ART. X.—*The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto.* By the HON. GEORGE F. S. ELLIOT. Privately printed. Edinburgh: 1897.

THE love of local and family history is widely diffused in Scotland, and the predilection for this department of study is not confined to the classes who are attached to antiquity by possession or descent. The production of works on these subjects, often of a very beautiful and costly character, proceeds from various sources. Some are due to the unaided generosity of living representatives or connexions of great families, identified with the glories and misfortunes of their country in the past; they remain for the most part in the repositories to which they have been presented by the liberality or affection of the donors, a few copies slowly finding their way, by death or dispersion, into general circulation. Others, again, owe their existence to the organised resources of the literary and antiquarian clubs, and obtain at once a wider circle of possessors and a more rapid transmission from hand to hand. A third variety is launched upon the reading world by open subscription, or at the risk of authors and publishers. These several methods of production naturally offer in their results a great variety of character in respect to material, form, quality, documentary and pictorial illustration, and literary merit, some attaining a very high standard of bibliographical purity and distinction, while others are of a humbler type, yet it cannot be justly said that any one class is uniformly superior to the others. There are admirable examples in all, though the category of works printed by speculative agency for the general market naturally includes the greatest number of superficial publications.

The dissemination of books, such as are here referred to, constitutes a considerable and increasing element in the literary recreation of the Scottish people, and is shared by men of all conditions and sentiments; and while every individual will find in the characters and incidents of bygone days something that claims his personal and often his impassioned sympathies, there is on all sides a growing inclination to contemplate the controversies which agitated and divided our ancestors in a spirit of philosophic curiosity and indulgence. In a field of research so variegated and extensive it is not surprising that a large share of attention has been bestowed on the region of the Southern Border, which offers

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peculiar features alike attractive to the historian and the poet. In that country the clan system, so powerful for common action and mutual defence, was distinctly preserved to a later period than elsewhere in the Lowlands, and was harmonised in practice with feudal tenures and obligations. In conjunction with the maintenance of the family sept and feudal duty, the royal authority was recognised in principle, and fitfully exerted through special officers. The position of the territory brought its inhabitants into habitual contact with a cruel enemy, and the relations of the tribes on either side of the international boundary were regulated by customary laws of great antiquity. Side by side with an almost normal state of hostilities with England, there prevailed the practice of private war between the clans, and deadly feuds between families and individuals, pregnant with pathetic and tragical incidents. Subsequently to the Union of the Crowns and the dissolution of the feudal system, a pacific and pastoral race in the same seats embraced with unanimity and enthusiasm the tenets of Calvinistic piety and the institutions of the Genevan Church, and thus became the victims of religious intolerance fruitful of sufferings and martyrdoms still dear to the popular memory. It is obvious that in all these conditions of the past there lay abundant materials for imaginative and historical manipulation in an age of cultivated leisure. That age came when the Georgian peace was firmly established in the Lowlands, and then the claims of Border tradition and scenery to public recognition were discovered, and at first more by the poet than the archæologist. Hamilton of Bangour, and Craufurd, were not Borderers, but they adopted Border themes for their verse in the fashion of an artificial age. Armstrong, Mickle, and Thomson were born on the Scottish Marches, and introduced something of the natural charms of Teviotdale even in the Arcadia of Twickenham. Leyden assumed a manlier strain, identifying his inspiration directly with the scenes and manners of his early life. It is superfluous to describe the transcendent services of Scott, who united the learning of an antiquary with all the powers of animated narrative and song, and in his introduction to the 'Minstrelsy' presented the first comprehensive delineation of Border life, which later writers may expand and illustrate, but which they can never entirely supersede. Wordsworth then passed from Rydal to Yarrow, and invested the desolate and fabled vale with a deeper spiritual beauty than it had received from the touch of its native poets. After these great masters had

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diffused an interest in the Border country among all classes of our own people, and it may almost be said among educated readers throughout the world, the sentimental, ideal, and picturesque aspects of the subject were still portrayed by a number of writers of inferior fame, but of well-deserved local celebrity. The names of the Ettrick Shepherd, of William Laidlaw, of Thomas Pringle, of Henry Scott Riddell, of Professor Shairp, of Professor Veitch, are present in this connexion to the memory of every student of the provincial poetry of Scotland; while Mr. James Brown (under the name of J. B. Selkirk) has become a new interpreter of the subtle charm that is still attached to Yarrow, and Andrew Lang, in 'Twilight on the Tweed,' has lifted the grace and sadness of the scene to the highest level of poetical expression.

While the poets multiplied their exercises on this attractive theme, and conferred upon the legends and the landscape of the Border a glory which the facts of history and the features of nature do not always reveal to a critical observer, the industrious inquirer was not inactive. Chalmers in his 'Caledonia,' Ridpath in his 'Border History,' Morton in the 'Monastic Annals of Teviotdale,' led the way in the disinterment of the authentic materials of local history, economical, militant, and ecclesiastic. Jeffrey's 'History of Roxburghshire,' however imperfect and inaccurate, was in its time a valuable contribution. The family records of Lothian, Buccleuch, and Annandale, with the local histories of Chambers, Craig-Brown, and Armstrong, embody a vast amount of antiquarian research, presented with all the splendour of contemporary illustration. These weightier works have been accompanied or followed by a crowd of minor publications, such as the 'Annals of Hawick,' 'Hawick and the Border,' 'Upper Teviotdale and the Scotts of Buccleuch,' 'Border Memories,' 'A Short Border History,' 'Byeways of the Scottish Border,' 'Border Raids and Reivers,' and a multitude of others of various complexions and pretensions, but all pointing to the popularity of the subject matter and to the local affections of the writers. The antiquaries of Northumberland* and Cumberland have meanwhile not been behind their Scottish neighbours in diligence, and the relics of the past on either side of the

* See the magnificent 'History of Northumberland' (of which vol. iv. has recently been published), issued, under the direction of the Northumberland County History Committee, by John Crawford Hodgson. London and Newcastle: 1897.

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Cheviot are traced in their minutest particulars by a society common to both, entitled the 'Berwickshire Naturalists' Club,' which, to judge by its Transactions, mixes a good deal of conviviality with research, and is more concerned with primitive inscriptions, British and Roman camps, mediæval castles, and pre-Reformation churches, than with zoology. It might seem that a subject which has been laboured with so much assiduity would leave no scope for further exploration. Such, however, is not the case. There is no finality in these investigations. The volume placed at the head of this article proves that new sources of information are ever being disclosed, and that there are departments of historical relation and discussion susceptible of additional treatment.

'The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto' is the title of a work presented partly to private and partly to public circulation by the Hon. George F. S. Elliot, who is, by family connexion, general culture, and specific study, fully qualified to do justice to a subject adopted by him as a labour of love. In such a work by such an author the external features of the book are not without importance, and we note with satisfaction that this one is cast in the form most congenial to local and family history, a dignified quarto, well printed, on good paper, enriched with views and portraits, plans and maps, suitable to the text, but without ostentation —such a volume as reflects credit on author and publisher alike.

According to local tradition, committed to writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the clan of Elwald or Elliot was brought from Forfarshire to the Scottish Border, by the Angus branch of the great house of Douglas, in the fourteenth century to defend their lands against English aggression. The name itself, of which no less than eighty orthographic variations are recorded, was by the same accounts derived from the locality of Alyth in the province referred to. This story is candidly discussed and cautiously repudiated by our author, who leans to the opinion that the Christian name of Elwald or Elwold, of which examples occur both in England and Scotland at a remote date, was adopted as a family designation when surnames came into use in the Border districts. As a surname it appears in documents belonging to the Borders throughout the fifteenth century from 1425 downwards, and in such connexion as to justify the belief that the parties concerned bearing the name already belonged to the proprietary class; but the

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Elliots are noted as a clan embodied for the purposes of war for the first time in 1493, and as the inheritors of lands transmitted by legal process in 1497. They may be regarded as a recognised landed race, though of secondary importance, at the end of the fifteenth century when the chiefship was already vested in the possessor of Redheugh on the Hermitage Water, a follower or feudal dependent of Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, Lord of Liddesdale. 'Master 'Ellot' fell at Flodden in 1513, no doubt at the head of his 'surname' and beside his overlord, who perished on the same occasion.

Whether by deliberate migration and settlement, or by the accidental acquisition of property, the Elliots now found themselves planted in the advanced guard of the Scottish territory. The basin of the Liddell and its affluents forms a small area about twenty miles in length from east to west, and ten miles in width from north to south, not very difficult of access from any side, for the passes are not precipitous. It offered few impediments to military operations, except such as belong to morass and forest, and in the sixteenth century the forest was already on the wane. This open valley was occupied by two principal clans, the Elliots and Armstrongs, who habitually acted together, and who held the subordinate septs of the Nixons and Croziers in friendly subjection. The main defence or refuge of the country was the castle of Hermitage, of which the keep still stands in impressive solitude and strength, and there the Laird of Redheugh was almost an hereditary captain. Redheuch and Lariston, which gave a territorial designation to the chief, were in perilous proximity to the enemy, the former four, the latter two and a half, miles from the frontier of England. Mangerton, the principal seat of the Armstrongs, was even nearer to the March. The destinies of the Elliots were governed by the dreadful situation in which their lines had fallen. Exposed in time of war to irresistible pressure on the side of England, exposed in time of peace to be ceaselessly harassed by predatory incursions, attached to the precarious fortunes of a feudal superior, liable to be vexed at intervals by the disciplinary visits of the royal warden or of the sovereign in person, it is difficult to conceive how the elementary processes of industry, the uses of property, or the continuity of family existence, could be maintained; yet they were in some measure maintained, and a succession of seven Roberts of Redheugh, in the direct male line, bears witness to a sustained exercise of

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courage and policy worthy of a brighter stage and a more prosperous issue.

It is not possible within the limits of this notice to follow our author through all the tangled actions, relations, and intrigues of the Border clans in the long agony of the sixteenth century, during which the revengeful passions of Henry VIII. and the milder malice of Elizabeth wrought such havoc among the people of Southern Scotland. The Elliots had often to bend before the storm, and to make passing concessions to the intimidations or seductions by which they were encompassed. In 1531, Redheugh attended the Earl of Bothwell to Northumberland when Bothwell, an embittered traitor and partisan of the banished Douglases, offered his allegiance to England and promised to set the crown of Scotland on King Henry's head. In the year immediately following, a portion, at least, of the Elliot clan were involved in slippery transactions with the English wardens. At a later time Martin Elliot of Braidley, an illiterate leader, of extraordinary courage and address, acting as head of the clan, courted the support or neutrality of the English Borderers while engaged in a feud with Scott of Buccleuch, for such was the infatuation of private animosities in the darkest hours of national danger. Yet so inveterate were the fluctuations and inconsistencies of the men and of the time, that these very same Elliots, between the years 1540 and 1550, forsook their own lands, found an asylum with Buccleuch, stood by him almost alone when the fortunes of Scotland had sunk to the lowest ebb, and defied all compromise with the common enemy. On another occasion when the clan went against Buccleuch, the chief opposed his own kinsmen and joined their adversary, influenced, it is believed, by his marriage with Mary Scott, a daughter of the house of Branxholme, a marriage in which we are fain to believe, but which still awaits documentary verification. In the matter of submission to England the record of the Scotts is cleaner than the record of the Elliots, but it must be remembered that the possessions of the Scotts were remoter from the frontier, and that Buccleuch was supported by a larger following and more powerful alliances in the interior of the kingdom. The Elliots were, at the bottom, faithful Scotsmen; their occasional lapses may be condoned, for they were always ready to revert to the national cause. By the English authorities of the period they are frequently denounced as irreconcileable opponents. In fact, the connivances of the Scottish Borderers with the

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English were never sincere; they yielded to terror or temptation, but they inspired no confidence, and probably cherished a resolution to abandon and betray a forced alliance on every favourable opportunity. This was the experience of Sir Ralph Evers on the field of Ancrum, and of Lord Wharton on the banks of the Nith. In the last years of Elizabeth the Scots gradually regained the upper hand on the Middle and Western Marches under the superior direction of Buccleuch; but in the retaliatory incursions on English territory no spear was more forward than that of Elliot of Hartsgarth, a brother of Redheugh. When the end came and the auguries of a better era dawned upon the apprehensions of statesmen in either kingdom, the Elliots, all unconscious of the salutary change, accompanied the migration of their sovereign by running a destructive foray against his new subjects.

We have already stated that Mr. Elliot does not treat his subject in the narrow spirit of a genealogist, but is always ready to connect the annals of his family with the higher incidents of the country and the time. The Elliots and their fortunes are the staple of his argument, but it is still attended by a recital of whatever in public policy and events affected their destinies for good or ill. The Union of the Crowns and the subsequent pacification of the Borders threatened the welfare and even the existence of the clan, and accordingly the attention of our author has been peculiarly attracted by these transactions, which almost constitute an unwritten chapter in the history of Scotland, for we shall look in vain in our 'standard' historians for any comprehensive or coherent account of the measures by which, in little more than half a century, the populous abodes of men of valour and of spoil, bristling with towers and lances, were converted into a wilderness of Covenanting shepherds. To this subject Mr. Elliot has devoted two chapters—XI. and XIII.—of his work, and these chapters deserve the study of all readers of national history, and furnish an affecting picture of an ancient social system doomed by inexorable necessity to suffer and expire. While James was pursuing his peaceful progress along the eastern side of his new dominions, his Scottish subjects were carrying fire and sword across the middle and western boundaries. It became a manifest and pressing duty to put an end to disorders incompatible with the security of the reconciled and united realms. The Borders, according to the King's pedantic dictum, had become the 'middle shires,' and he

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resolved to make this conceit into a reality by the use of unsparing severity. Mr. Elliot has supplied us with a careful analysis of the expedients adopted or allowed for this purpose. The main instrument of the policy of James was the creation of a joint commission, comprising five English and five Scottish officers, endowed with ample powers for the suppression of feuds and for the punishment, expulsion, and disarmament of offenders. The Grahams of the Debateable Land, as aliens to either country, were sentenced to general transportation as soldiers to Holland or as settlers in Ireland. The same undiscriminating oppression was not exerted against the other clans, but Courts were held in all the Border towns by which large numbers of notorious criminals were tried and executed. A special force of cavalry was committed to the command of Sir William Cranstoun, who arrested malefactors and put them to death without trial at his own arbitrary discretion. The population were stripped of their armour and weapons and were debarred from the possession of horses fit for war, while their fortified houses were deprived of their external defences and iron doors. The practice of the Scottish Commissioners appears to have been chiefly directed by George Home, Earl of Dunbar, who possessed the entire confidence of the King, an authoritative position in England, and a principal share of the government of Scotland, along with the Chancellor Seton. This statesman, a Borderer by birth, being a son of Home of Manderston, proceeded with such sanguinary energy in the settlement of the Border that, in two justiciary courts held by him, he is reported to have sentenced one hundred and forty persons to be executed. Similar proceedings were prolonged for years, and it is not without some concern that we find the name of William Elliot, of Hartsgarth and Lariston, among the victims of the law, who had been one of the boldest riders on the Scottish side while Scotland was still a separate kingdom. No exact computation can be formed of the number of persons hanged and drowned in the cause of order between the years 1603 and 1611, when Dunbar ceased to live and to exterminate. Mr. Elliot holds that they may be counted in thousands, and that even more were, in one form or another, subjected to expatriation. To the direct exercise of unrelenting justice, prosecuted in the shape of execution and banishment, may be added several contemporary agencies, which all conspired to produce the depopulation of the Marches.

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Mr. Elliot makes especial mention of two—enlistment for military service abroad and emigration.

In the year 1604 Sir Walter Scott, of Buccleuch, afterwards raised to the peerage as Lord Scott, levied a company of two hundred men for service in Holland, where they were permanently employed by the States-General. Other gentlemen of the Borders followed his example, and the royal authority having been granted to this effect, a widespread system of recruitment was established for the supply of soldiers to foreign Powers in amity with the British Crown. In 1627 the first Earl of Buccleuch followed the example of his father, and supplied the Dutch Government with a new force of the same character, which he commanded in person with honour and emolument. In the same year Robert Elliot of Redheugh was co-operating with the Earl of Nithsdale in a similar transaction on a more extensive scale. The demand for Scottish recruits was not confined to Holland and Denmark. After the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, Sweden (where Border names still survive) and the Protestant cause were supported by numerous drafts of Scottish auxiliaries, and though the greater part of these were of Highland and east-country origin, Border names are not wanting. The whole force of Scotsmen acting with Gustavus was at one period estimated at ten thousand, and the immense losses incurred in all these stipendiary bands by battle, hardship, or disease must have been repaired by a process of incessant enlistment and exportation.

While criminals and supernumeraries were eliminated from the Border lands by the means stated above, a more legitimate and useful avenue for the discharge of the superfluous population was afforded by the plantation of Ulster, to which many families repaired under the encouragement of their landlords, with goods and cattle. There the Scottish settlers appear in the creditable light of industrious husbandmen. The descendants of Border immigrants are still plentiful in that loyal country, as is proved by the prevalence of Border names. To the influence of foreign enlistment and compulsory or voluntary emigration, justly insisted on by Mr. Elliot, may be added, in our opinion, the considerable consumption of human life in the wars of the Great Rebellion. In accordance with the spirit of the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, Scotland supplied a large auxiliary force to the Parliamentary cause in England, paid by the richer country, but nourished by a constant

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drain of Scottish blood proceeding from the Border counties in common with the rest of the Lowlands. The difficulty experienced by local proprietors in providing recruits for this purpose is illustrated by Mr. Craig Brown in his 'History of Selkirkshire.' While the poor Scottish commons were wasted in England by the sword of the Cavaliers, numbers of them fell under the claymores of Montrose during his brief campaign. Auldearn and Kilsyth were long remembered in the Border districts. Mention is made of a single family in Roxburghshire of which seven members were sacrificed in the last victory of the loyal clans. Such losses might be in part consoled, but could never be repaired, by the eventual triumph of the Covenant at Philiphaugh. The depletion of the Border people, accelerated by so many co-operating causes, was consummated when the Covenanting leaders embraced their ruinous resolution to resist the veteran Puritan army of Cromwell on behalf of a treacherous sovereign, whom they would not renounce and whom they could not honour. Who can estimate the number of Scotsmen blindly conducted to death by incompetent leaders in the massacres of Preston, Dunbar, and Worcester, or distinguish the proportion of Border lives cast away in these inglorious undertakings?

The severities perpetrated in the 'middle shires' by Government agency for the cause of law and order are repugnant to the scruples and humanity of the present age; it is only fair, therefore, to produce on behalf of the Scottish authorities of the time an example, selected from others, to prove the necessity under which they acted. In the year 1611, eight years after the Union of the Crowns, it was still possible for Sir W. Fenwick to address the following report to the English Commissioners:—

> 'Robert Ellett of Readhugh, his brother William, with many more of their name and friends, all Scotchmen; Lancelot Armstrong of Whithaugh (called the young Larde), Alexr. Armestrong of the Roane, his brother, with many of their friends being Scotchmen, in all about the number of three score and ten persons, fifty on horseback and the rest footmen, all furnished with long pieces, pistolets, or lances, came to Lionel Robson's house in Leapelish, six miles within English ground, and there cut down his dwelling-house with axes, and they killed the said Lionel and a woman, and hurt others.'

The participators in this cruel outrage, which coincides with the death of the Earl of Dunbar, apparently went unpunished, and if, as is stated, they were acting under provocation, and were sufferers as well as offenders on the same

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occasion, it proves all the more that the most strenuous efforts were indispensable to establish security in these distracted provinces. As for Robert Elliot, his stormy career was so darkened in its close by the disgrace and misfortune that we are induced to regard him rather with pity than with reprobation. In the year 1592 the Lordship of Liddesdale became vacant by the forfeiture of Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, and was conferred in 1594 on Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch. By this change the Elliots became feudal dependents of the new overlord, but without the loss of those proprietary rights in their lands which they had held for generations. During many years the Elliots remained in the undisturbed enjoyment of such rights, but about the year 1608 the first Lord Scott appears to have laid claim to all the proprietary interests vested in the Elliots, and to have meditated their eviction from these ancient possessions. These designs were prosecuted by his son, the first Earl of Buccleuch, who seems to have used his powers as a great landlord and a Commissioner of the Borders to procure decrees of removal against Elliot from the courts of law in Edinburgh, and to cause him to be declared rebel and 'put to the horn.' The pretensions of Buccleuch were ungenerous, though probably not unprovoked, and they excited such deep resentment on the part of Elliot that a conspiracy for the assassination of Buccleuch was planned between the laird and a humble dependent named 'Gib the Tutor,' who was also 'Gib the Traitor,' for he betrayed his chief. The design was imparted at the same time to two other members of the clan. These murderous projects were detected, Elliot was arrested, and committed to the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, where he was indicted for the conspiracy against the life of Buccleuch, and also for the more ignominious offence of stealing the cattle of Mr. Heron of Chipchase. Elliot was now not only in peril of his lands, but of his life, and was reduced to such misery that his second wife, Lady Jean Stewart, a daughter of the forfeited Earl of Bothwell, had to sell her clothes to support her husband in gaol. Buccleuch at the same time had got possession of some of the Liddesdale lands, and was endeavouring to substitute tenants of the name of Scott for tenants of the name of Elliot, which naturally provoked new acts of intimidation and violence. In this extremity the narrative of our author leaves his ruined chief, and the reader is prepared to learn that the seventh Robert of Redheugh perished by the rope which terminated the career of

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his predatory uncle, William of Hartsgarth. But nothing of the sort occurs. Moved by the distress and the confessions of Elliot, Buccleuch relented, and interceded with the council for the life of the man who conspired to take his own. The King was probably memorialised and granted a pardon, for Elliot had still influential relatives in the family of his first wife, a sister of Sir John Murray of Cockpool, afterwards created Earl of Annandale, and much in favour with James and Charles. At any rate, he was soon at large, and probably returned to his desolate inheritance, which he contrived to retain, and which was transmitted to his daughter. The theft of Heron's cattle was avenged by the death of an obscure clansman, an example of partial justice only too familiar to the country and the time. The intercession of Buccleuch, though partly anticipated, only came to the certain knowledge of our author after his book had gone to the press.

Under the Commonwealth and during the reign of Charles II. the criminal instincts of a small residuum of the Border people were kept alive among the 'moss troopers' of those days, who mixed the sordid art of making counterfeit money with sheep stealing and highway robbery. The mass of the farming and labouring population had fallen under the civilising, though intolerant, influences of the Presbyterian clergy.

The gradual decay of the Border Elliots in Liddesdale in the midst of so many public calamities is traced by Mr. Elliot in the following passage, which leaves a melancholy impression, alleviated, however, by the dawning restoration of the race in the adjacent bounds of Teviotdale, where they had already spread, and where they were destined to prosper under the peaceful influences of the succeeding age:—

'During the sixteenth century the Elliots had, as the preceding pages show, played a prominent part in Border history. Neither more nor less lawless than their neighbours on both sides, they led the life characteristic of most natives of border lands, where plundering the enemy is held an honourable calling. In the political strifes, whether internal or external, from which Scotland was seldom free, their aid was eagerly sought by the contending parties, and, though not always particular as to which side they took, they had the name of being more hostile to the English than any other clan. They produced the most remarkable man that figures in the Border annals of this period—namely, Martin Elliot of Braidley, whose influence both Queen Elizabeth and the Regent Murray sought to make use of for their objects, and who later successfully withstood Bothwell. And, generally, if sharing the evil reputation that attached to the Borderers

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in the eyes of more peaceful citizens, they showed at least that they belonged to a race endowed with courage, determination, and endurance.

'The time had now come when these qualities were ineffectual to resist the change which altered circumstances and advancing civilisation rendered inevitable; and the once powerful clanship began rapidly to decline. Some of their leading men had been executed, some banished, and their numbers had been reduced, but other causes must have been at work to account for the change that came over them. Whether it was that they were unable to adapt themselves to the new and more peaceful conditions of life under which they were now compelled to live, or that the best and most energetic among them went to seek their fortunes as soldiers abroad, or as settlers in Ireland, it appears that from this time the families which remained in Liddesdale ceased to flourish, and one by one properties which for many generations had been held by different branches of the Elliots passed into other hands. Scot of Satchels, deploring their fallen fortunes, says in his doggerel verse:

'"For the Elliots, brave an' worthy men,
Have been as much oppressed as any name I ken;
For in my own time I have known so much odds,
No Elliot enjoyed any hermitage but Dunlibire, Fanash, and Stobs.

. . . .

Stobs and Dunlibyre is of the ancient kind;
Cobshaw, Brugh, Prickinhaugh, and Gorrumberrie's gone;
Yet there's more Elliots by other stile that supplies their room."

'It is quite true, as Satchel says, that as the old Elliot families disappeared, new ones sprang up, but the latter were settled in other parts of Roxburghshire, and at the present time, though Elliots are still plentiful in Liddesdale, there is but one small property there owned by any one of that name.'

An anecdote may here be inserted illustrative of the fidelity of clan affection and local attachments on the Borders. About the middle of the last century Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs, father of that abstemious hero Lord Heathfield, rescued the last landless representative of Lariston from a position of obscurity and indigence in London, and brought him to Roxburghshire, where the lad received some kind of education and maintenance, though still in a humble station. It is related that on some occasion when Sir Gilbert was mounting his horse he was assisted by his kinsman, whereupon Sir Gilbert remarked: 'Better is he that holds the stirrup 'than he that rides.' The young man afterwards enlisted in the Artillery of the East India Company, obtained a commission, came home as a colonel in 1786, and died a major-general in 1803, having repurchased the farm of

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Lariston, which had long been the object of his ambition. Lariston was bequeathed to a certain George Scott, believed to be a natural son of the general. He became insolvent, the land was once more severed from the name, and became in 1844 the property of Mr. James Jardine, in whose family it still remains. Redheugh is possessed by a Mr. Robert Elliot, qualified by our author as 'of Buenos Ayres,' and as not belonging to the old family. The pedigree of Mr. Robert Elliot of Buenos Ayres may, however, still be worthy of further 'expiscation.'

We now pass on to the second part of Mr. Elliot's work, 'The Family of Minto.'

Nothing is more remarkable in the social history of Scotland than the survival and prosperity of several of the great Border families after all the shocks and perils of international war in the sixteenth century, of civil disorder in the first half of the seventeenth, and of religious persecution and political change in the reigns of the two last kings of the House of Stuart. When the Revolution settlement was effected we find the chiefs of the principal clans preserved in the enjoyment of high honours and commensurate though unequal fortunes. The Earl of Home was still conspicuous on the Eastern Border with a diminished but competent estate, and supported by landed kinsmen of his own lineage. The Kers of Cessford had become Earls of Roxburgh, with a dukedom within measurable distance. The Kers of Fernihurst had expanded into the Earls of Lothian, enriched by the patrimony of the Church and the bounty of the Crown, and shortly to attain the rank of a marquisate. The rise of the Scotts of Buccleuch had been even more surprising: guided by the firm hand of a dexterous and attractive woman, they had emerged from the entanglements of foreign service, domestic war, rebellion, attainder, and a double female succession, with confirmed dignities and increased resources—a happy destiny, justified by the virtues and services of after days. The Johnstones were scarcely behind in the race of advancement. The Laird of Lochwood had become the Earl of Hartfell, if not yet of Annandale, and the path of political intrigue and profitable preferment was laid open to the shifty successor of many a hardy rider with 'jack and spear.' The Maxwells, on the western extremity of the Marches, despite many dreadful strokes of evil fortune, continued to exist, and even to flourish, under the Earl of Nithsdale, who maintained an unshaken and inoffensive fidelity to the old

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religion and the exiled race till the rebellion of 1715 summoned him to action and temporary ruin.

Meanwhile, the Elliots remained in a condition of comparative depression, possessing no extensive or consolidated territory, and protected by no influential or ennobled leader. Redheugh and Lariston were still vested in the decaying line of the old genealogical chiefs; but the family of Stobs, descended from the same stock, had superseded the elder branch in estate and popular estimation, and in this offset lay concealed the source of two British peerages, Minto and Heathfield, which eventually identified the name of Elliot with imperial interests and national glory. Gilbert Elliot, of Horslie Hill and Stobs, an undoubted scion of Redheugh, bore the airy designation of 'Gibbie wi' the gowden garters,' which seems to denote a fantastic character; yet he was a man of sense and action and a mighty hunter in the Cheviots. He became the husband of Margaret Scott, daughter of Walter Scott of Harden, and Mary Scott, the 'Flower of Yarrow,' and she bore the 'to-name' of 'Maggie Fendy,' in recognition, no doubt, of a provident and 'managing' disposition. They were the parents of six sons, the fourth of whom, Gavin, took to wife Margaret Hay, daughter of Andrew Hay of Haystoun in Peeblesshire, a writer to the Signet, and sister to Alexander Hay, an advocate in Edinburgh who occupied the respectable station of principal clerk of session. Gavin Elliot obtained as his provision a portion of the lands of Grange and the farm of Midlem Mill on the water of Aill. Of this marriage there were two sons, Robert and Gilbert, the former of whom succeeded to the slender paternal property, while the latter was despatched to study law, probably in the office of his maternal relatives. Gilbert Elliot soon exchanged the business of a writer for that of a politician. Warmly attached to the Presbyterian form of religion and to the principles of civil liberty, he was found to be a fitting instrument in measures taken for the relief of the victims of arbitrary power. First engaged in the cause of the Rev. William Veitch, a minister of the Gospel irregularly subjected to a capital sentence, and subsequently in the contrivance of the escape of the Earl of Argyle while lying under a similar condemnation, Elliot was successful in both undertakings, and risked his own life in both. In these transactions he acquired the confidence of the leaders of the popular party in England and Scotland alike, with them he took refuge in Holland, and had an active part in

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the counsels of those who planned the calamitous expedition of Argyle in 1685. He appeared in arms in that undertaking, and shared its dangers and defeats to the last. Escaping after the final dispersion of the force to the Continent, by means which he has left unrecorded, he was sentenced to death as a rebel in the same year, but obtained a remission of his sentence in 1687, when James II. had embraced a policy of dispensations and indulgence. Restored to Edinburgh, he resumed the profession of the law, but sought to exchange the calling of a writer for that of an advocate, which was more congenial to his ambition. His first application for admission to the Bar was rejected by the examining authority on the ground that he 'was not 'sufficiently qualified'—a decision in which we may probably discern the repugnance of a Jacobite Bench to a Whig candidate. A second application in July 1688 was more successful, and on November 22 of that year, seventeen days after the landing of the Prince of Orange, Elliot was admitted to plead in the court which had condemned him to death three years before, and in which he was destined to take his judicial seat seventeen years later. Then came an altered world. The election of William and Mary to the vacant throne of Scotland transferred the Whigs from the Tolbooth to the council chamber. The first office conferred on Elliot was that of Clerk to the Privy Council—a body which did not at once discard the repulsive practices of the previous reigns, and in 1690 the new secretary may have seen the boot of Mitchell and the thumbscrew of Carstares fastened on the stubborn limbs of a Tory martyr, Neville Payne. Promotions rapidly ensued. Elliot was knighted in 1692, he became a baronet in 1700, and was commissioner for Roxburghshire in Parliament in 1703. In the Union debates he held a middle course, such as a good Whig and a good Scotsman might then assume. He voted for a federal, as against an incorporating, treaty with England. Having acquired a lucrative practice, he invested his savings in the purchase of land in his native district, and was first known by the territorial designation of Headshaw, which he subsequently exchanged for Minto on the acquisition of that estate. The same place gave him his judicial title when in the year 1705 he was advanced to the Bench by Queen Anne—not by King William, as Burton erroneously states. For thirteen years Lord Minto continued to exercise his judicial functions with unabated application, and when, in 1718, he was gathered to his fathers, he died lamented

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by his own party and scarcely censured by the other. As a politician, we may confidently award him the merit of consistency and courage in a high degree. Of his judicial capacity and conduct we have no account which is absolutely impartial. He did not entirely escape the shafts of Jacobite malice, but the general silence of adversaries, and the whole complexion of his character and career, seem to warrant the attestation of Wodrow, that he was a magistrate of 'un-'shaken probity and integrity.'

Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto accomplished the first duties of a Scottish cadet when he laid the foundation of a landed estate and left a son to inherit it. Gilbert succeeded his father in his profession, his property, and his judicial honours. Born in 1692, the basis of his scholastic and legal education must have been laid in Scotland, probably in Edinburgh, under his father's superintendence. In 1712, when about eighteen years of age, he was sent to Utrecht for the study of civil law, apparently without any 'dominie' or 'governor,' but armed against evil courses by a code of rules framed by his father, in which theology and thrift are leading features. We regret that Mr. Elliot has not given us the whole original text of this manual of morals, the only extant composition of the old adherent of Argyle and King William. What measure of attention an obedient son devoted to the 'Institutions of Calvin' we are not informed, but the Institutions of Stair were certainly not neglected; for in 1715 Mr. Gilbert Elliot was admitted to practice as an advocate at the age of twenty-three. He succeeded his father in 1718, became member of Parliament for Roxburghshire in 1722, and was made a judge in the Court of Session in 1726, when only thirty-four years of age, an example of early promotion which denotes an uncommon degree of merit or of favour, probably in his case of both. In 1733 Lord Minto became a judge on the criminal side of the Court, and in 1763 was placed at the head of that bench as Lord Justice Clerk. In the long course of his judicial career, extending to forty years, he appears to have enjoyed an amount of useful felicity and an immunity from personal suffering rarely accorded to humanity. During the period of his residence abroad he had acquired a correct knowledge of two foreign languages, at least—Italian and French—with which he associated a taste for music and poetry. Some Italian verses, in the manner of Guarini or Metastasio, are a curious relic of the Scottish *dilettante*. His love of the native Muse is attested by a subscription to

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the publication of 'Hardyknute' in 1719, a ballad then strangely and blindly accepted as a genuine work of the 'Gothic' ages, while under the scrutiny of modern criticism it reveals the most evident marks of recent fabrication. To literary culture the Lord Justice Clerk united a passionate attachment to country pursuits, such as forestry, gardening, and agricultural improvement. To him the library at Minto owes its origin, a library cherished and extended by the intelligence of four generations, while the larches and silver firs with which he adorned his glen have attained a stature which the Southern Alps and the woods of Alsace may envy, but can scarcely rival. These pleasant retreats were once, and once only, disturbed by public violence. In 1745 the Highland army on its southward march detached emissaries to levy contributions on the Whig estate. A daughter of the house was prudently deputed to receive and satisfy their moderate demands, a duty which she fulfilled with composure and address. The obnoxious judge took refuge in the adjacent rocks. Lord Minto had no ambition to be recognised as an author. We possess, however, a pamphlet which is known to be the anonymous production of his pen, and which proves him to have been an agreeable writer, an enterprising citizen, and a judicious projector. It is entitled 'Proposals for carrying on certain Works in the City of Edinburgh,' and is virtually the report of a mixed commission embodied for the purpose of promoting the amelioration and embellishment of the Scottish capital. All the measures suggested were subsequently adopted and all were justified by success.

Lord Minto married, in 1718, into a family of equal station and congenial politics. His wife was Miss Helen Stewart, a daughter of Sir Robert Stewart of Allanbank, and niece of Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate under King William, who had suffered with Sir Gilbert Elliot the first all the hardships of a Dutch exile and all the dangers of an English revolution. From this family nevertheless sprang in the next generation that Sir James Steuart of Coltness, who was an ardent Jacobite, and a confessor in the cause, who became the forerunner of Adam Smith, and is qualified, perhaps, by the partiality of a countryman, as the 'Father of Political Economy in Britain.' Lady Elliot possessed the devoted attachment of her husband, participated in all his tastes and pursuits, and held a distinguished position in the society of Edinburgh in her time. The last years of the Lord Justice Clerk were gladdened by the conspicuous success

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of his eldest son Gilbert in Parliament and by the glorious services of his third son John at sea. A life traversed, on the whole, with much quiet amenity and public esteem had a painless termination. In the full enjoyment of all his faculties the Lord Justice Clerk passed away on April 16, 1766, at the age of seventy-three.

The two judges who successively adopted the designation of Minto were not absolutely unknown in English political life. The first had been a conspirator for freedom in contact with Shaftesbury and his confederates; the second had been elected to the British Parliament, and must have passed a portion of three sessions in London. They were, however, emphatically Scotsmen, and Scotsmen strongly localised, identified by their interests, attachments and alliances closely with the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk. The third Gilbert was the first of the family who liberated himself from the narrow trammels of provincial connexion and worked his way to an active and influential, if not a leading, part in national affairs. His early training was that of a Scottish gentleman destined for the profession of the law. He was put to local schools, he had an accomplished tutor at home, he attended classes at the University of Edinburgh, and was transferred in due course to Leyden to qualify as a civilian. In 1743, when twenty-one years of age, he passed his 'trials,' and was admitted to practice as an advocate. It was, however, considered expedient that he should gain some knowledge of the world before being confined to the drudgery of the Bar, and his father sanctioned an excursion to London and the Continent. Mr. Elliot saw something of polite company at the Hague and at the Court of Frederic II., not yet the Great, but already deeply engaged in the hazards and the triumphs of his first Silesian campaign. We meet with him in London and in Edinburgh in the first half of the year 1745, after he had acquired a wider experience of men, and had formed friendships which were to prove beneficial to him in after life. The following letter, addressed to Mr. William Mure of Caldwell from Edinburgh, gives a lively though flippant description of society in the Scottish capital just three months before the arrival of the Pretender, as it appeared to a young 'spark' fresh from his Continental travels:—

'Before I received your letter I had resolved to inform you by this post of my being arrived in Scotland. I left London without any sort of premeditation, took post-horses, and so found myself in Edinburgh

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before I had time to reflect that my travels were at an end. Next morning I provided myself in a huge cocked hat, Parliament House gown, and a bob wig of a very formal cut, and so made my appearance at the Bar. I continue to be the strangest fellow in the world; I believe nobody can make anything of me. I yawn all the morning at the fore bar, and after dinner I submit myself with great patience to the critical observation of aunts, cousins, and grandmothers. Sometimes I dress like a fop, sometimes like a man of business. I don't avoid going to taverns, and yet I don't get drunk. I love the town tolerably well; there is one fine street, and the houses are extremely high. The gentry are a very sensible set of people, and some of them in their youth seem to have known the world; but by being too long in a place their notions are contracted, and their faces are become solemn. The Faculty of Advocates is a very learned and very worthy body. As for the ladies, they are unexceptionable, innocent, beautiful, and of an easy conversation. The staple vices of the place are censoriousness and hypocrisy. Pray come to town that I may give a loose to my words and ideas; the mask sits as yet but awkwardly upon me. There is here no allowance for levity, none for dissipation. I am not a bit surprised I do not find here that unconstrained noble way of thinking and talking which one every day meets with among young fellows of plentiful fortunes and good spirits who are constantly moving in a more enlarged circle of company. Whim and heroism must gradually subside, and the high schemes of youth give place to the gainful arts of a narrower situation. By Jove, I wrote like a philosopher. Nature never meant me for a lawyer; I have neither the sorts of parts, memory or application; and yet I'm not discouraged. The same powerful habit that makes men tumblers and rope-dancers may very probably mould me into a lawyer. There's a period for you, Willy! If it be in my power, I shall see you in the country; but to make any stay I can't propose. My reasons I'll tell you when you come to town. My Lord Provost (Archibald Stewart, Gilbert's uncle) is expected to-morrow with all his family. Jack Stuart writes me that poor Ker is very miserable at London; tired of Renalar (Ranelagh) and Foxhall (Vauxhall), the days too long for routs. I have as yet touched no money, and I have pleaded no causes. Come to town and you shall hear me speak, and see me get drunk for the first time. My service to your mother and the young ladies.'

It is not to be inferred from the affectations of the preceding letter that Gilbert Elliot had any real contempt for the society of his countrymen or any indifference to the advancement or emoluments which the Scottish Bar might supply in the absence of more congenial employments. The occupation of Edinburgh by the Chevalier occurred during the recess of the Court of Session, and for some months Elliot vanishes from our sight; but as soon as the Highland storm had passed away, and society and business were restored to their normal tenor, we find him connecting him-

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self with all that was intellectual and respectable in the capital. He became a member of the 'Select Society' and of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the two favourite scenes on which the literary and legal youth of the period exercised their wits; and though he had no genuine inclination for the Scottish forum, he attained the reputation of an able pleader, and seems to have been employed in appeal cases to the House of Lords when only twenty-seven years of age, which may arouse the astonishment and envy of those who now pace the floor of the Parliament House. Towards the end of the year 1746 he took the step which determined his destiny, and became eventually instrumental to the rise of his family. He gained the affections of a young lady who was endowed with a perplexing name and an independent fortune. She was the only daughter of Hugh Dalrymple, second son of Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, who was the fifth son of the first Viscount Stair. Her father, Hugh Dalrymple, on succeeding to certain estates in Forfarshire and Fife, assumed the names of Murray Kynnynmond, in addition to his own. Mr. Hugh Dalrymple Murray Kynnynmond having died in 1741, his daughter Agnes inherited the properties referred to in her own right, and as proprietrix of the estate of Melgund, in Forfarshire, held the name of Murray, which she subsequently retained in married life, either alone or in conjunction with the name of Elliot.

This marriage gave Mr. Elliot a moderate income, and the means of realising, what he most desired, access to a parliamentary career. For several years between 1746 and 1753 the lives of the young couple were distributed between Minto, Edinburgh, Lochgelly and London. In London Mr. Elliot was engaged on appeal business before the House of Lords, but his attendance at the debates in the Commons was assiduous, he enjoyed the diversion of the theatre, then in its highest glory, while in his social intercourse he was careful to cultivate the society of those whose intimacy would do him honour, and whose countenance would be useful to his wife. Among his most influential friends may be noted Archibald, Duke of Argyle, whom he visited both at Inveraray and at Whitton, while he enjoyed the special favour of the Countess of Dalkeith, the Duke's niece, and that of Lady Betty Mackenzie, wife of Lord Bute's brother, connexions which probably initiated or confirmed those relations with Lord Bute which had so much influence on his subsequent fortunes. In December 1753 a vacancy in

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the representation of Selkirkshire occurred, and to that vacancy Elliot succeeded without opposition, backed, no doubt, by the Buccleuch interest, and aided by the general esteem in which his own family was held.

Gilbert Elliot sat in Parliament for Selkirkshire twelve years without a contest. He then succeeded to an undisputed seat for Roxburghshire for the same period. During these twenty-four years he was in office for more than twenty, about four years as a Lord of the Admiralty, about eight years as Treasurer of the Chambers, a sinecure, and about eight years as Treasurer of the Navy. He served under seven administrations; he possessed the confidence of three first ministers—Mr. Pitt, Lord Bute, and Lord North—and the personal favour of one sovereign, George III. The offices held by Elliot were not conspicuous, but they were safe, and two of them were lucrative, the emoluments attached to both being certainly not less than 2,500*l.* per annum—a sum perhaps equivalent to 4,000*l.* at the present time. Such posts were, in fact, a kind of retaining fee for Parliamentary services which the minister or sovereign might expect and which George III. did actually exact. An official career prolonged in positions of profitable mediocrity in the midst of so many vicissitudes in the higher regions of Government could not pass without the appearance and imputation of pliability, and we may allow that the defensive genius of 'Maggie Fendy' must have lived again in the political prudence of her descendant. Nevertheless when the conduct of Elliot is scrutinised in the light cast upon it by the author of the present volume, it becomes apparent that there was no sacrifice of personal honour, and little suppression of independent opinion, in this tenacity to place. In the official changes which ensued with perplexing repetition after the termination of the Seven Years' War, through which Elliot piloted his fortunes with success, there were few questions of principle involved. It was, for the most part, a conflict of personal interests and ambitions, of secret intrigue, of backstairs counsels, and of royal partialities. During such transactions a subordinate administrative officer might keep his place and do his duty without degradation. The parliamentary customs of the time were far more tolerant of independence in debate on the part of official members, and more indulgent in regard to 'open 'questions,' than they are in the present age. On a careful review of the case presented by our author, we observe only one political crisis in which the course taken by Elliot is

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obnoxious to serious question, and only one official act in which we lament his participation. When Pitt and Bute parted in 1762, Elliot adhered to Bute; when the warrant for Byng's execution was laid on the table of the Board of Admiralty, Elliot affixed his signature to that warrant. Elliot owed his first appointment to Pitt. He had followed Pitt in his first dismissal from power in 1757, he had been honoured by the personal friendship of the 'great commoner,' his natural sympathies were with the domineering genius and lofty aspirations of his patron. We have no reason to suppose that Elliot was a scrupulous votary of peace or a partisan of the policy of surrender. The hesitations of the King may have been conscientious, the submissions of Bute may have been consistent with the timidity of his nature, as well as subservient to the wishes of the sovereign, but Elliot was a man of more masculine stamp. We can hardly doubt that in forsaking Pitt he in some measure forsook his convictions; that in following Bute he in some measure followed his interests and affections. There are, however, several considerations which may greatly qualify our condemnation of the course which he pursued. When Pitt seceded from Government in 1762, the war was still carried on. It was not prosecuted with the daring extension counselled by the fallen minister, but there was no certain anticipation of the ensuing peace, far less of the concessions which that peace involved. Lord Bute had claims almost more cogent than those of Pitt on Elliot's adherence. They entertained a mutual attachment with a warmth rare between men in any position, and very rare between politicians. Bute was the relative of Elliot's dearest associates in private life, he was supported by almost all the Scotch members in the House of Commons, he was the object of public animosity of the basest nature, which extended to all his countrymen—it might almost be said that a Scotchman who deserted Bute at that conjuncture deserted Scotland. We do not affirm that the emoluments of an official station, the possible favour of the sovereign, and the support of the Buccleuch interest in the county which he represented, were indifferent to Elliot in his decision; but that decision might be founded in generous motives, and we believe that such motives were predominant.

It is a great misfortune to be associated, by the accidents of official position, with an incident which leaves a stain on the national record. That misfortune occurred to Elliot. He was a member of the Board of Admiralty, presided over

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by Lord Temple, during the transactions immediately preceding the execution of Admiral Byng, and it was his unhappy destiny to be unwillingly connected with that event. This is the more painful because we have unquestionable evidence that his opinion was opposed to the sentence, and we may be sure that his feelings were all for mercy. The Board had scruples as to the legality of the verdict, and solicited the opinion of the judges. In that reference Elliot took a part. He did more. As a member of the House of Commons he interceded on behalf of the condemned officer in debate. In signing the warrant for execution in common with Lord Temple, Dr. Hay, and Mr. Orby Hunter, it is probable that he regarded his co-operation as a mere formality, consequent on the delivery of a sentence in which he had no responsibility—a sentence pronounced by a competent tribunal, approved by the highest judicial authority, and allowed to take effect by the decision of the sovereign. His action was shared by honourable and humane men, yet we may deplore that he did not adhere to the example of his colleague, Vice-Admiral the Hon. John Forbes (of the Granard family), who protested 'that when 'a man is called upon to sign his name to an act which is 'to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be 'guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of 'other men,' and firmly declined to have any part in the execution of a sentence which he believed to be unjust and cruel.

In questions of colonial policy Elliot was not able to ascend to the higher views asserted by Lord Chatham and adopted later by the leaders of the Liberal party. He supported the Stamp Act, and affirmed the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to tax the colonies—a theory probably accepted by most of the constitutional lawyers of the period, but one which was pregnant with future difficulty and disaster. It is contended that in asserting these views Elliot was prompted not by any love of arbitrary principles in government, but by an overweening estimate of the prerogatives of Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons, the unique and sovereign exponent of public liberty for all. Such may have been the case, but Elliot remains open to the reproach of a want of forecast, of a defective estimate of the forces bursting into activity in the British world beyond the sea. The sweep of his political vision was confined, and in general it is probable that the long use of official life, and the practice of cabinets

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and courts, had chilled the generous instincts which inspired him in the outset of his career. He continued to assert that he was a Whig, but he spoke and acted very like a Tory. What part he would have taken as the breach widened and deepened between the colonies and the mother country we cannot tell. His health failed in 1775 and 1776. He died in the dawn of the American rebellion. But had his life been prolonged it is not improbable that he would have continued, with increased honours and in a higher station, to follow Lord North and the King on their fatal road to defeat and ruin. Whatever judgment we may form as to the merits of Elliot as a statesman, there cannot be two opinions respecting his qualifications as a public speaker. He was without question an able, useful, and acceptable debater in the House of Commons. His success was immediate, and his ascendency was sustained. The reports of his early and repeated triumphs transmitted to his father by friends, relatives and fellow-countrymen, of which our author has produced several interesting examples, might be suspected of partiality, but the testimony of Walpole is conclusive, for Walpole cherished a constant animus against Elliot, as a follower of Bute and favourite of the King, and yet, in his memoirs of George II. and George III., the historian repeatedly mentions Elliot's performances with high commendation, and ranks him, along with James Oswald of Dunnikier, among those who possessed the highest or most useful gifts of parliamentary eloquence.

Sir Gilbert Elliot was more than a politician and an orator, he was a man of letters, and a lover of literary men. His ability in metaphysical disquisition is evinced in his correspondence with Hume, and is recognised in flattering terms by Dugald Stewart. Such was his reputation for purity of taste and correctness of style, that several distinguished writers submitted their works to his inspection and accepted his corrections. His genius was, however, rather critical than productive, and he published nothing of significance. He was the author of several poetical effusions which found their way into the fugitive collections of the time. Some specimens are given in Mr. Elliot's work, pastoral and elegiac. Sir Gilbert celebrates the charms and pains of a certain 'Aminta,' who assuredly never disturbed the tranquillity of Mrs. Murray. Yet one of these compositions was once in fashionable vogue, and still enjoys a sort of traditional reputation. It begins with the line 'My sheep I neglected, 'I broke my sheep-hook,' and continues in the vein

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of effeminate elegance which was then in favour. The 'Corydon' of to-day uses a very different dialect, but we must be tolerant of the conventionalities of the past, remembering that the language of Swinburne may soon be as obsolete as the language of Shenstone. Another piece has the merit of actuality, if not of inspiration, as it records the death of Colonel Gardiner at Prestonpans, 'killed at the door of his own house.' A third has a serious claim on our sympathy, for it describes in not unpleasing lines the placid death and amiable virtues of his father. The poems of Sir Gilbert Elliot, as far as we possess them here, betray no originality, but they may pass as the recreations of a man of business and debate.

In his domestic and social relations Sir Gilbert was worthy of the highest esteem. He was devoted to his wife, children, property, and people. He preserved his religion in the intimacy of Hume, and his virtue in the company of 'old Q.' When living at Minto he exercised a temperate hospitality which, it is alleged, was not quite in harmony with the jovial habits of his country neighbours, but which attracted many persons of learning and refinement to his house. Principal Robertson, Dr. Gregory, Dr. Somerville, Andrew Stuart (the genealogist of the Royal Race), John Home (the author of 'Douglas'), David Hume (philosopher and historian), were frequent guests under the roof which in another generation extended its welcome to Burke, Campbell, Leyden, and Scott. The correspondence between the Elliot family and Hume is the most interesting feature in these literary relaxations, and the frank, cordial, playful spirit in which they address and sometimes assail the illustrious sceptic is, perhaps, more due to the fact that he was a son of the house of Ninewells than to the fact that he was the author of the 'Essay on Human Nature.' That Sir Gilbert Elliot could be a wise counsellor as well as a pleasant correspondent is proved by letters which passed between him and his distinguished friend at a moment when the latter was in some danger of taking a step unworthy of a British subject, and especially of one who was an aspirant to diplomatic employment. Slightly intoxicated by the cajoleries of fashionable and cultivated society in Paris, and embittered by a delay in obtaining the office of Secretary of Embassy, to which he was subsequently promoted, Hume threatened to abandon his allegiance and nationality, to settle in France, and even to deprive his natal soil of the honour of receiving his remains. If he relented

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and resigned himself to spend indulgent years in the sober society of Edinburgh, and if he sleeps in a classic tomb on the Calton Hill and not in the caves of the Parisian Pantheon, it may have been due to the manly remonstrances of his friend:—

'Hume,' says Mr. Elliot, 'was hurt and disappointed in not having obtained the appointment of Secretary of Embassy for which he had applied, and after referring to this grievance he concludes one of his letters thus: "I have been accustomed to meet with nothing but insults and indignities from my native country. But if it continue so, *ingrata patria ne ossa quidem habebis*."'

Elliot in his answer tells him how his application has been backed by his friends, and adds:—

'As to *ingrata patria ne ossa quidem habebis*, don't be at all uneasy. Notwithstanding all your errors, mistakes, and heresies in religion, morals, and government, I undertake that you shall, at least, have Christian burial, and perhaps we may find a niche for you in Westminster Abbey besides. Your Lockes, Newtons, and Bacons had no great matter to boast of during their lives, and yet they were the most orthodox of men. They required no god-father to answer for them, while, on the other hand, did not Lord Hertford spread his sevenfold shield over all your transgressions? Pray, what pretensions have you either in Church or State? for you well know you have offended both. But I know what is the matter with you—the French ladies, as well as the French philosophers, have contributed to render you vain, and when successful with the fair, and flattered by the learned, I know what sport you will make of all our grave admonitions. I long thought you would be content with a reversionary interest in fame, not to take full effect till after your death; but since you are corrupted with bad company, we must even assist you to grow rich and lazy like other men.'

Later, after seeing Hume in Paris, Elliot writes in a more serious tone:—

'Before I conclude, allow me in friendship also to tell you I think I see you on the brink of a precipice. One cannot too much clear their mind of all little prejudices, but partiality to one's country is not a prejudice. Love the French as much as you will. Many of the individuals are surely the proper objects of affection; but, above all, continue still an Englishman.'

And he goes on to enforce this exhortation by argument.

Hume, in his answer to this, asks what human motive or consideration can make him prefer living in England rather than in foreign countries. Not one Englishman in fifty would be sorry if he broke his neck; some, because he is not a Whig; some, because he is not a Christian; and all, because he is a Scotsman. 'Can you seriously talk of my

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'continuing an Englishman?' he asks. 'Am I, or are you, 'an Englishman?' and so on.

Elliot replies in a letter the healthy tone and sound English ring of which are a pleasant contrast to the morbid feelings and soured temper exhibited by his correspondent:—

'Notwithstanding all you say we are both Englishmen—that is, true British subjects entitled to every emolument and advantage that our happy constitution can bestow. Do not you speak and write and publish what you please? And though attacking favourite and popular opinions, are you not in the confidential friendship of Lord Hertford, and entrusted with the most important national concerns? Am not I a member of Parliament, as much at liberty to abuse ministers and administration as if I had been born at Wapping, or to support them if I think proper? Had it not been for the clamour of a Scot perhaps, indeed, I might have been in some more active, but not more honourable or lucrative, situation. This clamour, we all know, is merely artificial and occasional. It will in time give way to some other equally absurd and ill-founded, when you, if you will, may become a bishop, and I a minister. In the meantime let us make the best of our present circumstances, I as Treasurer of the Chamber, and you as the idol of whatever is fair and learned at Paris.'

The wholesome sentiments conveyed in the preceding passages are strikingly honourable to Elliot, who had himself been frustrated in his legitimate claims to higher honours by the malignant, though transitory, prejudices aroused against his country. He had on a former occasion pronounced himself disqualified for the office of Secretary for War, and in the opinion of the Duke of Grafton he was debarred from the leadership of the House of Commons 'because he was a Scot.'

During the years 1775 and 1776 the health of Sir Gilbert Elliot was in a declining state from a pulmonary complaint. This disorder reached an acute stage in 1777, and he was advised to try the benefit of the climate of the Riviera. He expired on his journey at Marseilles, surrounded by those who were dearest and most devoted to him. We possess his likeness in the form of a silhouette. The poet of 'Aminta' appears in the form of a firm, precise, old gentleman in a tie-wig, bearing a strong resemblance to the conventional portraits of Washington in his later years.

Lady Murray Elliot only survived her husband till the end of the year 1778. Her intense devotion to his character and memory is expressed in the form of an epitaph which is preserved among her papers, but which was probably not designed for actual use.

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'To the memory of the Rt. Honble. Sir G. E., Bart., Treasurer of the Navy, Keeper of the Signet in Scotland, who dyed at Marseilles in the year 1777, aged 55 years, in the course of whose life so many exalted virtues were displayed, and so few errors committed, that it is the duty of those who knew his exalted and perfect character to hold it up to succeeding generations for a model to imitate. Nature bestowed on him a capacity and genius for great and manly studies. Few ever went beyond him in general knowledge. A judgement decisive and correct, a taste refined and delicate, an imagination elevated, though so entirely regulated by reason that it was never known to mislead him. His temper was calm, mild, and cheerful. He could enjoy those pleasures which are unsullied by vice. From his earliest years to his latest day he was wholly governed by religious and moral principles in his thoughts as well as actions, and had all that passed in his mind in a single day of his whole existence been made visible, his train of thinking would have furnished volumes of instruction and delight to mankind. His soul was under one continued exertion of what was pleasing, laudable, and beneficial, so that those contemplations, which to other men are laborious, to him were inherent and amusing, and his conclusions were so just, and his discernment so accurate, that he never failed to act nobly and wisely, and to convince those with whom he conversed of the truth of his opinions.

It is a curious commentary on the attachment and the anguish of this admirable wife, so ardently expressed, that the grave of her husband remains unmarked by any memorial, as does his father's grave. These lapidary neglects were not unfrequent in Scotland then and in the succeeding generation. Not long since an American traveller and author remarked that neither the father nor the mother of Sir Walter Scott had a headstone to identify their graves. Many examples of the same kind might be adduced. The dead were not less loved; it was only the evil fashion of the times. The reproach is removed by the more careful piety and practice of the present age.

Sir Gilbert Elliot the third had two brothers and a sister, who are admitted to special notice in these family records—Andrew, called Governor Elliot; John, a distinguished sea officer; and Miss Jane, of whom more below.

Of Andrew, whose various fates are fully related in the family volume, we need not say much here. He was sent to Philadelphia when barely eighteen with the slender capital of 740*l.* to embark in trade. There he contracted two marriages, with some benefit in point of fortune, and seems to have thriven in business, which, however, he exchanged in 1761 for Government employment. Appointed to several offices connected with the customs and police in

the province of New York, he transferred his residence to the Hudson River and named it Minto House. During the troubles preceding the American rebellion, and throughout the war, he stood fast by his allegiance and his duty, was rewarded in 1780 with the barren title of lieutenant-governor, and came home, after the peace of 1783, with impaired fortunes and unalterable loyalty. He purchased the farm of Greenwells, in his native county, applied himself to rural pursuits, and enjoyed his leisure in the congenial society of his brother 'Jack,' who had formed a pleasant home in the neighbouring domain of Mount Teviot. After an early and middle life of stress and strife, the inflexible governor was granted an evening of repose, and died in 1797, at the age of sixty-nine, at his brother's residence.

A more brilliant and prosperous career was accorded to John. Entered for the navy in 1745 at the age of thirteen, he was described by his captain two years later as 'one of the 'prettiest seamen' on board his ship, though his general education was miserably neglected. At twenty he was reported by his commanding officer 'as already qualified to command a fleet, and as having gained the esteem of everyone in 'his ship.' Seeing no immediate prospect of advancement, young Elliot joined the East India Company's service, and disappears from the family records for three years. In 1756 war was declared against France, and his brother Gilbert had been elected to Parliament. Interest was made for him at the Admiralty, and he obtained his commission as a lieutenant on board the 'Scarborough,' of twenty guns. Fortune now set in with 'a wind that followed fast.' Gilbert got a seat on the board. 'Jack' became commander and post-captain in 1757, and was appointed to the 'Hussar,' of twenty-eight guns, at the age of twenty-five. Occasions for distinction rapidly succeeded. The 'Hussar,' in company with the 'Dolphin,' another frigate, engaged the 'Alcyon,' a French man-of-war of fifty guns and 400 men, which, after an action of two hours, went down with her colours flying, and every soul perished, the English ships being unable to get out boats to save their drowning enemies. The 'Hussar' alone, shortly afterwards, was so fortunate as to fall in with and capture the 'Vengeance,' a French privateer of equal or greater force, which had been the scourge of British trade in the narrow seas, and which had recently taken the British privateer, 'Terrible,' after a desperate encounter, commanded by the famous Captain Death. For this service Captain Elliot was highly commended at the Admiralty,

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and in 1758 he was transferred to the 'Eolus,' a thirty-two-gun frigate recently launched. Then came his great opportunity. The 'Eolus' was attached to Sir Edward Hawke's squadron on the coast of France, but, having been blown off shore, and being short of provisions, Captain Elliot had put into Kinsale for supplies. There he met with two other frigates—the 'Pallas,' Captain Clements, and the 'Brilliant,' Captain Logie—of which, as senior officer, he was entitled to take command. The conjunction was quite fortuitous, but was most happy; for there Captain Elliot was informed by the Viceroy, the Duke of Bedford, of the capture of Carrickfergus by Thurot, who had under his orders a squadron of three frigates with troops on board, and who was threatening the adjacent port of Belfast. Elliot, zealously seconded by his brother officers, lost not a moment in proceeding to the scene of danger. We shall allow him to tell his own story of the action which ensued in his familiar letter to his brother at the Admiralty, a letter in which something appears of that 'neglect in his educa-'tion' adverted to above, but in which the candour and generosity of his character are abundantly transparent:—

'Isle of Man, 29th Feby., 1760.

'Dear Brother,—It is with the greatest pleasure I'm a-going to give you an account of my great success. I had been under sail ten times in order to get away from Kinsail, and the wind was always good enough to prevent me. On the very day I received information of Thurot being at Belfast, I was under sail, and obliged to anchor again; the "Brilliant" was almost unrigged, but Captain Loggie was so dilligent that he gote ready, and we sailed that evening (the 24th), which was the only opportunity that had offered for near a month, and indeed it was with the greatest difficulty we gote out, but I thought it better to risque the loss of a ship than not attempt it. I gote sight of the harbour where Thurot was on the 26th, but I could not possible get in, for it blowed so hard that we could not carry whole courses, but on the 28 he came out with his three ships, and we was fortunate to see him at day light in the morning coming towards us. He afterwards run for it, and we followed. About 9 o'clock I got up with the "Martial Bellile," and run him directly on board, which carried his Bowsprite away. The "Brilliant" and "Pallas" was just at hand, and I was no sooner clear than they both gave him a broad side, or two apiece, went on to the fresh ships, and left the "Martial" to me. I run him along side again, and after that boarded her a second time, and Forbes went on board and struck the coulers. The "La Blonde" fell on board me at the same time, however—to make shorte, we took them all in an hour and a half with very little loss, about six men killed and between twenty and thirty wounded. The Enimy lost their Commodore Thurot, and between two and three hundred killed and

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wounded. . . . Three finer frigates could not be found than I luckily found at Kinsail, and the other two behaved extraordinarily well, and my officers and men was cleverer and behaved better than I can express. I have appointed Forbes Capt. of the "Bell Isle," and hope it will be of service to him. . . . I have so bad a head each that I can write no more, so I must beg the favor of you sending this to my father in Scotland, or write to him, for I cannot. I have lost my voice giving orders, in so much that I cannot speak above my breath. Comps. to Mrs. Murray, etc.

'Ramsey Road, Isle of Man, 'Your affectionate brother,
'29th Feby.' 'J. Elliot.

The triumph of Elliot was highly appreciated by the King, by Parliament, and by the country at large, though it was not unattended by the envy which waits upon merit and success. It was not overshadowed even by the contemporary exploits of Boscawen and of Hawke. Many years later Nelson himself, in a letter to Lord Minto, from the 'Victory,' in 1804, affirms that the action 'will stand the 'test with any of our modern victories.' During the remaining years of the war, which terminated in 1763, Elliot was constantly employed either in command of a frigate or line-of-battle ship, on convoy, or cruising duties, or on guard under the batteries of Gibraltar. After the peace his services were still in requisition for a time; but in 1765, at the age of thirty-three, we find him established for the winter at Caen, learning French. There he eats 'with the field officers and captains of a Regiment of 'French dragoons,' who received him cordially, 'because 'Eliott's* regiment had put two-thirds of theirs to death 'in the late war.' A brief visit to Paris was all that his 'phinances' would allow him to make on this occasion; yet in the following year he was elected member for Cockermouth, and in 1768 he stood a contest for Carlisle, in which he was not successful. In 1776 he received the appointment of General of the Mint in Scotland, with a salary of 300*l.* a year—a post which we may assume to have been a sinecure, but which need not scandalise us overmuch, when we reflect that it was only an old-fashioned way of bestowing a pension for distinguished services. During the American War Captain Elliot was continuously afloat for purposes the most diversified; but among these we can only signalise the leading part which he took in Rodney's victory over Admiral Vergara, and his brilliant assault on the

* John Augustus Eliott, afterwards the defender of Gibraltar and Lord Heathfield.

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'Triomphant' (French three-decker), when Admiral Kempenfelt with twelve sail cut off a convoy in the presence of a French fleet of nineteen ships of the line. His last public employment was as governor and commander-in-chief at Newfoundland, which he relinquished in 1789. The subsequent years of his life were spent at Mount Teviot, much in the society of his brother Andrew, whose daughters, Lady Cathcart and Lady Carnegie, were his special favourites. He seems to have mingled some humour with his affection, for he promised his younger niece, Nancy, a thousand pounds on the day on which she married 'with *her own* consent.' Nancy qualified for the gift, and received her portrait, by Raeburn, into the bargain. Whatever fortune the Admiral had saved from the King's wages, or levied on the King's enemies, he applied to the purchase of lands in the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, and these, like a faithful kinsman, he bequeathed to his nephew and chief, Lord Minto. The portrait of the Admiral is preserved at Minto, and is characteristic of the open-hearted seaman. His honest face is lifted to the sky, which he had so often searched in storm and shine.

The perpetuation and the quality of Scottish song are greatly indebted to a line of ladies, extending from the seventeenth century to the present age, who wrote from natural impulse, for the amusement of their homes and relatives, or from a spontaneous interest in the history and manners of their country, not only without a view to gain or fame, but with a scorn of publicity, and sometimes with a curious passion for concealment and mystification. They wrote but little, yet that little is marked by a felicity which often leaves the compositions of professional poets far behind. The march of these amiable muses is opened by Lady Wardlaw of Pitrivie, and Lady Grizel Baillie of Mellerstain, the former chanting with masculine energy the measure of 'Hardyknute,' in honour of a legendary Scottish victory over the Dane, while the latter portrays the sorrows of a Border girl parted from her rustic lover in lines entitled 'An' were na my heart licht, I wad dee.' These early volunteers are succeeded, after an interval of some thirty years, by Miss Alison Rutherfurd, of Fairnilee, better known by her married name of Cockburn, and Miss Jane Elliot. Mrs. Cockburn laments some recent distresses in her native district of Selkirkshire, to the air of 'The 'Flowers of the Forest;' the daughter of Minto reunites the same melody to its proper theme, the ceaseless com-

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plaint of Scotland for the fatal day of Flodden. Lady Anne Lindsay and Lady Nairne next appear upon the scene, wrapped in mysterious weed—Lady Anne reluctant to confess, even at the close of a bold and blameless life, that she had committed the indiscretion of composing a song of exquisite pathos when a girl; Lady Nairne striving, by tricks and disguises, to hide the genius which had sounded all the chords of humour and emotion from the 'Laird of 'Cockpen' to the 'Land of the Leal.' To this band of gentle birth we wish it were possible to add a humble sister of woeful destiny, Jean Adam; but the authorship of 'There's nae Luck about the House' is not ascribed to her with absolute certainty. If it were, she might well offer her labour-hardened hand to the careless minstrel of 'Auld 'Robin Gray.' Last of all come two sisters, representatives of the house of Spottiswoode, in the Merse, known of old for loyalty and learning. But of Lady John Scott and Lady Hume Campbell, it may be remarked that they joined the faculties of poetical and musical composition with the gift of song, endowments never before united in the person of any one of their predecessors. It is, however, with Miss Jane Elliot, and in relation to her with Mrs. Cockburn, that we have here to do.

It is hardly necessary to state to our Scottish readers that there are two versions of the song called the 'Flowers 'of the Forest,' one beginning 'I've seen the smiling of 'fortune beguiling,' the other beginning 'I've heard them 'lilting at the ewe milking,' the former composed by Mrs. Cockburn, the latter by Miss Elliot. We have placed them in the sequence indicated by the ages of the respective authors, and the dates of publication. We cannot place them with confidence according to the dates of composition. The question of priority is not of much importance, and it is not discussed at any length in the volume before us. There is no question of plagiarism involved, scarcely any of imitation. The measure of both songs is suggested by the tune as well as by the surviving lines of the primitive ballad, accessible to both authors alike, contemporaries, and inhabitants of the same country.

Mrs. Cockburn was born in 1712 and died in 1794. She was married at the age of seventeen. We know from her printed correspondence and unpublished autobiography that she had a precocious genius. Her song was first published, as far as we can ascertain, in a collection entitled 'The 'Charmer,' Edinburgh, 1765, when Mrs. Cockburn was fifty-

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three years of age. According to family tradition, if we may believe the authors of the 'Songstresses of Scotland,' it belonged to a much earlier period in Mrs. Cockburn's life. These verses have no reference to Flodden Field; they are polished, melodious and admirably adapted to the air, but they have the conventional stamp of the eighteenth century, and might have been produced by Hamilton of Bangour, or Craufurd, or any of the 'ingenious' versifiers of the time, when best inspired.

Miss Jane Elliot was born in 1727, fifteen years after Mrs. Cockburn, and died in 1805. Her song, as far as we have been able to trace it, was first published in 1781 in Pinkerton's 'Tragic Ballads of Scotland,' a book full of audacious forgeries, and there it is presented as a genuine relic of the sixteenth century. According to tradition, this ballad was composed by Miss Elliot about the year 1755, in reply to a playful challenge on the part of her brother Gilbert to write a poem on the battle of Flodden, and to that subject her verses are alone devoted; her flowers of the forest are the flowers of Scottish chivalry reaped by the English sword; her words have a simplicity and sweetness redolent of the old Border strain, scarcely touched, but still a little touched, by the taste of Ramsay in his happiest mood. Indeed, Miss Elliot does not deny herself a stroke of modern archness and humour in the midst of her images of pensive desolation.

The priority of composition it is impossible to determine, but we are inclined with Professor Veitch to award it to the elder poet. The superiority of merit was adjudged to Miss Elliot by Sir Walter Scott nearly a century ago, and his sentence has been confirmed by the general voice. To both ladies belongs the merit of having redeemed from obscurity an authentic melody which can be traced by documentary evidence to the reign of James VI., a melody which has now been raised to the dignity of a national requiem, for no Scottish soldier is carried to his rest in the remotest grave to which the arts and arms of his countrymen have reached without the touching notes of the 'Flowers of the Forest.'

Our historian has dwelt with some curiosity on the life of a lady who had no pretensions to fame and no anticipations of immortality. He is justified by the honour she has unconsciously imparted to his name. The judgements of two learned civilians, the speeches of a dexterous and eloquent politician, will pass into oblivion, even the feats of an heroic seaman may be absorbed in the lustre of new exploits, while

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the blossoms which a woman's hand flung so lightly on the stream of popular memory float on for ever. The inspiration of an hour survives the labour of an age.

The death of Sir Gilbert Elliot the third marks a distinct stage in the making of Minto. The family was now 'set in 'the saddle' at home and in England: at home by the accumulation of a competent estate, sufficient to support the necessities of parliamentary and official employment, not sufficient to encourage inaction; in England by established reputation and private connexions. The road was thus thrown open to a wider field of exertion which was promptly occupied by Sir Gilbert Elliot the fourth. The author of the present volume takes leave of us here, referring his readers for further information to three publications edited by the late Countess of Minto, the life of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, envoy and governor, the Memoirs of Sir Gilbert Elliot, first Earl of Minto, and the life of the Earl while Governor-General of India. The Countess of Minto was herself an Elliot, by her mother. She signalised her devotion to the family by the works referred to above, and proved her love and knowledge of Border history, literature, and legend by a volume entitled 'Border Sketches,' inaccessible to the public, but coveted by the book-collector.

Sir Gilbert Elliot the fourth administered the government of India for seven years with consummate prudence and unvarying success. To him full justice has been done elsewhere. After his death the inheritance of public service fell on his son, the second Earl, who, after acting as envoy at Berlin, became First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Melbourne's Government, from 1835 to 1841. He subsequently held the office of Lord Privy Seal in Lord John Russell's Cabinet, and was employed on a comprehensive diplomatic mission in Italy in 1847 and 1848. To the Italian cause he remained a devoted and persistent adherent. The First Lord of the Admiralty was a man of natural shrewdness, cool judgement, literary culture, and business faculty, but he did not succeed to the gift of eloquence possessed by his father and grandfather, so necessary to impart relief to a figure on the parliamentary scene.

Many of the recent family memorials published in Scotland have been done to order. It is far from our desire to depreciate the services of that genealogical laboratory which was directed with so much ability by the late Sir William Fraser. The compilations delegated to his superintendence were not framed in the spirit of an arid antiquary, but with

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a liberal admission of the beauty and romance of research, tempered by a careful reference to documentary sources. Nevertheless we may be permitted to find superior attractions in spontaneous authorship, and, with this advantage, we could forgive some manifestation of inherited affection and retrospective fondness. 'Liddesdale and the Debateable Land,' by Mr. Robert Bruce Armstrong, 'The Seton Family,' by Mr. George Seton, 'The House of Cockburn of that Ilk,' by Mr. Thomas Cockburn Hood, and the 'Border Elliots,' are recent examples of local and family history of the most sympathetic type. Mr. Elliot takes a warm interest in his forefathers and his country. Without these sentiments he would never have become the author of the work to which we have been devoting our attention. But in his rational pages there are no traces of that excessive ancestor-worship by which Scotsmen are apt to be affected, or of the aggressive and pedantic patriotism which characterises the new school of Northern nationalism.

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