannical authorities, that it was impossible to bear up much longer against them.

In 1667, Leighton was once more prevailed on to go to London, where he laid before the king the outrageous conduct of the former administrations of church affairs, and implored him to adopt more moderate counsels; in particular, he proposed a comprehension of the presbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future, by giving a little for the present. This audience had the good effect of inducing the king to write a letter to the privy council, ordering them to indulge such of the presbyterians as were moderate and loyal, so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant churches; though they did not submit to the ecclesiastical establishment. This small indulgence enraged the episcopal party in Scotland; they thought it illegal and fatal to the interests of the church, and directed an address to be drawn up expressive of their sentiments, though they did not venture to present it. A copy, however, was privately sent up to the court, and drew down the king's resentment on the head of the archbishop of Glasgow. When parliament assembled, an act was obtained, a clause of which declared the settling of all things relating to the external government of the church, to be the right of the crown. This clause, Leighton informed Burnet, was surreptitiously inserted after the draught and form of the act was agreed upon, and was generally thought to be the work of Lauderdale. Such a fearful stretch of the prerogative alarmed both episcopalians and presbyterians; the former said it assimilated the king to a pope; the latter, that it placed him in Christ's stead. The archbishop of Glasgow thought it prudent immediately to resign his see, as he dreaded the coming storm, and knew he had no other chance of escaping its vengeance. Lauderdale and lord Tweeddale fixed upon Leighton, and immediately offered to have him promoted to that high dignity; but, though eagerly solicited by these noble lords, he respectfully declined the appointment. The king at last sent for him, and promised that he should be backed by the assistance of the court, in his endeavours to accomplish his long-meditated and favourite scheme of a comprehension of the presbyterians. He was at length persuaded to comply, and in 1670, he, without removing from Dumblane, undertook the administration of the see of Glasgow; nor was he at all willing to be consecrated arch-

bishop until a year after. The plan of accommodation between the episcopalians and presbyterians, the particulars of which may be seen in Burnet's history, was, by the king's directions, limited to certain instructions, by which Lauderdale was empowered to embody the concessions that were to be offered into laws. Encouraged even by this support, Leighton had frequent conferences with some of the most eminent presbyterian ministers, but in vain; he found it impossible to gain them over even to the most moderate form of episcopacy. It is evident the presbyterians mistrusted the overture in question, and looked upon it as a snare to lull their vigilance; and they had already too many deceitful examples in a former reign to think that the friends of prelacy were now either more humane or honourable. The result of these negotiations grieved Leighton very much, while they delighted Sharpe and all of the same party, to whom every thing like liberality or concession in favour of peace and religion was alike unknown or despised. They even went so far as to hint, in very intelligible terms, that under the mask of moderation, he was secretly undermining their cause. Being thus unhappily situated, and despairing of being able to carry his great designs of healing the divisions and reforming the abuses in the church, he resolved to relinquish his see, and retire into seclusion. He said "that his work seemed to be at an end, and that he had no more to do, unless he had a mind to please himself with the lazy enjoying of a good revenue." His friend, Dr Burnet, endeavoured all in his power to make him give up this idea, but all to no purpose; the good man was resolute. He repaired to London, and after much difficulty obtained the king's reluctant consent to his resignation, on condition that he would remain in office for another year. The court thought it possible in the interval that he might be gained over to remain and assist a cause fast falling into hatred and contempt, by his pious and venerable name. He returned "much pleased with what he had obtained, and said to Dr Burnet upon it, that there was now but one uneasy stage between him and rest, and he would wrestle through it the best he could." He continued to perform his duties with the same zeal as before, and at the end of the year 1673, he hastened to London, and tendered his resignation, and was succeeded by the former possessor of the see, Dr Alexander Burnet.² After residing for some time in the college of Edinburgh, where he had long been principal, amongst a set of select friends,

² The following paper was left by Leighton for the purpose of explaining his reasons for resigning the see of Glasgow. It has been preserved in the university of Edinburgh, over which he so long and ably presided.

"Whatsoever others may judge, they that know what past before my engaging in this charge, will not (I believe,) impute my retreat from it from levitie or unfixtness of mind, considering how often I declared before hand, baith by word and write, the great suspicion I had that my continuance in it would be very short; neither is it from any sudden passion or sullen discontent that I have now resigned it; nor do I know any cause imaginable for any such thing, but the true reasons of my retiring are plainly and briefly these:

"1. The sense I have of the dreadful weight of whatsoever charge of souls, and all kinds of spiritual inspection over people; but much more over ministers; and withall of my own extreme unworthiness and unfitnes for so high a station in the church; and there is an episcopal act that is above all the rest most formidable to me—the ordaining of ministers.

"2. The continuing and deeply increasing divisions and contentions, and many other disorders of the church, and the little or no appearance of their cure for our time, and the little hope, amidst those contentions and disorders, of doing any thing in this station to promote the great design of religion in the hearts and lives of men, which were the only worthy reasons of continuing in it, though it were with much pains and reluctance.

"3. The earnest desire I have long had of a retired and private life, which is now much increased by sicklynes and old age drawing on, and the sufficient experience I have of the folly and vanity of the world.

"To add any farther discourse, a large apologic in this matter were to no purpose; but instead of removing other mistakes and misconstructions, would be apt to expose me to one more, for it would look like too much valuing either of myself or of the world's opinion, both of which I think I have so much reason to despise."—*Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. App. No. 6.

equally distinguished for their learning and piety, he removed to Broadhurst, an estate in Sussex belonging to his sister Mrs Lightwater, for whom he entertained the strongest affection. Here he lived ten years, occupied in study, meditation, and prayer, and doing all the good in his power. He distributed through the hands of other persons whatever he possessed beyond the means of subsistence,—so unostentatious was he in his charity. He was in every instance through life most generous in pecuniary matters. When principal of the college of Edinburgh he presented the city with £150, the income of which was destined for the support of a student in philosophy. The college of Glasgow is also indebted to him for two bursaries, or for a sum the interest of which is to be appropriated to support two students. On the hospital of St Nicholas, Glasgow, he bestowed £150, the proceeds of which were to be given to two poor men of good character. Three such persons are now enjoying the benefit of that sum, which yields £4, 10s. annually to each of them. This forms but a small specimen of the good works he performed during his long and valuable life.

Five years after he had retired from the business of active life, he was surprised and alarmed at receiving from his sovereign the following epistle :

Windsor, July 16, 1679.

MY LORD,—I am now resolved to try what clemency can prevail upon such in Scotland as will not conform to the government of the church there; for effecting of which design I desire you may go down to Scotland with your first conveniency, and take all possible pains for persuading all you can of both opinions to as much mutual correspondence and concord as may be; and send me from time to time, characters of both men and things. In order to this design I shall send you a precept for two hundred pounds sterling upon my exchequer, till you resolve how to serve me in a stated employment. Your loving friend,

CHARLES R.

For the Bishop of Dumblane.

Leighton was now in his sixty-eighth year; and however flattering such a notice might be to a mind of an inferior grade, to his, which was exclusively bent on preparing for a heavenly kingdom, it gave only pain and apprehension. What were the vain disputes of angry men to him? besides, he could have little or no hopes of succeeding in the mission. He was saved, however, the trouble of trying the experiment, as the duke of Monmouth, with whom the humane plan originated, fell into discredit, and the offer made to Leighton was never again renewed. This was the only serious interruption he met with in his retirement. Burnet saw him two years after, and says, "I was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well, that age seemed as it were to stand still with him. His hair was still black, and all his motions were lively; he had the same quickness of thought, and strength of memory; but above all, the same heat and life of devotion that I had ever seen him in."—"When I took notice to him," continues this celebrated writer, "upon my first seeing him, how well he looked, he told me he was very near his end for all that, and his work and journey were now almost done. This at the time made no great impression on me. He was next day taken with an oppression, and it seemed with cold and with stitches, which was indeed a pleurisy." This disease he foretold was doomed to be his last; he grew so suddenly ill, that speech and sense almost immediately left him; and in twelve hours after the first attack, he breathed his last, without a struggle, in the arms of his long-revered and faithful friend Dr Burnet, on the 26th June, 1684, at the advanced age of seventy-four. The place in which his pure spirit departed from its earthly tenement was an inn in Warwick Lane, London; and it is somewhat singular that he often used to say, that if he had

the power to choose a place to breathe his last in, it would be an inn. "It looked," he said, "like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion of it." He thought, too, that the distress of friends and relations at the time of death was apt to withdraw the mind from serious thoughts; to keep it from being wholly directed to God. He bequeathed his books to the cathedral of Dumblane, and the residue of his limited fortune to his sister, Mrs Lightwater, and her son, to be distributed as they thought fit to charitable purposes. After the character already given of him by his friend Burnet, it would be superfluous to add anything here.³

His body was interred in the burial ground of Horstead Heynes, in the parish which for ten years had been honoured by his residence. A simple inscription marks the spot where his remains are laid.⁴ The family of his sister is now extinct, and the estate is in the hands of another. His brother Sir Elisha, it may be here stated, died a few months before him, and was interred in the same place.

LEITH, (General) SIR JAMES, G.C.B., a hero of the Peninsular war, was the third son of John Leith, Esq. of Leithhall, Aberdeenshire, where he was born, on the 8th of August, 1763. He was educated first under a private tutor, and afterwards at the university of Aberdeen; and even in his boyish years was noted for an intrepidity and generosity of nature which gave promise of no common career. At Lisle he perfected himself in the studies suitable for a military life, and in 1780 entered the army, having been appointed to a second lieutenant's command in the 21st regiment, from which he was soon after raised to the rank of lieutenant and captain in the 81st Highland regiment. At the peace in 1783, he removed to the 5th regiment, then at Gibraltar, and was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Robert Boyd, governor of the fort. Upon the appointment of general O'Hara to serve at Toulon, he was engaged in the defence of that station, against the French republican army, as his aide-de-camp. He served major-general David Dundas in a similar capacity, and upon the British forces being withdrawn from Toulon, he returned to England, being appointed major by brevet in 1794.

Major Leith raised a regiment of fencibles in Aberdeenshire, at the head of which he served in Ireland during the rebellion. He was there successively raised to the rank of colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general. He was next ordered to active service in the Peninsula. He joined the British army under Sir John Moore, being at first appointed to the command of the 26th and 81st regiments, which he afterwards exchanged for the brigade of the 51st, 59th, and 76th. Napoleon had now taken possession of Madrid, defeated the army of the Estremadura, and retiring to the north of Europe, left marshals Soult and Ney to follow up the British army, which at this late season of the year, and under many disadvantages, had made good their retreat to Corunna. Sir John Hope's division had been ordered to keep in check the French corps, which had bivouacked on the heights opposite Lugo; and on 7th January, 1809, they attacked major-general Leith's brigade, with four pieces of cannon, on the side of a ravine which separated the two armies; but were gallantly repulsed by

³ The writings of archbishop Leighton are thus enumerated in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—"Sermons, London, 1692, 4to. *Prelectiones Theologicae*, 1693, 4to. A Practical Commentary on the two first chapters of the First Epistle of St Peter, York, 1693, 2 vols. 4to; also in 2 vols. 8vo.—an admirable Commentary, which has been often reprinted. Three posthumous Tracts; viz. Rules for a Holy Life; a Sermon; and a Catechism, London, 17 8, 12mo." The best edition of Leighton's whole works is that by Jarment, in 6 vols. 8vo, 18 6

⁴ *Depositum Roberti Leightonnii, Archiepiscopi Glasguensis, apud Scotus, qui obiit xxv. die Junii anno Dni, 1684, ætatis suæ 74.*

general Leith, who, at the head of his light companies, drove them into the ravine, and dispersed them. When the British had reached Cornua, after one of the most arduous retreats ever undertaken, in the depth of winter, and the minds both of men and officers were cast down with the hardships of their situation, they encamped in front of the town, that they might afford protection to the harbour and the commissariat; the fleet not having yet arrived from Vigo. The French army, having passed the river on the 16th January, 1809, occupied the rising ground above the village of Burgos: their left was protected by the wood above the village of Elvina, and their right rested on the great road from Betanzos, under the command of marshal Soult. The third column of the enemy, directing from its centre an attack against the left of the guards and the 81st regiment, general Leith, being ordered to place himself at the head of the 59th, made a charge, principally with the grenadiers of the regiment, and forced the enemy to retreat upon his position; while major-general Paget, with part of the reserve, bravely sustained an attack on the British right, and threatened to outflank the enemy. The heavy cannonade kept up by the French, in which they had a decided advantage, did fatal execution; but the village on the El Burgo road, that had been occupied by a column which prevented the British from sending succours to the chief points of attack, being carried by part of the 14th regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Nicolls, at the point of the bayonet, the enemy retired to his commanding position. The advanced posts of the British took possession of their original station, and the darkness of the night put a stop to a battle in which the chief by his bravery, and the sacrifice of his own life, redeemed the honour of the British army from a retreat allowed to have been somewhat precipitate.

Having been, in September, 1810, appointed to the command of a corps of 10,000 men, general Leith was next engaged in the affair of Busaco in Spain, where the whole French army, under marshal Massena was assembled. This corps was stationed between the division of Sir Roland Hill on his right, flanked by the Mondego river and the third division on his left. At break of day, the guns at the convent of Busaco opened a heavy fire, and a serious attack was made on the third division posted on that part of the Sierra, near the great road to St Antonio de Cantara. General Leith moved to the support of this division, but meeting with a strong column of the enemy on their way to this point, he quickly brought up colonel Barnes' brigade, the 9th and 38th regiments, to the head of the column; and, after a well managed fire, drove them at the head of the 9th regiment, from their position. The light troops of the third division were already driven back from the heights, with loss, by the enemy; but with that promptitude and firmness for which he was distinguished, general Leith attacked them by a rapid movement, and, after a brilliant charge at the head of the 9th or 88th regiment, before they had time to form or collect in numbers, general Regnier was obliged to desist, while the column which attacked the left was driven into the valley of Mondego. In this engagement seven thousand of the enemy were either slain or taken prisoners; and, in consequence of it, Massena's direct communication with Lisbon was obstructed. Had general Trant arrived in time at the position of Sardao, as lord Wellington had expected, the French army would have been placed in a very critical situation, and with difficulty have escaped.

Lord Wellington was now reinforced by two divisions, the fifth, which was committed to the charge of major-general Leith, consisting of major-general Hay's, major-general Dunlop's, and brigadier-general Spry's brigades; and the sixth, commanded by major-general Campbell. The British army was now encamped in the strongholds of the Torres-Vedras, covering the town of Lisbon, to take

which the enemy found impracticable, and soon retreated. But general Leith, suffering a severe attack from the Walcheren fever, was under the necessity of leaving Lisbon and returning to England. The French now made a rapid retreat, and being pursued by Wellington, were speedily driven from Portugal, with the exception of one garrison at Almeida. Having rejoined the army which had taken possession of Ciudad Rodrigo, general Leith sat down before the fortress of Badajoz. The siege of this fortified place had been commenced on the 16th March, and a fire being opened on the 25th, with twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, the outwork called La Picurnia was stormed by five hundred men of the third division; the second parallel was opened, and twenty-six pieces of cannon were directed against the bastion of the south-east angle of the fort called La Trinidad, the flank of Santa Maria, and the curtain of La Trinidad, where three breaches were effected. The fourth and light divisions, which during the siege had occupied the ground that was now assigned to the fifth, under major-general Leith, were appointed to attack the trenches on the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria. The honourable major-general Colville, with the fourth and light divisions under colonel Barnard, proceeded by the river Rivellas, descended without difficulty into the ditch, and advanced to the assault of the trenches with great bravery; but from the numerous explosions which took place at the top of the breaches, the whole place appearing to be one mine, and throwing out bullets, they were unable to enter. The governor, Philippon, allowed to be one of the best engineers in the French service, had provided for the defence of the breaches, by placing a *cheveaux de frise*, its beam a foot square, with points projecting a yard in every direction, across the gorge, and by fastening to the ground, around the mouth of the breach, pieces of wood with sword blades and bayonets, besides placing a column of soldiers behind, eight deep. An incessant fire was kept up by the front ranks, which were supplied with loaded pieces by those who stood behind. Major Wilson, of the 48th regiment, which had been sent against the Ravelin of San Roque, had carried it by the gorge, and with the assistance of major Squire, established himself in the place.

In the mean time, lieutenant-general Leith, who had been directed to make a false attack on the Pardaleras, and, if possible, escalate the bastion of San Vicente, had executed the former part of his order with the eighth *escadros* under major Hill. He now pushed forward major-general Walker's brigade on the left, supported by the 38th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Nugent, with which he proceeded about eleven o'clock to the attack of this almost impregnable fortress. He forced the barrier on the road to Olivenza, and entering the covered way at the bastion of San Vicente, descended into the ditch, and was already at the foot of the scarp of the bottom, which was thirty-one feet six inches high, defended by a flank with four guns, with a counter scarp wall, eleven feet nine inches deep, and a ditch. Of all the other divisions engaged in the reduction of this fortress, the third or fighting division alone had been able to execute their orders; this, under the gallant lieutenant-general Picton, had forced the palisadoes, passed the ditches, surmounted the wall, twenty-six feet high, with ladders, and, exposed to a heavy fire and severe loss, fought its way to the castle, which eventually was taken. The fourth division, in endeavouring to mount the breach of La Trinidad and Santa Maria, was obliged to retire on its reserves in the quarries by means of a strong concentrated and cross fire. But general Leith, who set all calculation at defiance, and was exposed to a most destructive fire while yet on the glacis, neglecting entirely the flanks, escalated the bastion of San Vicente with less than twelve ladders, and in the face of the enemy, who lined the works,

mounted the ramparts, thirty-one and a half feet high, drove the defenders before him, and thus gave the signal of victory, by taking possession of the town. He now silenced the batteries near the breach, which had greatly annoyed the third division, opened a communication at the breaches for the light and fourth divisions to enter, and the sound of the trumpets giving the signal of advance, was now heard in every direction, while the enemy, distracted on all hands, were able to make but a feeble resistance. This escalade, which has been considered by the historians of the peninsular war, as an extraordinary instance of British valour and intrepidity, was decisive as to the fate of Badajos. The fortress quickly yielded to the allied troops, and the British flag was quickly seen waving over its battlements, the French eagle being trampled in the dust, but not before seven hundred alone of the fifth division were either killed or wounded.

Lord Wellington now pushed forward to Salamanca, the depot for the army of Portugal, where the duke of Ragusa had left a garrison of eight hundred men, and encamped his army on the plain of Villares, a position at no great distance. The convent of San Vicente was reduced by means of hot shot, Gayetano carried, and these, together with another fort, entirely destroyed. The French and British armies,—the former of which was vastly superior, after several unsuccessful attempts to bring each the other into action,—marched in column simultaneously along the heights, by parallel movements, in the direction of Salamanca, frequently cannonading and skirmishing. The duke of Ragusa on the left bank of the river Douro, occupied one of the Arapiles, his left resting upon an extensive forest; an important station, where he could readily annoy the communication with Ciudad Rodrigo, and otherwise embarrass the British army in its movements. In making a feint opposite the fifth division, however, and bringing forward his left wing in a direction parallel almost with the right of the British, and apparently to force their post on the Arapiles and annoy them on the right, he extended his army too far; and lord Wellington, who had determined to retire into his stronghold at Ciudad Rodrigo, observing this favourable opportunity, resolved to give battle, and for this purpose rapidly moved the third division across the valley to the left of the enemy, from the extreme right on the Ciudad Rodrigo road, where it had commenced its retreat, and attacked them by surprise on the flank. The main body of Marmont's army had crossed the Tormes by the fords of Huerta. To the left of the British cavalry stood the fourth and fifth divisions, which extended in two lines to the foot of the Arapiles, near the Portuguese regiments; the first and light divisions being drawn up to the left of the Arapiles, and the sixth and seventh kept in reserve. Lieutenant-general Leith, having opened himself upon brigadier-general Bradford's Portuguese brigade, when it came parallel with his front line, was ordered to direct his march to the heights, and dislodge the enemy. In conjunction with the fourth and fifth divisions, the front was attacked by brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, and the cavalry under the command of Sir Stapleton Cotton. This order was the more welcome, as the fifth division had been for an hour exposed to a galling and murderous fire; and having equalized the two lines into which it had been divided, and regulated the advance, the gallant captain, afterwards colonel Leith Hay, M.P., who had at this time a horse killed under him, was despatched as *aid-de-camp* with an order for the light infantry in front to clear the line of march of the enemy's *voltigeurs*, and secure, if practicable, some of the most advanced of their guns, which amounted to twenty, opposite the fifth division alone. General Bradford's brigade, and the heavy cavalry of general Le Merchant, which had been on the right of the fifth, moved in unison with that

division. The second line of the division was about a hundred yards in the rear of the first, and between these at one time lord Wellington was stationed, while watching the progress of the attack. In front rode general Leith, directing its movements and regulating the approach of the troops, who had formed into squares; and when with his staff he reached the summit of the eminence, where the artillery which had so annoyed them had been placed, about a mile from his former station, he found the enemy drawn up in contiguous squares, the front rank kneeling, and ready to pour their murderous shot into the British line. A heavy fire commenced as soon as they broke over the heights, and discharging their musketry when about thirty yards from the enemy, the fifth raised a shout of triumph, advanced to the charge, and at the point of the bayonet, pierced the enemy's squares, which were soon put into disorder and broken, the cavalry having cut in pieces a body of their infantry. The victorious fifth pressed forward, supported on the right flank by the heavy cavalry of Le Merchant, while general Pakenham, brother-in-law to lord Wellington, at the head of the third division and the Portuguese cavalry of D'Urban, turned the enemy's left in four columns, and attacking them in flank overthrew everything that opposed them. For a time the fourth division were unable to drive back Bonnet's column, which outflanked it; but on the approach of the fifth and sixth divisions, which came to their assistance, the other parts of the French army being already in disorder, they were driven back in confusion on the centre of the French army, and the third and fifth pressing forward, had the honour of deciding the battle of Salamanca, although the other parts of the British army fought bravely, and upheld the glory of the British name. General Leith, who had stationed himself in front of the colours of the thirty-eighth regiment, still maintained his position between the two hostile fires, and drove the enemy before him; but during this tremendous charge, while in the act of breaking the French squares, he received a severe wound which eventually caused him to quit the field. The right wing of the enemy's army was the last to give way, but being charged by the sixth, third, and fifth divisions in front, and pressed on the right by the fourth, light, and Portuguese divisions, it at length fled through the woods towards the Tormes, and was pursued by a brigade of the fourth, and some squadrons of cavalry, until night put a stop to the chase. The loss of the fifth division alone, was eight hundred, killed and wounded. The loss of the other divisions of the British army was equally severe, amounting in all to eight hundred and forty killed, and four thousand seven hundred and twenty-three wounded; but that of the enemy under Marmont, who was himself wounded by an howitzer shell, was twenty-two thousand killed, and seven thousand prisoners, out of an army amounting to between forty-six and fifty thousand men.

General Leith and his aid-de-camp, captain Leith Hay, who was also severely wounded, were carried to the village of Las Torres, and from thence to the house of the marquis Escalla in Salamanca, where the victory was celebrated by song and seguidillas, and every demonstration of joy. The distinguished merit of lieutenant-general Leith during the peninsular war was rewarded by conferring upon him the insignia of the Bath, as a special mark of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's favour, "for his distinguished conduct in the action fought near Corunna and in the battle of Busaco; for his noble daring at the assault and capture of Badajoz by storm; and for his heroic conduct in the ever memorable action fought on the plains of Salamanca, where, in personally leading the fifth division to a most gallant and successful charge upon a part of the enemy's line, which it completely overthrew at the point of the bayonet, he and the whole of his personal staff were severely wounded." Several other marks of royal favour,

in the spirit of ancient chivalry, were conferred upon him. His majesty gave his royal license and command "that to the armorial ensigns of his family, being a cross crosslet fitchée between three crescents in chief, and as many fusils in base, he may bear the following honourable augmentation, viz., on a chief, a bastion of a fortification intended to represent San Vicente, the British ensign hoisted on the angle, and the two faces near the salient angle, surmounted each by two scaling ladders; and the following crest of honourable augmentation, viz., out of a mural crown inscribed with the word 'Salamanca,' a demi-lion, regardant quite de sang, in the mouth and sinister paw an eagle, or standard reversed, the staff broken, intended to represent the French standard taken by the said fifth division of his majesty's army in the said ever memorable battle of Salamanca, to be borne and used with the motto 'Badajos,' by the said Sir James Leith, and by his descendants, as a memorial to them and to his majesty's beloved subjects in general, of the sense which his Royal Highness entertains of his loyalty, ability, and valour; provided the said armorial distinction be first duly exemplified, according to the law of arms." The hero of Badajos and Salamanca, for so he is virtually acknowledged to be by this mark of royal favour, was also permitted to wear the insignia of an honorary knight commander of the Portuguese royal military order of the Tower and Sword, conferred upon him as a mark of distinction for his bravery, by the government of that country.

In April, 1813, the subject of our memoir, from the effects of the Walcheren fever which he still felt, and the severe wound which he had received, was obliged to retire to England. Subsequently to this period, the British army, under its renowned leader, the marquis of Wellington, took the offensive, and defeated the army of the south, the army of Portugal, and the army of the centre, under marshal Jourdan in the battle of Vittoria, and compelled Joseph Bonaparte, who had been crowned king of Spain, to retire and quit that country. The marquis was successful in the battles of the Pyrenees, and resumed the siege of San Sabastian, which had been interrupted by the advance of the enemy. San Sabastian is situated in a peninsula, on the extremity of which rises a conical rock, of remarkable appearance, called Monte Orgullo, where the castle stands, distinctly separated from the town, by an outer line of defence. The town, previously to the siege, contained a large population; its northern wall being washed by the river Urumea, the southern by the sea; and the western defences consist of a double line of works. It was a place of great strength, and possessed a garrison of four thousand troops. The siege had been commenced by the fifth division of the army, and two Portuguese brigades, under lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham; but it was not till the 23rd of July, that two breaches, one of them one hundred feet in length, had been effected, when an attempt was made to take the citadel, and the British were driven back, after they had penetrated into the town, with the loss of nine hundred men. Lord Wellington ordered another assault, after reconnoitering the breaches on the 31st of August, and as Sir James Leith had now joined the army, the immediate command of the storm was intrusted to this brave officer. The sea wall having been levelled to the ground, the storm commenced at the two breaches, which were in the same curtain, at eleven in the forenoon, when the fall of the tide had left the wall dry; and in approaching, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, as the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet to the level of the streets, and every point which bore upon the narrow passage was covered with men protected by intrenchments and traverses, who poured their destructive and successful fire upon the assailants as they ap-

proached. Many volunteers from the other divisions of the army had joined the fifth division, and, notwithstanding the bravery of the troops, and the judicious arrangements of Sir James Leith, as they advanced they were mowed down like grass by the musketry of the defenders, particularly from the horn-work, and the shell and grape shot from the batteries of the castle. The storm had now become a desperate one; but the presence of their commander, who stood in a commanding and most exposed situation, about thirty yards in advance of the debouche from the trenches, and who conducted the attack in a truly heroic style, inspired them with unshaken confidence as they threaded their way through the large masses of the wall thrown down by the explosion of two mines; and general Robinson's brigade advanced to the breach, although for a long time no one outlived the attempt to gain the ridge of the wall. As they filed onwards they stumbled over their prostrate companions; and so great was the slaughter, that Sir James was obliged to send a staff officer with directions to remove the dead and the dying for the passage of the troops. About the same time, Sir James Leith was thrown to the earth in an insensible state by the rebound of a plunging shot which had struck the ground; but refusing to quit the field, he continued to issue his orders in his usual precise and energetic manner, and while he was himself stooping to the ground cheered forward his troops.

Major-general Hay's division, consisting of the Royals, ninth and thirty-eighth regiments, and a column of Portuguese infantry, forded the Urumea, and reached the lesser breach, under a very heavy and destructive fire. The British had persevered under a most murderous shower of round shot, grape, and musketry, to force an entrance into the town for two hours; and general Robinson's brigade had ascended to the crest, where he was severely wounded, whilst a fire of artillery had been directed against the curtain, passing only a few feet over their heads on the breach, which produced an immediate and advantageous effect. But although the exterior wall was completely beaten down, together with the houses fronting the interior, the inner retaining wall which added greatly to the strength of the curtain, was as perfect and perpendicular as at first, varying from sixteen to thirty-five feet of altitude from the level of the town. Forty-seven pieces of heavy ordnance, playing from the choffires and hills, over the heads of the British troops, a mode of attack which evinced the resolution and self-confidence of colonel Dickson and Sir Thomas Graham, who had recourse to it, as well as the skill of the British artillery, dispersed the fire of musketry, soon dismantled all the guns but two, and had the effect of driving the enemy back. To descend into the town by the breaches was yet found impracticable, for the enemy had constructed traverses, behind which were stationed French grenadiers, who put to death in safety the gallant soldiers, as they attempted the passage, capable of admitting only one at a time; and yet their commander was convinced, and by his personal courage had shown that he was so, that British troops were invincible, and would do what human power could accomplish. A great explosion had taken place along the line of the wall, of fire barrels, live shells, and hand grenades, which had been placed in rear of the traverses by the besieged, and cleared it of the enemy. Under the panic occasioned by this catastrophe, the soldiers of general Hay's brigade, now commanded by colonel Greville, the Royal Scots, and ninth regiment, under colonel Cameron, entered by the passage along the curtain, close to the exterior wall, which was capable of admitting only one at a time; and charging the enemy at the point of the bayonet, down the flight of steps which led from the cavalier bastion, entered the town, and maintained their ground. Sir James Leith, who had long directed the progress of the

assault from the strand at no great distance from the great breach, and who was completely exposed to the fire of the enemy, while in the act of directing additional support from the trenches, had before this time been wounded by the bursting of a shell near him, which broke his arm in two places, tearing the flesh from his left hand, and was reluctantly carried from the field, after fainting from loss of blood. In passing through the trenches he was recognised by the ninth regiment, whose dangers he had so often shared, who spontaneously cried out, that they should not return until the fifth division was crowned with victory, and the citadel of San Sebastian was taken. Soon afterwards Sir Richard Fletcher, the chief engineer, who had continued with Sir James during the siege, was killed by a musket ball, which pierced his heart.

The command was now taken by major-general Hay, who conducted with ability the attack to the last; and the issue was no longer doubtful, for the troops easily rushing forward, the hornwork was carried; the ruined fragments of the houses poured forth the assailants; the Portuguese detachments carried the lesser breach; and although the commander of the brave garrison, general Roy, had raised traverses across the streets, which were defended by cannon, one street was taken after another, till the allies gradually gained possession of the town, and at three o'clock, this awful and murderous struggle terminated, which had raged with unabated fury during a period of four hours, and was maintained by both parties with desperate gallantry and resolution.

A barbarous scene of pillage and plunder now took place, unworthy of the British name, and the high character of her soldiers, while on the 18th of September the castle surrendered, and thus the allies obtained possession of this northern Gibraltar of Spain, as it has been termed, with the loss of five hundred killed, and fifteen hundred wounded.

Sir James Leith remained for two months in the country, trusting that an early recovery would permit him to resume his command; but it was at length found more advisable to return to England, which he did in November. He was now appointed commander of the forces in the West Indies, and captain-general of the Leeward islands, and, sailing to assume his important duties, arrived at Barbadoes on the 15th of June, 1814. The revolutionary spirit which broke out in France on the restoration of Napoleon, soon extended itself to the French islands in the West Indies, and Martinique and Guadaloupe, which Sir James had restored to the crown of France, now at peace with Britain, soon manifested symptoms of revolt. The former, agreeably to instructions, was kept in awe by the presence of two thousand British troops, which were landed at Fort Royal; but at Guadaloupe the tricoloured flag was soon displayed, and the entire colony declared for the emperor. Transports, conveying troops, ammunition, and stores, immediately sailed from Barbadoes, and landed at Saintes, in the neighbourhood of Guadaloupe, which is upwards of two hundred miles in circumference, and contains a population of a hundred and ten thousand people. Preparations for war were then made, and *Mariegalante* was secured by a detachment of troops. The Comte de Linois, the French governor, who had organized a large body of militia, and never believed that the French army could be ready for action before the commencement of the hurricane months, was somewhat taken by surprise; and the commander of the forces, having despatched eight hundred of the York rangers near Pautrizel, and an additional reinforcement, they drove the enemy from Dolet. Captain Leith Hay, aid-de-camp to Sir James Leith, obtained possession of *Mome Boucannier*, a height which commanded their position at *Palmiste*, from which they were dislodged, rapidly pressed their rear

near Morne Honel, and the heavy rains being now set in, on the 10th of August Sir James Leith was prepared to give battle, when they agreed to capitulate and surrender the island.

As a reward for these important services, the privy council voted two thousand pounds for the purchase of a sword; and the king of France, as a mark of the sense which he entertained of his great zeal, ability, and bravery, conferred upon him the grand cordon of the order of military merit. The object of these honours was soon, however, to be insensible to the pleasure which they were calculated to bestow. His constitution, shaken by the wounds which he had received, sank under the sultry climate of the West Indies; and he died of fever, after six days' illness, on the 16th of October, 1816.

Sir James Leith is invariably allowed to rank among the very highest of the excellent officers who seconded the efforts of Wellington during the Peninsular contest, and to whom that illustrious commander, who has now followed so many of his companions in arms to the grave, was himself the readiest to attribute the better share of the success which attended him in those memorable campaigns. He possessed all the qualities which form a great military character — intrepidity unbounded, or bounded only by the soundness of his judgment; skill in taking advantage of every contingency; and a genius for contriving, as well as perseverance and dexterity in executing, the most brilliant enterprises. To all these characteristics Sir James added that spirit of humanity, which forms the crowning grace of this, even more peculiarly than any other profession.

LESLIE, ALEXANDER, the celebrated military leader of the covenanters, during the civil wars of Charles I., created lord Balgonie, and afterwards earl of Leven, was the son of captain George Leslie of Balgonie, by his wife Anne, a daughter of Stewart of Ballechin. Of the place of his birth, or the extent of his education, little can be said with certainty. Spalding says, he was born in Balveny, which Gordon of Straloch affirms was never possessed by the Leslies, and, of course, according to him, could not be the place of his birth. This, he supposes to have been Tullich, which lies over against Balveny, on the east side of the water of Fiddich; or, perhaps, Kininvie, which lies a mile to the north of Tullich, on the same water of Fiddich. Gordon adds, that he "was a natural son of Kininvie's, and that his mother, during her pregnancy, could eat nothing but wheat bread, and drink nothing but wine, which Kininvie allowed her to be provided with, although she was nothing but a common servant." There is, however, much reason to suppose that this account of his birth is only a cavalier fiction.

Educated for the military profession, Leslie very early in life obtained a captain's commission in the regiment of Horatio lord de Vere, then employed in Holland as auxiliaries to the Dutch in fighting for their liberties against the overwhelming power of Spain. In this service he acquitted himself with singular bravery, and obtained the reputation of a skilful officer. He afterwards, along with many thousands of his countrymen, passed into the service of Sweden, under Gustavus Adolphus, by whom, after many heroic achievements, he was promoted to the rank of field-marshal with the approbation of the whole army.

In the year 1629, he defended Stralsund, which was besieged by the whole force of the Imperialists, at that time masters of all Germany, that fortress excepted. Here he acquitted himself with the utmost bravery and skill. The plague had already broken out in the city, and the outworks were in a most deplorable condition; yet he compelled count Wallenstein, with a formidable army and flushed with victory, to raise the siege, after having sustained a severe loss. The citizens of Stralsund were so sensible of the services of the field-marshal, on

this occasion, that they made him a handsome present, and had medals struck to perpetuate their gratitude and the honour of their deliverer. In the year 1635, he had charters granted to him, his wife, and son, of the barony of Balgonie, and other lands in the counties of Fife, Berwick, and Roxburgh. He was at this time serving in Lower Saxony. In the year 1639, when the covenanters were preparing to resist their sovereign in the field, Leslie returned from Sweden, where he had continued after the death of Gustavus in the service of Christina. "This Leslie," says Spalding, "having conquest from nought wealth and honour, resolved to come home to his native country of Scotland and settle himself beside his chief, the earl of Rothes, as he did indeed, and bought fair lands in Fife; but the earl foreseeing the troubles, whereof himself was one of the principal beginners, took hold of this Leslie, who was both wise and stout, acquainted him with the plot, and had his advice for the furtherance thereof to his power."

It was a fortunate circumstance for the covenanters, that the oppressions to which they had been subjected, and the persecutions that were evidently preparing for them, were well known on the continent, where thousands of their fellow countrymen had been shedding their blood in the defence of the religion and liberties of their fellow protestants, and excited the deepest interest in their favour. Leslie had undoubtedly been invited home, and he brought a number of his countrymen along with him, who, having periled their lives for the same cause among foreigners, could not reasonably be considered as indifferent to its success among their own countrymen. Half a century had, for the first time since it was a nation, passed over Scotland without any thing like general warfare. The people had, in a great measure, become unaccustomed to its hardships and its dangers, and the chieftains, such as had been abroad excepted, were unacquainted with its practice, and ignorant of its details. This defect, by the return of so many who had been in the wars of Gustavus, was amply supplied. Leslie was, by the committee of estates, appointed to the chief command;—many of his fellow adventurers of less celebrity, yet well acquainted with military details and the equipment of an army, were dispersed throughout the country, where they were employed in training the militia, which in those days comprehended every man that was able to bear arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty. By these means, together with a manifesto by the Tables (committees of the four estates assembled at Edinburgh), entitled, "State of the Question, and Reasons for Defensive War," which was circulated so as to meet the eye or the ear of every individual in the nation,—the covenanters were in a state of preparation greatly superior to the king, though he had been meditating hostilities long before he declared them. Though now an old man, little in stature, and deformed in person, Leslie was possessed of ceaseless activity, as well as consummate skill; and in both he was powerfully seconded by the zeal of the people in general. Early apprized of the intentions of Charles, he so managed matters as to render them entirely nugatory. It was the intention of the latter, while he advanced with his main force upon his ancient kingdom by the eastern marches, to enter it previously, or at least simultaneously, on the western side, with a body of Highlanders and Irish, and by the Firth of Forth with a strong division of his English army, under his commissioner the duke of Hamilton. To meet this formidable array, every thing that lay within the compass of their limited means, was prepared by the covenanters. Military committees were appointed for every county, who were to see to the assembling and training of the militia generally, and to forward to the army such levies and such supplies, as might be from time to time demanded. Smiths were every where put in requisition for the fabrication of muskets, carbines, pole-axes,

Lochaber axes, and halberts; magazines to supply the troops were also provided; and to call them together when occasion should require, beacons were provided, and placed in every shire. Arms to the amount of thirty thousand stand were provided from Holland, in addition to those of home manufacture, and a foundry for cannon was established in the Potter Row, at that time one of the suburbs, now a street of Edinburgh. Leith, the port of the capital, was, however, still defenceless; but, aware that the duke of Hamilton proposed to land there with hostile intentions, it was immediately resolved to put the place in a posture of defence. The plan of a new fort, the old defences of the town being in ruins, was laid down by Sir Alexander Hamilton, who acted as engineer to Leslie; and several thousands came spontaneously forward to assist in its erection. Noblemen, gentlemen, and citizens; men, women, and children; even ladies of quality, claimed the privilege of assisting in forwarding the good work, and in less than a week it was finished, and the security of Edinburgh was considered complete. Along the coast of Fife, too, every town was surrounded with batteries mounted with cannon, carried on shore from the ships; and with the exception of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which were somehow neglected, there was not a resting place in the Firth for an enemy, till he should win it at the point of the pike.

In the mean time, the duke of Hamilton lying in Yarmouth roads, was commanded to sail for the Forth, and by all or any means to "create an awful diversion." His first sail was no sooner discovered as a speck in the distant horizon, than the beacons were in a blaze from the one extremity of the country to the other, and ere he approached the shores of Leith they were lined by upwards of twenty thousand intrepid defenders, among whom was his own mother, mounted on horseback at the head of her vassals, with a pair of pistols in the holsters before her, with which she declared she would shoot her son with her own hand the moment he set a hostile foot on shore. Hamilton now found that he could do nothing. The troops on board his fleet did not exceed five thousand men, all raw young peasants, miserably sea-sick, and many of them labouring under the small pox. Instead of attempting hostile operations, he landed his men upon the islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which served him for hospitals, and contented himself with sending into the town council some more of Charles's proclamations, which were promised to be laid before the States, who were expected to meet in a few days. This, as the measure of their obedience, Hamilton was for the time obliged to accept. Of this circumstance, with the strength which they mustered, he failed not to acquaint his master, advising him at the same time to negotiate.—We are not detailing the history of the war, but the part performed in it by an individual, or we should have stated that Argyle had been sent to the west, where he had seized upon the castle of Brodick in Arran, where the earl of Antrim was to have first headed his Irish bands, in consequence of which they were for a time unable to come forward. The castle of Dumbarton had also been seized by a master-stroke of policy, as that of Edinburgh now was by the same in war. In the afternoon of the twenty-third of March, Leslie himself, with a few companies which he had been, according to his usual custom, training in the outer court-yard of Holyrood house, some of which he secretly disposed in closes at the head of the Castle Hill, approached to the exterior gate of the castle, where he called a parley with the captain or governor, demanding to be admitted. This being refused, he seemed to retire from the gate, when a petard which he had hung against it, burst and laid it open. The inner gate was instantly assailed with axes, and scaling ladders were applied to the wall, by which the covenanters gained immediate admission; while the garrison, panic-struck with the sudden explosion and the vigour of the attack, sur-

rendered without offering any resistance. The castles of Dalkeith, Douglas, and Strathaven in Clydesdale, and, in short, all the castles of the kingdom, with the exception of that of Carlaverock, were seized in the same manner. Huntly, who was making dispositions in the north to side with Charles, had also in the interim been kidnapped by Montrose, so that he had actually not the shadow of a party in the whole kingdom. Towards the end of May, the king beginning to move from York, where he had fixed his head-quarters, towards the north, the army under Leslie was ordered southward to meet him. The final muster of the army, previous to the march, took place on the Links of Leith, on the 20th of May, 1639, when from twelve to sixteen thousand men made their appearance, well armed in the German fashion, and commanded by native officers whom they respected as their natural superiors, or by their own countrymen celebrated for their hardihood, and that experience in military affairs which they had acquired abroad. With the exception of one German trumpeter, there was not a foreigner among them: all were Scotsmen, brought immediately from the hearths and the altars which it was the object of the war to defend. The private men were, for the most part, ploughmen from the western counties; stout rustics whose bodies were rendered muscular by healthy exercise, and whose minds were exalted by the purest feelings of patriotism and religion. It was on this day that they were properly constituted an army, by having the articles of war read to them. These had been drawn out by Leslie with the advice of the Tables, after the model of those of Gustavus Adolphus, and a printed copy of them was delivered to every individual soldier. The general himself, at the same time, took an oath to the Estates, acknowledging himself in all things liable both to civil and ecclesiastical censure. Leslie had by this time acquired not only the respect and confidence, but the love of the whole community, by the judgment with which all his measures were taken, and the zeal he displayed in the cause; a zeal, the sincerity of which was sufficiently attested by the fame of his exploits in Germany, and by the scars which he bore on his person in consequence of these exploits. He was deformed, old, and mean in his appearance; but the consummate skill which he displayed, and the piety of his deportment, rendered him, according to Baillie, who was along with him, a more popular and respected general than Scotland had ever enjoyed in the most warlike and beloved of her kings. With the van of this army, which was but a small part of the military array of Scotland at this time, Leslie marched for the borders on the 21st of May, the main body following him in order. He was abundantly supplied on his march, and at every successive stage found that his numbers were increased, and his stock of provisions becoming more ample. The first night he reached Haddington, the second Dunbar, and the third Dunglass, a strong castle at the east end of Lammermoor, where he halted and threw up some intrenchments. Charles, in the mean time, advanced to the borders, indulging in the most perfect assurance of driving the Scottish insurgents before him. Learning from his spies, however, that they were within a day's march of him, and so well marshalled that the result of a contest would be at best doubtful, he ordered a trumpet to be sent with letters from himself to the Scottish army, conveying overtures of a friendly nature, but forbidding them to approach within ten miles of his camp, and on this demonstration of their temporal obedience, promising that all their just supplications should be granted. Finding them disposed to an amicable agreement, Charles advanced his camp to the Birks, on the banks of the Tweed, and directed the earl of Holland, his general of horse, to proceed with thirteen troops of cavalry, three thousand foot, and a number of field-pieces, to drive some regiments of the covenanters which had been stationed at Kelso and Jedburgh under colonel

Robert Munro, for the protection of the borders, from their station, as being within the limits stipulated with the noblemen who commanded the main body. Proceeding, in the execution of his order, to Dunse, the first town that lay in his way within the Scottish border, the earl of Holland found it totally deserted of its inhabitants, except a very few, who heard him read a proclamation, declaring the whole Scottish nation, especially all who were in arms and did not immediately lay them down, traitors. Proceeding westward to Kelso, and having reached a height overlooking the town, he found the Scottish troops in the act of being drawn out to receive him. Startled at their appearance, Holland sent forward a trumpeter, to command them to retire according to the promise of their leaders. His messenger was met by a stern demand whose trumpeter he was, and on answering that he was lord Holland's, was told that it would be well for him to be gone. Displeased with this reception of his missionary, his lordship ordered a retreat, and the Scottish soldiers were with difficulty restrained from pursuing them to their camp. What share Leslie had in the proposed submission to Charles is not known; but he no sooner heard of the above affair than he broke up his encampment at Dunglass, and set forward to Dunse, where he ordered Munro to join him. Finding here an excellent position commanding both roads to Edinburgh, he formed his camp on the Law behind the town, where he could see the royal camp at Birks, on the other side of the Tweed. This movement was made without the knowledge of the English, whose camp Leslie, had he been left to himself, would most probably have surprised and secured, with all that was in it. Charles himself, walking out after an alarm from the Scottish army, was the first to descry their encampment on Dunse Law, and he rightly estimated their number to be from sixteen to eighteen thousand men; they were soon, however, increased to twenty-four thousand by the reinforcements that hastened up to them on the report of the English incursions at Dunse and Kelso; and never was an army led to the field better appointed, or composed of better materials. "It would have done your heart good," said an eye-witness, "to have cast your eyes athwart our brave and rich hills as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy. Our hill was garnished on the top toward the south and east with our mounted cannon, well near to forty, great and small. Our regiment lay on the sides; the crowniers [superior officers of regiments] lay in canvass lodges, large and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber, covered with divot or straw. Over every captain's tent door waved the flag of his company, blue, with the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, with the inscription 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant.' Leslie himself lay in the castle of Dunse, at the bottom of the hill, whence he issued regularly every night, rode round the camp, and saw the watches regularly set." Throughout the whole army there was the most perfect harmony of opinion, both as to matters of civil and ecclesiastical polity; and there was a fervour in the cause they had undertaken, that burned with an equal flame in the bosom of the peasant and the peer. The latter took their full share in all the fatigues of the camp; slept like the common soldiers, in their boots and cloaks on the bare ground; and in their intercourse with their inferiors, used the language of affection and friendship, rather than that of command. Ministers of the gospel attended the camp in great numbers, carrying arms like the rest, and many of them attended by little parties of their friends and dependents. There were sermons morning and evening in various places of the camp, to which the soldiers were called by beat of drum; and while the day was devoted to the practice of military exercises, its rise and its fall were celebrated in every tent with the singing of psalms, reading the Scriptures, and prayer. The general tone of the army was ardent, full of devotion to God and

of the hope of success against the enemy. "They felt," says Baillie, "the favour of God shining upon them, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement feeling leading them along. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." While they were thus strengthened in spirit, the body was equally well attended to. The regular pay of the common men was sixpence a day; fourpence purchased a leg of lamb, and all of them were served with wheaten bread; a luxury which it is probable many of them never enjoyed either before or after. Leslie kept open table daily at Dunse castle for the nobility and for strangers, besides a side table for gentlemen waiters; and as there had been an extraordinary crop the preceding year, and the people were zealous to offer supplies, the camp abounded with all the necessaries of life. An amicable arrangement, however, having been entered into between Charles and the covenanters, peace was proclaimed in both camps on the 18th of June, 1639.

In the month of April, 1640, it was found necessary by the covenanters to reassemble their army, and Leslie was again appointed general; but from various causes it was the beginning of August before the general armament could be collected at Dunse, where, in the early part of that month it was reviewed by the general. It amounted to twenty-three thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a train of heavy artillery, besides some light cannon, formed of tin and leather corded round, capable of sustaining twelve discharges each. This was a species of artillery used by Gustavus Adolphus, and which the Scottish general had adopted in imitation of his master. This army was composed of the same men who had last year occupied Dunse Law. The horse were chiefly composed of respectable citizens and country gentlemen, lightly armed; some of them having lances, and generally mounted on the small, but active horses of the country. Their attire and accoutrements were the same as in the preceding year, including the broad Lowland blue bonnet. Their march over the border was, however, delayed for some weeks for the want of money and necessaries. "It was found," says Mr John Livingston, who accompanied the army in the capacity of chaplain to the earl of Cassillis's regiment, "when the whole army was come up, that there was want of powder and of bread, the biscuit being spoiled, and of cloth to be huts to the soldiers. This produced some fear that the expedition might be delayed for that year. One day when the committee of estates and general officers, and some ministers, were met in the castle of Dunse, and were at prayer and consulting what to do, an officer of the guard comes and knocks rudely at the door of the room where we were, and told there was treachery discovered; for he, going to a big cellar in the bottom of the house, seeking for some other thing, had found a great many barrels of gun-powder, which he apprehended was intended to blow us all up. After search, it was found that the powder had been laid in there the year before, when the army had departed from Dunse Law, and had been forgotten. Therefore, having found powder, the earls of Rothes and Loudon, Mr Alexander Henderson, and Mr Archibald Johnston were sent to Edinburgh, and within a few days brought as much meal and cloth to the soldiers by the gift of well affected people there, as sufficed the whole army. With the same readiness these people had parted with their cloth and their meal, others parted with their plate, and to such an extent was this carried, that for many years afterwards, not even a silver spoon was to be met with in the best houses."—"It was very refreshing," adds Livingston, "to remark that after we came to a quarter at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of the Scriptures by the soldiers in their several tents; and I

was informed there was much more the year before, when the army lay at Dunse Law. And, indeed, in all our meetings and consultations, both within doors and in the fields, always the nearer the beginning there was so much the more dependence upon God, and more tenderness in worship and walking; but through process of time, we still declined more and more."

General Leslie crossed the Tweed on the 20th of August with his army in three divisions; the College of Justice' troop of horse, consisting of one hundred and sixty gentlemen, under Sir Thomas Hope, riding on the right wing in order to break the stream for the foot; all of whom got safely through but one man, who was drowned. In their march, the officers of the Scottish army were greatly embarrassed by a fear of offending the English nation, with which they had no quarrel, and with which they knew well they were not able to contend. With all the difficulties imposed on him by his situation, however, Leslie continued his march till the 28th, when he completely defeated the king's troops, who had been sent to defend the fords at Newburn. This success put him in possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham, together with several large magazines of provisions, and again reduced Charles to the last extremity; a crisis which ultimately produced the treaty of Rippon, afterwards transferred to London. The king had now, however, the parliament of England upon his hands, and was less occupied with Scottish affairs than formerly. Ten months elapsed before the English parliament saw fit to allow the treaty to be concluded, the Scottish army being all the time quartered in Newcastle, that they might be at hand to assist, in case of matters coming to extremities between the king and the lords of St Stephen's chapel. Embarrassed and controlled by his parliament, Charles now attempted to conciliate the Scots by conceding to them all their demands; hoping thereby to engage them to take part with him against the former. With this view he came himself to Scotland in the month of August, 1641, when, passing through the Scottish army at Newcastle, he was received with the utmost respect, and entertained by the general, who was created lord Balgonie, and on the 11th of October, 1641, earl of Leven by patent to him and his heirs whatsoever. In the following year the earl was sent over to Ireland, in command of the forces raised for suppressing the rebellion there. In the next year he was recalled to take the command of the forces sent into England to the assistance of the parliament, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant. He commanded the left of the centre division of the parliamentary forces at the battle of Marston moor, and was driven out of the field, though the honour of his own name and that of his country was gallantly sustained by David Leslie, whose valour contributed in a great degree to the victory there obtained. He afterwards, assisted by the earl of Callander, took the town of Newcastle by storm; but treated both the town and the garrison with lenity. The king having made overtures to the Scottish generals, Leven sent a copy of them to the parliament, which in return awarded him a vote of thanks, accompanied by a present of a piece of plate. He now laid siege to Harford, but being left by David Leslie, who had marched with all the horse into Scotland to oppose Montröse, and the king approaching in great force, he raised the siege, and marched northward. He was appointed to command, at the siege of Newark, an army composed of both Scottish and English troops, where the king came to him privately on the 5th day of May, 1646. He was afterwards one of a hundred officers who, on their knees, besought his majesty to accept the propositions offered him by the parliament, and thus be merciful to himself and to the nation. When the engagement for the king's rescue was entered into, the earl of Leven resigned the command of the army in disgust, pleading the infirmities of old age. On the

failure of that project, he was again restored to the place he had so honourably filled; but before the battle of Dunbar he again resigned on account of his great age, but appeared in the field as a volunteer. The year following, at a meeting of some noblemen for concerting measures in behalf of Charles II. at Elliot in Angus, he was, along with the rest, surprised by a detachment from the garrison of Dundee, carried to London, and thrown into the Tower. At the request of Christina, queen of Sweden, he was liberated, had his sequestration taken off, and no fine imposed upon him. He returned to Scotland in the month of May, 1654, and shortly after went to Sweden, to thank Christina for the favour she had done him by interceding with Cromwell on his behalf. How long he remained in Sweden is not known; but he died at Balgony on the 4th of April, 1661, at a very advanced age. He was buried on the nineteenth of the same month in the church of Markinch. Few men have been more fortunate in life than Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven. He appears to have entered upon its duties without fortune and with a scanty education, and by the force of his talents, seconded by habits of religion and persevering industry, raised himself to the highest honours which society has to confer, both in his own and in foreign countries. His services were at the time of immense value to his country, and would have been much more so, had they not been shackled by the prejudices, the prepossessions, and the ignorance, of those whom the circumstances of birth placed over him as directors. His lordship acquired extensive landed property, particularly Inchmartin in the Carse of Gowrie, which he called Inchleslie. He was twice married; first to Agnes, daughter of Renton of Billy in Berwickshire, and by her had two sons, Gustavus and Alexander, the latter of whom succeeded him as earl of Leven; and five daughters. After the death of his first wife, which took place in 1651, he married Frances, daughter of Sir John Ferriers of Tamworth in Staffordshire, relict of Sir John Parkington, baronet of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, by whom he had no issue. His peerage finally became merged by a female with that of Melville, in conjunction with which it still exists.

LESLIE, DAVID, a celebrated military commander during the civil wars, and the first lord Newark, was the fifth son of Patrick Leslie of Pitcairly, commendator of Lindores, by his wife, lady Jean Stuart, second daughter of Robert, first earl of Orkney. Of his early life little more is known than that, like many others of his countrymen, he went into the service of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, where he distinguished himself by his military talents, and attained to the rank of colonel of horse. Returning from the continent at, or shortly after, the commencement of the civil wars, he was appointed major-general to the army that was sent into England under the command of the earl of Leven, to the assistance of the parliament. This army, which marched for England in the month of January, 1644, after suffering greatly from the state of the roads and want of provisions, joined the parliamentary forces at Tadcaster, on the 20th of April, with whom they were united in the siege of York, which was raised on the night of Sunday, the 30th of June, by the advance of prince Rupert, with all the strength of the royal army. Determined to give him battle, the confederates took post on Marston moor, on the south side of the Ouse, about five miles distant from the scene of their former operations. Here they hoped to have interrupted the march of the prince towards the city, which he was desirous of gaining; but permitting their attention to be engrossed by a party of horse which he despatched for this purpose, to contest the passage of a river, he in the mean time succeeded in throwing the whole of his army into the town. His immediate object thus gained, he was advised by his colleague, the marquis of Newcastle, to rest satisfied till he should

receive reinforcements, or till the dissensions which now appeared among the confederates should arise to such a height as to destroy the unanimity of their proceedings. Rupert, however, was not of a disposition to wait for remote contingencies, when he conceived the chances to be already in his favour; he therefore hastened to Marston moor, the position the enemy themselves had chosen, and came upon their rear when they were already on their march for Tadcaster, Cawwood, and Selby, by occupying which, they intended to cut off his supplies, and to hem him in till the arrival of additional forces should render his capture easy, and his escape impossible. The Scottish troops in advance of the army were already within a mile of Tadcaster, when about nine o'clock of the morning of the 22nd of July, 1644, the alarm was given that prince Rupert's horse, to the number of five thousand, were pressing on the rear of the confederates, while the main body of his army occupied the moor which they had just left. The march was instantly countermanded, and preparations for an engagement made with the least possible delay. The prince, however, having full possession of the moor, they were compelled to draw up part of their troops in an adjoining field of rye, their right bearing upon the town of Marston, and their line extending about a mile and a half fronting the moor. By three o'clock in the afternoon, both armies, amounting to 25,000 men each, were formed in order of battle. The royal army was commanded on the right by prince Rupert in person; on the left by Sir Charles Lucas, assisted by colonel Harvey; while the centre was led by generals Goring, Porter, and Tilyard. The marquis of Newcastle was also in the action, but the place he occupied has not been ascertained. The parliamentary army was composed, on the right, of horse, partly Scottish, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax; on the left, likewise horse, by the earl of Manchester, and Cromwell his lieutenant-general, assisted by major-general David Leslie, and in the centre by lord Fairfax and the earl of Leven. The battle commenced with a discharge of great guns, which did little execution on either side. A ditch, separating the combatants, rendered the assault a matter of difficulty and peculiar danger, and both stood for some minutes in breathless expectation waiting the signal for attack. On that signal being made, Manchester's foot and the Scots of the main body in a running march cleared the ditch, and advanced boldly to the charge, accompanied by the horse, who also rushed forward to the attack. The fiery Rupert with his squadrons instantly advanced upon the no less fiery, but far more cautious Cromwell. The conflict was terrible; every individual being under the eye of his leader, exerted himself as if the fate of the day had been intrusted to his single arm. The troops of Cromwell, however, supported by David Leslie and the Scottish horse, charged through the very flower of the cavaliers, putting them completely to flight, while Manchester's foot, keeping pace with them, cut down and dispersed the infantry. The marquis of Newcastle's regiment alone disdained to fly, and their dead bodies, distinguished by their white uniforms, covered the ground they had occupied when alive. On the other extremity of the line Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with a few troops of horse, charged through the royal army, and met their own victorious left wing. The remainder, however, were completely defeated, and even Fairfax's victorious brigade was thrown into confusion by some new raised regiments wheeling back upon it, and treading down in their flight the Scottish reserve under the earl of Leven, who, driven from the field, fled to Tadcaster, carrying with them the news of a total defeat. Cromwell, Leslie, and Manchester, perceiving the rout of their friends, returned to the field as the victors were about to seize upon the spoil. The fate of the day was now reversed. The royal troops occupied the field of rye, and the parliamentary forces the moor. Each, however, determined, if possible, to preserve the

advantage they had gained, and both once more joined battle. The struggle now, however, though bloody, was short and decisive. The shattered remains of the royal army sought shelter in York; leaving all their baggage, artillery, military stores, and above a hundred stand of colours in the hands of the conquerors. Upwards of three thousand men were left dead on the field; and upwards of fifteen hundred prisoners—more than a hundred of whom were principal officers—fell into the hands of the conquerors. This victory was the death-blow to the affairs of the king, and greatly added to the reputation of Cromwell and Leslie, between whom the whole merit of the affair was divided; the independents claiming the largest share for Cromwell, and the presbyterians for Leslie. The combined army immediately laid siege to York, which surrendered by capitulation in a few days. The confederates, after the capture of York, separated; the Scottish troops marching northward to meet the earl of Calder, whom they joined before Newcastle in the month of August.

General Baillie, in the mean time, had been recalled from England to command the raw levies that were raised for the defence of the country; but he was accompanied in his progress by a committee of the estates, who controlled all his movements; and contrary to the opinion of the general himself, commanded him to leave a strong position and expose himself with an army of inexperienced soldiers to certain destruction on the fatal field of Kilsyth, August 15th, 1645. The issue of this battle left the kingdom entirely in the power of Montrose and his army. In this emergency, David Leslie, with the whole of the cavalry attached to the Scottish army, then lying before Hereford, was recalled. Arriving at Berwick, whither the Estates had fled from the plague, which was then raging in Edinburgh, Leslie took measures for cutting off the retreat of Montrose to the north, amongst whose mountains he had formerly found refuge. For this purpose he proceeded as far as Gladsmuir, about three miles to the west of Haddington, where he learned that Montrose was lying secure in Ettrick forest, near Selkirk. Leslie was no sooner apprized of this, than he wheeled to the left, and marched southward by the vale of Gala. The darkness of the night concealed his motions, and the first notice Montrose had of his approach was by his scouts informing him that Leslie was within half a mile of him. A sanguinary encounter soon followed; but Montrose's troops, though they fought with a desperation peculiar to their character, were completely broken and driven from the field, leaving one thousand dead bodies behind them. Their leader, however, had the good fortune to escape, as did also the marquis of Douglas, with the lords Crawford, Sir Robert Spotiswood, A. Leslie, William Rollock, Erskine, Fleming, and Napier. The lords Hartfield, Drummond, and Ogilvy, Philip Nisbet, William Murray, brother to lord Tullibardine, Ogilvy of Innerquharly, Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthrie, son to the bishop of Moray, and two Irish colonels, O'Kean and Lauchlin, were made prisoners, and reserved for trial in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Upwards of a hundred Irish soldiers taken, were, in conformity to a decree of the legislatures of both kingdoms, shot upon the field.

Leslie now proceeded with his victorious army to Lothian, and from thence, accompanied by the committee of Estates, to Glasgow, where, in conjunction with the committee of the church, they deliberated on the measures necessary for completing the reduction of Montrose, and securing the internal peace of the kingdom. Some of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were here tried and executed, and as a mark of gratitude, the committee, out of a fine they imposed on the marquis of Douglas, voted to Leslie fifty thousand merks, with a gold chain, and to Middleton, who was second in command, thirty thousand. Montrose, restless and intriguing, in the mean time wandered from place to place,

endeavouring to raise a new army. Leslie now returned to his station in the Scottish army, under the earl of Leven, whom he joined in the siege of Newark upon Trent. It was here that Charles, baffled in all his projects, came into the Scottish camp a flying fugitive, on the 5th day of May, 1646. He was received with great respect, the commander-in-chief, the earl of Leven, presenting him with his sword upon his knee. On the return of the Scottish army it was reduced to about six thousand men, of whom Leslie was declared lieutenant-general, with a pension of one thousand pounds a month over and above his pay as colonel of the Perthshire horse. With this force Leslie proceeded to the north, where the Gordons still kept up a party for the king. These men, who had been so formidable to Argyle, Hurry, and Baillie, with the parliamentary commissioners, scarcely made the shadow of resistance to Leslie. He seized upon all their principal strengths, and sent their leaders prisoners to Edinburgh. The lives of the inhabitants, according to his instructions, he uniformly spared; but upon the Irish auxiliaries he as uniformly did military execution. Having gone over the northern districts, and secured every castle belonging to the disaffected, he left Middleton to garrison the country, and with instructions to seize upon the person of Huntly, who had taken refuge among the hills. These arrangements made, he passed into the peninsula of Kintyre, to look after Montrose's colleague, Alaster Mc'Coll. This chieftain, after making some ineffectual resistance, took to his boats with his followers, and sought safety among the western isles, leaving his castle of Dunavertie to the care of a body of Irish and Highlanders, to the number of three hundred men. As this force, however, was wholly inadequate to the defence of the fort, it was taken, and the garrison put to the sword. Alaster himself was pursued by Leslie, with eighty soldiers, to his castle in Isla. He had, however, fled to Ireland, leaving two hundred men under the command of Colkittoch, his father, to defend his castle of Dunevev. This stronghold Leslie also reduced, the garrison having surrendered, on condition of having their lives spared, but to be sent to serve under Henry Sinclair, a lieutenant-colonel in the French service. Colkittoch being given to the Campbells, was hanged. Having gone over the other islands with the same success, Leslie returned to the low country in the month of September, where he was honoured with the approbation of his party for the fidelity, diligence, and success with which he had executed his commission. The king, in the mean time, had been delivered up to the English parliament, and passed through that series of adventures which ended in his taking refuge in the isle of Wight. When the duke of Hamilton in 1648, raised an army of moderate Scottish covenanters, to attempt the rescue of his royal master, Leslie was offered the command; but, the church being averse to the undertaking, he declined accepting it. After the duke had marched on his unfortunate expedition, the remaining strength of the country was modelled into a new army under the less moderate covenanters, and of this the earl of Leven was appointed commander, and David Leslie major-general, as formerly. Immediately after the death of Charles I., when the cavaliers rose in the north for his son, in what was called "Pluscardine's-Raid," Leslie sent a party against them in the month of May, 1649, under the command of Charles Ker, Hacket, and Strahan, by whom they were totally dispersed. On the resignation of the earl of Leven, Leslie was appointed to the chief command of the army raised on behalf of Charles II., after he had accepted the covenant, and been admitted to the government. In this situation he showed himself an able general, repeatedly baffling by his skill the superior forces of Cromwell, whom he at last shut up at Dunbar; and but for the folly of the church and state committee, which had been the plague of the army during all the previous troubles, had undoubtedly cut

off his whole army. Yielding to the importunities of this committee, he rashly descended from his commanding position, and was signally defeated on the 3rd of September, 1650. Upwards of three thousand men were left dead on the field, ten thousand were taken prisoners, two hundred colours, fifteen thousand stand of arms, with all the baggage and artillery, fell into the hands of the English. Leslie, with the wreck of his army, retired upon Stirling, and again made such dispositions for defending that important line of defence as Cromwell found himself unable to force. Here he was joined by Charles, who himself assumed the command of the army, having the duke of Hamilton and Leslie for his lieutenants. In this capacity Leslie accompanied the king to Worcester, where, on the 3rd of September, 1651, Cromwell completely routed the royal army. Leslie was intercepted in his retreat through Yorkshire, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained till the Restoration in the year 1660. By Cromwell's act of grace he was fined in four thousand pounds in the year 1654. After the Restoration he was created, in consideration of his services and sufferings in the royal cause, lord Newark, by patent dated the 31st of August, 1661, to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, with a pension of five hundred pounds per annum. His lordship, however, does not seem to have been without enemies, as the following letter from the king, assuring him of his unabated confidence, sufficiently implies:—"Although we have on all occasions, both abroad and since our happy return, declared ourself fully satisfied with your conduct and loyalty in our service, and although in consideration of the same, we have given you the title and honour of a lord; yet, seeing we are told, that malice and slander do not give over to persecute you, we have thought fit to give you this further testimony, and to declare under our hand, that while you was the lieutenant-general of our army, you did, both in England and Scotland, behave yourself with as much conduct, resolution, and honesty as was possible or could be expected from a person in that trust: and as we told you, so we again repeat it, that if we had occasion to levy an army fit for ourself to command, we would not fail to give you an employment in it fit for your quality." His lordship died in the year 1682. He married Jean, daughter of Sir John York, by whom he had a son, David, who succeeded him as lord Newark, and three daughters; the eldest of whom, Elizabeth, was married to Archibald Kennedy of Cullean, and was mother to Susanna, the celebrated countess of Eglintoune.

LESLEY, GEORGE, of MONYMUSK, a capuchin friar, of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The introduction of this individual, as an illustrious Scotsman, and the manner in which we intend to treat the events of his life, require some explanation. John Benedict Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, published in Italian the life and marvellous adventures of his friend George Lesley, a Scotsman of rank, who had been miraculously converted to the Roman catholic faith.¹ A work on so pleasing a subject did not remain long in obscurity; it was translated into French, in which language it was published at Rouen in 1660, at Paris in 1682, and again at Rouen in 1700. In 1673 it was dramatized at Rome, and the decent inhabitants of Monymusk, a remote hamlet in Aberdeenshire, were clothed in names suited for an audience in the imperial city; such as Lurcanio a Calvinist clergyman, the parish minister of Monymusk; Forcina, his servant; Theophilus, an old cottager; besides an angel, Pluto, and Beelzebub, in the form of Calvin.² The work, even in its primitive form, is a pure

¹ Not having been so fortunate as to meet with a copy of the Italian edition, we cannot give a copy of the title page, or even of the date.

² Il Cappuchino Scozzese, in Scena, con la seconda parte, e sua morte, non ancor mai piu stampata. Data in luce dal Signor Francesco Rozzi d'Alatri. In Roma, per il mancini, 1673.

ronance, manufactured for the laudable purpose of supporting the holy catholic church; while in the midst of the absurd topography, and still more absurd displays of character, it is evident from names and circumstances, that the whole is founded on fact, and that George Lesley must have been a man remarkable for enthusiasm, eccentricity, villany, or some other qualification on which it is difficult to determine. There have already been published two abridged translations of his life, one by lord Hailes in his *Sketches of Scottish Biography*, the other in the *Scots Magazine* for 1802. A search into such contemporary records as we thought might throw any light on the real adventures and merits of this wonderful man, has proved vain; and, unable to separate the truth from the falsehood, we are compelled to follow the steps of those who have already treated the subject, by giving an abridgment of the French translation, without omitting any of its marvels.

The author commences with an account of the city of Aberdeen, which, as we know it to be incorrect, and can 'separate the truth from the falsehood' in it, we omit. In its neighbourhood lived James, count Lesley, and Jean Wood his wife, the father and mother of George, who received from them all the treatment of a beloved son, with the exception, that along with his mother's milk he sucked in the dawning doctrines of Calvinism. Count Leslie died soon after the birth of his son, leaving him vast wealth, and the lady afterwards married the baron de Torry.³ In his eighth year the young count was sent to pursue his studies in France, with a train and equipage suited to his rank, a heretic preceptor, and a fund of advice steadfastly to maintain the faith he had been taught. He applied diligently to his studies, and became acquainted with two noble Parisian brothers, whose society, contrary to the usual expectation of the world regarding such associates, confirmed him in his studious disposition, and like St Basil and St Gregory Nazianzen, he knew no other street in Paris save that which communicated with their house and the school. The Parisian youths compassionating the state of their companion's soul, proceeded to effect his conversion, in which they were assisted by their father, who, instead of the ordinary method of balancing the doctrines of the two religions with each other, appears to have merely contrasted Calvinism, the affection of his relations, and eternal damnation, with the catholic faith, eternal felicity, and the loss of his near relations. The discussions were conducted at the old gentleman's country house, beneath the shadow of an oak, and as a recreation from the pastimes of hunting and fishing. The effect of the whole was irresistible; young Lesley submitted to become a member of the holy catholic church, and was immediately conducted to a confessional, after which his companions beheld in his face a glimpse of that glory which formerly appeared in the face of Moses. Meanwhile the heretic preceptor was naturally displeased with what he saw; he argued, and threatened, and represented the grief of the young count's mother, but in vain. He then sent an account of the matter to Monymusk, and the lady in great trepidation demanded the return of her son; but he, anxious for the safety of his new faith, declined, and the enraged parent disowned him. 'Alas!' groans the archbishop, 'to what an extent will bigotry drive us in matters of religion.' The young count, who had now reached the mature age of sixteen, put himself under the protection of his new friends, and accompanied them on a pilgrimage to Loretto. Here he picked an acquaintance with the capuchin fathers of St Francis, and particularly with Ange Joyeuse, a noble Frenchman, who had exchanged rank and wealth for the cord of St Francis. On the departure of his friends, he intimated his intention of remaining at Rome to prepare for the conversion of his miserable family: he expressed a desire to enter the fraternity of St Francis, but was horrified to

³ Probably the laird of Torry, a village in the parish of Nigg, near Aberdeen.

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